

The *Lyric Art* of Pierre Perrin,

Part 1:

Birth of French Opera

—

Louis E. Auld

The *Lyrical Art* of Pierre Perrin,  
Founder of French Opera

—

Part 1

Birth of French Opera

by

Louis E. Auld



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—

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To Robert B. Auld and Louise B. Thériault Auld,

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### Acknowledgements

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The typescript of this work was virtually completed in 1975. As the pages have approached final form, extensive revision has appeared neither advisable nor necessary, although certain recent developments, notably the reprinting of Cambert's scores and some of Professor Sawkins' findings have been incorporated. The publisher has borne with magnanimity what textual changes were unavoidable. Of course, the warmest and fullest thanks go to my wife, Elizabeth, who spent painstaking hours transcribing the manuscript of the *Paroles de musique* and reading proofs. Through her constant, loving support and encouragement, she helped in innumerable ways to coax this recalcitrant undertaking along the way to completion.

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## The *Lyric Art* of Pierre Perrin

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## PREFACE

The period that brought lyric drama within the grasp of the French, the decades roughly between 1560 and 1660, Norbert Dufourcq has written, «pose un problème d'histoire musicale rendu d'autant plus délicat que tous ses éléments n'ont pas encore été inventoriés».<sup>1</sup> Even those elements which are known have by and large received only cursory examination. The broad outlines of France's path towards opera have long since been retraced. To return only to the beginnings of our own century, there was Romain Rolland's thesis, *Les Origines du théâtre lyrique moderne: Histoire de l'opéra en Europe avant Lulli et Scarlatti*, Paris, 1895, followed some years later by the work of Henri Prunières, notably in *L'Opéra italien en France avant Lulli*, Paris, 1913, and *Le Ballet de cour en France avant Benserade et Lully*, Paris, 1914. Their work has been assimilated into reference works. Yet, if the outline is clear, many a detail remains hazy.

Several years ago, while studying the interrelations of the various arts which compose Molière's comedy-ballets,<sup>2</sup> I discovered the paucity of critical discussion of the peculiar art of writing lyrics. The rôle of the poem in musical pieces, particularly of the period from 1643, when Cardinal Mazarin came to power, bringing with him an infusion of Italian influences on French arts, to 1673, when Jean-Baptiste Lully created the first lyric drama in the definitively adopted new style, seemed unclear at best. There was no way of knowing whether the poems which Molière gave Lully (and Charpentier) for musical setting were better or worse—for that specific purpose—than those of other poets, whether they followed existing conventions or broke new ground. There was no way, that is, except to undertake a separate study. That study, originally conceived as a chapter, became the present book.

Good lyrics, it seemed evident, differ in some essential ways from other types of lyric poetry. (I use the term «lyrics» to designate texts written for or set to music; «lyric» as adjective may mean either involving music—as: «lyric theatre»—or not—as: «lyric poetry».) Surely they ought not to be evaluated on the same basis as poetry written to stand on its own, complete in itself. Moreover, any given period was likely to have its own criteria for evaluating lyrics, its particular styles and tastes. But what were those principles in 1660? How did composers use lyrics, how did musical styles influence lyrics? In just what ways did lyrics differ from other sorts of poetry? Were there not a few characteristics which would prove common to lyrics regardless of particular conventions and styles?

1 *La Musique française*, A. & J. Picard, Paris, 1970, p. 125.

2 «The Unity of Molière's Comedy-Ballets» (University Microfilms 69-9045).

Such questions underlie the present study. I noted a certain obscurity, too, when it came to following closely the preparation for the new lyric genre which Lully successfully imposed on his adopted country. Critical consensus seemed to suggest that all works which preceded his were either unrelated to creation of French opera, or simply mistaken in their approach. Grounds for dismissing certain works sometimes seemed unconvincing, insufficient; judgments appeared facile. The student who penetrates this ill-inventoried warehouse soon discovers that as often as not erroneous or doubtful opinions have been passed on from one writer to the next without verification.

One of the least understood and most maligned figures of these years when France felt herself heavy with desire for operatic offspring, is the poet Pierre Perrin. While it is generally known among specialists that he founded the Académie de Musique which was to become the Opéra, while it is acknowledged that he wrote at least two opera libretti as well as some songs which Lully set, very little serious attention has been paid his work. The only studies in which he figures prominently are both about a century old. Arthur Pougin sought to rectify an already unbalanced situation, when in 1881 he came to the defense of *Les Vrais Créateurs de l'Opéra français, Perrin et Cambert* (Paris). He brought together within the framework of a polemical essay as much information as was available. Although full of good will toward the men he sought to reinstate, Pougin was unable, perhaps because of his training and background—his own *race, milieu et moment*, as some of his contemporaries might have said—to enter into dispassionate discussion of their work.

Not long after, two archivists who signed themselves Ch. Nuittier and Er. Thoinan (pen names for Charles-Louis Etienne Truinet and Antoine-Ernest Roquet) culled from extensive research into surviving legal and official documents a detailed history of the *Origines de l'Opéra français* (Paris, 1886; Minkoff Reprints, Genève, 1972). Generally cautious and fair in their judgments, they nonetheless sought in Perrin's libretti an approach which he never meant to take. Since that time, the innovators of French opera have never figured more than incidentally in histories of the events which they brought about. Cambert has been slighted by later students of the period, largely, no doubt, because so little of his music has survived. And Perrin, when not equally slighted, has been cast as a scapegoat, clown, or witless dabbler, at best no more than a foil to illuminate by contrast the superiority of Jean-Baptiste Lully's indispensable librettist, Philippe Quinault. As a result, from that day to this, Perrin has provided a dumping ground for those negative epithets which scholar critics so seldom find the opportunity to dispose of.

This attitude is unfortunate in view of the fact that he left not only a corpus of poetry written specifically for musical setting and ranging from light songs and courtly airs to the first French cantatas and operatic libretti, but also several short theoretical statements of interest for the history of the birth of French opera and its relationship to the Italian model, as well as for the study of the principles which governed composition of lyrics and libretti.

The first of these opuscula is the «Lettre sur la *Pastorale*» (hereafter: Letter), addressed to Monseigneur Della Rovera and printed by Perrin preceding the text of his *Pastorale* (1659), which he held to be the «first French play in music performed in France». Reprinted with the text of the *Pastorale* in the *Œuvres de Poésie de M<sup>r</sup> Pierre Perrin*, Paris 1661, the Letter describes the success enjoyed by that tentative work and indicates some of the principles he followed in composing it, through comparison with nine faults which he and many of his countrymen found with the Italian operas they had seen in Paris.

The second is the Avant-propos, or Foreword (hereafter; Foreword) to a manuscript dating from 1667, entitled *Recueil de Paroles de Musique* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. fonds frç. 2208). A theoretical exposition of the principles of writing words for music based on his own conception and practice of that art, it outlines the program for a «Lyric Art» which he proposed to publish at a later date.<sup>3</sup> According to Nuittier & Thoinan, this manuscript «constitue.... un des documents les plus intéressants à consulter pour l'histoire de l'Opéra».<sup>4</sup> Until now, these «interesting documents» and the verses which support them have

3 Perrin was given to explaining his purposes in forewords. The *Œuvres de Poésie* of 1661, the *Cantica pro Capella Regis* of 1665, the «Recueil de paroles de musique» which we publish here, and the «Argument» of *Pomone*, printed in lieu of the complete livret at the time of the opening of the Académie in 1671, all contain explanations of principles of lyric composition. Of this last, Nuittier & Thoinan expressed their surprise that, although it was known to specialized researchers, «aucun d'eux n'ait signalé au public l'intérêt que présente cet avant-propos pour l'histoire de l'Opéra» (*Les Origines de l'Opéra français*, p. 153). The foreword to the *Cantica pro Capella Regis* outlines rules for composing Latin lyrics. It is included in the Appendix, Vol. II.

As for Perrin's plan to elaborate his principles into a full-blown Lyric Art, the foreword to the *Cantica* claims that it is written and simply awaits a favourable moment for publication. The later manuscript is not so specific. Nuittier & Thoinan regret that it remained unpublished (pp. 75-78) for—if it ever existed—it is lost.

4 *Les Origines de l'Opéra français*, p. 91. Maurice Pellisson quoted selected passages from the Foreword in an appendix to his study, *Les Comédies-ballets de Molière*, Paris, 1914; Théodore Gérold, in the only comprehensive study to date of the subject, *L'Art du chant en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Straßburg, 1921; repr. Minkoff, Genève, 1971), called Perrin's *Recueil* interesting «en ce sens que Perrin s'était depuis un certain nombre d'années fait une sorte de spécialité d'écrire des vers destinés à être chantés...» (pp. 137-138), and discussed the lyric tenets of the Foreword, pp. 138-141. It is ably summarized by Georgia Cowart in *The Origins of Modern Musical Criticism: French and Italian Music, 1600-1750*, pp. 19-20.

remained for all practical purposes as inaccessible to the larger scholarly public as they were a century ago. The manuscript has never before been published *in extenso*. Pougin reprinted the text of the letter, and Maurice Pellisson included portions of the Foreword in an appendix to *Les Comédies-ballets de Molière* (Paris, 1914). Neither has to my knowledge ever been translated into English. The entire *Recueil de Paroles de Musique* is printed here. Among the texts it contains are many short songs, airs, and dialogues, two secular cantatas (perhaps the earliest in French), the *Pastorale* of 1659 (cornerstone of French opera, not, until now, available except in seventeenth-century editions), two other operatic libretti, lyrics for sacred music in Latin and French, and miscellaneous other sorts of pieces. The Letter and the Foreword are given in English translation. The original version of the Foreword appears in its place with the *Recueil*; that of the Letter, being relatively accessible in Pougin's book, has been omitted.

Until recently, so little had been written on the subject that this study might have been subtitled "prolegomena" to a study of the lyric. The mystery of the relation of words to music is stimulating new scholarly inquiry. Among recent works, *Song: Anatomy, Imagery, and Styles* by Donald Ivey (The Free Press, Collier-Macmillan, London, 1970) offers a welcome comprehensive analysis of the modern musico-poetic synthesis. Fritz Noske's *La Mélodie française de Berlioz à Duparc: Essai critique historique* (P. U. F., Paris and Amsterdam, 1954; in the translation into English of Rita Benton, *French Song from Berlioz to Duparc. The Origin and Development of the Mélodie*, second edition, rev., New York, Dover, 1970) contains a useful chapter on the literary aspects of French song.<sup>5</sup> A germinal study by Bruce Pattison, whose implications far exceed its modest dimensions (*Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance*, London, Methuen, 1948), has recently been reissued (1970). The opera text has been the subject of a book for the general public: Patrick J. Smith, *The Tenth Muse. A Historical Study of the Opera Libretto* (New York, Knopf, 1970), and a scholarly inquiry by Cuthbert Girdlestone: *La Tragédie en musique*

5 Marie Naudin's *Evolution parallèle de la poésie et de la musique de France: Rôle unificateur de la chanson*, Nizet, Paris, 1968, seeks to demonstrate the salubrious effects on both arts of a constantly renewed impulse to song throughout French history.

(1673-1750) *considérée comme genre littéraire*, (Genève, Droz).<sup>6</sup> Two synthetic works have appeared recently which contribute significantly to bringing the French seventeenth century into focus. Robert M. Isherwood's *Music in the Service to the King: France in the Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1973) explores the intimate relationship between the music and politics of *le grand siècle*; *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau*, by James R. Anthony (W. W. Norton, New York, 1974) authoritatively satisfies a long-standing need for a detailed analytical and historical account in English.

It is possible to discern other stirrings as well. While the *air de cour* of the first half-century in France may never prove so rewarding as the Elizabethan ayres, madrigals, and consort songs, it is at least finally beginning to get a hearing.<sup>7</sup> A wave of interest a few years ago in the sacred music of Marc-Antoine Charpentier helped focus attention on the music of the latter half of the century, but never went so far as to bring about the revival of the secular music. Curiously enough, little has yet been done in terms of performance and recording for the giant of seventeenth-century French music, the Florentine fiddler who gave French music its definitive shape in the *ancien régime*, Jean-Baptiste Lully. A few revivals of selected scenes celebrated the three-hundredth anniversary, in 1973, of

6 Among the indications of a growing interest in word-music relations, we might note the enthusiastic reception given several years running to a Special Session of «Renaissance Words and Music» at the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association; individual symposia, including one devoted to the English Court Masque at Western Michigan University in 1981, and another on the topic «Words and Music: Imitation and Invention in the Middle Ages and Renaissance,» under the auspices of the University of California Los Angeles Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies and Brown University in March 1983; and the growing membership of the recently created LYRICA Society for Word-Music relations, whose newsletter-journal, *ARS LYRICA*, reports on the activities of members, reviews publications, and includes articles of interest in this interdisciplinary field.

Not all the recent publications can be noted here; it should be pointed out, though, that a prime catalyst for the recent spate of publications in Renaissance and Elizabethan English word-music studies is John Hollander's seminal study, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry, 1500-1700*, W. W. Norton, New York, 1970 «originally 1961».

7 We are indebted for this to André Verchaly, whose collection of *Airs de cour pour voix et luth (1603-1643)*, (Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie, Heugel & C<sup>e</sup>, Paris, 1961), makes nearly a hundred pieces available in authoritative modern transcriptions with lute tablatures as well as keyboard accompaniments. Performance practice remains problematic. In particular, the knowledge that every performance imposed a personal style on the written melody must lead us to suspect that these scores, much like the published sheet music to modern popular tunes, convey little more than a shadow of the original effect. Few modern interpretations to date convey the stylistic freedom which performers at the time enjoyed.

For purposes of the present study, it is regrettable that Verchaly's collection stops at 1643, for the period least known or understood is precisely that which extends from that date to *circa* 1659.

the first opera in the new style, *Cadmus et Hermione*, but they were largely restricted to audiences of specialists. A complete edition is now in progress.

On the other hand, the lyric in general is receiving more attention. There is a special library devoted to song in Paris. Boris Vian and Georges Brassens among others have contributed to giving respectable status to popular song, the «chanson de poète». It is my hope that the present study and the lyric texts which accompany it will find a place in the emerging chapter of the history of song and opera in France at a time when, as today, significant changes in attitudes were bringing about the creation of new artistic methods and approaches.

One purpose here is to bring these texts and theoretical statements to the attention of students of the period, for they may contribute to the elucidation of certain still obscure aspects of seventeenth-century taste. Since the relation of words to music remains one of the most mysterious and ill-defined phenomena of both literary and musical aesthetics, being neither quite within nor quite outside the realm of either, and since comments on the art from past periods are rare, these materials may throw light on a broader area as well as helping us understand how at least one society in one specific period attacked the eternal problem of uniting two distinct art forms.

Thus, as study of comparative literature seems finally to be making headway against ingrained habits of categorization and rigid restrictions among disciplines, this book aims to throw a bridge between two related disciplines, to speak to both literary scholars and musicologists. Some explanations, such as the lengthy discussion of French metrics, or the literary background to the evolution of pre-operatic experiments, will appear elementary—but not, I hope, inaccurate—to literary scholars. Elementary distinctions must be made, even among specialists. I recently came across an analysis of the strophic structure of a song (in a widely-used high-school-level French textbook, edited by a stable of reputable and very competent scholars), which was not only misleading but downright wrong. All the lines, it said, had eight syllables, except one, which had sixteen! There was, of course, a rhyme in the middle of that so-called sixteen-syllable line, and half the lines in the strophe had seven syllables (with the feminine ending sometimes adding an eighth). The basic facts, like the eternal truths, must be reiterated.

A second purpose is to re-examine the appropriate place of Perrin and his collaborator Robert Cambert in the history of lyric theatre in France. Leaving aside for the moment the touchy questions of the quality of Perrin's lyrics and the worth of the music which Cambert and Boësset composed to his libretti, there remains the fact that on 28th June 1669, Perrin obtained official and exclusive privileges for the establishment «in our good city of Paris and others of our realm, of Academies composed of a number and quality of persons he shall deem necessary, there to perform and sing operas and plays in music with French verses, comparable and similar to those of Italy»,<sup>8</sup> and that, after twenty months of prepara-

8. «Lettres patentes du Roy, pour établir, par tout le royaume, des Acadé-

tion, he inaugurated the institution which exists today under the name of the Paris Opéra. Few Frenchmen have ever heard of Perrin or Cambert. For purposes of simplification, it is usually claimed that Lully created French opera. And indeed he did impose a style of opera somewhat different from all that had gone before. Yet Perrin and Cambert laid the foundation for his edifice. Even that distinction has frequently been denied them.

Perrin provides an ideal point of departure for understanding the aesthetics of lyrics in France at the time when song was seeking redefinition, and opera was in the air. Not only did he write the first libretti and devote more than a dozen years of his life exclusively to the art of writing lyrics, but he also left several significant, if sketchy, statements of the ends he sought and the means he employed. It is a further purpose of this work, then, to establish a groundwork for definition of the lyric by confronting Perrin's principles with statements and comments made by other writers, finding illustrations of these principles in poems and libretti, and relating the poems, in so far as possible, to the musical styles which they were meant to support—for every musical style is suited to certain forms of prosody and ill-suited to others.

Perrin's poems for music along with his explanatory remarks offer a rare opportunity to discover just what he and others of his time considered the basic principles of lyric composition. In conjunction with the libretti, his comments provide useful insights into the attitudes and practices which both helped and hindered the French in their groping towards opera. His texts may be evaluated in comparison with lyrics written by other *paroliers*. This done, it becomes possible to ask what principles of prosody composers used and what interaction took place between the two arts as poetry was transmuted into song. Once the principles governing lyric composition *circa* 1660 have been clearly established, once the distinction between the limitations of Perrin's talent and those he imposed upon himself in the name of the Orphic art has been made, then it may appear that this minor poet working in a minor and little understood art form has generated more enmity than his undertaking deserves and enjoyed less appreciation than his accomplishments merit.

Originally undertaken as a chapter of another book, this study has outgrown Topsy. It contains three distinct sorts of materials: theoretical discussion of the principles of opera and lyric by Perrin, lyrics ranging from songs to opera libretti, and essays and commentaries which attempt

mies d'Opéra, ou représentations en musique en langue française, sur le pied de celles d'Italie.» 28th June 1669, quoted in full from the *livret* of *Pomone* (1671) in Arthur Pougin, *Les Vrais Créateurs de l'opéra français: Perrin et Cambert*, Paris, 1881, pp. 96-99.

The same text appears in Norman Demuth, *French Opera, Its Development to the Revolution*, The Artemis Press, Sussex, 1963, pp. 268-269; as elsewhere throughout that book, a deplorable lack of care in preparation shows up in an abundance of errors, most of them minor, but here involving the omission of an entire page of text.

to set the scene and elucidate them. I have tried to assemble and comment upon these neglected materials in such a way as to suggest areas in which one discipline might well benefit from familiarity with the other. The subject explored here, specifically the tenets of lyric composition *circa* 1650-1673, has until now been relatively unexplored and ill-understood. Consequently, the present work can hope to be no more than a tentative reconnaissance incursion into uncharted territory.

The book has four major sections. The first is historical and biographical. The second and third, which are theoretical and analytical, consist of Perrin's opuscula concerning opera and the lyric respectively, with commentary which explores their implications. The illustrative final part contains the complete text of the manuscript *Recueil de Paroles de Musique de M<sup>r</sup> Perrin*. The first chapter of the initial section suggests the advisability of considering the middle years of the century in their own right and on their own terms, for they differed significantly in temper and style from either the first four decades or the last. The classical bias has exerted tremendous influence over the past three centuries both in France and the rest of the Western world, which has often turned to the country of Descartes and Racine for intellectual and æsthetic guidance. While it unquestionably exerted a powerful influence for the maintenance and development of humanistic values in the arts, that bias also rendered judgment of certain sorts of works extremely difficult. It is only recently that we have again begun to take pleasure in the distorted, often grotesque vision of the world expressed in what is now generally designated as Baroque art, music, and letters. The works herein discussed must be viewed in this light. The second chapter of Part I brings together biographical data on Pierre Perrin and critical comments on his works. It attempts thus to clear the way for reassessment of his contribution to the art of his times. I have not undertaken to encompass all aspects of the period, as an historian might do; nor have I meant to sketch in a full background to Perrin's life, as a novelist might. That would be to duplicate the efforts of others.

Part II treats of operatic theory. It opens with a discussion of the rich diversity of experiments which preceded the birth of opera in France. There follows the text, in English, of the Letter to Monseigneur Della Rovera, and the commentary on that text. In these two chapters are discussed Cambert's musical style and its relation to French prosody, with reference to the new style imposed by Lully. Because of the drastic changes brought about by the Florentine, French vocal music of the period before *Cadmus et Hermione* cannot be understood in terms of his scores; its principles are best sought in the work of those he crowded out. The portion of the book devoted to lyric theory (Part III—Vol. Two) follows a similar plan. After a general introduction to the problem of defining lyrics comes the Foreword to the *Paroles de Musique* in a translation into English, accompanied by commentary. Having explored thus the double thrust of Perrin's theoretical works in their various implications, we turn then to the practical example provided by the previously unpublished *Recueil de Paroles de Musique*. Throughout, a primary intention is to show the relation of Perrin and Cambert's work to that of others.

To some extent, then, the present study is an essay in definition. Other kinds of poetry have so long usurped even the very name «lyric» that we have no more acceptable designation for the words associated with music—words actually sung (another term is necessary for the poetry which is recited to a background of jazz)—than the popular, and not quite respectable term «lyrics». From this point of view, we are no better off than Perrin, who had to use the clumsy phrase «paroles de musique» to designate his poems. If we lack a term, we also lack a clear understanding of what constitutes good lyrics, either in general or within the limits of a specific time and place.

In the case of opera, the difficulty takes a different shape. We seem to have been guilty of allowing an *a priori* definition to limit our perception of the possible. From the very first, opera set out to be drama in song. From the very first, it has frequently been a good deal more than drama, and a good deal less. If true opera must above all tell a tightly-knit story, then perhaps we need another word for the sort of lyric theatre which does not. In the visual arts, the acceptance won by abstractionism has helped call into question the need for explicit, recognizable, and comfortable human elements, that is, for a narrowly realistic definition of Aristotelian *mimesis*. We are sophisticated enough not to demand that Racine use a rich vocabulary, since the extremely limited nature of his *Wortschatz* mirrors the stifling atmosphere of his tragic world, or that Mozart use the same palette of orchestral colours as a Richard Strauss or a Gustav Mahler. Yet we want to draw a line if opera does not tell a neat story. We have difficulty conceiving today that the *ballet de cour* might have given real pleasure, because the verbal element in it—in ballet!—seems weak at best. Even in the art of bodily movements, our taste traditionally runs to story-telling.

In this effort to reëxamine the place of Cambert and Perrin in the Pantheon of France's minor artists, it will not always be possible to avoid sounding a polemical note. It is difficult to prevent the pendulum effect, particularly when much rhetoric, many hasty judgments have gone before. I hope that the texts presented here will justify my claims. I have given certain prose quotations, particularly the longer ones, in English, using my own versions unless otherwise indicated. Poetry, of course, appears in the original language.

## PART ONE

## THE TIMES AND THE MAN

Tels vers de peu de grâce  
à les lire et prononcer,  
en ont beaucoup à être chantés.

— Agrippa d'Aubigné —

## CHAPTER I

## «Pre-Classicism» and Turmoil

The French seventeenth century was long taken all of a piece, as a unified period tending, at first confusedly, then more and more consciously, toward the crowning achievement of French civilization, the «classical moment». To do so was to accept at face value the period's own view of itself. If the absolute monarch who ruled the nation from 1660 on helped bring about the complete subjugation of the aristocracy, if he bled the country dry in the construction of grandiose buildings and monuments and in ever more catastrophic wars, such sacrifices were necessary in order to maintain and enhance the image of grandeur which naturally accrued to the successor of Imperial Rome.

The entire century could be seen as a slow but uninterrupted elaboration of the great French classical spirit. The first «generation,» as Gustave Lanson saw it, extended to 1660, «period of political troubles, confusion, and irregularity,» to be sure, but one from which «emerge» a few masterpieces: the poetical doctrine of Malherbe, five or six tragedies of Corneille, the Method of Descartes, that cornerstone of the rationalist attitude, and the polemical but harmonious and natural prose of Pascal. To the rationalistic faith, the absolute confidence in *la raison bien conduite* as the sole means of attaining Truth, was added a second element, the fortunate influence of the great artistic accomplishments of antiquity, whence the concern for form, an ideal of Beauty which considered formal perfection inseparable from Truth. «The perfection of the classical works consists precisely in the combination of these two literary formulas,» wrote Lanson, «æsthetic and scientific, in such a way that the beauty of the form manifested the truth of the matter (*fond*)». <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lanson/Tuffrau, *Manuel d'histoire de la littérature française*, Paris, 1933, p. 180; this is the student handbook version of Lanson's *Histoire de la littérature française*, Paris, 1895.

Rationalism, formalism, adherence to rigid rules, concern for truth and «nature» (narrowly conceived as human nature—hence, disdain for that Nature which the Romantics were to rediscover)—all these went to make up the classical spirit. The artists of French classicism, even more than their models, prided themselves on maintaining a strictly impersonal pose as they created works which aimed at universality. The artist scrupulously shunted aside the individual, historical «accident» in favour of the universal truth which, it was believed, Homer and Vergil would have recognized immediately. The unity of this conception resulted in part from the fact that classical artists wrote for a small, closed society, a coherent class of connoisseurs. Musically, the century seemed to separate into two long parts—the lull before Lully, followed by his creation of a new music. Long after the classical spirit had grown sterile, when the impulse to exploration and discovery, creation, imposition of order on a disorderly universe had hardened into servile observance of rote-learned and empty rules, even when a new generation of Romantics had relighted the creative fire through opposition to all that classicism implied to them, no one ever really called into question those fundamental assumptions. Nor were they completely erroneous. But, being incomplete, they did distort perception of the century.

There were, of course, hints of something beneath this smooth surface. With an ease of rationalization which drew on complete mastery of the art of categorization and thorough knowledge of the texts, Lanson was able to trace the gradual opening of the flower of triumphant classicism in spite of disturbances, disorders, relapses, and counter currents, simply by excluding them from the system. Yet as early as 1935, Henri Peyre wrote:

«Our manuals of literary history too easily ignore, in their desire to present the entire Grand Siècle as a solid block of shining marble, what a marked contrast separates the period of Louis XIII and of the Fronde, a period of adventures, disorder, fire, frenzied individualism, and the personal reign of Louis XIV, commanding a court and a country which had finally been brought into equilibrium and submission».<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Le Classicisme français*, New York, 1942, pp. 47.48, *et passim*; originally, *Qu'est-ce que le classicisme?*, Paris, 1935.

In that essay, Professor Peyre launched an attack on the idea of a «school of 1660» and stressed that none of the great classics had sacrificed individuality.<sup>3</sup>

«It would be impossible to exaggerate the importance of this phase of disorder, turbulence and individualistic anarchy which precedes our classical period chronologically and seems logically to explain it. Pascal, Molière, La Fontaine, La Rochefoucauld. Bossuet himself grew up, it is too often forgotten, in that atmosphere of struggles and muddle-headed intrigues which marked the Fronde. Their knowledge of life and passions, their reflexions on independence, selfishness, and even on death are far from being purely bookish. .... The strangeness, the whimsical extravagance, the ingenious intricacy which some deplore not finding in Poussin and Racine were not absent from the first half of the century». (p. 48)

More recently, it has repeatedly been demonstrated that few of the practices of that troubled time really disappeared in the great classical period—most were simply internalized, made more subtle, disguised behind a mask of regularity. One result of that complete acceptance of an inadequate picture of the century was a false conception of its artistic production. Students of the period systematically avoided and disdained those artists and works that failed to satisfy the classical canons. A number of poets whose work appeared irrational, distorted «whimsically extravagant», whom critics called «égarés» («lost, strayed») «*indépendants*» and even «*grotesques*»; playwrights whose texts involved ingenious intricacies in the Italian manner; novelists whose luxuriant, interminable tales involved incredible adventures—all these, we now see, far from being simply incompetent pre-classics, had in fact expressed quite admirably a strikingly different view from that which shaped the works of the following generation.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* also the development of this idea in E. B. O. Borgerhoff, *The Freedom of French Classicism*, Princeton University Press, 1950, and an important article, «The School of 1660», A. Barbier, *French Studies* (Oxford), I, i, 1946, pp. 27-36.

Until recently, no one had found it significant that the much-admired heroic ideal of Corneille's magnanimous heroes had its counterpart in precisely that nonconformity which Lanson found unclassifiable in certain poets of the same period, and in the incredible exploits of the Alexandres, the Poléxandres, and the Cyruses of the baroque novel—all reflected in the independent attitude of the nobles who fought to preserve their hegemony against Richelieu's efforts to centralize political power in the monarchy, in the throne.<sup>4</sup> To this day, most Frenchmen and many of those who love the country and admire its arts believe in their hearts that what is not clear is not French.<sup>5</sup> Such an attitude leads to disdain for «impure,» mixed forms of art.

To men of the nineteenth century, the operas of Quinault and Lully seemed too «classical» (that is, pompous, monumental, and cold) and at the same time too irrational a composite of diverse elements: dance, spectacle, stylized and stiff musical declamation. Further, how could a work be called excellent when the libretto was poor? As Boileau had implied, the verbal art was the highest of the arts; all others must serve it. This, after all, was the period when Molière's comedy-ballets might be performed without music, or worse, with new scores written by mediocrities—what matter?—but woe to the actor who had the temerity to change a single word of text!

The greatest advance in the past half-century has been the gradual acceptance, even among French scholars, of the evidences of a powerful Baroque spirit in France.<sup>6</sup> The great «classical moment,» then, that short period, roughly between 1660 and 1685 which saw the production of so many literary masterpieces—letters, fables, sermons, maxims, novels, comedies, and tragedies—drew its vitality not from any monolithic uni-

4 *Vide* the dense and suggestive study of attitudes in Paul Bénichou, *Morales du Grand Siècle*, Paris, 1967 (orig. 1948); particularly the section on Corneille.

5 *Vide* R. J. Nelson, «Classicism: The Crisis of the Baroque in French Literature,» *L'Esprit Créateur*, XI, 2 (Summer, 1971), pp. 169-186 (*Paths to Freedom: Studies in French Classicism in Honor of E. B. O. Borgerhoff*, ed. Ronald W. Tobin and John D. Erikson).

6 The literature on the French Baroque is extensive. Despite Jean Rousset's convincing demonstration of the existence in French letters of many traits which would have been called Baroque in Italy (*La Littérature de l'âge baroque en France*, nouv. éd. 1954), the term for many years met with strong resistance in the land of Louis-le-Grand. The regular publication, from 1963 on, of papers delivered at an annual meeting in France devoted to aspects of the subject: *Baroque, Actes des Journées Internationales d'Etude du Baroque*, indicates a more general acceptance of the concept.

formity of inspiration, but rather, as Professor Peyre suggested, from the tension generated in a number of gifted individuals by the clash of two attitudes. From this point of view, French classicism may indeed be qualified, in his felicitous expression, as a «baroque dompté».

Despite the implications of the remarks just cited, the middle years of the seventeenth century are not generally elevated to the dignity of a distinct period. Whether to do so or not is beside the point. What is important is to recognize that they had a certain coherence, that they fostered a style, that they taught ways of dealing with the world which differed from those of the years just before or the years just after. The men who gave these times their distinctive flavour had been formed in the 1620's and 1630's before the new century found its direction. Some of them were to find the new tone which imposed itself after 1660 incomprehensible, incompatible. Of this number were Pierre Perrin and Robert Cambert. What dates may be ascribed to this generation, then? With the death of Richelieu in 1642, followed only months later by that of the king he had served and dominated, the spirit of French society underwent discernable changes. From that time until the moment when the court, the capital, and the country again felt the pressure of a powerful, governing, royal hand, the hand of a man devoted to protocol, order, regularity, and grandeur, the hand of a man possessed of remarkable abilities to oversee all aspects of his government, who saw himself designated by God to assume absolute authority over his people, the reigning hand of the Sun King, Louis XIV, one may discern a spirit which, if it is complex and often contradictory, also distinguishes these years from those just preceding. Those middle years of the seventeenth century, the years of Mazarin, were a time of turmoil and civil upheavals, notably the revolt of the nobles and the Parisian townspeople, known as the Fronde. The disorders engendered by this strife made their effects felt in all aspects of life, particularly for our purposes in morals and the arts.

If the opening date of this terminal stage of French pre-classicism—as the traditional view had it—is established by two closely related events of political import, a closing date must be selected arbitrarily. Many of the traits of this period will continue to make themselves felt

7 Henri Peyre, «Some Common-Sense Remarks on the Baroque,» in *Studies in Seventeenth-Century French Literature Presented to Morris Bishop*, ed. Jean-Jacques Demorest, Anchor, Garden City (New York), 1966 (originally, Cornell University Press, 1962), pp. 1-18.

long after a new spirit has become dominant. For one thing, the transformation of the young prince into king took time. Louis XIV came of age in 1659. The day following the death of Cardinal Mazarin in March, 1661, he assumed personal authority and took steps to assure that no man but himself should again exercise the royal power during his lifetime. The disgrace and imprisonment of the Finance Minister, Fouquet, shortly thereafter, gave notice to the world that the King was his own man. Yet he continued until the end of the decade to devote long hours to rehearsals for court ballets. To be sure, there was a strong propagandistic purpose to such appearances, where he frequently assumed the rôle of gods of whom, to his subjects, he was the living incarnation—Mars, Apollo, and Neptune. If such activities kept constantly before the eyes of his subjects, at least those who counted, the image of his physical prowess and the idea of his moral superiority, they also drew him away from important affairs of state. So, in February of 1670, within a year of the first performance of *Pomone*, he danced in public for the last time at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, playing the part of Neptune in the *Divertissement royal* designed by Molière and Lully. The operatic prologue was to assume the task of touting the King's virtues, a duty which neither Perrin nor Quinault, nor indeed Molière (see the lengthy prologue to *Le Malade imaginaire*) would shirk.

Taking the King as the key, then, the tapering-off period of the generation just preceding the «classical moment» may be said to extend from 1660 into the early 1670's. Other indications of the change in attitudes and life-styles appear throughout the society. A shift in tastes may be observed in the designs prepared by the sculptor and architect Bernini for the East Façade of the Louvre in 1665. When a first design, featuring a graceful, indented parabolic curve countered in the centre by a salient rotunda, failed to win royal favour, the Italian submitted a subdued three-tiered design, all in straight lines and right angles. The palm, however, went to two Frenchmen, Claude Perrault and Louis Le Vau for a project that combined utility with reminiscence of Greek grandeur in the great colonnades which today face the church of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois. The curves and counter-curves, the tortured lines, and interrupted movements of baroque architecture no longer satisfied the man whose word was law. Bernini returned to Rome in a huff, and, according to one writer, «that day French classicism was born». If only truth were so simple!<sup>8</sup>

8 «Le plus souvent,» reports Bernard Teyssède, in *L'Art au siècle de Louis XIV*, Paris, 1967, p. 68, «cet 'échec' est donné pour symbole du conflit entre goûts classique et baroque—comme si Bernini n'était l'ennemi juré de Guarini, de Borromini...». Bernini's second project differs little from that finally adopted, at

In fact, though, one might almost discern a changing of the guard during these years. Starting with the ouster of Fouquet, Louis selected his own ministers. In the theatre, Pierre Corneille was in marked decline. New writers were to take his place, including an upstart fresh from the schools at Port-Royal, Jean Racine. Torelli, the stage designer who had so enchanted the court, was unceremoniously shunted aside for Vigarani. By the end of his life, Molière was to see his favour slipping. The prologue just alluded to was part of his final attempt to regain some of his former status. It is doubtful that his effort would have succeeded even if he had lived. Something about his comedies was out of step with the new mood. They were too free, too disrespectful. They gave too much place to fantasy; they lacked *sérieux*, that comfortable sense of heavy mediocrity that many people, even today, take for Art. Certainly, Molière was one of the «classics» if by that we mean a creator of works of permanent worth, a constant observer of the foibles of man in society, an artist devoted to the study of human nature. Yet there is even in Boileau's description of ideal comedy an overly delicate taste which signals an incipient inability to comprehend the free comic element in Molière, *le franc comique*. The bite of his wit, the unbridled comic verve, and the frequent grotesque distortions of characters, however closely they may have followed the realities of life, no longer reflected the way men wanted or were willing to see themselves. Molière had come to full manhood when Louis was only five years old. he was formed by an earlier period, as were the first creators of French opera. The King's real contemporary among the artists of his court was Lully, the man who knew perhaps better than any other how to please his master. His rise to musical prominence—nay, supremacy—was extremely rapid. He left far below him many a man trained in the established musical tradition. It is often stated that there were no good composers at court, with the possible exception of Lambert and Cambert, until Lully took over. The present study intends to suggest that such a view results in part from failure to understand the musical productions of the period before 1660 or 1670 on their own terms.<sup>9</sup>

least in outward appearance; the difficulty lay less in the florid decors and sensual curves, which he willingly suppressed, than in his «mépris des besoins réels du programme» (Voir L. Tapié, *Baroque et Classicisme*, Paris, 1957, p. 353, note 44); follow the history of the various projects in Tapié, pp. 193-219, and the summary in Teyssède, pp. 62-71. It is significant that Bernini gave greater emphasis to his façade than to the interiors, and that the court preferred to sacrifice decorative intensity to practical necessity.

9 Note that Verchaly's cut-off date excludes the years leading up to the first operas, years when the lyric tradition underwent important changes.

The music which preceded this date in France is virtually unknown today. Not a great deal of it has survived, and what there is has attracted the attention of few scholars and fewer performers. After 1673, as the comment quoted above suggests, contemporaries turned their backs on it; they found it unsatisfying in comparison with the new, regularized style which, like the new styles in theatre and the novel, satisfied their immediate desires. One of the rare sources of scores of this music, the Philidor manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, preserves only a sampling of ballet music from the earlier period (Philidor having been copyist in the service of Lully), and is notoriously unreliable because of the «corrections» which the scribe naturally made to bring these older pieces into conformity with the new style. A number of collections of *airs de cour* survive, however, and some of these airs are being made available.

For purposes of the present study, then, in attempting to understand the changing musical tastes of the time, let the closing date of the period of overlap be set as 11th February 1673, when Quinault and Lully produced their first true full-scale *tragédie-en-musique*. There is truth in the remark of a contemporary concerning *Cadmus et Hermione*: «Le grand opéra de Cadmus, que tout le monde voulut voir, ....fit aisément oublier les opéras de Pomone et des Peines et Plaisirs».<sup>10</sup> It was at this point, several years later than parallel developments in the field of letters—although still a year earlier than Boileau's *Art Poétique*, which consecrated the victory of the classical aesthetic—that French opera took on its definitive form. The event marks the emergence of a new orientation to secular vocal music, the imposition of a distinctly new style which can largely be attributed to the genius of Jean-Baptiste Lully. Many considerations suggest that the vocal music written between 1643 and 1673 should be considered in terms of its own aesthetic tenets (in so far as they can be determined through the study of the dependable scores which survive and the statements of theoretical writers and observers), rather than in comparison with the style which came into fashion through the efforts of Lully. His music for *ballets de cour* and comedy-ballets should also be compared with other scores from the same period with an eye to establishing specific differences and resemblances. Important differences show up in the use of embellishment, rhythmic irregularities, and the shape of the melodic line in relation to the words, as well as the use of harmony and modal scales. In each case, Lully will be seen to fall to the side of regularization,

10 Tralage, *Recueil* (1687), IV, p. 224, quoted in Mélése, *Répertoire analytique*, Paris, 1934, p. 157.

restraint, formalization. The careful observer may discover in the earlier works a refreshingly imaginative and free approach to musical forms and a lightness which would at times be a welcome relief in Lully's consistently elegant and grandiose scores.

As far as the poetry of this mid-century period is concerned, several distinctive traits deserve note. Setting aside a copious production of devotional lyrics which reflect one of the important contradictions, or polarities, of the period (a surge of intense, often fanatical religious feeling and an accompanying literature running parallel and in opposition to the libertine spirit), we find a profusion of light, courtly, precious verses of all descriptions. Everywhere, the play on words echoes the witty turn of thought; hyperbolic praises of the momentary «object» of adoration elicit a complementary outpouring of poems of misogyny and brutal, hateful sentiment; myriad drinking songs, poems in celebration of orgiastic feasts and drinking bouts continue the Bacchic and Rabelesian tradition. While many of these poems have no other purpose than to allow their author to demonstrate his cleverness, some of them reveal a curious development in the sensibility of the writers. Increasingly perceptible as the first half-century draws to a close, the change is characterized by fascination with distortion, travesty, the misshapen, the parodistic reflection of beauty, the negative side of elevated moral principles.<sup>11</sup> It takes the form of burlesque versions of sublime works, such as Scarron's inverted *Æneid*, *Le Virgile travesti* (1648-1659), and produces such curious pieces as Tristan l'Hermite's sonnet, «Les Fortunes de l'Hermaphrodite,» whose first tercet portrays a topsy-turvy world of confused forms and values:

Je suis tombé d'un saule à côté d'un étang,  
Mon Poignard dégainé m'a traversé le flanc,  
J'ai le pied pris dans l'arbre, et la tête dans l'onde.<sup>12</sup>

Even more striking, an appropriately irregular sonnet by a certain Jean d'Hesnault finds in an aborted foetus a vivid figure of moral disorder:

11 I omit the obscene as well as the great outpouring of virulent attacks on Mazarin (known as Mazarinades) during the Fronde. Examples of both may be found in Claude Abraham, *Gaston d'Orléans et sa cour: étude littéraire*, Chapel Hill (North Carolina), 1953.

12 «I fell from a willow next to a pond. My naked dagger pierced my side; my foot caught in a tree, my head in the waves,» from «La Lyre du Sieur Tristan,» 1641, in Blanchard, *Trésor de la Poésie Baroque et Précieuse (1550-1650)*, Paris, 1969, p. 145. The situation echoes a climactic passage in Charles Sorel's *Berger extravagant*, in which a moon-struck bourgeois youth is caught in the same predicament. Sorel's intention is parodistic; Tristan's is quite different.

Toi qui meurs avant que de naître,  
Assemblage confus de l'être et du néant,  
Triste avorton, informe enfant,  
Rebut du néant et de l'être.

Toi que l'amour fit par un crime,  
Et que l'honneur défait par un crime à son tour,  
Funeste ouvrage de l'amour,  
De l'honneur funeste victime.

Donne fin aux remords par qui tu t'es vengé;  
Et du fond du néant où je t'ai replongé,  
N'entretiens point l'horreur dont ma faute est suivie.

Deux tyrans opposés ont décidé ton sort:  
L'amour malgré l'honneur t'a fait donner la vie,  
L'honneur malgré l'amour te fait donner la mort.<sup>13</sup>

It was in this spirit, which saw with horrified fascination in all that is deformed an image of man's troubled soul, that Perrin produced his first poems, the «Insects» or *Jeux de poésie*, in which the tiniest of God's creatures became sources of moral lessons for man, and the «Réponse d'Uranie» to the «Stances sur l'Amour d'Uranie pour Philis,» where the lady defends her right to love another woman in preference to men. This last illustrates one more trait of the poetry of the period, for it shows the strangely warped form an earlier heroic individualism had finally taken. The nobleman who considers himself superior to the laws which bind lesser men ultimately finds himself using that freedom not as an incentive to perform great deeds but as a license for depravity. It is difficult to feel in the poem of Jean d'Hesnault any conviction in repentance; similarly, Perrin's Uranie poem, which carefully avoids any lascivious suggestions while defending a forbidden form of love, in the long run excites no more than a passing glance of curiosity. Neither poem speaks to the soul because neither comes to grips with the moral problem it poses. Then too, a primary definition of the word «classic» has traditionally been «any work of sufficient value to be placed in the hands of students,» that is, taught in the classes: one more reason why the literary production of these years must be distinguished from the French classics.

13 *Œuvres diverses par le Sr D. H.* \*\*\*\*\* Paris, 1670. In Blanchard, *Trésor*, 186-187.

As a final indication of the peculiar character of the times we seek to define, it may be useful to consider for a moment a man who set their tone and whose name remains inseparably linked with the moral disorders they produced. That man is Gaston d'Orléans, spoiled son of Maria de' Medici, and younger brother of Louis XIII. Gaston outlived his weak-willed brother by seventeen years; from 1643 until 1652, when he retired to his château at Blois, his court at the Luxembourg palace competed in social importance (although not in political influence) with that of the new, much-hated, foreign prime minister, Cardinal Mazarin. It rivaled, too, that of the timid young King, five years old when he inherited the throne, and his mother, Anne of Austria, who, after years of neglect by all at court, assumed the responsibilities of regency without asserting great personal authority. This frightening uncle was the prototype of the dissolute nobleman; two centuries later, in another country, he would have fit perfectly into the rôle of the Edwardian gentleman, with one major difference. Finding himself so near the reins of power but shut off from them by birth, he time and again proved his moral turpitude by entering into plots against those in power, his brother and Richelieu, only to betray at the first opportunity all who agreed to help him. He enjoyed feasting, wenching, and bad poetry. Often at night, he would roam the dangerous Paris streets in disguise in order to frequent the most ill-famed houses in the city. He loved entertainments, and his court harboured many an artist. It was he who took under his protection briefly in 1644 the hopeful *Illustre Théâtre*, a company of actors newly founded by the Béjart family and a young bourgeois who had adopted but not yet immortalized the name Molière.<sup>14</sup>

14 The Cardinal de Retz drew a famous portrait of him in his *Mémoires* (éd. Allem & Thomas, *Bibliothèque de la Pléiade*, Paris, 1956, pp. 154-155): «The Duke of Orléans had everything, with the exception of courage, which is necessary to the *honnête homme*; but, as he had nothing, without exception, of what distinguishes a great man, he found in himself nothing capable of compensating for or even sustaining him in his weakness. Since that weakness held sway over his heart through cowardice, and over his mind through irresolution, it sullied the entire course of his life. He entered into every intrigue which came along because he had not sufficient moral force to resist those who sought to drag him along in their own interests; he never came out of these intrigues with anything but shame, because he had not the courage to sustain them. From his childhood on, this murky characteristic dulled in him even the liveliest and gayest colours, colours which should have shown up naturally; he had a beautiful and enlightened spirit, an amiable disposition, good intentions, a completely disinterested attitude, and an incredible moral laxity».

In as much as Pierre Perrin would spend his first thirteen years in Paris attached to the court of Gaston d'Orléans, this old-fashioned bon vivant compounded with a moral cripple is of interest here. It is not in his entourage, as Antoine Adam points out, that we need seek those who set the tone of the new times. The younger nobility flocked about the youthful and pleasure-loving Condé. Adam discerns the appearance of another generation after the defeat of the Fronde and the exile of Condé in 1653, a new generation no less corrupt than the previous one, but imbued with «an extreme concern for elegance and what they call delicacy»<sup>15</sup> concerns totally alien to the libertine Luxembourg palace court. Yet he suggests as well the interpenetration of these two societies, or at least a certain interaction between them. Aging and out-of-date though it no doubt was, the society around Gaston had in common with the younger courts that they all reveal aspects of contradictory times: libertinism, disenchantment, unbridled search for pleasure, refusal of moral principle. The same terms recur in speaking of both. Around 1660, «in matters of art as well as in moral terms, these groups bring into being a new spirit, an effort to emancipate the self from traditional forms and romantic (*romanesque*) illusions, and to substitute in their place a complete liberty in the search for pleasures and a precise knowledge of the conditions of life» (Adam, *Histoire*, II, p. 26). As late as 1660, then, the spirit of «complete liberty» libertinism in the more modern sense, was still gaining ground. The ensuing years would see its outward manifestations stifled in deference to the *pudeur* of the King. Gaston, however, would no longer be there to see it. After eight years of tranquil retirement, he died in 1660.

As far as the Illustre Théâtre was concerned, Gaston's protection proved no more dependable than his conspiratory oath: when the company fell, he looked away. Abraham would defend him in this circumstance, doubtless with a certain justification (*Gaston*, pp. 96-97). As often happens with such men, despite a total lack of resolution and judgment, he could turn on a completely disarming charm; his daughter, M<sup>lle</sup> de Montpensier, supposedly discovered as much when he set out to despoil her of her maternal inheritance.

<sup>15</sup> Antoine Adam, *Histoire de la littérature française du dix-septième siècle*, Paris, 1957, t. II, p. 25. *Vide* also pp. 23-24, and his article on the «generation of 1650» *Revue d'Histoire de la Philosophie*, XXIX-XXX (1942), pp. 23-53 & 134-152.

«No one would dream,» wrote Adam, «of confusing the tastes of Monsieur frère du roi and those of his daughter,» Mademoiselle de Montpensier (*ibidem*, p. 49), even though birth and circumstances linked them. That haughty woman, destined through chance and her own faulty evaluation of her political market value to become perhaps the most illustrious old maid of the century, had a far loftier soul than her father and during the period of her disgrace in the 1650's developed more elevated literary tastes. Much to the point of the present study, she acquired about 1650 a taste for the eclogue, and encouraged the poets of her court to write in that vein, thus setting off what Adam has called «a whole renaissance of the pastoral tragi-comedy».<sup>16</sup> That phenomenon has astounded literary historians, the genre having died a natural death a generation earlier. The revival, not incidentally, helped pave the way for the first experiments in *comédie-en-musique*.

Another defining trait of the times must be credited to Mazarin. From the moment of his appointment as successor to Richelieu, the new First Minister began negotiations to bring an Italian opera company to Paris. Beginning with the spectacular play *La Finta Pazza* and continuing with a series of spectacular operas, the Court and the City saw time and again held out before them a tempting, inaccessible fruit. Frenchmen wanted their own plays with set changes and *voleries*; thus developed the *pièce en machines*, or spectacle play, which combined the declaimed poetic text of French tragedy with those scenic effects they found so irresistible in Italian productions. They refused to give up their *ballet de cour*; rather, this stimulus gave it renewed life. The early 1650's brought a resurgence of court ballet productions along with a marked change in their character. While it may be argued that the young King's taste for dancing contributed in no small part to this revival, it also appears that the genre itself satisfied some need in the taste of the society which enjoyed it in company with the royal adolescent. Ballet had assumed particularly licentious and grotesque forms at the court of Gaston d'Orléans, where its hallmarks were buffoonery and strong language. The *Ballet de la Reine*, danced in his residence in 1638, «contained liberties of language which had been outlawed at Court since 1630» (Adam, *ibidem*, p. 21). Compared to the

<sup>16</sup> Antoine Adam, *Histoire de la littérature française du dix-septième siècle*, t. II, p. 51. *Vide* H. C. Lancaster, *French Dramatic Literature*, III, i, chapter XI, pp. 363-390, on this revival. Lancaster carefully avoids carrying through on the implications of the vogue by excluding all mention of the pastoral-in-music which it spawned.

straight-laced bombast of productions later mounted for his nephew, those at the Luxembourg palace no doubt had about them a kind of free-wheeling fantasy whose loss was to be regretted even by those who breathed audible sighs of relief when decorum (if not morality) was finally restored. It was in this atmosphere of courtly show and theatrical illusion, witty and salacious conversation, unrestricted pleasures and light, sometimes polymorphic love-making that many a young courtier, Perrin among them, received his initiation to aristocratic tastes.

The foregoing remarks attempt to suggest that the period of Mazarin's stewardship in France, «that period of obscurity which precedes the great clarity of the age of Louis XIV,» as a critic wrote recently, in a phrase which echoes the attitude of many, had a distinct flavour of its own; that works produced in the spirit of that time can only be misunderstood and misrepresented when evaluated in terms of the generations which surround it. The entire century, as the late E. B. O. Borgerhoff showed, is one of sharp contrasts:

«So it would be as wrong to call the century antirational as it would be to call it predominantly authoritarian or doctrinaire. But it would also be wrong to say that truth lies somewhere in between. The truth, I think, lies simply in the fact that the century was both, moreover that it was positively and characteristically both, and not merely as all centuries are both». (*The Freedom of French Classicism*, p. 237)

In the middle years of the century, those characteristic contradictions produce an appearance of great disorder, seemingly directionless confusion, like the turbulence caused when warm and cool air masses meet. The works they produced have seemed to satisfy the canons neither of the period which precedes nor of that which follows. To qualify this period as «transitional» would be too facile a solution; it would be a mistake to assume in it a spirit other than its own. Louis XIV was influential in imposing upon his society, hence on the arts which catered to that society, a sense of grandeur-through-order, a resolute refusal of the vulgar and trivial, and a façade of decorum. Doubtless, the King simply put into action, gave form to attitudes which were already evolving in that direction. These elements, while they were to be found in the middle decades of the century, were certainly not their defining characteristics.

## CHAPTER II

## «Ce Curieux Personnage» PIERRE PERRIN

What there is to know of Perrin's history was investigated nearly a century ago by Arthur Pougin and by Nuittier & Thoinan.<sup>1</sup> On one point, all agree: Pierre Perrin and Robert Cambert created French Opera. The carefully documented account of Perrin's struggles which the pseudonymous team drew from careful culling of masses of official documents, far from eliciting the scorn which has been his lot, reveals, one might almost say, a soul tracked by fate. For it tells of a man possessed of a vision, a man of limited talents certainly, but willing to work patiently toward his goal, a man pursued for two decades by one fatal commitment and a series of tricks of fortune.

1 Since 1886, every writer who has returned to this subject has depended upon the account given by Nuittier & Thoinan, *Les Créateurs de l'Opéra* (Vide also Boilisle, *Les Débuts de l'Opéra à Paris*, 1875). Pougin's book, *Les Vrais Créateurs de l'Opéra français*, 1881, suffers from excessive polemics. While I have not considered it worthwhile here to retrace all the steps of those thoroughgoing researchers, one or two details deserve clarification.

There remains some question as to Perrin's date of birth. The mortuary notice discovered by the biographer Jal (Nuittier & Thoinan, p. 299) indicates that he was buried 26th April 1675, «at the age of fifty-five years,» which would establish his birth date *circa* 1620. Nuittier & Thoinan preferred to take literally his own statement that his first published work, the *Jeux de Poésie*, which appeared in 1645, was a «coup d'essai, à l'âge de vingt ans». If that statement is accurate, and if «coup d'essai» refers to composition rather than to publication, then he was born in 1625. (Records in his native city of Lyon reveal baptism of four different infants bearing his name between 17th November 1620 and 7th October 1626.) I find less than convincing the theory that he arrived in Paris at the age of twenty, immediately turned his hand to poetry, wrote and published a book of poems within that first year. They could well have been brought to Paris as the ammunition for his intended conquest of the capital. Therefore, I follow the mortuary notice, making him twenty-five when he arrived in Paris.

The second point concerns the title of *abbé* which has often been ascribed to him by biographers, supposedly on the strength of references to «le sieur abbé Perrin» by the poet Guichard, who knew him well, and by Charles Perrault (Nuittier & Thoinan, pp. 299-301). No official document carries the title, nor do we have any record of his ever having used it himself. Some writers assume that he first appeared in Paris wearing a clerical collar, but soon dropped the pose. If indeed he did borrow the title for some purpose early on and only briefly, then it is strange to find the manuscript «Recueil de Maurepas» (Bibliothèque nationale, fonds fr. 12618) naming «l'abbé Perrin» as the author of a «Satire en forme de Virelay contre Boileau,» for that manuscript dates from 1665, two full decades after his arrival.

It had been known previously that Perrin had been in prison for debts. When and under what circumstances was unclear. Records revealed that all his successive incarcerations harked back to a single debt, incurred in January of 1653 in order to buy a position at court. The source of the funds for this transaction was the young Perrin's marriage to a well-heeled widow, full sixty-one years of age. Evidently contracted for pecuniary advantage, this marriage was to be his downfall. Within two months of the nuptials, Perrin had concluded a deal with Bénigne Bruno, from whom he bought the post of *Attaché pour la présentation des Ambassadeurs* to Gaston d'Orléans. He signed, and his bride co-signed, contracts of indebtedness mounting to 18,000 *livres*.<sup>2</sup> Then, suddenly, the scheme backfired. Urged by her son, a member of Parlement, the widow La Barroire repudiated her marriage to Perrin and died shortly thereafter.

A detail which perhaps provides a clue to the truth turns up in Perrin's foreword («Au lecteur») to the *Œuvres de Poésie* of 1661. «I wrote the CHARTREUSE, he explains concerning the text first printed in 1647, «upon the request of a brother I had at the time and who was a member of that order, Prior of a neighbouring Charterhouse, and as an earnest of the friendship I held for Reverend Father Léon, General of the Order, who was still living then, and whom I visited in the mountains». One can imagine the young man turning up on the edges of French court society smelling of the cloister, so to speak, and cloaked in monkish mannerisms which he never shook off. There is no difficulty then in accepting the hypothesis of those historians who conjecture that the term was applied to him in more or less friendly derision in later years because of the contradiction in tone between his devotional lyrics and his overtly secular aspirations (Nuittier & Thoinan, pp. 300-301).

He speaks in the passage just quoted of having twice visited near Grenoble. Other travels remain problematic. In the Letter (paragraph *c*), he claims to have seen operatic productions «several times in France as well as Italy». I know of no other indication which might help establish the dates, the extent, or even the fact of his putative travels beyond the Alps.

2. Nuittier & Thoinan, pp. 13-15. The story was recorded in the *Historiettes* of Tallement des Réaux. The position Perrin stepped into had previously been occupied by Vincent Voiture, animating spirit of the precious salon of M<sup>me</sup> de Rambouillet in its finest years, 1625-1648. Voiture died in 1648, and Bruno succeeded him. By the time Perrin took over in 1653, Gaston had retired from courtly life. He spent his final years at his castle in Blois. On the succession to this position, *vide* Abraham, *Gaston d'Orléans et sa cour*, pp. 122-123, which corrects the dates given by Pougin, p. 29.

When Bruno demanded payment, the son was obliged to honour her commitment by paying part of the debt. All parties then turned to Perrin for restitution and payment. Meanwhile the post which he had bought in anticipation of great profit proved worthless. Perrin was trapped.

Normally, such a position should have guaranteed the purchaser sufficient income to amortize the loan in a short time. Gaston was not the sort of man to concern himself with his accounts. Perrin was never paid. Unable to make good on his debts, he entered the prison of Saint-Germain-des-Prés on 23rd January 1659, where he remained until 24th September, while his creation, the *Pastorale*, was produced both privately and for the royal court without him. Further incarcerations were to follow.<sup>3</sup> When, after years of preparation, he finally produced an opera which brought crowds flocking into his theatre, he allowed himself to be cheated of his share in the earnings by two swindlers, and spent the year of his triumph in the Conciergerie prison, still hounded by that ancient debt. It is a story which might have tempted Balzac.

3 The list of his incarcerations for this single debt:

- a* Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 23rd January to 24th September 1659 (8 months),
- b* Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 16th to 18th February 1660 (2 days),
- c* For l'Evêque, dates uncertain; freed by Sablières (?)
- d* Conciergerie, 21st October to 7th April 1666 (5 months),
- e* Conciergerie, dates uncertain (2 days),
- f* Conciergerie, 15th June to 27th August 1671; then 29th August to early September 1672 (15 months, less two weeks).

On one occasion, a stay (*respy*) obtained through the intervention of Colbert was invalidated by the failure of an official to sign the document. Again, a law of 1667 protected debtors from imprisonment, but the order against Perrin predated it, and so had binding force. Thus, a debt contracted before his thirtieth birthday hounded him to his grave.

However mistaken he may have been in his original intentions, it is certain that he more than expiated his error. Following this account, one can appreciate, I believe, the growing desperation with which Perrin struggled to make his fortune, only to watch that prize time and again slip from his grasp.

Despite his perpetual insolvency, and no doubt as a contributing factor to it, Perrin's major works found their way into print as they were written. At first, he himself underwrote their publication. In 1645 appeared the *Jeux de Poësie*, or *Divers insectes, pièces de poësie* (Paris, Jean Duval); two years later, *La Chartreuse, ou la Sainte Solitude* (Paris, P. Moreau). Then came a truly ambitious undertaking, a translation of the *Aeneid*, books I-VI (Paris, P. Moreau, 1648), with marginal notes by the translator. As early as 1648, he began to write circumstantial poems celebrating events in the household of Gaston d'Orléans. Presumably, then, he was already attached to that prince. There were a *sonnet sur l'attente de l'accouchement de Madame* (second wife of Gaston) at the time of the Peace of Paris, then fifteen sonnets on the birth of Gaston's first, long-awaited son, the Duke of Valois, August 1650, and a set of sonnets heralding the recovery of the Grande Mademoiselle from a case of small-pox which miraculously left her unscarred. These were included along with the *Divers insectes* and the *Chartreuse* in a collection of Perrin's poems (*Recueil de Poësies revuës par l'auteur*, chez J. Henault) which appeared in 1655.

The earliest lyrics we have from him are the words to a Noël written that same year at Blois for that same Mademoiselle, and set by Antoine Molinier, *Intendant de musique* to Gaston. Its opening conceit reveals the familiar approach to the Christ which we find in the English metaphysical poets; in courtly fashion, the poet turns the rest into gallantry:

Ne vous plaignez plus, Roy des Cieux,  
 Qu'on vous reçoit sur de la paille fraische,  
 Ma Princesse vous fait une Royale Creche.  
 L'ouvrage est pretieux,  
 Il est grand, il est rare;  
 Mais le cœur qu'elle vous prepare,  
 Est un trone pour vous bien plus delitieux.

&

Ce cœur si tranquille et si doux,  
 Où la vertu devant l'âge se fonde,  
 Est déjà désiré des Souverains du monde:  
 Mais il renonce à tous,  
 A vous seul il se donne,  
 Et s'il pretend une Couronne;  
 C'est celle qu'en la gloire il espere de vous.

It will be remembered that Mademoiselle for some time entertained hopes of marrying her cousin, Louis XIV, and that a few years later, in a seeming desire to devote her heart to almost anyone more palpable than the founder of her religion, made an abortive attempt to marry a certain Lauzun, an event—or rather a non-event, since the wedding was called off at the last minute by her cousin-king—delightfully recorded in a letter of M<sup>me</sup> de Sévigné dated 15th December 1670.

In 1657, Perrin penned a joyous song, set in sarabande by Robert Cambert, to celebrate the return to France of Antoine Cardinal Barberini:

Filles du Ciel

Et de nos veilles;

Meres du miel,

Douces Abeilles,

Dans vos climats les beaux jours sont faillis;

Quittez, quittez vos collines Romaines,

Venez, venez vivre parmy nos plaines,

Venez mourir au sein de nos Lys.

The following year, he dedicated to that prince of the Church the second part of his French *Aeneid*. Other songs of circumstance followed. The Peace of the Pyrenees, the king's marriage, and the arrival of the new queen from Spain elicited several pieces. The betrothal and marriage of the king's younger brother, Monsieur, to Henrietta of England inspired songs on the lady's absence and subsequent return and a motet in French verses based on sacred Scripture. There were, besides, numerous *airs de cour*, drinking songs, chansons, and dialogues, neither circumstantial nor religious in nature, set to music by various court composers. The collaboration with Cambert led to others, the most important of which, of course, was the *Pastorale* performed in April 1659. All these pieces, with the exception of the *Aeneid*, figure in a new collection of Perrin's poetry which appeared in 1661, the *Œuvres de Poësie de M. Pierre Perrin, Contenant les Jeux de Poësie, Diverse Paroles galantes, des Paroles de Musique, Airs de Cour, Airs à boire, Chansons, Noël, et Motets, une Comédie en Musique, l'Entrée de la Reyne, et la Chartreuse, ou la Sainte Solitude* (Paris, Estienne Loyson); hereafter, *Œuvres de Poësie*. The *Entrée de la Reyne* is a French version of a Latin poem by Perrin's friend and lawyer, M. Buray. By the time he published this collection, Perrin had experimented with several sorts of poetry, and had found his true calling. From then on, he would devote himself, as exclusively as his never-ending legal and financial difficulties would allow, to lyrics and the dream of a French lyric theatre. It is appropriate at this point to take stock of his accomplishments.

His first poetic efforts, his «*coup d'essai à l'âge de vingt ans*,» as he tells us in the preface («*Au lecteur*») to the *Œuvres de Poésie*, consisted of a group of poems describing in moralistic, anthropomorphic terms «the natural History of some of these tiny animals which the Naturalists call Insects, and which are assuredly both interesting and amusing». In these poems, he found himself torn between conflicting approaches to poetry: on the one hand, ingrained habits of naming objects sometimes in vulgar expression, and on the other, a growing distaste in the segment of society he sought to please for inelegant words and thoughts. He was never to resolve that conflict. With a perversity equal to his destiny, the more he endeavored to delight, the deeper he sank into that vulgarity which has remained attached to his name. He had originally entitled the set *Divers insectes*; he had sought to be innovative, to follow «les seuls caprices de [son] imagination». With self-deprecation beyond the call of even his times, he had dedicated the work to the poet Adrien de Montluc, comte de Cramail, characterizing it as «un peu de Vermine et de pourriture animée».⁴ In the collection of 1661, these same poems were renamed *Jeux de Poésie*, in order to avoid whatever offense the lowly word «insects» might give in a title.

Partly to escape the accusation of didacticism and partly in deference to their source, Vergil's *Georgics*, he framed them as eclogues, bucolic conversations.⁵ These poems, with their myopic vision of the world,

4 The man in whom he had hoped to find his first patron died in January of 1646. Nuittier & Thoinan (p. 5) found it difficult to understand the spirit of contradiction which prompted such a self-deprecatory comment. Yet it is perfectly in keeping with the tenor of the topsy-turvy times.

5 A few short excerpts from the poem on bees in the *Jeux de Poésie* will permit comparison with the Latin passages which they imitate. Passages of direct imitation are indicated in the text by initial commas and often by a cursive notation in the margin as well. The first such passage occurs beginning with line 47 in the first part, and is accompanied by the indication: *Description de l'Abeille, imitation de Virgile au 4. des Georgiques*. All the poems of this series are cast in a bucolic mold, not, as in the *Eclogues*, as dialogue, but rather as a monologue of the shepherd who initiates his beloved into the wonders of the universe through close inspection of the physical and moral characteristics of the minutest of its creatures. The speaker has just declared, «Des Abeilles, ma sœur, il en est de deux sortes,» and the description is taken from Book Four of the *Georgics*, lines 96-99 («*Namque aliæ turpes horrent....*»):

have recently won a certain approving critical attention. The following excerpt from «*Le Papillon*» follows an admiring description of the creature, particularly the bright colours and the false eyes of the wings, and illustrates the playful blend of observation and moralizing which they contain.

Petits, que vous estes aymables!  
Doux charmeurs du goust & des yeux,  
Qu'à vos travaux officieux,  
Tous les mortels sont redevables!

Mais plus à toy, beau Papillon,  
A qui la sage Providence,  
A donné pour toute deffense  
Cent yeux aux lieu d'un aiguillon.

L'une horrible & semblable à cét amas cendré,  
Que forme le crachat du passant alteré,  
Grande, ronde, veluë & dont l'humeur farouche,  
N'a rien de genereux n'y d'humain qui la touche.  
La nostre, tien, regarde, est de moindre grandeur,  
Le dos tout parsemé de gouttes de splendeur,  
Nette, languette, douce, amiable, brillante,  
Belle d'or & d'éclat par tout étincelante.

The translator selects, rearranges, and elaborates freely from the Latin text. Thus, it is not until the opening of the second part, devoted to the mores of the bee, that Perrin's version of five lines just preceding these appears:

(Ainsi que des sujets, il est, mon Amarante,)  
Des Rois en la Cité d'espece differente,  
L'un que l'on voit aller au sein des escadrons,  
Mignard, majestueux & court des aislerons,  
De grave & fier maintien, d'avantageuse taille,  
Ardent de tâches d'or & tout brillant d'écaille,  
D'un grand cerne doré sur la teste embelly,  
Sans poil, sans aiguillon, longuet, net & poly:  
Sinon que sous le ventre un petit poil se dresse,  
En forme d'aiguillon & qui jamais ne blesse,  
L'autre horrible & trainant un grand ventre élevé,  
Gros de poltronnerie & de graisse crevé.

Here, for the sake of comparison, are the same two passages in a French prose version (éd. Félix Lemaistre, Garnier Frères, Paris, n. d.) from line 91, *Alter erit maculis auro squalentibus ardens*:

Ainsi ta prise est impunie;  
Et la gloire de tes bien-faits,  
Malgré nos injustes effects,  
D'aucun outrage n'est ternie.

....

Voy-tu comme ce paon rebelle,  
Tient seul entre tous les aislez,  
Tousjours vers le Ciel étalez,  
Les voiles pompeux de son aisle;

Celui-ci, car il y a deux espèces, se reconnaît à l'éclat de sa tête, aux écailles brillantes de sa cuirasse, aux taches d'or répandus sur ces anneaux: l'autre, à sa hideuse figure, à sa marche paresseuse, au ventre ignoble qu'il traîne pesamment. Ainsi que les deux rois, les sujets ont un aspect différent. Sombres et hideux, les uns ressemblent à la salive épaisse que chasse de son gosier altéré le voyageur qui vient de marcher dans des chemins poudreux; les autres étincellent et brillent de taches qui ont l'éclat de l'or....

Perrin's goals were not those of his illustrious model, and his poem, for better or worse, goes its own way despite such borrowings and an occasional line creditably rendered into French. One would look in vain in the Vergilian text for this doubtful detail of natural history:

Non, ma sœur, ne crain pas qu'elle te soit cruelle,  
On ne la vit jamais piquer une Pucele.  
Elle a pour leur vertu bien plus d'humanité.  
Vierge, elle porte honneur à la virginité,  
Et ne veut pas tenir d'une sale picqûre,  
La pureté d'un corps sans tâche et sans souïllûre.

Tels sont décrits les Immortels;  
Tels parmy nous sont peints les Anges,  
Et ces Esprits que nos louanges  
Honorent aux pieds des Autels.

Amour ainsi porte les aisles,  
Et dans cette comparaison  
On peut douter avec raison  
Si les siennes sont aussi belles.

(pp. 6-7)

This is salon verse, with its share of banalities, but it is not without a certain harmony and charm. Along with the devotional lyrics to come later, it proves the poet to have been capable of a wider range of styles than the lyrics and libretti alone can suggest. It shows their stark simplicity, even to some extent their vapidness, to result from a self-imposed discipline. In its minute and detailed description of the creatures of nature, it continues a poetic tradition of observation of the natural world earlier followed by those poets classified as «independents». Saint-Amant's *La Solitude*, for instance, practiced a similar sort of compartmentalization, treating each aspect of the scene in a separate stanza, isolating each detail, as it were, for closer study. Perrin's microscopic examination of the butterfly, the bee, the grasshopper, his drumming repetition of the demonstrative pronoun *ce*

As-tu jamais veu de l'Albastre  
Plus net & plus pur que ce blanc?  
Vois-tu cette couleur de sang?  
Ce noir, ce tané, ce jaunastre?

represents perhaps the ultimate refinement of this approach.<sup>6</sup> Tiring of such close attention to the tiniest objects in the physical universe, writers drew back, retreated to general considerations, to the study of man, or rather, turned their magnifying glasses from the animal kingdom to the smallest details of the human heart.

6 The object, Jean Rousset has written, «is taken under the magnifying glass: this myopic vision is a characteristic often remarked by recent historians as belonging to a certain Italian—and European—poetry of the seventeenth century; but most noteworthy in Perrin's poem is a sensitivity to the shimmering effect, the rich nuances of the palette, the glimmering (*mouvante*) diversity of the butterfly represented as a tiny winged rainbow; finally, if the object under consideration is minute, the entire universe is reflected in it, a universe *in microcosm*» (in his *Anthologie de la poésie baroque française*, A. Colin [Collection U], Paris, 1968, tome I, p. 268).

Written, he tells us, at the request of his brother, Prior at the nearby Charterhouse of Sylve, *La Chartreuse, ou La Sainte Solitude*, consists of ten odes of ten octosyllabic lines each. The first ode contrasts this truly rustic setting with the suburban palace life which courtiers considered exile to the wilderness;

N'espere pas que dans ces vers  
Je veuille appliquer mon estude  
A peindre aux yeux de l'Univers  
Une abondante solitude,  
Où trois fois les seconds guerets  
Jaunissent des grains de Cerès  
Où regne Flore avec Pomone;  
Où l'on voit ensemble en tout temps  
Fleurir les beautez du Printemps  
Et les richesses de l'Automne.

Je décris de fameux deserts,  
Qui près des vagabondes nuës,  
Contre les tempestes, des airs  
Vont opposer leurs cimes nuës,  
Des monts pelez, de froids climats,  
Couverts de neige & de frimats  
Sans collines & sans campagnes,  
Des rocs pendans, des vallons creux,  
De grands precipices affreux,  
Des abysmes & des montagnes.

(St. 8-9)

The second describes the alpine setting; the third, the flora and fauna: the region produces cheese, not wine; it harbors the chamois, the deer, and the bear, but excludes the wolf, the hunter, and women. In the odes which follow, enumeration of the saintly activities of the monks leads to meditation on their contentment and the vanity of the courtly life. The ninth ode turns to Sylve, «rejetton de ces bois, / Fille à ta mere presque unie,» then recounts the story of the founding of these mountain retreats. The final piece rises to an ecstasy of praises:

Rome, dont le faste insolent,  
A des ruines de la terre,  
Que ton peuple alloit desolant,  
Dressé tant d'objets au tonnerre,  
As-tu pour tes faux immortels  
Jamais basty de temples tels,  
Bien que leur front perçast la nuë?

Nuittier and Thoinan considered this poem the best writing Perrin ever did (p. 6).

Throughout this first part of his career, he worked conscientiously at his translation into French heroic verse of Vergil's *Aeneid*, if, he adds, «a pastime to which I turned in my spare hours and which occupied only the smallest part of my activities and even of my attention may be called work». The first six books appeared in April of 1648. Alluding to the appearance of Scarron's *Virgile travesty* two months earlier, he remarked in the foreword that he had tried to present Vergil's hero «clad neither in the garb of a barbarian, as he appears in ancient translations, nor of a cad, as he has newly been seen, and as any wretch could do, but dressed like a French gentleman with proper display of feathers and adornments».

It is ironical that Perrin criticizes Scarron for his use of the burlesque style, when much the same turn of spirit, which he was to consider his «style enjoyé» would later flaw and debase his own works, notably the libretti.

The last six books appeared in 1658, after some delay caused by his growing embroilment in legal actions. The first volume was reissued simultaneously, with a new title page to bring it into conformity with the second. A new edition, «revue et corrigée par l'auteur,» was published in 1664; or rather, there were two editions that year each in two volumes, in-12°, one with Latin and French on opposing pages, the other (quite rare today) with only the French text.<sup>7</sup>

The poet admitted («Au lecteur,» *Œuvres de Poësie*) to having somewhat neglected the first six books, which he published anonymously «in the uncertainty as to their reception». For the new editions, he reworked those pages in order to bring them «to the same finished state as the last». A later writer would say of him that «if he had polished more carefully what he wrote, he would have been an excellent author».<sup>8</sup> Unfortunately, his verses suffer from more than a slight disorder in the

7 Nuittier & Thoinan knew of one copy, at the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra.

8 Lecerf de la Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et françoise*, in Bourdelot-Bonnet, *Histoire de la musique*, Paris, 1725, t. III, pp. 160-161, and quoted in Pougin, p. 36.

Such a disavowal of care in workmanship seems to reveal a startling disingenuousness, and in this case it might be so. The remark also betrayed, however, a literary pose, the attitude of the man who dabbled in letters, or at least wanted to give the impression that his only interest in them was gentlemanly, in order to distinguish himself from the hacks who wrote to earn their daily bread. John C. Lapp explores the subject in *La Fontaine's Contes: The Esthetics of Negligence*, Oxford, 1971.

dress. In striving for effect, he falls too easily into absurdity and obscurity. Occasionally, he takes unjustifiable liberties with the language, wrenching it beyond the possibilities of its articulations. As his metaphors stumble over each other, we recognize the ill-digested influence of the Italian poet Giambattista Marino (1559-1625). At the same time, his verses fall far short of the force and daring of the Latin poet's numbers. He cites the following lines as «decisive and triumphant arguments of the excellence» of his rendering:

La sombre nuit autour roule son ombre creuse  
(Nox atra cava circumvolat umbra);  
Et tout tremblant et mort à bas tombe le bœuf  
(Sternitur, examinisque tremens procumbit humi bos).<sup>9</sup>

9 The following lines give perhaps a more exact idea of the overall character of Perrin's translation:

(«Ille ego qui quondam gracili moderatus avena»)

Moi qui jeune autrefois, à l'ombre d'un rameau  
Touchant à la rustique un gresle chalumeau,  
En faveur des esprits nez à l'agriculture,  
Des plaines & des bois enseignay la culture:  
Enflammé de l'amour d'un plus digne laurier  
Je décriis maintenant la guerre & le guerrier,  
Qui banny par le sort de la rive Troyenne,  
Le premier aborda la terre italienne.

Long temps il fut traîné par le pouvoir des Dieux,  
Long-temps l'inimitié de la Reyne des Dieux  
Agita sans repos sus la terre & sus l'onde,  
De ce pieux guerrier la troupe vagabonde;  
Il eut en guerre aussi beaucoup d'adversité  
Lorsqu'il établissoit les Dieux & la Cité  
D'où viennent les Latins Albe, & ce premier homme  
Qui donna la naissance à la superbe Rome.

(Livre premier, p. 7, ed. of 1648).

He stated more than once that he had attempted no more than a line-by-line rendering: in the «*Avant-propos*» to the *Cantiques*, for example, he says that his translation follows the original «*toujours phrase pour phrase, sans rien innover; et mot pour mot, autant que le peuvent souffrir les regles de n<sup>re</sup> langue & de n<sup>e</sup> poésie*».

If the French poetic instrument of the mid-1600's was capable of meeting the challenge of Vergil's verses, Perrin was not the man to make it do so. It called for more skill than he possessed to skirt the desert of precious or courtly inanity without perishing in the cold rapids of mannerism. Still, the appearance of several editions attests to a certain success enjoyed by this version. If the young poet thought to immortalize his name through this display, his wishes were fulfilled with a Midas-like irony thanks to the merciless sarcasms and satirical verve of Boileau's attacks.

Circumstantial pieces seldom survive for long the event they celebrate. The best that can be said of Perrin's is that they are no less adequate than those penned by many another court poet. The fifteen heroic sonnets he composed in 1650 to celebrate the birth of Gaston's male heir had more to say about the parents and the royal relatives than about the newborn.<sup>10</sup> Here is the first sonnet of the set:

10 The joy was short-lived, for the child died in infancy. On the faulty attribution of this set by Emile Magne to the more familiar minor poet Boisrobert, see Abraham, *Gaston d'Orléans et sa cour*, p. 127. The second part of the set is addressed to various members of the royal family. N° VIII, which opens it, glosses over all the enmity between the young king and his once ambitious uncle:

Voy ce qu'à ta grandeur, Illustre Potétat,  
Gaston & Marguerite apportent de croissance,  
Et sçache ce qu'au Ciel doit ta reconnaissance.  
Pour avoir de ce couple honoré ton Estat.

Gaston par ses conseils tient le Sceptre en estat,  
Il defend ta frontiere, il accroit ta puissance,  
Soumet les revoltés à ton obeysance,  
Et des ambitieux reprime l'attentat.

Marguerite à l'envy, pour gloire & pour richesses,  
Te done un jeune prince & trois belles Princesses,  
Qui feront quelque jour tes plus nobles vainqueurs.

Les Filles, qui déjà font preuve de leurs charmes,  
Par le droit de l'amour regneront sur les cœurs,  
Et le Fils sur les corps, par celui de tes armes.

Un Amour vient de naistre, on le voit à ses charmes,  
Aux jeux, aux passetemps qui naissent avec luy,  
A ses beaux yeux sereins qui calment nostre ennuy,  
Et qui n'ont rien d'humain que l'usage des larmes.

Son pere est le Dieu Mars, qui preside aux allarmes  
Le divin protecteur, dont le bras aujourd'hui  
De l'Estat chancelant est le plus ferme appuy,  
L'Arbitre des combats & le Chef de nos armes.

Venus a mis au jour ce gage precieux:  
Mais la sainte Venus qui naquit dans les Cieux,  
Toute pleine d'attraits, de vertus & de graces.

Avant ce bel Enfant trois Sœurs ont veu le jour;  
Comme on vit autrefois la naissance des Graces  
Predire & devancer la naissance d'Amour.

The *Œuvres de Poësie* collection assembles an assortment of «light love pieces written at various times and on various subjects». Aside from the sonnets, madrigals, and virelays, there are two curious pieces: the first, in two parts, contains the witty criticism of one woman's love for another in preference to her male suitor («Sur l'Amour d'Uranie avec Philis. Stances.»), followed by the lady's defense of her choice, made tastefully and with force («Reponse d'Uranie. Stances.»). Although the text contains no indication of it, the first part is probably the work of Isaac Benserade; it appears in his collected works of 1697. The response, then, is Perrin's.<sup>11</sup> Except for the peculiar twist of the situation, the first part follows the pattern of the conventional poetic complaint to a «cruel» lady:

11 See Lachèvre, *Bibliographie des recueils collectifs*, (1631-1661), Paris, 1903, t. II, p. 412, note 1. Poets could claim precedent for such amoral attitudes in one of their most important sourcebooks, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where Orpheus, himself according to some accounts the initiator of homosexual love, sings of various powerful and unnatural passions: Ganymede, Myrrha, Pygmalion.

Alors que vous pressez la bouche d'une Dame  
De baisers trop ardents,  
Et que vous penetrez jusqu'à l'humide flame  
Qui s'enferme au dedans,

A ces vilains freslons vous devenez pareilles,  
Qui sans faire du miel,  
Picorent sur les fleurs le butin des Abeilles,  
Et la manne du Ciel.

Voit-on les animaux, quelque ardeur qui les presse,  
Ainsi s'apparier?  
Et Colombe à Colombe, ou Tygresse à Tygresse,  
Jamais se marier?

Quant le Palmier femesle à son masle se mesle,  
Il l'embrasse en Amant;  
Mais on a beau le joindre à quelque autre femesle,  
Il est sans mouvement. (*Œuvres de Poësie*, pp. 158-159)

Some of the arguments adduced by the poet to change his lady's taste are less than convincing. As in Perrin's Insect poems, the subject provides a pretext for a welter of images. In the reply, «Uranie» begins by suggesting that it is only right and natural that such beauty as that of «Phylis» should attract admirers of both sexes. Then she describes her symptoms:

Si vouloir sa faveur & fuyr sa colère,  
Si desirer, craindre, esperer,  
Mettre tout son bon-heur au bon-heur de luy plaire,  
L'aymer, la servir, l'adorer,

Souffrir en son absence une douleur extrême,  
Mourir d'aise en la regardant,  
Si c'est l'aymer d'amour je sens bien que je l'aime,  
Et de l'amour le plus ardent.

Cet amour il est vray dans soy-mesme s'enferme;  
Il est sans desir & sans fin,  
Il en est plus durable, & n'ayant pas de terme  
Aussi n'aura-t'il pas de fin.

C'est un feu tout brillant, tout pur & tout celeste,  
Qui doit vivre eternellement  
Comme le feu du Ciel, comme le feu de Veste,  
Parce qu'il vit sans aliment.

Finally, the speaker presents a series of arguments for the union of likes, drawing examples from nature and myth:

Mais je veux que le sens vuide cette querelle,  
 Quoy qu'il ayt le goust bien pervers;  
 Nostre union sans doute est bien plus naturelle  
 Que celle des sexes divers.

Vrayment, il fait beau voir le couple ridicule  
 De Proserpine & de Pluton,  
 Venus avec Vulcain, Iole avec Hercule,  
 Et l'Aurore avecque Tithon.

Jamais le sens commun peut-il nous faire entendre,  
 Que l'amour terrestre ou divin  
 Ayt voulu marier la Nymphé douce & tendre,  
 Avec le Faune & le Sylvain?

Hé quoy! des animaux si differens de formes  
 S'uniroient naturellement?  
 Nature ne fait pas de monstres si difformes,  
 Ny de pareil dérelement.

L'exacte égalité parfaitement ajuste  
 Et les corps & les amitez,  
 Et, quoy que vous disiez, l'union est plus juste;  
 Plus semblables sont les moitez.

(pp. 165-166)

Following this curious discussion in verse comes «Le Cousin à la cousine. Elégie,» a poem which argues the justifiability of marriage between first cousins. We know that Mademoiselle d'Orléans, the daughter of Gaston, who tactlessly closed the doors of that city more or less in the face of the young king and his army in 1652, nonetheless continued for several years to entertain hopes of marrying her royal cousin. Was Perrin in this poem fanning those hopes? Whether that is the case or not, both these poems rise to the defense of an aristocratic or royal freedom of action which places the individual above the norm. Paul Bénichou has shown that such attitudes were common in the three decades before 1660.<sup>12</sup> Many persons in the troubled middle years of the century found pleasure in such paradoxical ideas, in seeing justified, through the example of nature, the reversal of commonly held values.

<sup>12</sup> Bénichou, *Morales du Grand Siècle*, on aristocratic freedom, Ch. I, «Le Héros cornélien,» pp. 19-23, *et passim*.

The rest of the collection of 1661 is devoted to the special genre of words for music.<sup>13</sup> Besides an assortment of airs, chansons, and drinking songs, two motets, and dialogues, it includes the *Lettre Ecrite à Monseigneur l'Archevesque de Turin* (Della Rovera) which constitutes a foreword to the text of the *Première Comédie Française en musique représentée en France, Pastorale* (pp. 273-312). As later in the *Recueil de Paroles de Musique*, most of the poems written for music are accompanied by an indication of the composer who set them or to whose music they were «adjusted»: they were Moulinier, Cambefort, Lambert, Perdigal, Cambert, Martin, «and other excellent musicians». <sup>14</sup> Several of these lyrics appear

<sup>13</sup> The exception is Perrin's translation of some Latin verses, «Reginæ Ingressu,» penned by M. Buray, for the arrival of the queen, Marie Thérèse; this is the final piece in the volume.

<sup>14</sup> The full title indicates the variety of styles treated, as well as the composers who had consented to set his words: *Diverses Paroles de Musique / Pour des Airs de Cour, Airs à Boire, Noël, Motets, & Chansons de toute Sorte. MISES EN MUSIQUE/ Par les Sieurs Molinier, Camefort, Lambert, Perdigal, Cambert, Martin & autres excellents Musiciens*. Headings of the various pieces make more detailed distinctions, indicating, for instance, some (early) pieces as being for four voices, some as *récits*, quite a few as specifically for sarabandes. That dance form, with its characteristic displacement of the beat, or «snap» rhythm, was quite popular at the time; witness, the frequency of such rhythms in Cambert's scores and the number of pieces in Perrin's other collections specifically designated as sarabandes.

One poem, p. 222, bears the heading: «Air de mouvement». The term designated song with violin accompaniment, where both parts would add gracious and ingenious embellishments (La Laurencie, *Le Goût musical*, p. 143).

Following the group headed «Paroles de musique,» which includes several pieces specifically calling for several voices, two short motets in Latin and French and several dialogues, comes a section headed «Airs de Cour et Chansons». This division distinguishes works for solo voice from homophonic part songs. Five of the texts bear indications such as «Sur une Sarabande,» indicating that the words, following a common practice, were written to conform to an existing melody. In such cases, the name of the composer is usually given. A section of «Paroles à boire,» drinking songs, many of them set by Cambert, closes with an Epithalimium for the king's marriage, and three light chansons. In two cases, Perrin supplied a second verse to a song written by someone else.

in that later manuscript (see Tables, Vol. II). From the moment of the success of the *Pastorale*, Perrin turned his attention almost exclusively to lyrics. Within weeks of that first triumph, he had readied two more libretti, *Les Amours de Bacchus et Ariane*, set by Cambert, and *La Mort d'Adonis*, set by Boëssset.<sup>15</sup> Prison offers less distraction than the court, of course, but there was also the incentive of a royal commission. Perrin reports in the Letter that Cardinal Mazarin, who ordered the work performed at his residence at Vincennes, was pleased with it, and that «son Eminence... se confessa surprise de son succez, & témoigna à Monsieur Cambert estre dans le dessein d'entreprendre avec luy de pareilles pieces». Cambert, in a *mémoire*, stated more succinctly: «Je receus ordre de Monsieur le Cardinal d'en faire une autre plus grande» (in Nuittier & Thoinan, p. 55). The death of the Cardinal (March 1661) deprived not only Perrin and Cambert but the cause of opera in France of their most ardent and powerful backer.<sup>16</sup>

15 Just how much of Perrin's libretto he scored is not clear. In the Foreword (paragraph x, 3), the poet expressed his intention to «offer an edition of the score which [Boëssset] has composed for the first Acts of this play...». In the Dedication, he asserted that all the pieces in the manuscript had been set to music and could be heard on short notice. Enough of them bear no indication of composer to make that statement doubtful. One suspects that he had a way of bending facts to his purpose. On the other hand, the fact that only the first act and the prologue of each of Cambert's two scores for the Académie des Opéra was published—the first few pages of the second act of *Pomone* have survived as well—makes the plan to publish «the first Acts» less surprising if no more enlightening.

These two libretti may also be found in another manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds frç. 24352, ff. 78-95, bound with other works of various authors.

As to the sources of the *Adonis*, La Fontaine's narrative poem on the same myth had been written two years earlier, but was not published until 1669. There is no question of influence between these two men. The inspiration in both cases was the durable popularity of the *Adone*, an Italian poem in twenty cantos, published simultaneously in Paris and Venice in 1623, which has long since been judged «a true masterpiece of bad taste». It was the work of the Chevalier Marino, who gave his name to a highly ornate and artificial poetic style, *marinismo*. Perrin's rapid summary of the final ballet of his opera explicitly invokes his source.

16 Perrin blames the Cardinal's death for the fact that his *Ariane* was never performed. That opera had been composed in anticipation of the celebrations accompanying the marriage of the king. The government preferred to entice from Venice the celebrated composer Francesco Cavalli. When his *Serse* and then his *Ercole Amante* aroused less interest than the ballet interludes composed by Lully and inserted between the acts of the operas, Cavalli returned home in a huff, swearing—prematurely—never to compose another opera. Thus, in Cambert's

During the following years, Perrin turned his hand to other sorts of lyrics. He wrote numerous pieces for the king's chapel, so many, in fact, that he published them in 1665 with a foreword on the composition of Latin lyrics.<sup>17</sup>

The fact that the king accepted the dedication to himself of this collection, the *Cantica pro Capella Regis*, bespeaks a degree of royal favour. Robert Cambert seems to have composed little after *Ariane*; a full decade would elapse before he began work on *Pomone*. In 1665, however, he published a collection of eighteen *Airs à boire*, of which nothing remains today but the bass parts. Eight of the songs were to texts by Perrin, whom the *Advis au lecteur* said «tout le monde reconnoit pour excellent et incomparable pour la composition des paroles de musique». Nuittier & Thoinan recount that when the chapel composer Expilly selected one of Perrin's canticles as the basis for «son morceau de concours à la maîtrise de la cour,» he won the competition and Louis XIV deigned to declare «qu'il avoit combattu avec des armes avantageuses». <sup>19</sup>

expression, the king's marriage «et d'autres affaires ont interrompu le zèle pour les Opéra» (Nuittier & Thoinan, p. 64). Another contributing «affair» was the death of Gaston (February, 1660), which caused the court to go into mourning and curtailed activities. As a result, the French court returned for another decade to its ballets and other non-operatic entertainments. The Court and the Town, it seemed, were not ready for *dramma per musica*, but rather for the hybrid genre that Molière was about to develop, comedy-ballet.

17 «Cantiques ou paroles de motets,» manuscript presented to the king (Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds frç. 25460), published as *Cantica pro Capella Regis*; there were also, in 1664, *Les Leçons et les Psaumes*, 34 pp., and a four-page piece, *Cantica a sacelli musicis...* (n. p., n. d.), doubtless the livret of a particular performance. The only non-lyric piece of these years was the Satire against Boileau.

18 *Airs à Boire*, Paris, Robert Ballard, 1665, quoted in Nuittier & Thoinan, p. 81. Even if we take into account the probability of some puffing, that *Advis au lecteur* written by Cambert suggests that his collaborator was generally esteemed for his *paroles de musique*: «I hope, Reader, that [these airs] will not displease you: and that the beauty of the lyrics upon which they are composed will compensate for the weakness of the music, since most of them are by M<sup>r</sup> Perrin, who is acknowledged by everyone to be excellent and incomparable in the composition of words for music».

19 Nuittier & Thoinan, p. 78. Perrin did not fail to pick up those «armes avantageuses,» for the very expression is recalled in the «Epître dédicatoire» to the king, *Cantica pro Capella Regis*. There appeared also the *Paroles de musique pour le concert de chambre de la Reyne*, Paris, 1667, words set by Boëssset, a brochure of 12 pages.

The next major collection prepared by Perrin was the *Recueil de paroles de musique* printed here in its entirety after the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale (f. frç. 2208). (Detailed analysis of the contents accompanies the commentary on the Foreword, Chapter VI.)

Through the years when his energies were devoted to sacred lyrics, Perrin had steadfastly clung to his desire to produce operas in French. A plan had been taking form in his mind, and it was to implement that plan that he prepared the *Recueil* manuscript which he presented to Colbert. In the Foreword (paragraph q. 2), he specifically proposed for the first time the establishment of an Academy of Music and Poetry, to be modeled upon those in Italy, with the express purpose of providing France with the lyric theatre she lacked. The manuscript had its intended effect, and on 28th June 1669 Perrin received letters patent granting him exclusive authorization to establish Academies for the performance of operas. Even before permission became official, Perrin had renewed his association with Cambert, and they had begun preparing a production of *Ariane, ou le mariage de Bacchus*, the ten-year-old work which was still unproduced. As expenses mounted and administration became more complex, they brought into the association two «savory characters,» the Marquis de Sourdéac, a nobleman from Brittany, who enjoyed the reputation of being the best native French set designer and *machiniste*, but who in this case may have behaved less than nobly, and a self-styled poet and financier called Champéron.<sup>20</sup> This step proved fatal to the dreams which poet and composer had so long nurtured, and perhaps, indirectly, to the men themselves.

One measure of a poet's value as lyricist is the relative frequency with which his poems turn up in anthologies of poems for music compared to those of other poets. Lachèvre (*Bibliographie des Recueils collectifs*) notes that nine of Perrin's pieces appeared in such anthologies prior to 1661 (t. II, p. 412), and forty-nine of them in anthologies published from that year until 1700 (pp. 479-480). Among the latter group, Bacilly's name (indicated by the initials B. D. B.) appears five times as composer to a Perrin text, along with those of Sicard, Chambonnière(s), and Le Fèvre, who are mentioned in neither of Perrin's collections discussed here.

To take another statistical tack: in the Robert Ballard *Recueil des plus beaux vers mis en chant*, III<sup>e</sup> Partie [1665?], of 224 signed pieces, Perrin has 18, Bacilly 27, Benserade 12, Quinault 7, Molière 8. In the Fourth Part of the same collection (entitled II<sup>e</sup> Partie. 1668), of 180 attributions, Perrin has 15, Bacilly 12, Benserade 16, Boisrobert 6, Pierre Corneille 1, Dassoucy 2, Molière 15, Quinault 23. (Lachèvre, t. II, pp. 64-73). Perrin made a respectable showing in a number of the most important of these anthologies. It must be added, however, that his poems appear anonymously more often than those of other poets.

<sup>20</sup> Sourdéac has been variously condemned as a scoundrel, «Brittany pirate,

*Ariane* had been thoroughly rehearsed, and even performed several

counterfeiter, twelve times murderer, cynical usurer, frequenter of places of ill repute and prostitutes, constant blasphemer» (La Laurencie, *Lully*, pp. 26-27), and praised (by Voltaire for one) as the man responsible for the establishment of opera in French, a man who ruined himself financially and died impoverished and unhappy for having loved the arts too well. The recent study of Armand Jardillier, *La Vie originale de Monsieur de Sourdéac*, A. & J. Picard, Paris, 1961, helps place him in a clearer perspective. It refuses the accusation of piracy, dismisses his reputed misdeeds as unproven, but tends, unfortunately, to wave aside all accusations on the basis of the same sort of unsupported, undocumented statements it condemns. It follows earlier writers in treating Champéron as a true scoundrel, and in fact makes him out the villain of the piece. Here is a portion of La Laurencie's lively evaluation of that shyster (*Lully*, pp. 26-27): «Champéron, who cloaked himself in the staggering name of Laurens de Bersac de Fondant, escuyer, sieur de Champéron, was in reality Laurens Bersac; son of a modest worker from Limoges, he had shifted about for some time in the lower branches of the administration, then, after a number of shady operations, had become an habitué of the prisons of the realm» (see also Nuitkaer & Thoinan, pp. 311-320).

Alexandre, sieur de Rieux, Prince de la maison de Bretagne, marquis de Sourdéac, Neufbourg, Ouestant et Coëtmeur, (b. 1619, d. 7th May 1695) bore his titles legally. He had a passion for the theatre and enjoyed a high reputation as set-designer. Having commissioned a machine play from Pierre Corneille, *La Conquête de la Toison d'or*, he himself paid for and had built on his estate at Neubourg all the necessary sets and machines; the actors of the Marais theatre came from Paris at his invitation in order to perform the work, and returned to play it in Paris, having received the gift of the machinery for their own theatre. Sourdéac later did the machinery for *Ercole amante*, 7th February 1662, according to Jardillier. He was *machiniste* for *Pomone*, *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour*, and Thomas Corneille's *Circé* (1674). At his death, the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* reported: «The Marquis de Sourdéac, who was from one of the oldest houses of Brittany, died here several days ago. It was he who introduced operas into France, and who was the first to obtain royal privilege for them» (in Mélése, *Répertoire analytique*, Paris, 1934, p. 108).

The Gazette's affirmation that it was Sourdéac who first obtained the royal authorization to produce opera is erroneous. We know that Perrin's name figures in that document: «privilege accordé au Sieur Perrin... 28 juin 1669» (Demuth, *French Opera*, p. 268). Jardillier would like to believe that Perrin was nothing more than a *prête-nom* for the nobleman, who hesitated to drag his family name into a commercial enterprise (p. 56). The argument holds no water, since Sourdéac and Champéron took charge of the practical side of the production of *Pomone*, and their names figure in the lease of the Jeu de Paume de la Bouteille, on the rue Guénégaud (see the Bail du 8 octobre 1670, in Demuth, Appendix 24, pp. 273-274). Certainly Sourdéac was an important contributor to the creation of French opera; but Perrin was far from being simply his cover.

times in private when it was decided that another pastoral rather than a «comedy» would more effectively inaugurate the new theatre. In haste, Perrin wrote and Cambert, who by this time had accepted exclusion from the association in exchange for the promise of a salary, composed a score to *Pomone*.<sup>21</sup> The new work opened on 3rd March 1671, and ran until the

The events involving the various changes of hands of the rights to the Académie de Musique are complicated: an undependable account of the misunderstanding between the *machiniste* and the librettist was given by Maupoint, *Bibliothèque des théâtres*, Paris, 1733, p. 241; I prefer the dispassionate presentation of known facts in Mélése, *Le Théâtre et le public*, t. I, pp. 37-39. The story is also told in H. Prunières, *La Vie illustre et libertine de Jean-Baptiste Lully*, Paris, 1929, pp. 111 *et seq.* It will perhaps be possible in a few words to clarify Sourdéac's rôle.

Jardillier follows some earlier writers in suggesting that the production of *La Toison d'or* ruined him; whatever the case, it is clear from his conduct that his passion for the theatre knew no bounds. In 1667, he settled in Paris, leaving behind in the provinces his wife and thirteen children. Shortly thereafter, he became involved with Laurent Bersac, the self-styled Sieur de Champéron, who, writes Jardillier, called himself a financier, and who, «with the help of others, had a marvelous skill at making Sourdéac's gold disappear» (p. 55). La Laurencie's account of the opening of *Pomone* continues: «These two scoundrels, who, by a delicious irony, bore the title of *Bailleurs de Fonds* (financial backers, «angels»), collected the money in person at the door, in their shirt-sleeves and armed with little scales to verify the weight of the *louis d'or* that they took in, while one of Champéron's brothers, a man of the cloth from Saint-Benoît, served as usherette, and thus completed the worthy and unlikely personnel» (p. 27).

The document cited by Nuittier & Thoinan in support of this picturesque scene has, according to Jardillier, disappeared (p. 60). The evidence indicates that Sourdéac may have been as much a victim of Champéron's machinations as Perrin. He supplied the funds for the production, and sustained some unpleasant losses, as, for instance, when the hall rented by Perrin, the *Jeu de Paume de Bequet* (called *Bel-Air*) had to be abandoned because the librettist had neglected to obtain from the police prior permission to perform in it (Nuittier & Thoinan, p. 140). Like Perrin, Sourdéac died in poverty.

<sup>21</sup> One possible reason for the change in plans: None of the principals had ever acted on stage. In fact, several of them, recruited in Languedoc (see Nuittier & Thoinan, pp. 130 ff.), spoke scarcely any French. Any real dramatic undertaking was out of the question, at least at first. Hence, the non-dramatic character of the new work. Perrin published the argument of the opera with a foreword (see Nuittier & Thoinan, p. 153); later, he revised and published the text, with yet another defensive foreword (see Bibliography). This was to be his last published work. At his death, he reportedly left two manuscripts (lost) to Jean-Laurent de Beaugard, his sometime landlord and one of those whose financial help had slowed the disastrous pace of his final years: *Diane amoureuse, ou la Vengeance d'Amour*, and *La Reyne du Parnasse, ou la Muze d'amour* (Nuittier & Thoinan, pp. 298-299).

end of the year. Neither the poet nor the musician was ever to draw the slightest profit from its success. Despite the backing of Colbert, Perrin soon found himself again under lock and key in the Conciergerie, still hounded by those debts which he had incurred in 1653. Lack of business acumen coupled with an inability to judge character had led him unwittingly to yield all legal rights in the association to Sourdéac and Champéron. From the day the doors of the Académie first opened, those two swindlers, bent on making a killing, pocketed all receipts, and paid no one. Perhaps incited by the dispossessed Cambert, the performers struck to protest their grievances, but soon agreed to return to work, having won no concessions.

The directors of the new company sought out a different poet for their second production, *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour*, a pastoral like its predecessor. Cambert again contributed the music; he had as yet received wages neither for his compositions nor for his services as music director of the company. In contrast with Perrin, Gabriel Gilbert, the new librettist, was an established playwright. He had acquired something of a reputation as a foolhardy plagiarist twenty-five years earlier when he borrowed a subject, scenes, and even verses of a play which he knew only from secondhand reports that the author of *Le Cid* was preparing.<sup>22</sup> Meanwhile, Jean de Sablières, the composer who set many of Perrin's song lyrics, and who more than once stood his bond, had teamed with another poet, Henri Guichard, to produce an opera for their patron, Philippe d'Orléans. *Les Amours de Diane et d'Endymion*, another pastoral, was presented at Versailles on 3rd November 1671. The *Gazette de France* described it as «composée de récits et d'entrées de balets,» and noted that it had been produced in a fortnight's time (Nuittier & Thoinan, p. 201).

<sup>22</sup> The Corneille play was *Rodogune* (published 1647) whose convoluted (*im-plexe*) plot would certainly be easy enough to confuse. The subject, the structure, and even many lines of Corneille's play somehow found their way into Gilbert's version, but he had understood the material so imperfectly that he ascribed some important speeches to the wrong characters. Furthermore, for purely political and personal motives, he destroyed the psychological power of Corneille's dénouement. See the account of this imbroglio in Eleanor J. Pellet, *A Forgotten French Dramatist: Gabriel Gilbert (1620?-1680?)*, (Baltimore/Paris, 1931), pp. 73-76; also the recent discussion by Abraham, *Gaston d'Orléans*, p. 105.

His back to the wall, Perrin yielded his already tenuous rights in the company he had founded, first to Sablières (half the privilege, 14th June 1671), then, after two months of imprisonment, to his creditor La Barroire *fiils* (half the privilege, 27th August 1671), finally without regard to previous actions, ceding all his rights to Jean-Baptiste Lully.<sup>23</sup>

Louis XIV's favourite entertainer had long maintained publicly that the French language would not support lyric theatre. Now, convinced that opera in French could be—that, in fact, it already was—a very lucrative business for someone, he set about making the new genre his personal and exclusive property. His musical genius, his sense of theatre, and above all his skill at organization gave the new-born genre the finishing touches and the definitive orientation which it was to retain until the advent of another foreigner, Gluck. From an historical point of view, even leaving aside considerations of quality, the sheer bulk of his production, a score of major works which cast their shadow across a century, looms infinitely larger than the hopeful but tentative and qualitatively insignificant corpus he helped nip in the bud. By the time *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour* opened, in early 1672, he had begun his campaign with «his habitual decisiveness» (La Laurencie, *Lully*, p. 28). With the king's blessing and Colbert's grudging assent, he bought and paid for Perrin's privilege, thereby allowing the unhappy librettist finally to acquit the debts which had hounded him for nearly two decades, and to leave prison. In a letter to the King ceding his rights to the Florentine, Perrin expressed «all his joy that his prince had cast his eyes upon Lully» (in Mélése, *Le Théâtre*, p. 39, note 5). On the authority of new letters patent (13th March 1672), Lully contrived to have the Académie theatre on the rue des Fossées de Nesle (today rue Mazarine) officially closed on 1st April 1672. By this act, the scoundrels Sourdéac and his henchman Champéron were divested of the means to draw further profit from the opera. Lully hired for his own company a number of the singers trained by Cambert, and there is no doubt that he paid them better than had their former employers. He took as his librettist Philippe Quinault, with whom he had worked in the production of the tragedy-ballet *Psyché* (January 1671). Through another ordinance, obtained shortly thereafter, it was made illegal for any company but his own Académie Royale de Musique to employ more than two voices and six string instruments in any production. He had in effect obtained a complete monopoly on lyric theatre in Paris.

23 Nuittier & Thoinan, (ch. 4-6) follow in careful detail the steps in the founding of the Académie and the various changes of personnel caused by the great quantity of litigation the event occasioned. It is not within the limits of our purpose to repeat their narrative.

Perrin and Cambert, the true founders of the Académie, now found themselves shut out. Neither of them was to live long enough to reestablish himself. The poet emerged from prison a forgotten figure, and died on 26th April 1675. The composer, no longer in the employ of the Académie, retreated to London, where he was welcomed by his former pupil Louis Grabu. He took with him the twelve-year old score to *Ariane, ou le Mariage de Bacchus*.

What happened in London is not clear. We know at least that early in the winter of 1673 Cambert, with the help and encouragement of Grabu, founded a Royal Academy of Music in London with the intention of introducing to that capital the French version of Italian-style lyric theatre. It has been thought that he became Master of the King's Music, but that certainly is not the case. Rather, he was Director of the Academy of Music, which obtained Royal patronage. It has been further claimed that *Pomone* was performed in London; no known document supports that hypothesis. There is, on the other hand, proof that *Ariane, ou le Mariage de Bacchus* was performed at the Royal Theatre in Bridge's Street, probably 30th March 1674. The opera was sung in French, and *livrets* in both English and French were made available. The title page mentions «Monsieur Grabu» and «Monsieur P. P.» (Perrin), but not Cambert, the pupil being better known than the master to the London public. The text differs in numerous respects from that of Perrin, and it is likely that Grabu himself wrote the new prologue in praise of Charles II and made other changes—poetic and musical—in an effort to modernize the work.<sup>24</sup> Just why Cambert's score was not used—if indeed it was not—remains a

24 Cambert's activities in London had long been shrouded in mystery, when two important articles brought to light some new information: André Tessier, «Robert Cambert à Londres,» *Revue musicale* 9<sup>e</sup> Année, N° 1 (1<sup>er</sup> novembre 1927), pp. 101-122, summarized the state of the question, uncovered some new evidence of Cambert's activities, and sought to dissipate certain unfounded legends. A year later, W. H. Grattan Flood, «Quelques Précisions nouvelles sur Cambert et Grabu à Londres,» *Revue musicale*, 9<sup>e</sup> Année, N° 10 (1<sup>er</sup> août 1928), pp. 351-361, established a number of facts, such as the date of Cambert's arrival in England and that of the performance of *Ariane* (p. 356) through careful culling of those dry documents—journal entries, notarized papers, official records—which are often our only clue to the life of a distant period. The account in Dent, *Foundations of English Opera*, Cambridge (England), 1928, pp. 106-107, profits to some extent from their work. The English title of the work was: *Ariadne or the Marriage of Bacchus an Opera, or, a Vocal Representation: First composed by Monsieur P. P. Now put into Musick by Monsieur Grabu, Master of His Majesties Musick. And Acted by the Royal Academy of Music at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden. In the Savoy. Printed by Theo. Newcombe, 1673/4.*

mystery. In any case, nothing more came of the endeavour, and Robert Cambert followed his librettist, «Monsieur P. P.» to the grave in 1677. Molière, meanwhile, had died playing *Le Malade imaginaire* on 17th February 1673, just a few days before the opening of Quinault and Lully's first real opera, *Cadmus et Hermione*.<sup>25</sup> Thus, in a short time, the urchin from Florence, having become a French subject and changed the spelling of his name from Lulli to Lully, had not only obtained complete control of opera in France, but seen to their graves his predecessors and his former collaborator—in short, all his serious rivals. The history of French opera from this point on is his story.

There is a certain fine irony in the final, hopeful lines of Henri Prunières' biography of Lully, written more than half a century ago:

«Let us never give up hope. Rameau has just been resuscitated, he has even become fashionable. Bach has thousands of devotees and Haendel is beginning to receive some attention. Perhaps, even soon, we may see the admirable *tragédies en musique* of Lully called back to life.... We will be surprised at their youthfulness». (*Lully*, Paris, 1927, p. 121)

Perrin claimed posterity as his arbiter against his critics. Posterity has not deigned even to reinstate the man who made a powerful reality of Perrin's dream, let alone recognize the rich variety of experiments in lyric theatre which characterized the period just preceding the emergence and stabilization of French opera in its definitive form.

A manuscript copy made for the library of the Duke de La Vallière (Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds La Vallière, fonds fr. 24352) incorporates the changes made by Grabu, and bears the legend: *Ariane ou le Mariage de Bacchus, Opéra, Représentée à Londres en Angleterre en 1672: ou 1673.*

<sup>25</sup> Their first production, *Les Fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus* (November 1672), had been patched together from successful parts of previous comedy-ballets, and was therefore, with the exception of the excerpts from *Psyché*, which Quinault had written, a Molière-Lully retrospective.

Not all critics and historians have treated Perrin with the equanimity of Nuitkaer & Thoinan. In modern scholarship, in particular, he has more than once served as whipping-boy.<sup>26</sup> The fault is not entirely his own. From the first, he has been the victim of a few strong antipathies, and one can detect a tendency to parrot blanket condemnations of him, often, one suspects, without effort at verification. Students of music generally know him as the author of the first French libretti and founder of the Opéra. For literary students of the period, however, he has survived almost exclusively as a «curieux personnage,»<sup>27</sup> one of several «froids rimeurs» whom Nicolas Boileau-Despréau—«legislator of Parnassus,» self-appointed spokesman for the classical æsthetics of Racine, La Fontaine, Molière—attacked as vehemently as wittily in his *Satires*.

Faut-il d'un froid rimeur dépeindre la manie?  
Mes vers, comme un torrent, coulent sur le papier;  
Je rencontre à la fois Perrin et Pelletier,  
Bonnecourse, Pradon, Colletet, Teteville;  
Et pour un que je veux, j'en trouve plus de mille.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> It is amusing to watch Perrin the scape-goat serving as a convenient release-valve for the vitriolic comments which certain writers hesitate to aim in any other direction. One writer, for instance, concludes, on the basis of Saint-Evremond's second-hand report, that *Pomone* was «universally condemned as very poor,» adding that «the success which it did achieve was due to the music written by Cambert,» and then, a page or two later, protests that if the famous exile's remarks on Gilbert's *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour* seem «to be all in praise of Cambert's music, it is to be remembered that the words sung were due to Gilbert» (Pellet, *Gabriel Gilbert*, pp. 254, 256).

<sup>27</sup> Antoine Adam, *Histoire de la littérature française du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, t. III, p. 192. Perrin's name does not appear in the multi-volume study of French theatre of the seventeenth century by H. C. Lancaster, nor in many other places where one might reasonably expect to find it. In a *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: Dix-septième siècle*, Paris, 1954, p. 144, Adolphe Boschot describes Perrin: «impulsive, dreamer, prone to launch impossible schemes [French opera?] which sometimes landed him in prison; Cambert, musician of talent, but naïve about practical matters, and destined to be duped». Many writers in this century have based their opinion of Perrin on Romain Rolland's characterization: «un braque, un intrigant, un poète sans talent, un homme sans moralité, un famélique, .... mais un homme plein d'idées, et surtout plein de lui-même....» (quoted in Gérold, *L'Art du chant*, p. 137, note 4).

<sup>28</sup> «Satire VII,» ll. 42-46. Pougín quotes and lists several more passages, pp. 34-35. Boileau did not always attack as directly as Perrin would have considered honourable, usually confining his remarks to conversations and letters, and

It was, of course, for the translation of the *Æneid*, and perhaps the *Jeux de poésie* or the *Chartreuse*, rather than for the lyrics, that Perrin was known in literary circles. If the French *Æneid* falls far short of its ambition to rival the Latin original, Perrin was far from the only rhymers of his century who stumbled while trying to follow the epic poet up the rugged path to Parnassus. As we shall see, some critics today have found indications of workmanship and expressive effect in some of Perrin's poems.

seldom doing him the honour of treating him as worthy of consideration. Exasperated, the lyricist penned *circa* 1665 a diatribe of some 200 lines, rhymed entirely in *-eau* and *-ique*, «Satire en forme de Virelay, contre Nicolas Boileau des Préaux, Poète Satirique» (in «Recueil Maurepas,» 1670. f° 385-395, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ms. fonds frç. 12618).

Viste un Cotret, une Trique  
Que j'assomme ce Critique  
Cet insolent Boileau,  
Viste un Cotret une trique.  
Quoi troupe scientifique  
Noble bande poétique  
Ce rimeur de trique nique  
Nous fera toujours la nique?  
Quoi ce Valet de Carreau  
Ce petit clerc de pratique  
Cet insolent de Boileau  
Tiendra toujours le Barreau?  
Quelle frayeur narcotique  
Vous rend l'ame l'etargique [sic]  
Et le bras paralytique?  
Ah faut-il qu'on s'alambique  
Pour lui dire mot nouveau!  
Faut-il qu'en stile heroïque  
Béan, scavant et methodique  
Plein de fleurs de rethorique,  
Un galant homme replique  
A ce petit Estourneau?  
Suffit-il pas d'un rondeau  
En stile macaronique,  
En vieux langage gotique  
Pour lui casser le museau?  
Mais ô troupe pacifique  
Sans doute la peur panique  
D'etre mis dans la cronique  
Avec sa figure optique  
Et sa mine Judaïque,  
Ce visage de Blereau  
Avec ses yeux de pourceau  
Nichez sous un chapiteau,  
Son regard diabolique,  
Son nez rond comme un naveau,  
Où pend encore le morveau

Son épaule de chameau,  
Et ses jambes de fuseau  
Plus jaune qu'un efferique.  
Cet insolent de Boileau  
Cassera fluste et pipeau,  
Viste un Cotret une trique,  
Point de remede topique,  
La raison veut qu'on aplique  
Le bouton et le costique,  
Le rasoir et le cizeau,  
Que l'on ouvre, qu'on lui pique  
Basilique et Cephalique  
L'Ellebore et noix vomique  
....  
Pour un grand Poesme Epique,  
Il n'a ni sens ni cerveau:  
Mesme dans le Drammatique  
Comique ou tragicomique  
Il perd Arson et pommeau  
Il n'entend rien au Lyrique,  
Mais s'attrapant au Creneau  
Tient votre lame au fourreau!  
Tandis que ce Lecantropique  
Dans un etat monarchique  
Prendra sur la Republique  
Un Empire despotique,  
Un rectorat monastique  
Et comme un Caton d'Utique  
Censure Chaire et Barreau.  
Quand un pauvre pastoureau  
Reclus dans son domestique,  
Pensera sous un ormeau  
Chanter sur son Chalumeau,  
Et d'une Chanson rustique  
Ou d'un petit air bachique  
Divertir son hameau.  
Ce vilain petit noireau

In another strong condemnation, Saint-Evremond had one of the characters in his *Comédie des Opéra* (1681) reminisce about the first performance of *Pomone*, which he himself could not have heard, since he was in exile in England at the time. «The poetry was awful, the music beautiful.... The machines were viewed with surprise, the dances with pleasure; the singing was heard with delight, the words with disgust». This has usually been taken as a general evaluation of the libretto, leading to the conclusion that, from the first, Perrin's contemporaries judged his lyrics inadequate. Such a conclusion may not be entirely warranted, however. To be sure, there had been some censure of the lyrics by delicate members of the audience. In a preface to the published score, Perrin saw fit to defend himself:

«From the very first performance of this opera, my friends have informed me that there was some criticism of my words, and as they were convinced that it was unjust, they advised me to have them printed in order to justify them. I have refused until now with the argument that I was not surprised by the foul rumours which were going about. I argued further that besides the fact that I have grown accustomed to it, and have been prepared by a struggle of two years' duration for all the cluckings of the envious, the self-seeking, and the ignorant, whose number is infinite, I anticipated that the novelty of this lyric and dramatic poetry would not immediately impress even the most discerning, until they had acquired a taste for it, and as a result of reflecting on it, had entered into its spirit, all the more so since they will not find in this work what they were expecting, which was *airs* and *chansons de chambre* set to words which are involuted and full of continual repetitions, such as French music has produced until now, but a kind of poetry which is original and without precedent. And finally I protested that I ought to be content to see that I had achieved my goal in the face of general doubts, and that these verses which are so criticized formed not only a French opera, which the masters of the art maintained to be impossible because of the inadequacies of the language and the actors; but, in the opinion of the public, the most surprising and the most beautiful spectacle which has been offered by private individuals in our time in France». (in Pougin, *Les Vrais Créateurs*, pp. 133-134)

Il s'attache au Satirique  
Où tout paroît bon et beau.  
Sur une vieille rubrique  
Dont il arrache un Lambeau,  
Il vous fait et vous fabrique  
Des vers à la mosaïque  
Qui n'ont ni ciment ni brique;  
Et d'un jugement inique

De sa teste fantastique  
Fait une Loy tyrannique  
Il fait d'un panegirique  
La promesse chimérique.  
Mais c'est en vain qu'il s'en pique.  
Car ce foible serpenteau,  
S'il ne mord, ou s'il ne pique  
Rampe comme un vermisseau....

Perrin suggests further that the criticism of the libretto was occasioned by specific passages; even in the revised version which we have it is not too difficult to imagine how certain crudities of expression could have offended listeners. Some vulgar sentences were out of keeping with the new, priggish taste. But the difficulty lay in the thought as well; passages of the libretto defied the nascent conviction that such a grandiose art as opera should maintain a very high tone.

Yet the lines usually quoted as illustrations of Perrin's unfortunate *enjoué* style are far from typical of his work. Even a would-be defender such as Arthur Pougin seems to have been caught in the grip of a horrified fascination with the least classical aspects of Perrin's work. Attempting to argue the case for an unbiased evaluation of Perrin and Cambert in the history of French opera, Pougin could bring himself to quote almost nothing but the most burlesque lyrics, notably the song of the Dieu des Jardiniers (God of the gardeners) and the earthy drinking song, «Sus, sus, pinte et fagot».<sup>29</sup> Nuittier & Thoinan (p. 158) single out, among other lines, «Fringue la tasse, fringue, / Masse à luy, tope et tingué». These are drinking expressions, equivalent to «Prosit,» «Cheers,» or «A la tienne, Etienne». To combine them into a strongly rhythmical refrain is no more unmusical, and somewhat less facile, than to invent nonsense syllables of the *lalalalera* variety.

29 Pougin, pp. 33, 129; it is true that in quoting an extensive passage from Menestrier's *Des Representations en musique* he also quoted extracts from two other poems, «Dans le désespoir où je suis,» and «Amour et la raison» (pp. 51-52). A recent history of French opera simply lifts these pages of Pougin without either verifying their accuracy or acknowledging their source. Thus error is perpetuated. Nuittier & Thoinan also considered objectionable the line of Béroé, the farcical, aged nurse (part played by a man in Italian opera): «Hé bien, cruel, saoule-toy de mon sang» (p. 158), failing, or refusing, to perceive the satirical character of such a line, borrowed directly from the poetically unbridled tragicomedies of an earlier generation.

Pougin, like many others, seems also to have been content to adopt Voltaire's *boutade* that *Pomone* was «mostly about vegetables» (quoted in *La Laurencie*, *Lully*, p. 108). Other passages might be cited to show that the work was not conceived entirely in this grotesque mode. The prologue in praise of the king contains lines well adapted to their subject:

*La Nymphé de la Seine*

Toi qui vis autrefois le fleuve des Romains  
Triompher des Humains,  
Et porter le Sceptre du Monde,  
Vertumne, que dis-tu de ma rive féconde?

*Vertumne*

J'admire tes grandeurs et la félicité  
De ta belle cité.  
Mais ta merveille la plus grande,  
C'est la pompeuse Majesté  
Du roi qui la commande.

Juturnes's song, I, 1, is not without its charm:

Le doux plaisir d'amourette  
Est une tendre fleurette  
Qui ne dure qu'un matin.  
Il a le destin  
Des plus belles choses;  
Il naît, il fleurit, il passe en un jour.  
Les chaînes d'amour,  
Sont chaînes de roses.

Vertumne's disconsolate monologue which closes Act I needs no apologies; neither does the song (in *air* form) of *Pomone* and *Vénilie*, Act III, scene ii.,

Sortez petits oiseaux, sortez de vos bocages,  
Quittez, quittez vos nids et vos buissons;  
Et mêlez vos tendres ramages  
A nos agréables chansons.  
Volez, doux Rossignols, volez dans ces feuillages.  
Venez, Serins, venez Pinsons,  
Et mêlez vos tendres ramages,  
A nos agréables chansons.

Nor was Perrin alone in failing to perceive the exclusivity of the new seriousness. Quinault's first libretto for Lully, *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673), has several supposedly comic passages (including most of the third act) which are so weak that they fall just as flat as Perrin's efforts at comic effect. It was only after one or two mistakes of this sort that Lully and Quinault learned to restrict their efforts to the heroic and the *merveilleux*, leaving aside altogether the «*enjoué*».

Some of the «disgust» to which Saint-Evremond referred may well have resulted from Perrin's resolute refusal to carry his opera in the direction of poetic drama.<sup>30</sup> This opinion, though, seems to have been first expressed in the latter part of the last century. Evidence adduced in the next chapter suggests that no one objected at the time to a pastoral conception of opera, half way between drama and spectacular ballet.

Known comments on Perrin by his contemporaries are comparatively rare.<sup>31</sup> Some of those who wrote in the years just following his death, on the other hand, were much less hasty than Boileau and Saint-Evremond to condemn him outright. In his *Histoire de la poésie française*, 1706, Father Joseph Mervésin credited Perrin with having invented a new kind of lyric, different from the familiar sort «in that at the time the French stage knew only Heroic Verses, ill-suited to musical setting» (p. 243). And La Viéville de la Fréneuse, in an evaluation already quoted in part, judged that

«If he had polished more carefully what he wrote, he would have been an excellent author. As for his wit, it was fecund and felicitous.... Read the collection of his poetry, you will notice often that easy and flowing turn of phrase which is the very touchstone of good words for singing....»<sup>32</sup>

Menestrier, whose history *Des Représentations en musique* (Paris, 1681) appeared only ten years after the creation of *Pomone*, considered Perrin worthy of praise. Some phrases in his evaluation of Perrin's contribution are clearly borrowed from the poet himself; they do not imply suspension of his judgment. And there were still many eye-witnesses to corroborate or refute his statements. Like other writers in the early years of French opera, he gave primary attention to Perrin's innovations in verse for music.

30 One wonders where Saint-Evremond got his information. He never saw an opera in Paris, never saw therefore *Pomone*, although he could have read the libretto; he may have seen *Ariane* in London. Nuyttier & Thoinan hypothesize that his informant may have been Cambert himself. This is not unlikely, since they both for a time belonged to the colony of French exiles in London. Did, then, Cambert, too, express his disgust at the lyrics supplied by Perrin? Or did Saint-Evremond extrapolate?

31 We include two oblique but unmistakable attacks by Molière, but pass over the invariably laudatory doggerel verse accounts by Loret, reporter and puffer to the court, a paragon of naïve, uncritical journalism; see Pougin, pp. 76-77.

32 Lecerf de la Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne*, in Bourdelot-Bonnet, t. III, pp. 160-161.

«Until that time, it had always been thought that our tongue was incapable of furnishing proper subjects for such productions, because people were used to hearing nothing on our stages but Alexandrine verses, which are more appropriate for lofty declamation than for singing, having more majesty to express elevated sentiments than variety to favor music. Meantime M<sup>r</sup> Perrin, Attaché for Presentation of Ambassadors to the late Monsieur, Duke of Orleans, having often written words for airs which our finest Music Masters composed, became convinced that our tongue was capable of expressing the most beautiful passions and the most tender sentiments, and that if someone were to combine something of the style of Italian music with our manner of singing, he could produce something which would be neither the one nor the other, and which would be most agreeable. For there are people who cannot stand the peacock-like strutting of Italian music (p. 209).

Distance does not always produce insight. Perhaps the men who wrote within the generation of the creation of French opera evaluated Perrin's contribution with more accuracy than anyone since.

As Lully's style of opera began to set a norm for much of Europe, Perrin descended into limbo. His memory was preserved by historians and biographers, but he rose to critical battle again only under the pen of the querulous early nineteenth-century historian of France's lyric past, Castil-Blaze. That inveterate axe-grinder, while he hoped to dethrone Lully—who had gradually come to be regarded as the creator and originator of French opera—far from being content to restore the title to his immediate predecessors, Perrin and Cambert, undertook to bestow the glory of the first operatic production on a work called *Akèbar, roi du Mogol*, performed in 1646 in the Episcopal palace of Carpentras, his own home town. For him, the *Pastorale* of 1659 was the second, and *Pomone* the third of the true operas in French. Further, whereas it might have been hoped that Castil-Blaze, whose favourite lament was the inability of French librettists to write words truly suited for musical setting, might at least discuss Perrin in that light, he summarily dismissed *en bloc* all the lyricists of the seventeenth century as fabricators of rhymed prose, and went on to rant and rave about his own contemporaries.<sup>33</sup> Arthur Pougin took up the torch for Cambert and Perrin in 1881, and Nuyttier & Thoinan followed five years later. Their studies brought to light many documents, revealed much information, and permitted reconstruction in some detail

33 *Théâtres lyriques de Paris, L'Académie Impériale de Musique*. t. I, p. 37, *et passim*; *Molière musicien*, Paris, 1855, and, in particular, his *Art des vers lyriques*, Paris, 1858. This misanthropic polemicist spent his final years rehashing pet peeves, battling every windmill in sight. His bulky books, which are often repetitious, never lack verve; furthermore, they offer a veritable gold mine of uncatalogued information and quotation. His French version of Rossini's *Barber of Seville* was in recent years the one used by the Opéra-Comique.

of the history of this capital event in French music. Henri Prunières judged that Nuittier & Thoinan had «characterized with extreme equity the talents of Perrin and Cambert,» while Pougin, on the contrary, had «given himself over to continual defense of his heroes, treated them like men of genius, and seemed absolutely unaware that by 1656 Lully was already famous and that he had composed some remarkable works long before he undertook to do opera» (*L'Opéra italien en France avant Lully*, Paris, 1913, p. 345, note 4). It is true that Pougin neglected Lully to concentrate on «his heroes,» but it is equally noteworthy that Lully waited until someone else had proved that French opera was a viable scheme by working out the ground rules, establishing a company, and producing successful operas, before he decided to move in that direction. Without intending the least slight to Lully's musical, dramatic, tactical, and financial genius, we may recall that he did not begin composing for French lyrics until 1659, the year of the *Pastorale*, and that the series of comedy-ballets which gave him most of his pre-operatic practice did not begin until 1664. The duet of *Musica Italiana* and *Musique Française* in the *Ballet de la Raillerie*, on the other hand, dating from 1659, shows him already in control of both the Italian and the French vocal styles, and gives promise of fine things to come.

Nuittier & Thoinan do indeed seem to have attempted an unbiased evaluation of Perrin's work (of Cambert's, they conclude, too little exists to permit judgment). It is amusing to watch them bend in their efforts at generosity, only to fall over backwards into condescension: «Il ne faut pas trop lui en vouloir de son peu de modestie, et l'on doit lui pardonner en raison de l'intention,» that of creating opera in France (p. 39). Still, their study is a model of careful, non-polemical writing for its time. One hates to quarrel with such conscientious writers, and quarrel there is none. We might suggest, though, that despite their good will, certain artistic biases of their own times made it impossible for them to grant the men they studied their due. I do not presume to ask whether we are today in a better position to make a definitive evaluation of their work. We do at least view it in a different light. When the authors speak of the «bizarreries» of Perrin's *Enéide* (p. 9), where they characterize «sa verve poétique, parfois un peu triviale» (p. 12), we recognize traits shared by many poets of the Regency.

Neither these careful archivists nor Pougin could bring themselves to say anything positive about Perrin's verses. Was their ideal some combination of the rationalistic restraint which killed poetic inspiration in the declining years of the *ancien régime* and the imagistic richness coupled with sentimental effusion of the new romantic poetry? Of that we cannot be sure. What they do seem to have sought vainly in the verses was the uniformly elegant tone, the «classical softening,» the bombastic «douceur» of Quinault's libretti—that is to say, a style far outside the scope of Perrin's intentions.<sup>34</sup> Nor was it because the verses were cliché-ridden,

34 I use the term «softening» here in the sense in which Leo Spitzer studied

banal, that they were deemed objectionable—that might almost have been acceptable. No, their worst failing was their a-classical earthiness. They were often trivial, sometimes coarse, given at times (rarely) to scatalogical *double entendre*, at other times to naming «unpoetical» everyday objects: «les mots de *bourrique*, de *cajoleur*, de *racaille*, de *bedaine*, de *cornard* lui semblent suffisamment poétiques» (Nuittier & Thoinan, p. 158). *Pomone*, with its sausages, firewood, truffles and mushrooms, seemed the least excusable of Perrin's errors. As noted above, Arthur Pougin, even though he quoted little of Perrin's poetry, perversely elected to reproduce two passages which most offended his decidedly traditional taste. In doing so, he betrayed an inability to shake off the deep-seated belief that True High Art must never debase itself by descending to the level of common man, or the romantic conception of lyric poetry as individual expression of personal sentiment. Perrin's lyrics, like most of the light verse of the mid-seventeenth century, violate both canons.

Moreover, the critics of the last century might have had less difficulty excusing the vulgarity of the lyrics and the constant triviality of the thought in *Pomone* had they found their dramatic expectations fulfilled. Opera was drama in music; it wanted a strongly articulated plot. But what did they find? In the *Pastorale*, «les scènes et les actes s'achèvent sans la moindre trace d'une action quelconque. Les bergers et les bergères chantent ou se taisent, paraissent ou disparaissent, on ne sait trop pourquoi; ils ne prennent part à aucune espèce d'intrigue....» (Nuittier & Thoinan, pp. 38-39). In the *Ariane*, «il continue à suivre les mêmes errements: pas d'action; des mots, des phrases sans grand rapport entre elles, et toujours beaucoup d'images passablement communes» (Nuittier & Thoinan, p. 65). In *Pomone*, «il a prouvé une fois de plus en l'écrivant qu'il ne possédait aucune des qualités qui font l'auteur dramatique. L'action, non moins absente que l'intérêt, échappe à l'analyse et ne saurait vraiment se raconter» (p. 158). These judgments are not quite accurate. None of Perrin's libretti is without an action, however rudimentary. I shall suggest in a later chapter that Perrin's conception of the play in music differed significantly from that which shaped the spoken play, that it remained closely allied to the *ballet de cour*, and that many of the elements which he consciously eliminated from his texts have, and had, no other dramatic necessity than that created by convention. In other words, leaving aside consideration of the minimal moral value of the works, we may conclude that these writers judged their theatrical value on the basis of inflexible and inadequate criteria.

the «Klassische Dämpfung in Racines Stil,» *Archivium Romanicum*, XII (1928), pp. 361-472. The term is particularly well chosen, and describes admirably a fundamental characteristic of the period from 1660 on. Frequently, one discovers in the art, thought, and society a toning-down, or softening (rather than rejection) of previously admired traits. The play of contrasts, the use of theatrical illusion, for instance, are as important in Racine as in Corneille, but they have attained greater complexity, like a decorated baroque ceiling or a highly embellished melody.

Henri Prunières, dominant figure in French musicology in the early years of our century and champion of Lully's music, seems to have harboured a personal grudge against Perrin and Cambert, perhaps for having had the audacity to continue to work in their own way when there was as great a genius as the Florentine about. He dismissed the poet, for instance, as «one of those simple-minded poetic hacks for whom *fougère* rhymes with *bergère*.»

Vien, mon aymable Bergère  
Sur la Fougère,  
Vien, mon aymable Bergère,  
Faire l'amour.<sup>35</sup>

As though there had not been a time when for a Ronsard or a Malherbe the word *monde* inevitably called up *onde*, when *rose* inescapably evoked *éclose*! As though Perrin's contemporaries had not followed exactly the same principle of avoiding unusual or striking rhymes! The lyricist's responsibility was to provide the composer with the sort of materials he wanted to set: and Cambert preferred vacuous text.

In Prunières' skillful, popularizing life of Jean-Baptiste Lully, Perrin turns up playing an unflattering rôle.<sup>36</sup> In another place, the same

35 Prunières, *L'Opéra italien*, p. 348, note 3. This poem, which appears as Menuet XV in the *Recueil* manuscript, is one of the pieces set by Lully. Bénigne de Bacilly held the opinion «that it is entirely inexcusable for a composer to try to apologize for one of his airs by saying that the text is not his fault since he didn't write it. It is always a great mistake to spend your time on a work which isn't worth the trouble» (*A Commentary upon the Art of Proper Singing*, edition and translation of the *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter*, 1688, by Austin B. Caswell, Brooklyn, 1968, p. 50. Here, as elsewhere, I use Caswell's translation into English.) Lully's apologists have not been so willing as he to draw the conclusion that some of Perrin's lyrics were worth the time it took to set them to music. For the list of Perrin's texts set by Lully, see Prunières, *L'Opéra italien*, p. 348, and the *Recueil de Paroles de musique*.

36 Prunières, *La Vie illustre et libertine de Jean-Baptiste Lully*, Paris, 1929, pp. 38-39. Here is his portrait of Perrin:

«Perrin was a tall chap, thin and badly dressed, always excited; some claimed that he was slightly mad. He complained that others were stealing his ideas, and would whisper in your ear, as though it were some great mystery, lines of the most ordinary verse which he claimed to be of great novelty. He always had his pockets full of bits of paper on which he had copied his songs, and distributed them to all the musicians he met, with entreaties to set them to music. People fled this nuisance the moment he appeared. [...] This entire band of poets and musicians lived a gay life [...] with the exception of Perrin, who prided himself on his piety, and whose companions chided him on this point».

In a fictionalized account such as this one, the author had the right to extrapolate on the basis of his knowledge of the period and the evidence; by the same token, in the absence of proof, this remains a lively fiction.

author claimed that Perrin, «whose modesty was most assuredly the least of his virtues,» always let even the smallest glimmer of success go to his head. By the end of his life, Perrin had come to see himself as the victim of a vicious cabale, again according to Prunières, who argued that Lully could not have been leading the supposed attacks since he himself had set some of Perrin's lyrics. By the same token, of course, the ambitious musician could not have turned against Molière, nor, within months of his former collaborator's death, dispossessed his bereaved company of its theatre. But he did.<sup>37</sup> «It is very likely,» Prunières concluded, «that the only cabale was the one in Perrin's imagination, and that the weaknesses of the poetry and the music were in themselves sufficient to cause his failure» (*L'Opéra italien*, p. 348). No doubt Perrin faced no more virulent or organized opposition than any other artist in the hothouse society of the court, but then there is no clear evidence that he believed he did. Besides, *Pomone's* eight-month run was anything but a failure. The «weaknesses of the music» have yet to be demonstrated. And, as Molière so often reminds us, even in the discriminating society of Louis' court, lack of talent was not sufficient to ensure failure.

Perrin did have his detractors, of course; among them Boileau and Molière. If he had not the wit or skill to return their barbs with telling effect, neither was he the cowering paranoid Prunières would make of him.

In the foreword to the libretto of *Pomone*, he answered his critics:

«I only ask that they attack the place as honest gentlemen, that is, like soldiers, according to the rules of war, and not as bandits, by ambush; and I declare to them that if they continue to do it by satires and invectives, I shall answer them with a sweet silence, and that I shall apply all my concentration to composing new works to continue to entertain them».

«Besides, the field is open to do better, and if someone wants to work on that matter, and do the Academy the honour of presenting it an opera, I tell him on behalf of the association that when the work has been examined by capable and unbiased men, if it is judged worthy of being performed, it will be produced in good faith with all the care and all the trappings possible....»<sup>38</sup>

37 The texts of the privileges which Lully obtained by order of the king may be consulted in Pougín, pp. 193 *et seq.*; the story is told briefly in Mèlèse, *Le Théâtre et le public*, t. I, pp. 36-42. Prunières argues, with some validity, that Molière had been using Lully's music for his commercial performances of the comedy-ballets without paying the composer (*La Vie libertine*, p. 100). Lully could justifiably turn the tables and present those scores with Molière's lyrics as the work of Quinault. But to justify Lully's patent attempts to spoliat Molière of all the profits on the texts he had written for music, exclude all competition, and allow no one else in the kingdom to write music for the theatre—such a claim carries the *laissez-faire* theory of free enterprise to extreme lengths. Another eminent French musicologist, Lionel de la Laurencie, is generally more equitable than Prunières, yet he, too, bends over backwards to justify Lully's unscrupulous politicking (*Lully*, pp. 29, 34, 36).

38 In Pougín, *Les Vrais Créateurs*, p. 136. He suggests that his critics take the trouble to write up their comments so that the public and he may profit:

Perhaps Perrin made himself a laughing-stock in some quarters with his ambitions, his projects, his exaggerated claims, and his uninspired verses. Jean-Jacques Rousseau did much the same. Not every man who contributes something of value to the world has the tact to let his contribution stand for itself.

One can sympathize with the desire of French musicologists to reinstate the deserving (but stuffy) scores which Lully created for the entertainment of Louis XIV and his contemporaries, scores which made such a long-lasting impact on French music. It is difficult to see why they have so often found it necessary to deprecate his predecessors, to dismiss Perrin and Cambert as at best false prophets crying in the desert while the true prophet, the Baptiste, biding his time, prepared himself for his mission. On the other hand, it is possible to discern a number of factors which have contributed to the general neglect of Perrin and Cambert. The following pages take up some of the most important. To start with, there is the long-standing ignorance and misunderstanding of the times which shaped their work. The music of the seventeenth century in France has not attracted the attention of scholars, much less of performers to the same extent as that of Italy or of other periods. On the literary side, if the masterpieces of French classicism are familiar to all, their brilliance has tended to obscure much of what lay behind them. Even today, one finds writers remarking with surprise that whereas most centuries produce, besides their great works, a body of secondary art, the seventeenth century «seems to have left no such middle ground;» all its works are either of first rank or worthless. Is this truly the case, or is it a prejudice carried over from Boileau's polemical assertion that «Du médiocre au pire il n'y a pas de degrés»? Such a view leaves many artists in difficult straits, for they are either obliged to make the first team or give up the sport. Lully, for instance, has never made the first team.

Also generally neglected has been the lyric art *per se*. One might fill a dull book with uncomprehending, derogatory remarks about words for music quoted from various critics and historians. Serious attempts to discover what it is that makes a lyric or a libretto more or less satisfactory have until recently been in short supply. That situation has begun to change.

An important force militating against comprehension of pre-Lullian opera has been incomprehension of æsthetic tenets of the years which were long thought of as «le pré-classicisme». While it was never to be hoped

«I advise them only to take note that for the reasons which I set forth in the foreword to the argument which I published, I considered it preferable to open the theatre with a pastoral play, although I had three heroic ones in readiness, and that the work must be judged from that point of view, taking into account that it is composed of rustic divinities and characters, and that it involves at one and the same time comic and rustic styles, dramatic action, continuous music and singing, machinery (sets), and dance».

that Perrin would ride into prominence alongside d'Aubigné, Chassignet, Sponde, or Rotrou on the crest of the enthusiasm generated by the discovery of a baroque world-view in French letters, that new perception of a century which was previously considered classified and closed has at least brought him to notice. A guest appearance, so to speak, in Jean Rousset's famous study (of 1951) has probably been largely responsible for recent, laudatory references and quotations by writers who are apparently unaware of his traditional rôle of whipping-boy. Rousset quoted a quatrain on the butterfly, from the *Jeux de poésie*, as an example of the baroque poet's technique of transforming one object into another through metaphor and epithet (*id est*, bird as winged violin). Since then, passages from the same poem have been quoted in a study of Malherbe's influence, and even in a school text for French students.<sup>39</sup> In each of these cases, the comments do Perrin the service of placing him in the baroque rather than the classical tradition. These critics discover in the myopic vision of the insect poems a degree of poetic command as well as the reflection of a particular and not entirely uninteresting vision of the world. Of course, this involves only one poem. No one has as yet moved further afield, to the *Chartreuse*, which «is considered to be the thing he did best,» for instance. Perhaps about the *Æneid* «en méchants vers français,» as Tallement des Réaux described it, the less said the better.

This new perspective shows Perrin's penchant for vulgar, infantile humour to be as much a characteristic of a certain time and a particular court (that of Gaston d'Orléans) as a personal aberration. It does not alter the fact that Perrin failed to change even when it had become clear that a new generation found such a base style distinctly distasteful. Yet, it should be noted that his successors followed his lead for a time in this as in other ways. Pellet remarked in Gilbert's text for *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour* the inclusion of a humorous rôle, the Faun, a novelty for that playwright. The new librettist, she speculated, «doubtless adopted from Perrin's unhappy *Pomone* an element which had been pleasing».<sup>40</sup> Even Lully, who chose as his collaborator a poet noted rather for his exaggerated delicacy, his *douceur*, than for his vulgarity, followed Perrin and the Italian example, by including comic interludes in his first two operas,

39 Rousset, *La Littérature de l'âge baroque en France*, p. 185; comments, pp. 181-187, 138-139, 201. Claude K. Abraham, *Enfin Malherbe: The Influence of Malherbe on French Lyric Prosody, 1605-1674*, Lexington, 1971, pp. 297-298. Claude-Gilbert Dubois included a longer excerpt in an anthology of Baroque verse, *La Poésie baroque*, t. II, *Du Baroque au Classicisme: 1600-1660: Choix de Poèmes*, in the collection *Nouveaux Classiques Larousse*, Paris, 1969, pp. 122-125, with a positive appreciation of Perrin.

40 Pellet, *Gabriel Gilbert*, p. 262. The Faun or Satyr was a standard character in pastorale; d'Assoucy's *Amours d'Apollon et de Daphné* contained a Satyr rôle which one writer has described as «absolutely filthy». We do not know, of course, to what extent the actors playing these parts may have used obscene gesture, but clearly there is a progressive toning down of this traditional character. Absent in Perrin's «tragedy» *La Mort d'Adonis*, he appears as Satyr in the *Pastoral*, as Silenus, aged, drunken, and obese tutor of Bacchus, in the *Ariane*, and as Priapus, the God of the Gardeners, in *Pomone*.

*Cadmus et Hermione*, and *Alceste*, before he became fully aware of the displeasure such scenes produced in a ruler whose primary concern was for grandeur and pomp in all the manifestations of his reign. Clearly, the taste for startling shifts from the sublime to the grotesque did not die overnight.

The classically-inspired preference for the sublime to the exclusion of the ridiculous finally won out almost completely, however. It held sway throughout the following century, and, despite changes, continued to exert a great influence long after the revolution and the Romantic rebellion, into our own century. The prejudices it carried with it have made it difficult to evaluate works which seemed to belong within the scope of that æsthetic system, works which appeared, at least chronologically, «pre-classical,» but which failed to conform to classical standards. The *ballet de cour* in particular was treated as a curious aberration. Only in recent years have studies been devoted to it, showing the intimate relationship between those elaborate court productions and the society which created and enjoyed them. Similarly, the *tragédies-en-machines* never really caught on: «Ce genre de représentations théâtrales, inspiré évidemment par les opéras italiens, ne réussit pas d'une façon suivie» (Nuittier & Thoinan, p. lx). The same might be said for Molière's comedy-ballet, since the genre existed for scarcely a decade, and for all practical purposes died with its creator. Yet all these genres help characterize their times. To the historian, what is important is that they gave pleasure, they worked, even though they may no longer give the pleasure they once did.

No one has yet, to my knowledge, adequately dealt with the disdain for psychological probing which characterizes so much of the literature before 1660. One result of a prolonged period of seriousness and self-examination such as the time and aftermath of the civil wars in France may be an equal and opposite reaction into frivolousness. If such is the case here, then one of the manifestations of the reaction was a preoccupation with technique and the devices of artistic expression, almost to the exclusion of content. Malherbe's reforms tend in this direction. Society poets bent all their efforts to wit and vivacity. Musicians strove to outdo each other in the richness and complexity of their ornaments. Ballet and the other genres just discussed put display ahead of expression. Rather than conveying a wide range of emotions, Quinault's pre-operatic dramas maintain a uniform tone of *douceur*. Lyrics and libretti follow a similar pattern. Yet, paradoxical as it may seem, they also signal an emerging preoccupation with affective power. However vapid the poem, it is designed as a vehicle for musical expressivity. The theorist never ceases to insist that his goal is pathos, expression of sentiments. If the first steps are tentative, scarcely discernable, it is because a new style of expression must be created.

A third general cause for misunderstanding of Perrin and Cambert's contribution involves semantic difficulties. The poet weakened his case and added to the polemical ammunition of his enemies by his careless use of superlatives—a mid-century stylistic trait still strongly evident in the otherwise restrained prose of M<sup>me</sup> de Lafayette's *Princesse de Clèves* (1676). Concerning the style of the Foreword to the *Recueil de Paroles de Musique*, Nuittier & Thoinan comment: «Sans doute, il ne s'est

pas corrigé de l'affectation qui règne dans sa lettre au Cardinal de la Rovère, il se laisse encore aller aux entraînements d'une rhétorique un peu cherchée et souvent nuageuse qui l'éloigne de la saine logique; mais il est si plein de son sujet qu'il s'explique, en somme, avec suffisamment de clarté, et qu'on le comprend aisément» (p. 92). But does he really express himself with sufficient clarity? His claim in the Letter to have «eliminated *allplot*» from the *Pastorale*, for instance, is really hyperbolic, as is his boast of having written a play in five acts and fourteen songs «which are *nothing more* than fourteen scenes that have been joined together at will». Taken at face value, such statements have frequently been interpreted as signs of the depth of Perrin's error. Whatever he may say, his *Pastorale* does have a simple action; the chosen style forbids its having more. The following chapter develops this point. In a similar way, a statement that he constructed his *Pastorale* of expressions of pathos has been interpreted as anything but the simple statement of fact that it is.

Henri Prunières accused Perrin of gross presumptuousness—worse, outright dishonesty—because he claimed for his *Pastorale* the title of «Première comédie française en musique représentée en France,» despite the existence of such earlier works as Cambert's eclogue *La Muette ingrate* and *Le Triomphe de l'Amour* (1665) by Beys and La Guerre. Cambert's piece, of course, was not a play. The other work more nearly satisfied the criteria. There may still be justification for Perrin's claim, however, and here again the difficulty may be largely semantic. It was an age given to making careful generic distinctions: tragedy and comedy were not to be confused, or indeed mixed. When Molière, by necessity, interspersed the acts of a comedy with those of a ballet (*Les Fâcheux*, 1662), he crowed with pride, in a preface to the published text, that he had accomplished something «never before seen on our stages,» and he went on to exploit the possibilities of his new genre, the comey-ballet, for the rest of his life. Similarly, Perrin perceived an essential difference between his *Pastorale* and the works which had preceded it. In collaboration with Cambert, he had created the first entirely musical work in France conceived specifically for the stage. The quality of the play is incidental. The point is that the characters in this work expressed themselves through their actions on the stage as well as through their singing. The first performance of the only rival for this title, *Le Triomphe de l'Amour sur les Bergers et les Bergères* had been given in what we would today call concert version in the chambers of Cardinal Mazarin at the Louvre, in the same way as innumerable other vocal dialogues in the *air de cour* tradition. It is true that when it was revived two years later, 26th March 1657, it was «sung on stage» with two added characters. But we do not know to what extent it was acted even then, and it was patently not originally conceived for the stage. Even assuming that it received a full-scale production when it was revived for that single performance, there would still be a significant difference in conception between it and Perrin's *Pastorale*. Neither work has more than a rudimentary dramatic structure, and both consist of songs strung together without recourse to connective speeches, either spoken or recitative. Beys first wrote a traditional strophic pastoral dialogue with no thought to its scenic possibilities; then, under the impulsion of the growing vogue of

lyric theatre, the work was staged. Perrin, on the other hand, undertook from the outset to write a playlet—a libretto—capable of being set to music and demanding production on a stage. Perrin could thus make his claim with justification. The play with music had become the play-in-music.

A further point of misunderstanding has arisen from a sentence just quoted in part: the librettist had joined «freely,» he said, fourteen scenes, «following no other law than that of expressing in beautiful verses and music the diverse movements of the soul which may be portrayed on the stage». At the time, the pressing problem was to create poetic materials of a kind that would allow the composer freedom of expression while he learned to handle the structural difficulties of scenes both more dramatic and more extensive than the dialogues which already existed. There could be no question at first of asking music to deal with emotional subtleties; hence the use of the most familiar, hackneyed poetic and dramatic materials: the pastoral mode. The accent in the sentence just quoted, then, falls not on the way the fourteen scenes are joined, but rather on the goal of «expressing... the diverse movements of the soul which may be portrayed on the stage». To Perrin, as to some of his contemporaries, that final qualifying phrase, which sums up his ambition, indicated a basic difference between the *Pastorale* of 1659 and the *Triomphe de l'Amour* of 1657.

A final cause for the general neglect of Perrin and Cambert has been the relative inaccessibility of scores and texts. By making more widely available Perrin's most important statements of purpose and many of the lyrics and libretti, the present study hopes in some measure to remedy that situation. In the case of Cambert's scores, several of the points just made apply equally well. Unhappily, no more than a tantalizing sampling of his compositions exists: a prologue and little more than an act of *Pomone*, about the same amount of *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour*, a comic trio, the bass part to his book of *Airs à boire* (1665), and an occasional air to be found here and there in collections of the time. There is some indication that the operatic scores called for certain new and delightful effects, such as the chorus of flutes in the *Pastorale*, reported by Saint-Evremond. The two surviving, truncated operatic scores were published a century ago by J.-B. Weckerlin, who followed the editorial practice of his time by planing smooth the composer's rhythmically rough-hewn surface, thus eliminating all those irregularities which give mid-seventeenth-century vocal style its distinctive character.

Critics have tended to judge what little remains of Cambert's scores in terms of the form eventually taken by *tragédie en musique* as Lully and Quinault were to practice it, the first example of which was not to come until fourteen years after the *Pastorale*. Lully composed some excellent pastorals in his *ballets de cour* and comedy-ballets. He began in the late 1650's by setting Italian words, developing his lyric style in his native tongue before venturing into French, where he was to excel at creating recitative lines which perfectly matched the ideal shape of the declaimed line. Cambert, on the other hand, did not attempt to match the melody to the contour of the spoken line, and he has been criticized for it. Yet what seems evident in the scores, what shines through even the «correc-

tions» of the nineteenth-century editions, is that he did what he did purposefully. He was writing music as he and his contemporaries conceived it—vocal music suited to certain kinds of elaborate embellishment, music designed to create melodic and rhythmic tension between the music and the text. Furthermore, one seldom encounters in his scores the heaviness, the striving for majesty which Lully carried to a fault. Rather, Cambert endeavoured to draw his vocal line from the rhythmic and melodic patterns of popular dance music. Based on the indigenous musical habits of the time, Cambert's style ought to be considered on its own merits, for whatever dramatic effectiveness it may possess, rather than in comparison with the kind of music which replaced it.

All things taken into account, the conclusion emerges that Perrin and Cambert deserve a place in the history of the lyric art not for any works of undying merit which they bequeathed posterity, but rather for having been the first in France to take the necessary steps to realize a national artistic goal. As early as 1658, they had begun the collaboration which was to culminate in the creation of the first official French opera. From the start, they set about to resolve the technical difficulties involved in shifting the orientation of a ballet theatre to a lyric, and ultimately a dramatic one. For the next decade, Perrin continued to urge upon the composers attached to the royal court a lyrico-dramatic ideal. Pougin conceived Perrin's working methods in this way:

«He undertook to prepare the musicians well in advance by giving them verses of a particular sort to set to music, verses expressing sentiments in a way not known at the time, verses in new and irregular forms, in order to shape their inspiration to certain practical and rhythmic difficulties, forcing them to communicate new sensations, and preparing them little by little to undertake what he called the lyric genre, that is, properly speaking, the dramatic art. In this, we must acknowledge that Perrin gave proof of real insight, and that he took care to leave nothing to chance». (*Les Vrais Créateurs*, pp. 31-32)

One might quibble with certain implications of this statement, such as the idea that the lyricist purposely held back and resisted pressure to perform until he and his roster of composers had sufficiently mastered the new techniques. But, whatever the true motivations, the results were those described.

Once official support for the Académie de Musique had been assured, there remained the task of creating an opera company where no model, no other single company, no fund of available singers, not even an operatic tradition existed. Even before the letters patent had been obtained, the association had begun to hire and train singers. They sent a vocalist, Pierre Monier, into the Languedoc in search of the best, sun-ripened voices in France. The men and women he brought back would form the nucleus of the first indigenous opera company in France: Beaumavielle and Rossignol, baritones; Cledière and Tholet, countertenors; Borel de Miracle, tenor; and M<sup>lle</sup> Cartilly, soprano. The lady sang the title rôle in *Pomone* and then seems to have dropped from sight. Several of the others were retained by Lully and went on to create important rôles in his operas.

Thus, Perrin and Cambert contributed in a number of ways to the birth of lyric drama in France. The question of what would have happened to the art without them is of course moot. Jean-Baptiste Lully stood ready in the wings. Whether in the absence of these two intrepid adventurers he would have entered sooner, whether his operas would have taken quite the form they did, we shall never know.

For if they served as midwives to opera, it was he who adopted the infant, nurtured it, brought it to maturity and, in doing so, shaped its character. In the years preceding his intervention, two nearly separate forces were in operation. On the one hand, the fragmented groups groping about for some viable form of lyric theatre, exploring machine plays, comedy-ballets, ballets, pastoral plays with music, and tentative operas modeled on the *ballet de cour*; on the other hand, Lully, the monolith, moving with the inexorability that seems to guide genius—and strong ambition—toward the seat of empire, picking up and dropping librettists as he evolved a style which he would impose, as much by the force of his creative power as by the skill of his maneuvering, on all of Europe for nearly a century. Perhaps the time has come to dig beneath that long-deserted temple in search of artifacts from an earlier time and the foundation of a previous, never-completed edifice.

Let us close this review of Perrin's fortunes with the elegant appreciation written a century ago by Arthur Pougin. Despite inaccuracies and a no longer valid estimate of the status of the Paris Opera, it offers a valuable corrective to the abuse the poet has suffered.

«He is the first to have drawn up lyric works in our tongue, and if he is far from having created masterpieces, he nevertheless managed to understand so perfectly the public taste, to avoid so skillfully the weaknesses which had hurt the Italian operas so badly, that he immediately won success; he had... the idea of first giving our composers practice at writing pieces in varied rhythms and styles, furnishing them with verses in new and irregular meters, and he was able to distinguish among them the man who seemed to him the best suited to help him in his projects, one whose temperament would lead him to succeed in dramatic and scenic music; finally, no effort daunted him, no failure stopped him, no criticism discouraged him, no sarcasm scathed him, and after twelve years of efforts, of struggles, of fatigues, of constant labours, he succeeded in creating and bringing to life, to the stupefaction and enchantment of the public, that immense and weighty machine which is called the French Opera, and which, two centuries later, is still the foremost lyric stage in the world». (*Les Vrais Créateurs*, pp. 262-263)

The two chapters which follow deal in greater detail with the relation of these first operas to those of Italy and to that handful of diverse theatrical genres which in varying degrees satisfied the melodramatic aspiration in the years before the birth of full-fledged French opera. While not enough of Cambert's music has survived to permit extensive study, certain analytical comments are given where appropriate.

## PART TWO

### IN SEARCH OF ORPHEUS

Une sottise chargée de musique, de Danses,  
de Machines, de Décorations, est une sottise  
magnifique, mais toujours sottise.

— Saint-Evremond. *Lettre sur les Opéra* —

### CHAPTER III

#### «An Immense Aspiration»

#### Pre-Operatic Genres and First Experiments

France, or at least many of those associated with the French court midway through the seventeenth century, felt an ever-increasing frustration for lack of some form of musical theatre capable of rivalling Italian opera—«an immense aspiration toward lyric theatre». <sup>1</sup> Cardinal Mazarin's attempts to arouse enthusiasm for the particular forms of this new art which his native land offered failed time and again. However impressed by the spectacular aspects of the imported productions, however thrilled by the sumptuous costumes, the marvelous set-changes and machine effects (flying clouds, chariots, horses, and singers), the French still found the words incomprehensible, the music tiring, and the performances unpardonably, unendurably long. <sup>2</sup> They talked through the singing and reserved their attention and their hardest applause for their real love, the French ballets which were performed as *entr'actes*. With their familiar dance rhythms and melodies, their graceful figures and bodily movements, these ballets made the Italian opera at least palatable to the French, but doubled the length of the already seemingly interminable productions.

1 Eugène Borrel, «La Musique du théâtre au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle,» *XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, XXXIX [IXL] (2<sup>e</sup> trimestre 1958), p. 184.

2 The list of major Italian productions in Paris after the death of Louis XIII is not long:

Yet, if the Italian style of musical declamation left courtly society unmoved, the very idea of a form of art which could elicit such extravagant praises as reports brought back from beyond the Alps roused chauvinistic ardour, fanned the flames of desire for an indigenous, comparable art, and turned the Parisian upper-class public more firmly against the imported style of opera. This yearning was further aggravated by the evident superiority in Europe of French serious theatre, where Pierre Corneille was an outstanding name among many «excellent poets». From about 1635 on, these men had been creating plays which, in the judgment of rapt audiences, rivaled their classical models in expressive power as well as formal perfection. If France, whose sense of the dominant rôle in Europe

1<sup>e</sup>, *La Finta Pazza*, a spectacular extravaganza with musical interludes and spoken text, «une partie en Musique & l'autre à l'ordinaire,» in the words of Giulio Cesare Bianchi, author of a description of the work reprinted in M.-Fr. Christout's *Le Ballet de cour de Louis XIV (1643-1672): Mises en scène*, A. & C. Picard, 1967, pp. 197-204; also pp. 42-47; book by Giulio Strozzi, music by Sacrati, choreography (added to satisfy the Parisian public) by G.-B. Balbi, and, above all, sets and machinery by Jacomo Torelli, in the Petit-Bourbon theatre, 14th December 1645. According to the *Gazette de Paris*, a similar work had been performed in February of the same year; we know it only as «an Italian comedy and ballet». Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 46, points out that it could not have been the pastoral *Nicandro e Fileno*, as Prunières conjectures, since Paul-Marie Masson has shown the first performance of that work to have taken place only in 1681.

2<sup>e</sup>, *Egisto*, opera by Francesco Cavalli, «performed in the small hall of the Palais-Royal without any special apparatus,» several times up to Mardi gras, 13th February 1645 (Christout, p. 48).

3<sup>e</sup>, Later that same year, a work long in preparation as the «Grand Ballet of the Duke of Engheim,» but frequently delayed, and gradually transformed into the opera *Orfeo*, performed for the first time Saturday, 2nd March 1647, in the Palais-Royal; book by Francesco Buti, music by Luigi Rossi, choreography and sets again by Balbi and Torelli.

Civil upheavals temporarily suspended these sumptuous productions in which from the very start the French ballet tradition had played an important part. Hardly had order been restored when the practice was resumed, with French music, dance, and verses assuming ever greater importance.

had been growing steadily throughout the century, could produce poets on a par with those of ancient Greece and Rome, why should she not also have the outstanding form of musical theatre in the modern world, an art capable of occupying the eyes and the ears, of transporting the mind and the heart, of charming the whole man—her own superior sort of lyric theatre?

4<sup>e</sup>, *Les Noces de Pélée et de Thétis*, Italian opera with ballet interludes, 14th April 1654, in the Petit-Bourbon; book by Buti, music by Carlo Caproli, sets by Torelli; there were French verses by Isaac Benserade, and the dances were designed by the Duke of Saint-Aignan, probably assisted by Beauchamps and Louis Mollier. French music was used for the ballet interludes; the composers have not been identified. The scores are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale as part of the Philidor collection without indication of composer; existing music may have been used, or, as was the practice in *ballets de cour*, various court composers such as Mollier, Verpré, Mazuel, Chambefort, Chancy, and Boësset, may have contributed (*vide* Charles I. Silin, *Benserade and his Ballets de Cour*, Baltimore/London, 1940, pp. 234-235; Christout, p. 73).

5<sup>e</sup>, *La Rosaure impératrice de Constantinople*, Italian play «with ballets at the end of each act and enlivened with magnificent sets and machines invented by Torelli» (Christout, p. 85), by the Italian Company in Paris, performed in the Petit-Bourbon, 20th February 1658. One of the rare productions in which French courtiers seem to have had no hand.

6<sup>e</sup>, *Serse*, Italian opera, by Nicolò Minato, music by Cavalli (originally performed at the Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice in 1651), 22nd November 1660; in the Grande Galerie of the Louvre; sets this time by Vigarani, with six ballet entrées by Lully. The performance lasted more than eight hours and, since it was not staged in a theatre equipped for set changes, had little but the ballets to recommend it to the French audience which had difficulty following the intricate plot in a foreign language.

The King and his court awaited with impatience (the ballet by that name was danced a few weeks later) the completion of the sumptuous new theatre, the Salle des Tuileries, built by Vigarani and his two sons on Mazarin's orders. The death of the Cardinal in March 1661 caused yet another delay, and the King, now at last his own man, brought about by royal fiat the long-awaited performance of the work originally planned to celebrate his marriage to Maria Theresa of Austria.

Perrin epitomized this national yearning to excel in music as well as in all other «sciences». In the dedicatory epistle to Louis XIV, at the head of his *Cantiques, ou Paroles de Motets*, he unleashed a flood of rhetorical flourishes calculated to convince the monarch of the prestige that would accrue to his reign in the eyes of his countrymen and the rest of Europe, not to mention posterity, if he would but encourage the establishment of such an art.<sup>3</sup>

7<sup>e</sup>, *Hercule amoureux*, Italian opera by Buti and Cavalli, with ballet interludes, verses by Benserade, music by Lully; first performed 7th February 1661, in the Hall of Machines of the new Tuileries theatre.

This production closes the list of Italian musical dramas seen in Paris in the years before the creation of French opera. During the following decade, the court would enjoy great spectacular «fêtes» and mascarades, while the paying public in the commercial theatre would frequently be offered machine plays. Slowly the idea would gain acceptance that the dramatic parts of the musical spectacle need not be sung in a foreign language to be acceptable. One may follow the accounts in Prunières, *L'Opéra italien en France*, pp. 60-64, 105, *et passim*, and Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, Chapters 4-6, pp. 45-66.

<sup>3</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fonds frç 25460, circa 1666/1667. Not surprisingly, Eleanor J. Pellet (*Gabriel Gilbert*, pp. 260-261) discovered similar comments in the dedicatory letter of *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour* by Perrin's successor and imitator, Gabriel Gilbert. Deploring the lack of music in French plays, «Je ne puis m'empescher,» he wrote, «de dire que la Musique est une beauté essentielle qui leur manque, et qui est le plus grand ornement de la Scene». Miss Pellet continues:

«He cites the example of the Greeks, the Inventors of *le Poème Dramatique*, who marked the termination of each act by *des Chœurs de Musique*. He marks the advance of the opera beyond the accomplishment of the Greeks, in that it mingles music with all the parts of the poem, and thus renders it *plus accomply* in the consequent acquisition of *une nouvelle âme aux vers*».

Having thus summarized these ideas, which Perrin had used during the entire preceding decade as ammunition to break down resistance to the idea of French opera, she concludes:

«The *épître* is interesting not only in showing the thorough classicist that Gilbert is, and his dependance for precedent upon *les Grecs*, with the interesting light upon improvement shown in the modern *genre*, but it throws a not unimportant side-light upon the historical moment when the new academy was being born».

Perrin's hyperbole should not be taken to suggest that France did not already have her own musical traditions, her own approaches to lyric theatre. Church music clung to an outmoded contrapuntal tradition, and so hardly counts here. But songs and instrumental interludes were used in theatrical productions throughout the century, and with increasing frequency from about 1648 on. The *air de cour*, a staple of court entertainments, offered a variety of styles and moods to serious singers, and could be performed as part-song or, often, as solo with lute accompaniment. Based on texts by respected poets, airs might be serious lyrics or light, even licentious, love songs, hearty drinking songs, or serenades.

All these styles are practiced by Perrin and illustrated in the *Recueil de Paroles de Musique*. But the lyric impulse had not yet really captured the soul of the French. Many there were who felt a marked discrepancy between legendary reports of the powers of music and the effect of song as they had personally experienced it. Besides, France already had a preferred form of aristocratic entertainment which for decades took the place of music drama. That genre was the *ballet de cour*.<sup>4</sup> A form of art dance imported from Italy during the Renaissance when skill in dancing was considered as important for the accomplished courtier as skill in conversation or at arms, the *ballet de cour* was cousin to the court masques in which the English monarch and nobility found entertainment during the seventeenth century, yet it differed in striking ways from the aristocratic entertainments of both Italy and England. While all the courts of Europe enjoyed dancing and disguises, each also evolved its own distinct version of masquerade spectacle, and each version seems to have reflected something of the national character. The Italians, it was generally agreed, expressed themselves most naturally in song; the French, in dance, although their preferred art, the ballet, had come to them by way of the Medici courts. By the end of the sixteenth century, Italian courts had turned to *dramma per musica*, in which strong passions could be played out by means of musical declamation. The masque in Jacobean England maintained close ties with poetic theatre; it built upon playlets, reserving the

<sup>4</sup> In recent years, a renewed awareness of the non-verbal aspects of theatre has contributed to a growing interest in this genre. The work of Marie-Françoise Christout complements that of Margaret McGowan, *L'Art du ballet de cour en France (1581-1643)*, C. N. R. S., Paris, 1963. Also Silin, *Benserade and his Ballets de Cour*, 1940; Henri Prunières, *Le Ballet de cour en France avant Benserade et Lully*, Paris, 1914; and the first important study of the genre, Victor Fournel, «Histoire du Ballet de Cour,» in his collection *Les Contemporains de Molière*, t. II, Paris, 1866.

dance entrées for contrasting interludes known as anti-masques. Both the story and its allegorical content received careful attention from the scholarly Ben Jonson and his successors, despite all attempts by designers (such as Inigo Jones) to make spectacle—the sets and costumes—the primary element.<sup>5</sup>

In France, *ballet de cour*, as the name implies, was essentially ballet rather than incipient opera or dramatic play with dance interludes. The word, printed or sung, was an alien—some said a «naturalized»—element.<sup>6</sup> The dances, in which nobles of the court took part, were usually little

5 On the English masque, *vide* the thesis of Paul Reynier, *Les Masques anglais: Etude sur les ballets et la vie de cour en Angleterre (1512-1640)*, Paris, 1909; Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque, A Study in the Relationship between Poetry and the Masque*, Cambridge (England), 1927.

6 The technique of working out the subject of a ballet, of selecting and combining the entrées, deserves more study than it has received. Diversity and contrast, as well as imagination—or, to use the term favoured at the time, *fantaisie*—in finding and combining materials to fit within the limits of the given subject were the touchstones of the art. Until the mid-century, much of the intellectual satisfaction afforded by the ballet must have come from the ingenuity with which entrées were chosen, that is, the cleverness which the author displayed in inventing unexpected associations of ideas. Under Louis XIV, Benserade, and Lully, the element of wit and surprise of the ballet took on the regularity and predictability of a Cartesian demonstration. Even the subjects lost their fantastic character in favour of familiar mythological stories and serious conceptions susceptible to division into a number of equal parts.

The *Ballet of Night* (1653), one of the most extensive of the great ballets, was in four parts, each representing a three-hour period and the various activities which these hours might foster. There were ballets of the Seasons, the Muses, the Arts, and, with increasing frequency, mythological subjects. It should be understood, though, that even a mythological ballet normally did not tell the story suggested by its title. In *Psyché, ou la Puissance de l'Amour* (1665), the nymph herself scarcely figures, except—in the second part—as an unseen spectator at «some of the marvels Love has produced». The first part represents «the beauties and delights of the Palace of Love,» and contains entrées of Cupid, Games, Laughter, Youth, Joy, Painters, Musicians, Comus, god of Feasts, four Perfumers, Psyché (finally), Beauty and the three Graces, and, at the conclusion, the trio Silence, Discretion, and Secrecy.

The dances themselves displayed the imagination and invention which such a pedantic outline seems to deny. *Vide* also the project for a ballet of Planets by Michel de Marolles, *Mémoires*, t. II, Paris, 1657, pp. 167-195; and those of Menestrier, *Des Ballets anciens et modernes*, Paris, 1682.

more than elaborations of familiar ballroom steps: sarabande, bourrée, gavotte, passepied, courante, or stately pavane. Still, even admitting that the dividing line was often barely distinguishable, performances involved staged, choreographed dances rather than costume ball or social dance. From this basis would spring the great tradition of «classical» ballet in the following century. These were true theatrical performances, albeit, to modern eyes, peculiar ones, since they involved no plot or dramatic action. To think of *ballet de cour* in terms of classical ballet as we know it today would be totally misleading. Within a very loose framework, combining dance, song, poetry, and sometimes extravagant spectacle with allegorical, mythological, and grotesque subjects and oblique references to contemporary persons and events, offering to a rapt audience of initiates the hallucinatory vision of familiar nobles and royalty travestied into startling metamorphoses, the *ballet de cour* was the closest approximation seventeenth-century France had devised to a total theatrical experience.

In such a theatre, the play of illusion operated in an unusual way. Imagine a highly conventionalized, closed society in which everyone spent much of his time speculating on the true motives and the real life of everyone else, a society so embroiled in restraint and an etiquette so formalized that when a lady pronounced the words: «Nay, Sir, I do not hate you,» it might be taken—and meant—as an avowal of love; a society so concerned with appearances that one of its joys would be the great hall of mirrors at Versailles, where courtiers could watch themselves watching each other. Give such a society a form of costumed, theatrical entertainment in which not outsiders, actors or professional dancers, but those very same lords and ladies whose private lives were the matter of such speculation, a favourite form of entertainment in which they might assume the rôles of fictional, mythical, or legendary beings—the members of such a society will draw great pleasure from the ways in which social illusion is compounded and confused with theatrical illusion. To such a mixture, add one more ingredient: a book, a *livret*, which puts words into the mouths of each of the dancers, which points out and develops parallels and contrasts between the public personage and the rôles he plays, not without occasional thinly veiled allusions to his private life. The result must be a complex and subtle, highly circumstantial, play of shifting planes of reality and illusion.

This was very much the sport of a small, closed society in which everyone knew everyone else and enjoyed discovering the real identity of the dancer under the costume and behind the mask. The poets who wrote for these productions, particularly Isaac Benserade during the early years of the reign of Louis XIV, prided themselves on their ability to draw parallels or contrasts between the dancer and his rôle. Thus, unlike the professional theatre, where the actor seeks to disappear totally behind the mask, the *ballet de cour* appealed because it allowed the spectator to juggle theatrical illusion and social reality. Spectators had a sense of sharing in the performance, and performers were never completely dissociated from their social selves. The mask added dimension to the man rather than hiding him.

When opera finally came to France, a prime element of audience involvement was discarded: King and courtiers ceased to appear personally in the spectacle and became passive spectators. We may suspect that not everyone regretted the loss of this glorified form of gossip-mongering. The delight an earlier generation had taken in optical illusion and carnival masking had given way to the pessimistic realization that the true illusions, those of self-deception—Pascal's «puissances trompeuses»—are more dangerous than delightful, sources of human misery rather than of light pleasures. For a while, though, the King continued to dance, and his court continued to follow his lead and to applaud him. Under Louis XIV, the ballet also changed character somewhat. The grotesque ceded to magnificence, light-hearted wit gave way to pomposity; yet the genre retained its essential form and character.

Then, almost simultaneously with the birth of French opera, the *ballet de cour* breathed its last. While many traits of the parent were to show up in the offspring, the collaboration of courtly amateurs and professionals was not one of them. The era of professionalism had arrived. Singers, dancers, and instrumentalists were specialists. Within a decade, Lully was to introduce upon the operatic stage the first professional female dancers, thus preparing the way for the age of the ballerina.<sup>7</sup> As a result, the circumstantial illusionism of court ballet was lost to opera, doubtless for the better.

7 The *Ballet du Triomphe de l'Amour*, danced by the court at Saint-Germain in January of 1681, satisfied a nostalgic longing for the good old days on the part of a no-longer young court. But neither Louis' generation nor the crop of young nobles who danced found it so satisfying as the operatic spectacles to which they had grown accustomed. (Vide Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 42.) When Lully took the production to Paris, in May of that same year, he replaced the ladies of the court with professional female dancers for the first time.

In the early years—that is, from the time of the sumptuous *Balet comique de la Royne* to about 1621—ballets had developed plots and had had some narrative or dramatic content (hence the word *comique*, 'dramatic,' in the title of the famous production of 1581). Although theorists were to continue to speak of ballet as a *comédie muette*, those ballets produced after 1621 followed a strikingly different line of development. The new form, the *ballet à entrées*, rather than competing with the ever-stronger tradition of poetic drama on the commercial stage, dropped all pretense at following a narrative line and instead strung together a series of *entrées*, loosely threaded upon a central idea or theme. Any idea could serve as long as it lent itself to a certain kind of development. There were the *Ballet of Proverbs*, the *Ballet of the Power of Women*, the *Ballet of Don Quichote*, the *Ballet of the Spoiled Brats*, and many more, including ultimately a *Ballet of Ballets*.

Ballets during the reign of Louis XIII had tended to the grotesque, with fantastic costumes reminiscent of the symbolic imaginings of Hieronymous Bosch, strong contrasts, and great use of visual illusions. When that King's heir began to dance in ballets, in the early 1650's, the tone underwent a marked change. At the young monarch's penchant for the stately and the elegant began to make itself felt, dignity and some degree of pretentiousness, even pomposity, replaced the grotesque element and the free play of fantasy of earlier productions. Subjects were frequently drawn from Greek and Roman mythology; those borrowed from Italian sources such as the ever-popular *Orlando furioso* of Ariosto received the same treatment. Lavish sets again came into use, and great entertainments lasting sometimes several days (such as *Les Plaisirs de l'île enchantée* of 1664) played off their artifices against the impressive and only slightly less artificial background of the formal gardens of great châteaux.

Unfortunately, what was gained in magnificence and formal design was lost in imagination and suggestive power. It is no wonder that the King and his court finally tired of these great, fastuous, and increasingly vacuous displays. Nor is it any wonder that during this final period the desire grew for a more satisfactory kind of spectacle theatre, one which would retain those elements of ballet which gave pleasure, but which would also satisfy the mind, the wit, in a way which ballet no longer could. Speech and plot demanded their part. It was time to reintegrate ballet and drama.

Not that *ballet de cour* had no verbal elements. Besides the printed «vers pour les personnages,» which the spectators read, supposedly as the appropriate dance was taking place, or just before it, there were various kinds of sung verses which, too, were printed in the *livret*. From the 1650's on, the ballets produced at court, particularly under the influence of Lully, came to contain steadily increasing amounts of singing. Having rapidly acquired complete jurisdiction over the musical portions of all royal ballets, the Florentine supplemented the traditional *récit* (usually a solo song or occasionally a dialogue, which opened each part of the ballet and explained its subject) with interpolated little songs, *chansons*, more serious *airs*, and even pastoral scenes in dialogue. On at least one occa-

sion, he produced what has been called an incipient comic opera, the ballet *Amor malato* (*Love as a Patient*, 1657), which was sung throughout in Italian. Yet even there the dance music was what appealed; it has been preserved, whereas the vocal parts are lost. When French opera finally took form, it would be marked by the peculiarly French trait of according a particularly large place to dance.

The very essence of *ballet de cour* after 1621 was its non-narrative, non-linear structure, the way in which it juxtaposed contrasting entrées derived from a single subject. Italian opera held out the temptation of a form which imitated a tragic action, and, in doing so in song, came closer than any known form to the ideal of Greek tragedy as it was then understood. For a number of reasons France was loathe to yield to that temptation. In a monumental piece of telescoping, Edward J. Dent (*Foundations of English Opera*, London, 1928, p. 104) stated some years ago that (as opposed to England where the strength of the dramatic tradition held up the coming of opera) in France «there were no obstacles either to drama or to opera, and the new dramatic style of Corneille [new *circa* 1636] and Molière [new *circa* 1660] was evolved just at the moment when English drama was in a state of suspended animation». A long moment, indeed! Molière's satire frequently nips at Corneille's already outmoded style. The claim that opera came easily to France simply overlooks a quarter-century of hesitations, experiments, search, and doubts, between the revelation of the first Italian musical entertainments (*La Festa teatrale della Finta Pazza*, by Saccati, performed in Paris, 1645) and the first successful full-scale French opera, *Pomone*, in 1671.

Aside from *ballet de cour*, which enjoyed a final burst of popularity, there were several experiments during this period. All attempted to satisfy the craving for theatre-with-music without coming to grips with the problem of recitative, the part of Italian opera which French ears found least attractive. It might even be argued that «the new dramatic style of Corneille» exerted a strong influence in retarding the emergence of opera. The particular, highly structured, and rationalistic character of classical French poetry and the stylized manner of declamation employed on the French stage may well have been sufficient causes of resistance to another, different, and equally conventional form of speech, musical declamation.

The immediate result of the first visits by Italian companies took the form of spectacular plays with «machines». From the late 1640's on, this sort of play, in which the sets took precedence over the text, became the specialty of one of the three permanent companies in Paris, the Marais theatre.<sup>8</sup> In these versified works, a slim plot usually celebrated

the loves of a god—Jupiter, Apollo, Thetis, Bacchus—and called for music only incidentally, to fill in the time it took to operate the machines which brought about the astonishing visual effects: ideally lightning-swift, but never ideal, these effects involved *voleries*, or flights, of clouds heavy with immortals, of chariots, and of winged animals, as well as set changes in which grottoes blossomed into magnificent palaces (and *vice versa*). La Fontaine's famous and caustic epistle on opera to M. de Nyert suggests the extent to which these mechanical miracles strained the spectator's power of imagination, not to mention his patience.

portant article, «Les Origines de la tragédie lyrique et la place des tragédies en machines dans l'évolution du théâtre vers l'opéra.» *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXXV (avril-juin, 1928), pp. 161-193. The vogue of pastoral plays early in the century had accustomed audiences to the *merveilleux* and to a more complex *mise en scène* than was either called for or permitted in plays dealing with ordinary mortals. One might mention perhaps a dozen plays before 1645 which made rudimentary use of machinery. Marsan (*La Pastorale dramatique*) said that the first creators of opera «had only to remember» this native French tradition. But, as Gros pointed out, they did not remember (p. 166), for there had been for all practical purposes «*solution de continuité*,» a break in the tradition. Instead, the spectacular Italian plays and operas seen in Paris from 1645 on provided the impetus needed to establish the machine play as a separate genre.

As late as 1641 when Cardinal Richelieu called for a machine play to help justify construction of a new theatre in his palace, the effects were far short of astounding; «a sunset, a rising moon,» a moving sea in the background, perhaps a flight or two. The sets were somewhat more sumptuous than normal and included vases from which flowed real water. In the case of this play, *Mirame* by Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin, and others of the time which I have examined, the text itself contains no indication of the use of machinery. Letters and other contemporary accounts alone reveal how the work in question was staged. In other cases, according to Gros (p. 174), authors often asked for more than actors were able to accomplish given the limited financial resources of commercial companies in Paris at that time.

8 Etienne Gros traced the development of the spectacle play in an im-

Des machines d'abord le suprenant spectacle  
Eblouit le bourgeois et fit crier miracle;  
Mais la seconde fois il ne s'y pressa plus;

The first important success of the Marais theatre was a revival in 1648 of a play by Chapoton called *La Descente d'Orphée aux Enfers*. The work was revived again in 1662. The public's familiarity with this work, designed from the first to exploit the scenic possibilities of the story, may help explain why the myth of Orpheus, poet and musician, did not serve in the French tradition as it had in the Italian as the obvious choice for an operatic subject. Chapoton's text was reprinted each time the work was revived, and in each case remained unchanged. The name underwent marked changes, however. Originally entitled simply *La Descente d'Orphée aux Enfers, Tragédie* (Paris, 1640, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés Yf, 1467), it became *La Grande Journée des machines, ou le Mariage d'Orphée et d'Eurydice*, (Paris, 1648; Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés Yf, 205). The author had become anonymous, but the machinist Buffequin was now credited with «machines à l'italienne». There are several places in the original text which call for spectacular effects (appearances of goddesses, allegorical figures, serpents; thunder and lightning, winds, clouds, and chariots) and various scene changes, including Charon on a moveable raft, underworld scenes, ruined towers. Some of this must have been represented on the stage even the first time.

When the work was revived, the spectacular element dominated all others as indicated in a puff sheet which appeared in 1647 (11 pp.) to announce the preparations:

*Plan of the Poem and the Superb Machines of the Marriage of Orpheus and Euridice which will be presented upon the Stage of the Marais Theatre....*

And the fatal marriage.... [which] will show on their Stage in almost a single instant the Celestial Deities descend to Earth, Gods flying through the air, the Sun rolling in its Zodiac, the Furies wandering in their caverns, Dryads in the Forests, Bacchants transformed into trees, Serpents crawling, Animals walking, the Earth open, Hell appear, and the pleasant diversity of the Forests, Plains, and Deserts, Rocks, Mountains, and Flowers, and compete with Nature to deceive the eyes of the Spectators and delight them with charms of inimitable artifice.

The original work had contained several songs which are retained here; one source indicates that the music was by «Luigi,» that is, Luigi Rossi. Is there confusion with his *Orfeo*, performed at court that same year, or did he really supply a score for this work?

Il aima mieux le Cid, Horace, Héraclius.  
Aussi de ces objets l'âme n'est point émue.  
Et même rarement ils contentent la vue.  
Quand j'entends le sifflet, je ne trouve jamais  
Le changement si prompt que je me le promets;  
Souvent au plus beau char le contre-poids résiste;  
Un dieu pend à la corde, et crie au machiniste;  
Un reste de forêt demeure dans la mer,  
Ou la moitié du ciel au milieu de l'enfer.<sup>9</sup>

The machine spectacle would shortly settle into a formula, each work featuring a famous love story from Greek mythology (probably in most cases by way of Ovid), and more and more frequently taking the title «The Loves of....» some deity or other. Besides Corneille's *Andromède* (1649-1650) and *La Toison d'or* (1660), Quinault's *Comédie sans comédie* (1654) contains a machine act among the different genres it demonstrates; there was also Gilbert's *Amours de Diane et d'Endimion* (1657). Molière's *Dom Juan, ou le Festin de Pierre* (1665) is a comedy designed to make use of machinery; *Les Amours de Jupiter et de Sémélé*, by Boyer (1666) had a score composed by Molière's homonym Louis Mollier; the comic playwright's *Amphitryon* (1668) could, in a serious mode, have been dubbed *The Loves of Jupiter and Alcmena*; *Les Amours de Vénus et Adonis* by Donneau de Visé (1670) had a score by M.-A. Charpentier.

In 1671, Molière had the Palais-Royal stage rebuilt to accommodate the machinery of *Psyché*, Tragédie-ballet; that same year the Marais theatre performed de Visé's *Amours du Soleil*, and a year later his *Mariage de Bacchus et d'Ariane*, with «airs» by Mollier; de Visé collaborated with Thomas Corneille and Charpentier on *Circé* (1674) and *L'Inconnu* (1675) for the «company of the late Molière» in the Hôtel de la rue Guénégaud—that is, the theatre of the original Académie de Musique, in competition with Quinault and Lully's first operas. It would be fastidious to continue the list. With the exception of *Dom Juan*, these works made extensive use of music: airs, dialogues, and orchestral interludes.

It is worth noting that two of Donneau de Visé's subjects (*Vénus et Adonis* and *Bacchus et Ariane*) had been treated some ten years earlier by Perrin in the two libretti written immediately after the success of the *Pastorale* in order to illustrate the scope of possibilities of the musical drama as he conceived it.

9 «At first the surprising spectacle of machines dazzled the bourgeois and brought cries of 'Miracle'; but the second time he no longer hurried to see it; he preferred *Le Cid, Horace, Héraclius* [all plays by Pierre Corneille]. For the soul is not moved by these things, and they rarely even satisfy the eyes. When I hear the whistle, I never find the [scene] change as rapid as I expected; often even the most beautiful carriage resists the counter-weight; a god hangs suspended at the end of a rope and shouts to the technician; a piece of forest remains in the sea, or half of the sky in the middle of Hell,» Epître XII, «A. M. de Nyert, Sur l'Opéra,» 1677, *Œuvres de J. de la Fontaine*, éd. Henri Régner (Grands Ecrivains de la France) Paris, 1892, t. IX, pp. 155-156.

Other playwrights followed Corneille's lead in *Andromède* (1649-1650) and «carefully refrained from having anything sung which was necessary for the comprehension of the play». <sup>10</sup> Still, however strongly machine spectacle may have been devoted to refusal of the operatic ideal, the influence of *dramma per musica* grew progressively stronger in these productions. As Prunières noted, «it was at the Marais that the future librettists of Lullian operas did their apprenticeships». <sup>11</sup> The 1650's and 1660's produced a spate of pastoral and mythological machine plays. When opera came, it not only satisfied this hunger for visual effects and ballet sequences, but also perhaps removed a certain incongruity, since it patently placed all the events in a highly conventionalized realm of *merveilleux* in which supernatural beings and legendary heroes speak in song. As a result, the opera brought to an end the vogue of the machine play, by absorbing it.

Another new genre, this one created in 1661 by Molière, while it too ultimately failed to satisfy the need for a truly operatic form of theatre, did serve as a temporary sop to the hungry public. Most of Molière's comedy-ballets were written in collaboration with Lully, and provided the ambitious Florentine, who by 1660 had assumed complete charge of ballet composition at court, further practice in setting French lyrics and shaping dramatic scenes. In these works, the dramatic action of the comedy generally remained distinct from the musical interludes—except that in true baroque style there was often some overflow from the one into the other, as when a character wanders into the dance—but might provide a framework for the elaboration of complete little musical pastorals. <sup>12</sup>

The comedy-ballet dealt with the still-unresolved challenge of musical theatre by attaching elements from the French ballet tradition to the dramatic frame of comedy in a flexible association. Its specific *trouvaille* was the incorporation within its structure of a calculated play of juxtapositions or contrasts between the musical and non-musical sections. Although for all practical purposes the genre Molière created and the name it bore died with him, the term does crop up occasionally later on, even in England, but with no sense of the vital union of the arts which had

animated the originals; and productions in the lyric genre throughout most of the following century were as often as not called opera-ballets. Unlike the comedy-ballet, French opera was to develop not the play of contrasts but that unity of tone, even among a diversity of elements, which constituted one of the basic tenets of French classical aesthetics, and which makes *opera seria* so difficult to enjoy today.

Clearly, then, neither Italian opera with interpolated French ballets, nor the dramatically disappointing machine plays, neither the plotless *ballets de cour*, nor even the delightful comedy-ballets of Lully and Molière satisfied the craving which was gnawing at French pride, that need for plays in French—thus comprehensible to a French audience—but sung from one end to the other in a musical style which would appeal to French taste. Another, a different line of attack had to be found if music and drama were to be united. At least so it must have seemed to contemporaries who had not our hindsight to see where Lully's successive ventures were leading him, as he set first Italian then French lyrics in ballets, then French pastoral scenes and comic songs in comedy-ballets. The history of some attempts to bridge the gap between the musical and the dramatic art will help clarify the rôle of Perrin and Cambert in the development of the operatic formula.

Much as they desired a musical genre of their own, and perhaps because of its lack, the French were quick to find fault with Italian productions and to establish parallels between their music and that from across the Alps. One of the things that the Perrin documents make clear is that the eighteenth-century dispute over the relative merits of French and Italian music and their respective languages as vehicles for musical expression had its beginnings in the preceding century. Just as Frenchmen would continue to do, Perrin criticized the weaknesses of Italian libretti, the use of castrati, and the unbridled expression of passions in Italian music. In the same year as Perrin's *Pastorale* and letter to Monseigneur Della Rovera (1659), Lully included in the *Ballet de la Raillerie* a duet between «*La Musique françoise*» and «*La Musica italiana*,» an artfully amusing composition in which each makes fun of the other's idiosyncrasies. <sup>13</sup>

10 «Avertissement» to *Andromède*, *Œuvres de Pierre Corneille*, éd. Marty Laveaux (Grands Écrivains de la France), Paris, 1862, t. V, p. 297.

11 *Opéra italien*, p. 322. During the period of Quinault's temporary disgrace, Thomas Corneille and the young Fontenelle were called in to supply the libretti for the indispensable annual opera. Later Campistron wrote for Lully.

12 For example: *Les Fâcheux*, *L'Amour médecin*, *George Dandin*, *La Princesse d'Élide*; vide my article, «Music of the Spheres in the Comedy-Ballets,» *L'Esprit Créateur*, VI, iii (Fall, 1966), pp. 176-187.

13 The score is to be found among the appendices in Prunières's *Ballet de cour en France avant Benserade et Lully*.

The two decades after 1650 brought a revival of the dramatic eclogue, which had enjoyed a wave of popularity much earlier in the century.<sup>14</sup> In such texts as the *Bergerie* of Montchrétien (1601) and *Les Amantes, ou la grande pastorelle* (1613) by Nicolas Chrestien, one scholar detected a peculiar characteristic of interest to music. «In all the speeches pronounced by shepherds and shepherdesses,» wrote Lionel de La Laurencie, «there seems to be above all a striving for musical effect. From time to time, a song is inserted into the dialogue, and the speeches are organized into verses which balance each other in length. At the same time, the sentiments are generalized and through this blurring effect become truly musical. Thus are obtained musical pieces without music» (*Les Créateurs de l'Opéra français*, Paris, 1930, pp. 162-163). Here, then, were lyric forms ideally suited to musical theatre.

Indeed, as in Italy in the early years of that country's music drama, the pastoral, with its stereotyped characters, its familiar, simple plot, and its essentially lyric orientation, provided the ideal vehicle for the development of lyrico-dramatic musical techniques. One finds short pastoral dialogues among the *airs de cour* and by mid-century such pastorals begin to appear as complete scenes and even playlets, with ever increasing use of song. In the musical play *Akébar, roi du Mogol*, performed at Carcassonne (1646), in d'Assoucy's *Amours d'Apollon et de Daphné* (1650), then again in Michel de la Guerre and Charles de Beys' *Triomphe de l'Amour* (1655), the pastoral moved ever closer to opera. Yet in all this time, it had not come to grips with the fundamental challenge of musical declamation.

Despite all the attempts of Castil-Blaze to establish *Akébar* as the first French opera,<sup>15</sup> we know so little about the work and its production that we must pass over it. The next embryonic opera followed the pastoral pattern of using «free» lyric verses—as opposed to heroic alexandrines—throughout, but set to music only moments of heightened emotion. Charles Coyneau, sieur d'Assoucy, the poet, vagabond, and sometime composer who only a few months previously had set the musical texts in

Corneille's *Andromède*<sup>16</sup> published circa 1650, a «comédie en musique» called *Les Amours d'Apollon et de Daphné*. The work was in all likelihood never performed. From *Andromède*, the machine spectacle in which «nothing was sung which was necessary for the understanding of the dramatic action,» to *Les Amours d'Apollon et de Daphné* was but one small but significant step: the sacrifice of the dramatic structure for a series of extremely simple «lyric» situations.<sup>17</sup> Corneille's characters are people, albeit idealized, heroic ones, who occasionally stop to enjoy music. They themselves do not sing. D'Assoucy's are abstractions, mythological figures who may «naturally» express themselves as easily in song as in speech. The idea that ordinary mortals do not normally sing was to continue to haunt French opera for many years to come.

16 Bass and tenor parts to some of these numbers are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Département de Musique, *Airs à quatre parties du sieur Dassoucy*, R. Ballard, Paris, 1653, Rés. Vm 275. The dedication implies that most of these airs date from before the death of the late King, and certainly their four-part style links them with the earlier tradition. Yet the work contains two choruses from *Andromède* («Cieux, écoutez, écoutez, mers profondes,» from the Prologue, and «Vivez, heureux amants,» from the conclusion IV, v).

17 This work has recently been made available in a critical edition by Yves Giraud, in the series *Textes Littéraires Français*, Genève & Paris, 1969. The score has never been discovered; the text is of interest to our study. Giraud makes the following remarks on its character:

«... The most significant aspect of the work is unquestionably the great variety of tones that call upon widely varied registers. Only a superficial or fragmentary reading could permit a statement, such as the one made some time ago by H. Prunières that 'the play itself is treated entirely in the burlesque style'. In fact, that element is of primary importance, and Dassoucy displays with a master's hand a freewheeling verve, an extraordinary medley of droll relationships, unexpected associations and plays of sound.... But in reality, this mixture of burlesque and pastoral scenes, of galant, erotic and serious, not to say tragic tones, suffices to confer a life and a colour of a most original sort on this play, which relates in this way to the aesthetics of the baroque».  
(pp. 46-47)

The work contains some fourteen musical numbers in three short acts and a prologue of two strophes in *ballet de cour récit* style: 550 lines in all. The editor would like to see this play accorded a place in the history of the French *Comédie en musique*, and concludes that its value lies in its innovativeness. And indeed it does, for the distinctive trait of this period is the diversity of experiments it produced.

14 Studied in J. Marsan, *La Pastorale dramatique en France à la fin du 16<sup>e</sup> et au commencement du 17<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1905.

15 Castil-Blaze, *Théâtres lyriques de Paris, L'Académie Impériale de Musique, Histoire littéraire, musicale, choréographique, pittoresque, morale, critique, facétieuse, politique et galante de ce théâtre, de 1645 à 1855*, Paris, 1855, t. I, p. 32. Vide also his *Molière musicien*, Paris, 1852, t. I, pp. 55-56.

Five years later, the court heard the first French pastorale to be sung throughout, *Le Triomphe de l'Amour sur les bergers et les bergères* by Michel de la Guerre and Charles de Beys, poet of Gaston's court.<sup>18</sup> Here again, the authors avoided the recitative problem, this time by joining songs together, simply eliminating the connective dialogue. Perhaps the most striking feature of this short work (130 lines) is its regular structure. Situation, scenes, and dialogue are rigidly symmetrical. At the outset, Climène loves Philandre, who loves Cloris; Cloris loves Lysis, who loves Climène. In the following schema, arrows indicate inclination; solid arrows, the original situation; and dotted lines, the change operated by Love, who sets all to rights in the final scene:



We will have occasion to quote from this text in discussing the rules of the lyric. Here, meanwhile, is a sample of d'Assoucy's song style:

Daphné sings (I, ii):

Fy de l'Amour et de ses lois.  
Ce tyran dans mon cœur n'aura jamais de place,  
Je n'ayme que la chasse  
C'est le plaisir des Rois;  
Je n'ayme que la chasse,  
Que la chasse et les bois.

Clearly, it is not in the lyrics that we find the verve to which Giraud refers but rather in the spoken dialogue. The words for singing have the same character of simplicity and directness which we will discover everywhere we turn at this time.

18 Henri Quittard, who first published and analyzed the text, argued that it belonged the title «La Première comédie française en musique,» *Bulletin de la Société Internationale de Musique*, [S. I. M.] IV (1908), iv (15 avril) & vi (15 juin), pp. 374-396 & 497-537. Prunières, *L'Opéra italien*, pp. 339-343, judged it even less satisfactory than the *Pastorale* which was to follow.

Besides this neatness in human relations, hence in plot, the poet imposed upon himself an equally fastidious technical discipline, constructing each of the first four scenes (half the text) in identical form. Number of lines, distribution of lines between male and female rôles, syllable count of corresponding lines, all fit the same mold. This stunt was accomplished so that the same music could be used four times over: scenes i and ii featured the Shepherdess Climène, first with Lysis whom she hates and rejects, then with Philandre who hates and rejects her; scenes iii and iv, the other Shepherdess, Cloris, first with Philandre whose love she disdains, then with Lysis who rebuffs her. The composer, wrote Henri Prunières, had to set to music, if he did the minimum, only forty-six lines of poetry in the entire work, less in fact than in some dialogued *airs de cour* of the time.<sup>19</sup>

The claim has been made that this work, and not Perrin's *Pastorale*, represents the first attempt at opera in France. Study of the text leads to a different conclusion. The authors conceived it not as a drama suited for

19 The strophe followed the pattern indicated below. Parts were exchanged as the situation shifted (M indicates a male singer, F, a female).

Line	Singer	Length of Line (in Syllables)	Rhyme endings
1	F	8	a masculine
2	F	8	b feminine
3	M	8	a masculine
4	M	8	b feminine
5	F	12	c masculine
6	M	12	c masculine
7	F	12	d masculine
8	F	12	e feminine
9	F	12	e feminine
10	F	12	d masculine
11	M	12	f feminine
12	M	12	g masculine
13	M	12	g masculine
14	M	12	f feminine

Such a fixed pattern, however elementary, reveals perhaps better than anything else the formalist tendencies and the desire for structural clarity through simplification in the full force of their influence on the early French experiments in lyric drama. Compared to this text, Perrin's libretti are jungles of complexity, yet they reveal similar attitudes in their attempts to create poetic forms compatible with musical structures.

staging but as a concert piece for vocal quartet, a strophic dialogue in the tradition of *air de cour*. They did not intend that it be taken as theatre. Two-part dialogues were common; part music was still frequently performed (most of the music to *Andromède* was set for mixed homophonic quartet). Escalation is as common in the arts as elsewhere. It was a natural next step that the two-part dialogue should expand to four, that the four-voiced part-song should give each singer his solo. Furthermore, the repetitive structure offers the ideal vehicle for the kind of vocal embellishment which was in fashion. In all likelihood, the melody was heard in its relatively pure form only in the first of the four scenes just discussed. Then, in succeeding scenes, each singer in turn employed all his ingenuity to vary and elaborate each portion of the melody as it fell to him. The work is so constructed that each singer has his chance at each part of the melody. Thus, the entire work more closely approximates the repetitive structure of theme and variations than the sinuous, linear development of a play.

*Le Triomphe de l'Amour sur les bergers et les bergères* had sufficient success at court to merit a revival. First presented in concert version on 22nd January 1655, at the Louvre, it was staged two years later. Judging from the fact that there are no surviving reports of that performance, we may assume that a work composed of nothing but a series of extended *doubles* proved unsatisfactory as theatre. Clearly, it was not conceived for the stage, but represents a step on the way to opera, comparable to the «dramatic madrigals» of late eighteenth-century Italy, in which singers hid behind a screen while dancers mimed the action before the public.

Perrin's conception, on the other hand, was from the outset scenic, theatrical, if never completely dramatic. Two more years had passed by the time he and Cambert staged their *Pastorale-en-musique* in the village of Issy just outside of Paris, proudly proclaiming it the «first French play in music performed in France». The production was later described by Menestrier in the following terms:

«... after having noted what was lacking in our music to make it recitative and capable of expressing the most touching sentiments without any of the words being lost, finally, in the year 1659, [Perrin] undertook a little play in pastoral form, involving two sopranos, a bass, a mezzo-soprano, a tenor, and a low bass. A Satyr, three shepherds, and three Shepherdesses made up the cast of characters, the public acceptance of eclogues which had been sung in the past having demonstrated that such works would meet with greater success if they contained shepherds than if they attempted more serious subjects. The play had five acts and only fourteen scenes, which were fourteen songs which had been strung together freely, obeying no other law than that of expressing in beautiful verses and music the diverse agitations of the heart which can be shown on the stage.<sup>20</sup>

20 *Des Représentations en musique*, Paris, 1681; in Pougin, *Les Vrais Créateurs*, p. 53. Much of his information, as indeed his entire final sentence, seems to have been borrowed directly from Perrin's letter.

Perrin had previously composed a number of songs, which had been set to music by various composers, and «several dialogues,» again quoting Menestrier (*ibidem*) «of two shepherds and a shepherdess, which Monsieur Lambert set to music, either for two sopranos and bass, or tenor and sopranos, or a single soprano and a bass».

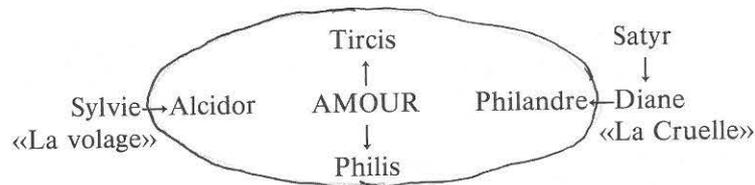
The librettist probably had good reason for training his musicians progressively for the momentous task of composing operatic scores rather than confronting them from the outset with all the complexities of a full-scale operatic structure. If opera was to make new departures, authors and performers would have to develop new styles and new skills. More than a generation had passed since French composers had last used music for dramatic purposes in the dramatic ballets which came to an abrupt halt in 1621. Singers had no experience on the stage. Even Lully, who had more ample opportunity than anyone else in France to shape his hand to a new vocal style, took two full decades to prepare himself for the task. He first composed dances, then Italian songs, then French songs, pastoral dialogues, scenes and acts, and inaugurated his stewardship of the Académie de Musique with a pot-pourri of previously performed pieces (*Les Amours de Bacchus*, April 1673) before finally undertaking a full-scale operatic score.

To set his «little play» with its momentous implications, Perrin turned to a previous collaborator, the composer-organist Robert Cambert. A man of talent with a desire to compose dramatic scenes, Cambert had already composed an elegy «à trois voix en espèce de dialogue» called *La Muette ingrate* (1658) which, he boasted, «did not tire the listeners even though it lasted .... fully three quarters of an hour» (quoted in Nuytner & Thoinan, pp. 33-34).

Prunières chides the poet for claiming wonders for his *Pastorale* when so many works had preceded it. He notes that Perrin failed to mention *Les Amours d'Apollon* by d'Assoucy, who was in Italy at the time, *Le Triomphe de l'Amour* by Beys, who had died shortly before this production, or even *La Muette ingrate* of his collaborator Cambert (*L'Opéra italien*, p. 344). D'Assoucy's play was nine years old by this time. Neither Beys' nor Cambert's work was conceived for staged production. And had outraged protest been called for, Michel de la Guerre, composer of *Le Triomphe de l'Amour*, was still active at court. Perhaps so many omissions indicate not the power of Perrin's overweening ego, as Prunières thought, but rather that he, his collaborator, and their contemporaries, saw in the *Pastorale* an essential difference from previous works. Prunières, although he admitted that the text which Perrin gave Cambert to set was in several ways superior to that of Beys; that it shows more poetic skill, is more supple, more dramatic and freer; that it avoids the monotonous symmetry of the earlier text and even divides lines between singers; that in some of the bass arias it «seems to call for a slightly recitative musical form, in the manner of certain récits in ballets of the time» (*L'Opéra italien*, p. 345)—even granting all this, he could discover no possible justification for Perrin's pride. To each his due. Perrin and Cambert had written and produced, without governmental or other subsidy, the first work in

France conceived as a play and sung throughout. On the testimony of contemporaries, «although there were in it neither machines nor dances, [the work] was universally applauded». <sup>21</sup>

The outdoor set represented a landscape with bowers on either side of the stage. In this generalized setting, seven pastoral figures would come and go: three Shepherds (bass, baritone, and tenor), all faithful servants of their respective Shepherdesses (sopranos), and a lonely Satyr (bass). The first of the maidens is flighty, unwilling to settle on any one admirer for long; the second, forerunner of the milkmaid Patience, is as yet untaught in the ways of love and not quite willing to learn; the third loves her Shepherd as she is loved by him. In contrast to these three archetypal variations on the theme of the amorous couple, one other character prowls, the Satyr, eternally outside the closed, magic circle of reciprocated love. The following schema shows the relationships of the various characters:



*AMOUR*, at the centre of the circle exerts his mysterious attraction, finally overcoming the resistance of the two maidens and drawing them into his sphere through the influence and example of the happy couple, while the Satyr continues to stare in at them like a starving beggar watching a feast through the window.

The first act of the *Pastorale* opens with the solitary Satyr, who in a monologue laments the fate of those who love in vain. Refusing to relinquish hope, he reminds himself philosophically that Love is a capricious god, capable of creating the most unexpected matches, and bringing about sudden and unexpected changes. The two unhappy Shepherds complain of their lot, whereupon the inconstant Sylvie, who takes as model for her actions the faithlessness of men, pokes mocking fun at them (scene iii), and heartless Diane expresses her fears of Love's entanglements (scene iv). Act Two opens with Tyrsis lamenting the absence of his faithful Philis. His complaints are overheard by Diane, who, despite her

21 Nicolas Boindin, «Lettre sur l'opéra,» in *Lettres historiques sur tous les spectacles de Paris*, 1719, p. 10.

determination to avoid love's thralls never misses a chance to learn from others what it is all about. As someone must always do in this sort of play, it seems, Tyrsis lies down to sleep, <sup>22</sup> no doubt to dream of his absent Phylis, whereupon she returns, singing, like him, of the sorrow of separation. When her lover awakes at the sound of her voice, they are joyfully reunited, and depart together (scene ii). Having witnessed this happy scene, Diane emerges from her bower to muse on the apparent contradictions of love, only to be importuned by the Satyr's advances (scene iii). Act Three brings about the resolution. When Sylvie declares that she will be faithful only when Diane yields to Love, that Shepherdess, who has been weakening for some time, as suggested by her earlier confusion, admits that her heart is ready to yield to Philandre's entreaties. Urged by the happy Phylis, both agree to submit to Love, «ardently and faithfully» (scene ii). In the fourth act, the three couples, one after the other, celebrate Love's victory. Diane suffers one last moment of hesitation («Will his love last?»), while the Satyr gives way to rage and despair. Although the action is long since over, a fifth act, brought in to satisfy theatrical tradition, unites the six happy lovers for some ensemble rejoicing.

The dramatic action consists of the conversion of the two maidens to the true principles of love through the example of the third. It will easily be seen that this work, however simple, avoids the rigid squareness of the *Triomphe de l'Amour*. It is nothing less than a little play. Its skeletal plot allows the poet to introduce, with an absolute minimum of transitional materials, various passions and emotions which agitate the human heart: «expressions of love, joy, sadness, jealousy, despair» (Letter, paragraph e), each isolated and separate from the others—in the abstract, as it were. The scenes, never strophic (except Philis' air, II, ii), are nonetheless, as Perrin notes in the Letter, «so appropriate for singing that there is not a single one which could not be extracted as a song or an ensemble number». He admonishes the composer «not to set them in song-style throughout, but rather to vary them and adapt them to the dramatic style for performance».

In an age dominated by the theatre, by theatricality, when Italian *commedia dell' arte* performances and Spanish *commedias*, played in their native languages, drew crowds nearly as enthusiastic as those which thronged to Molière's, Corneille's (now Thomas rather than Pierre), or Quinault's latest productions, not to mention those of Brécourt, de Visé, and a host of other long since forgotten writers, there can be no doubt that a lyric genre which gave precedence to music and stage action, taking as its model not the poetic drama but *ballet de cour*, could have struck contemporaries as exciting and lively—could, in fact, offer pleasures far

22 The slumber scene—one thinks of the «Death of Gonzago» in *Hamlet*—which, along with battle scenes and processions, was a staple of the Italian opera (vide Smith, *Tenth Muse*, p. 20; Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 71), was also common in French pastoral plays, and occasionally found its way into the more realistic tragi-comedy (for example, *La Belle invisible*, 1656, by Boisrobert, IV, ii).

from the «desperate monotony» which Nuitkaer & Thoinan claimed to find in the hollow remains of the *Pastorale*, its text.

The two libretti written immediately after the success of the *Pastorale* involve minimal staging. One should not, however, conclude from that fact that they were, as has been claimed, no more than «concerts on a stage». The *Ariane* calls for some comic business, some set changes, and a curtain which could be pulled to reveal interior scenes. The bulk of the interest is concentrated in the two ballet entrées which follow each act. The work is therefore a product of the desire to draw the *ballet de cour* in the direction of opera. *La Mort d'Adonis* takes an entirely different tack. It allows for a wide variety of musical effects: a concert of recorders, a «Symphonie lugubre,» martial music (Act II); music of shepherds and Graces (III); hunting music (IV). The story is told with a minimum (for this sort of play) of set changes and spectacular effects. In fact here, as in the *Ariane*, the use of a curtain to reveal an intimate scene within the framework of the larger stage harks back to the limited scenic resources of a generation earlier. Still, some staging effects are suggested; the palace, seen at first as a distant part of the background (I, i), opens to reveal the tableau of Vénus and her young lover surrounded by Mercure and the Graces; Bellone appears on her chariot (II, v); the Fury Mégère appears, although just how is not clear—the doctrine of versimilitude would shortly decree that no supernatural being should arrive from the wings on foot. The final acts contain not the anticipated apotheosis, but, more simply, two slight-of-hand tricks: Vénus tears her hair in despair and, as it falls, it is transformed into the plant known as *Capilli veneris* (IV, iii), and in the mourning scenes Adonis' exposed heart blossoms into a bouquet of anemones. In contrast with the *Ariane*, this work confines the ballet to a single piece, albeit, the place of honour, at the close of the action. It was to represent the Games which Vénus caused to be played to commemorate the death of her athletic lover. Perrin apparently had little interest in working out the details of this part of the spectacle. Any courtier could have done that, and his real goal was to establish the character of his new musical genre. For the ballet, he contented himself with indicating its general outlines and mentioning his source, the still famous poem on the subject written thirty years earlier by the Italian Marino.

In the twelve years which elapsed between the production at Issy and the official opening of the Académie de Musique, a number of changes had begun to make themselves felt or had been confirmed in musical circles, as in the society. It was a time of retrenchment and codification rather than of experimentation. It almost seemed as though the impulse toward opera had been exhausted. With the exception of the two Venetian operas with French ballet interludes which were brought in to celebrate the King's wedding, Cavalli's *Serse* (1660) and *Ercole amante* (1662), no new operas were performed in Paris. Perrin's «comedy» and «tragedy» in music went unproduced, although selections were performed before the monarch. Court ballets continued to draw off much of the energy of professional and amateur entertainers; machine spectacles and the new genre of comedy-ballet seemed to satisfy the public's desire for

theatre with music; and church music clung to earlier polyphonic traditions. Having attained complete charge of the musical side of court ballet productions, Lully added comedy-ballet to his credits in 1664 (*Le Mariage forcé*), subsequently composing with Molière nearly a dozen such works. These include some sumptuous scenes (notably the *Jeux Pythiens*, overpowering appendage to *Les Amants magnifiques*), some extensive pastorals (such as the interludes to *George Dandin*), and some excellent comic sequences (*Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*, *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*).<sup>23</sup>

*Pomone* opened on 19th March 1671.<sup>24</sup> While it too took pastoral form, it showed marked progress in the direction of full-scale opera. The *Pastorale d'Issy* had won approval even without dance and machines. This new production made ample, if clumsy, provision for such «embellishments». The libretto this time is a full-length operatic text calling for a number of characters, choruses, ensemble pieces, ballets, and the spectacular scenic effects which were to become the mainstay of French opera. The characters of the opera proper are no longer simple shepherds and shepherdesses, but pastoral gods and goddesses—still cardboard figures certainly, but now three-dimensional cardboard figures. The librettist makes clearer distinctions between recitative and arioso sections. Once again, in keeping with the precepts expressed in the Letter to Monseigneur Della Rovera, the poet omits all discussion, all nuances of sentiment, all explanatory and structural matter. Or rather, it would be more accurate to say that he leaves some of these elements to the imagination and the rest to the music, which can express those mysterious shades of feeling for which the seventeenth century reserved the term «le je ne sais quoi».

It was generally agreed that Perrin had been both wise and fortunate in his choice of musical collaborator. Cambert's contribution to the first operas was a prime factor in their success. Even though much of the music from this ill-defined period before Lully's reforms is lost, two important, if truncated, portions of score have come down to us. These are the passages through the end of Act I of both *Pomone* and its immediate successor, *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour*. Saint-Evremond singled out as perhaps Cambert's masterpiece the «Tombeau de Climène» scene in the latter work. Alas! that moment occurred in the second act. Still, the music which has survived suffices to give us an idea of the ways in which Cambert dealt with the operatic challenge. His style and the premises on which it rested are discussed in the following chapter under

23 Henri Prunières went so far as to state that Molière's later comedy-ballets were «veritable operas, and a work like *Psyché* is much more an opera than even *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour*,» «L'Académie royale de musique et de danse,» *Revue musicale*, VI, i (1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1925), p. 14. Statements of that sort serve only to cloud thought.

24 *Pomone, opéra ou représentation en musique; pastorale, composée par M. Perrin... mise en musique par M. Cambert... et représentée par l'Académie royale des opéra*, Paris, R. Ballard, 1671. Texts and surviving scores in photographic reproduction in: Robert Cambert, *Pomone, Pastorale mise en musique. Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour, Pastorale*, Minkoff Reprint, Genève, 1980.

point Two, «Musical Styles». Besides these two partial operatic scores, there remain a comic trio, «Bondi, Cariselli,» written for the farce *Le Cocu invisible* (1666) by Brécourt,<sup>25</sup> the parts for bass from his *Airs à boire à quatre parties* (1665),<sup>26</sup> and an occasional air in collections of the time.<sup>27</sup> Nothing remains of «La Muette ingrate,» that experimental musical eclogue which antedates the *Pastorale*. All in all, it is scarcely enough to ensure anyone a permanent place in the concert hall, even if the style were better understood and appreciated.

### Summary of *Pomone*

#### Première Overture

#### Prologue à la louange du Roy.

A dialogue between Vertumne, God of Autumnal change, and the Nymph of the Seine, who compares the grandeur of *LOUIS'* great city with that of Rome, and him with Mars.

#### Deuxième Overture

Act I: Pomone and Juturne in light-hearted discussion with Vénilie and Pomone's aged nurse Béroé; the former disdain love, the latter sing its praises. Pastoral atmosphere, singing and dancing (i, ii). The god of the Gardeners (Priapus) and Faune (Pan), each with his followers, courting Pomone; she and her nymphs pretend to join in but present the two grotesque suitors with crowns of thorns and thistles (iii, iv). Vertumne, appearing alone, laments his failure to win Pomone through his various metamorphoses.

25 «Bondi Cariselli,» reprinted following the score of *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour* by J.-B. Weckerlin, Théo. Michaelis, Paris, n. d. [1880], is a comic, macronic Italian trio for male voices. It was at one time sufficiently popular to be attributed to Lully and included in a collection of *Fragments de M. Lully*. Cariselli is the cuckold of the title, a simple bourgeois who allows himself to be duped into believing he is invisible, while others enjoy his wife's favours. In a series of separate sections from three to thirteen measures in length, it presents the disconnected words of the text, now chordally, now in imitation, with no great harmonic or contrapuntal complexity. A theatre piece which outlived its dramatic occasion, it manages to retain its charm. Pougin considered its verve, its appropriateness to the subject not only worthy of but superior to any page Lully ever wrote in a similar vein.

26 The «Advis au lecteur» points out certain unusual characteristics of the collection. There are, the composer notes, certain «chansons à trois dont les couplets ont des airs différens; vous observerez aussi que la plupart des airs à trois se peuvent chanter en basse et en dessus sans la troisième partie, et se jouer en symphonie avec la basse et le dessus de viole, ainsi que je l'ay pratiqué dans quelques concerts».

27 Gérold (*L'Art du chant*, p. 152) cites a Cambert piece in the fourth Ballard *Livre des Airs*, commenting that his airs, with their «caractère tendre et langoureux» reflect the contemporary style.

Act II: Béroé herself loves Vertumne; he assumes the form of a dragon to frighten her, but she sees through his ruse, welcomes his attack, and is wafted off by Sprites in his service (i-vi). Others of his Sprites, in the guise of exotic, rustic townswomen (Bourgeoises de Lampsace) receive the advances of several gardeners but are transformed into briar bushes as the buffoons attempt to embrace them; bitter ruminations on the wages of love (vii-viii).

Act III: Vertumne appears to Pomone as Plutus, god of Wealth, to no avail; she prefers her liberty and her simple pleasures (i-v). Once more into the breach as the god of the vine, Bacchus; she is content with the juice of the apple (vi-vii). Comic «relief»: Vertumne's Sprites, now appearing as Satyrs, tempt Faune with magic bottles and flasks.

Act IV: Vertumne, as Béroé, advises Pomone to yield. When the old nurse appears in person, he regains his shape and Pomone's resistance is suddenly overcome (i-viii). Comic scene: Faune, God of Gardens, and Béroé, all desolate.

Act V: General rejoicing, reconciliations; dance, choruses, miraculous scene changes.

All that survives of this historic score carries us only a short way into the second act: a Première Overture, the Prologue in praise of the King, a Deuxième Overture, Act One, a short instrumental entr'acte, and nearly six scenes of the second act. Why this much should have appeared in print and not the entire score remains a mystery. A similar situation pertains for the following production, *Les Peines et les plaisirs de l'Amour*, which was printed only through the end of Act One. A recent facsimile reprint edition (Minikoff Reprint, Genève, 1980) makes these scores generally available and obviates the need for extensive quotation. Some traits of Cambert's musical style are analyzed and illustrated in the following chapter.

*Pomone's* early moments contain several instrumental sections. The two overtures follow the pattern of *ballet de cour* overtures; they are in two parts, the first relatively short and easily repeated, the second passing through a series of ideas to a slowing conclusion.<sup>28</sup> Such passages are scored in four parts, two *dessus de violon, taille*, and *basse continue*. Ritorcelli, in contrast, call for two upper parts and continuo. Here the composer may indicate other instruments, such as flutes or hautbois. In vocal sections, the score gives voice line and figured bass only. Neither in the vocal nor in the instrumental sections is this music ever far from the impetus of dance rhythms. Thus, more than in any other way, these first operas reveal their close relationship to the ballet tradition.

28 La Laurencie summarizes: «Le ballet de cour, à l'origine, se précédait d'un mouvement grave et pompeux; vers 1640, un mouvement plus vif vient se joindre au premier, et les ballets de *Mademoiselle* et des *Rues de Paris* (1640, 1641) sont munis d'une ouverture en deux parties». He continues with a descrip-

The prologue in praise of the king, a feature not common for stage plays, remained an indispensable part of operas for many years. Not until Rameau finally broke the increasingly meaningless tradition in his final opera, *Zoroastre*, 1749, did the practice cease. Pierre Corneille had written one for his *Andromède*. He commented:

Our century has invented another sort of prologue for spectacle plays, which bears no relation to the subject of the play, and is simply an adroit means of praising the Prince before whom these poems are presented.... These prologues require much imagination; and I do not think that it is possible in them to introduce any character but those imaginary Gods of Antiquity, even though they must not fail to speak of the things of our age, through a poetic fiction which is a great dramatic convenience. («Discours du poème dramatique» [1660] *Œuvres*, t. 1, pp. 46-47).

From the very first, as far back as Jacopo Peri's *Dafne* (1597) and *Euridice* (1600), all operas had employed such prologues. That to *Pomone* is quite short, and not without charm. Gilbert's libretto provides for a more extensive one. Quinault would continue to elaborate. Neither the *Pastorale* nor *La Mort d'Adonis* called for one, although *Bacchus et Ariane* has a short récit addressed directly to the monarch, which carries the title «Prologue». Praises of the king were added at the conclusion of the *Pastorale* for the royal command performance at Vincennes. Perrin's prologue of *Pomone* is somewhat unusual in that one of the characters, Vertumne, figures in the play which follows.

Here, though, the god of autumn and the harvest figures not as the natural, and indeed inescapable, mate of Pomone, goddess of fruits, but rather as a representative of Olympus, brought in to register appropriate awe at the accomplishments of an earthly monarch. In response to the query of the Nymph of the Seine, «What do you think of my fertile banks?» he readily admits the wonder of it all, but insists that nothing, either in ancient or modern times, compares with the great king who rules there. Beloved of his subjects, the terror of his enemies, Louis has no peer on land or sea. God and nymph join their voices in harmony to extol his grandeur.

The act that follows is in seven short scenes. As in the classical French theater, the appearance or departure of a character constitutes a change of scene. The act opens upon Pomone, who sings a carefree song expressing her determination to remain free of love's entanglements:

tion of the new form which the famous Florentine would popularize: «D'abord un mouvement grave et solennel, d'allure saccadée, où Lully recherche surtout la sonorité qu'il veut très puissante; puis, un mouvement fugué très léger et très vif, après lequel reparait la phrase du début qui s'élargit pour conclure» (*Lully*, p. 204). Cambert's *ouvertures* represent a midway point between the two forms, lacking only the return of the opening theme. *Vide* also H. Prunières, «Notes sur les origines de l'ouverture française, 1640-1660,» *Report of the 4th Congress of the International Music Society*, London, 1912, pp. 149-151.

Passons nos jours  
Dans ces vergers  
Loin des amours  
Et des Bergers.

Her words are echoed by her companions, Vénilie and Juturne. Following a pattern long-familiar and frequently adopted by Cambert, their duo adapts freely the overall movement of her song. A brief *ritournelle* «pour des flûtes ou des violons» leads to the more extended air:

Qui voudra s'engage  
Sous les loix d'amour,  
Qui voudra s'engage,  
Et fasse la cour  
A ce Dieu volage;  
Qui voudra l'adore,  
Pour moy je l'abhorre,  
Le flot de la mer  
Est moins infidelle.

After the moral («La fleur en est belle/Mais le fruit amer») has been commented upon and treated as a duo, another flute interlude leads to a more declamatory section, the first duple meter of the act. The scene concludes, having reverted to the light triple-time of the opening.

Thus, by means of a charming ensemble, poet and musician establish the mood of their musico-dramatic pastorale. Of traditional exposition there need be no more than a hint. In the second scene, Flore and Béroé argue contrary positions in a freely melodic récit style which evolves into a clever duo, as opposing thoughts dovetail musically and poetically. This bantering debate ushers in Pomone's ridiculous suitor, Le Dieu des Jardins (a baritone), with his retinue of Jardiniers. He in his turn is interrupted (scene iv) by an equally importunate rival, Faune (a bass), with his followers, Bouviers, dancing cowherds. Their exchanges have the chord-outlining movement we associate with Lully's recitative; it too passes easily from declamation to rapid stichomythia, thence to disagreement in harmony. The Jardiniers sing the praises of their master, each solo line is repeated by a trio that concludes with the lively refrain, «Et s'il n'est de la fête,/L'on ne rit pas longtemps»—apparently a call for dietary roughage? Then follows an Entrée des Bouviers. After this competition in song and dance, a staple of pastoral theater, the suitors call upon the maidens to crown the winner. Pomone agrees, and signals to her companions. As they prepare crowns, one of thorns, the other of thistles (scene v), Vénilie, Flore, and Juturne join in a light, mocking, imitative trio. Scene vi is devoted to the lamentations of Faune and a second Entrée des Bouviers, then those of the Dieu des Jardins and a trio of his followers. Throughout this scene, the vocal melody is identical with the bass line of the accompaniment, with two violins providing a faster-moving commentary above.

With the final scene of the act (scene vii) comes a striking change of mood from the light-hearted play and heavy-handed comedy which have preceded. We sense for a moment the presence of a real character, as the tenor, Vertumne, in a monologue employing the affective récit style (see Figure 13, Chapter IV), complains of his inability to melt the heart of his «insensible maîtresse» despite all his cleverest and most ingenious transformations. Vertumne himself, though, is the cause of distress to an admirer, and as the second act opens, the aged Béroé bemoans his refusal to attend to her suffering. In this truncated scene, one can already note a greater willingness on the part of the composer to experiment with extended passages of declamation. The *Pomone* score is not without its tantalizing charm.

«Cambert,» wrote Saint-Evremond, in his «Lettre au duc de Buckingham sur les Opéra,» «a sans doute un fort beau génie, propre à cent musiques différentes, et toutes bien mélangées avec une juste économie des voix et des instruments». As this score attests, he did possess the skill to construct dramatico-musical scenes. They tend to be highly stylized, with characters speaking in alternating phrases of similar length, and with minimal time accorded strictly declamatory passages. He did not, however, as has often been claimed, fail to develop a working style of recitative. We may follow Pougin's evaluation of his scores: «Quant au style général...., il est très satisfaisant: la coupe des morceaux est heureuse, les récitatifs sont bien venus et bien dessinés, l'harmonie est naturelle et aisée, enfin les basses sont généralement franches et bien senties» (*Les Vrais Créateurs*, pp. 148-149).

The public gave *Pomone* a run of eight months, a very palpable hit for the time. There was some carping about the verses, as Perrin himself admitted, and he changed a few lines before bringing out a printed libretto. Some passages which he intended as comical struck the spectators, many of them young enough to have been nurtured in the prevailing spirit of precious refinement, as exceedingly coarse and vulgar. Saint-Evremond recalled in his *Comédie des Opéra* that the words of *Pomone* had been «heard with disgust». In fairness to their author, one may wonder whether such criticisms refer to the libretto as a whole or simply to those passages whose scatological *double entendres* and references to such inelegant objects as mushrooms and melons offended hyperdelicate ears. Certainly the comedy is coarse, as when the Nymphs pretend to honor their bumptious suitors, only to make mock of them by placing on their heads not wreaths of laurel, but rings of thistles and briars. The mixture of psychological, sentimental moments with mythological (and patently artificial) *merveilleux* spectacle—as when the god Vertumne, at the end of his meditation (Act I, final scene), summons his band of flying Sprites—leaves the reader today more disappointed than charmed.

Yet this libretto, slim as it is in both content and intention, marks a distinct advance over the three texts contained in the *Recueil de Paroles de musique* in terms of the transition from ballet and play-with-music to full-fledged opera. More is involved than differences in talent between Perrin and his successors. Some essential changes were yet to be made,

substitution of heroic style for pastoral primary among them, but in reading the earlier works and Perrin's four libretti, one has the distinct impression of following several stages in the metamorphosis of court ballet into opera.

Again, between the hastily composed, tentative *Pomone* and the work that succeeded it the following year, a certain evolution is perceptible. *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour, Pastorale*, was presented by the Académie de Musique et de Poésie in April, 1672, with text by Gilbert, music by Cambert. The difference has sometimes been ascribed to the change of librettist. It is likely that a more important factor was the confidence gained from *Pomone's* thoroughgoing success.

The libretto establishes a distinction between the pastoral gods of the drama and the more highly conventionalized (less fully humanized) «bergers et bergères» of the entertainments. The unhappy Astérie has caused the death—just how is not indicated—of Climène, her successful rival for Apollon's affections. That god is disconsolate and refuses to light the heavens. Each act brings at least one bout of entertainment in the effort to distract him from his sad thoughts. Climène will finally be restored to him, but not until she has appeared before him unrecognized, disguised as a shepherd in one of the entertainments. In a practice adopted by Molière for his comedy-ballets, Apollon's counselor, Pan, and Astérie's confidante, Philis, are the intermediaries who pass with ease between the divinities of the play and the pastoral entertainments.

The composer is noticeably more at ease. His singers and his orchestra now have behind them months of experience. He turns more freely to declamation, knowing that his audience will accept it. «Le récitatif y atteint une ampleur, une importance capitale, le style général me paraît plus ferme encore, plus soutenu, plus grand que dans l'œuvre précédente,» wrote Arthur Pougin, adding that it was «plutôt le ton, le caractère de l'ensemble qui me frappe, plus que telle ou telle page prise isolément» (p. 182). There is more flexibility in the musical scenic construction. The musician passes frequently and easily from melodic arioso to recitative, either dry or affective. Pan's speeches tend to be closer to chanson style; Apollon's, to affective air, while the song of Iris («dans son char»), who announces that the departed Nymph has arrived «dans les champs heureux» has the stately movement of the *ballet de cour* récit.

After the extensive use of declamation, the most striking departure from the practice of the earlier score is the scarcity of vocal ensembles. We have seen the strictly formal way in which the composer treated the chorus with its duo and trio in the prologue. Not until the fourth scene of Act I, that is, not until the first entertainment do we again find characters singing together in harmony: a duo of Bergers is joined by a third, then a few pages later, by two then three Satyrs. Only in this set-piece presented as a performance within the play do we hear that rapid motivic exchange which was both a staple of part-song writing and fundamental to Perrin's conception of musical drama. The entertainment continues, interspersed with comments by the unconsolable god, and discussion among the performers. A duet between Faune and Satyre which brings the act, and

this score, to a close, offers a final example of that formal style of writing which was beginning to seem unacceptable in lyric drama. That both singers have the same text indicates that this librettist had not his predecessor's interest in creating poetic equivalents of musical structures (see the analysis of Perrin's schematic rhetoric, Chapter VI, paragraph e).

These remaining portions of score, however incomplete, suffice to suggest that Cambert might well have survived the test of time as well as any of his contemporaries, had not the greater part of his work so mysteriously disappeared and the style he evolved been so completely engulfed in the tidal wave of Lully's advent.

With the production of *Cadmus et Hermione* by Lully and Quinault in April of 1673, it was clear that French lyric drama had passed a watershed. *Tragédie-en-musique* had found its definitive form, after years of hesitation and experimentation. One of the early historians of these events, Lavallière, commented that *Cadmus* was «le premier Opéra dans le genre que nous avons adopté» (*Ballets, opéra et autres ouvrages lyriques par ordre chronologique*, Paris, 1760, p. 87). It was to be expected that once Lully had written his signature large upon European music, men would find it impossible to discern the value of that style which he superseded. The break he wrought need no longer stand as proof of the worthlessness of all that had gone before; it may help us appreciate the vacillating character of the period just preceding.

There is much interest, much diversity in those experimental works, all aimed at making music an integral part of the theatrical mix, all exploring alternative solutions to the operatic challenge. Some, such as the comedy-ballets and machine spectacles, anticipated by a century the comic-opera practice of retaining spoken dialogue for non-lyric matters and inserting songs for moments of strong emotion. Each, in so far as it aspired to more than providing facile excitement, in so far as it involved creation of new forms, was potentially as viable an artistic undertaking as any other new departure. In terms of the slow, unsteady progress toward full-fledged *tragédie-en-musique*, all these works made their contributions; all helped establish the necessary skills and prepare audiences for dramatic works which would be sung throughout. In them, we may trace the elaboration of the necessary conventions.

The following chapter discusses those skills and conventions, taking as its point of departure the letter on opera to Monseigneur Della Rovera with which Perrin prefaced the *livret* to his *Pastorale* in the *Œuvres de Poésie* of 1661.

## CHAPTER IV

The Letter *On Opera*

Printed in the *Œuvres de Poésie de M<sup>r</sup> Perrin* (Paris, Chez Etienne Loyson, au Palais, 1661) just preceding the text of the *Pastorale*, the Letter bore the following title:

Lettre  
écrite à  
Monseigneur  
l'Archevesque  
de Turin

Après la representation de la Comedie suivante.  
De Paris ce 30 Avril 1659.

Written in the first flush of success after the performances of the *Pastorale* at Issy, it had a dual purpose. First to solicit patronage of someone sufficiently highly placed to reflect well upon it; and second, to explain and justify the principles of its construction and conception, since those principles differed both from those of Italian opera and from what was known in French theatre at the time. If there is an element of gloating about it, if Perrin lets slip an occasional: «They said it couldn't be done,» he is doing no more than other writers of the time did in similar circumstances. The inclusion of this letter with the collected poems of 1661 was his way of giving vent to a penchant for explaining and self-justification which he shared with many another writer, and which in his case produced a series of forewords and set him to work at his never-completed Lyric Art. The heading «from Paris» avoids the more accurate indication: from the prison at Saint-Germain-des-Prés.

The man to whom the letter is addressed was ambassador of the Duke of Savoy to Paris from 1656, and must have returned to Italy in the winter of 1658-1659, shortly before the beginning of the traditional warm-weather activities of which the *Pastorale* was one of the more unusual that spring. Girolamo Della Rovera belonged to one of the illustrious families of Turin. Just what ecclesiastical rank he held is not clear. He is often referred to as Cardinal. Inquiries by Henri Prunières produced the certainty that he never held the post of archbishop in his native city (*L'Opéra italien*, p. 348, note 5). Presumably, his departure from Paris was prompted by anticipation of such an appointment.

The text is given here as it appears in the *Œuvres de Poésie*. To facilitate reference, each paragraph has been designated by a marginal letter, and in some cases long paragraphs have been divided into subgroups in the translation into English. I have tried to catch the spirit and tone of Perrin's prose while occasionally straightening his tortuous sentence-structure. This characteristic of his prose should be noted in particular be-

cause it helps to situate him in his time. His prose suffers from an incurable case of what Gustave Lanson defines as «Le style Louis XIII» (in *L'Art de la prose*, Paris, 1908, pp. 55-64). In contrast to the directness, rationality, and clarity of the style first used as a polemical weapon by Blaise Pascal, a style which came into general use as Louis XIV affirmed his absolute power, the earlier style is disorderly, imprecise, given to exaggeration and to stringing out interminable sentences with many conjunctions and subordinate clauses. As Nuyttier & Thoinan wrote of the Foreword:

«Sans doute, il ne s'est pas corrigé de l'affection qui règne dans sa lettre au cardinal de la Rovère, il se laisse encore aller aux entraînements d'une rhétorique un peu cherchée et souvent nuageuse qui l'éloigne de la saine logique; mais il est si plein de son sujet qu'il s'explique, en somme, avec suffisamment de clarté, et qu'on le comprend aisément». (*Les Origines de l'opéra français*, pp. 92-93)

#### LETTER TO MONSEIGNEUR DELLA ROVERA

From Paris, 30th April 1659.

My Lord,

a) Several days ago, our little *Pastoral-in-music* was performed. I am sending you herewith a copy of the printed verses, which I most humbly pray you to accept; it will show you nothing new, since you had the patience to examine and discuss the original with me several months ago during your official visit to France. At that time, you expressed a curiosity, which I promised to satisfy after the performance, to know the fate of such a novel enterprise, one which even the most judicious considered fraught with perils; that is why I am sure that you will learn of its success with pleasure.

b) Let me tell you, then, My Lord, that it was performed eight or ten times outside of Paris in the village of Issy, in the beautiful house of Monsieur de la Haye; we were forced to do it there to avoid the crowds which would inevitably have assailed us if we had given this entertainment in the heart of Paris. Everything worked in our favour: the spring season and the new-born greenery; the fair weather which continued during the whole time and enticed the gentry out to the gallery in the gardens; the beautiful house and equally beautiful gardens; the hall, perfectly suited and perfectly proportioned to the performance, the rustic sets on the stage, decorated with two bowers and well lighted; the elegant costumes; the good looks and youth of our actors and actresses, the latter ranging in age from fifteen to two and twenty years, and the former from twenty to thirty, all of them well trained and established as professional performers. You know the principals, the two famous sisters and the two famous brothers, who may be counted among the most beautiful voices and the

most skilled singers in Europe; the rest performed up to the same standards. As for the music, you know the composer; and the concerts he organized for you at the home of our friend, Father Charles, can leave you no doubt as to his abilities. Add to all that the charm of novelty, curiosity to learn the fate of a [kind of] work considered impossible [in French], and found ridiculous in the Italian plays of that sort which have been shown in our theatres; in some, eagerness to see the triumph of our language, our poetry, and our music over a foreign language, poetry, and music; in others a critical and censorial spirit; and for most of the spectators the singular and novel pleasure of seeing that private citizens, in a pure spirit of entertainment and graciousness, offered the public at their own expense and on their own initiative the first French music-drama ever performed in France. All these things attracted to the performances such a throng of persons of highest rank—princes, dukes, and peers, marshals of France, officers of sovereign courts—that the entire road from Paris to Issy was crowded with their carriages. You may well imagine, My Lord, that not all this crowd got into the hall; but we received the most diligent on the basis of tickets obtained from us, which we distributed liberally to our friends and to persons of noble rank who requested them; the rest took patience and, wandering in the gardens or forming a sort of court on the grounds, contented themselves to pass the time strolling and enjoying the lovely weather. It is unseemly of me, My Lord, to relate to you in praise of my own play—yet it must be done, since I have promised to tell you of the reception it received—that everyone left astonished and charmed with the marvel and the delight of it, and that among so many heads of varying capacity, temper, and interests not one was found to criticize it, fault it, or refrain from praising it in all its parts: the conception, the verses, the performance, the vocal music, and the orchestral interludes. This renown inspired in their Royal Majesties the curiosity to hear it: consequently, at their request, it was performed one final time at Vincennes, where they were staying at that time, before them, his Eminence and all the Court, where it won similar and un hoped-for approval, particularly from his Eminence, who confessed to surprise at its effectiveness, and indicated to Monsieur Cambert his intention of producing similar works with him. This encouraged me to prepare a second one to offer him in case he persists in this idea; its subject is the marriage of Bacchus with Ariadne, and the play is called by their names *Ariadne, or the Marriage of Bacchus* in conformity with the peace we hope for [The Peace of the Pyrenees, 1660]. You know the story; the way it is treated is my own invention, and perhaps rather unusual, like that of the *Pastorale*. With your gracious permission, I shall explain to you the principles of its composition, since I have just recounted its success.

c. 1) Having seen several times, in France as well as Italy, performances of the Italian dramas in music, which the composers and producers have taken to calling *Opere*, to distinguish themselves, so I am told, from authors of plays—having carefully examined the reasons why they failed to please our nation, I did not become discouraged like the others about the

possibility of creating some very fine ones in our tongue—works which would be well received in spite of the weaknesses of the Italian ones—and adding to them all the adornments of which that sort of production is susceptible. Such a form of theatre has all the advantages of spoken theatre, and the further advantage over it of expressing the passions in a more touching manner by the movement, the rise and fall of the voice; of having several things repeated in a pleasing way and impressing them more forcibly upon the imagination and the memory; of allowing several persons to say the same thing at the same time, and to express by concerted voices, the unanimity of their spirits, feelings, and thoughts; sometimes even, by saying the same things in different notes, to express at the same time diverse sentiments: and other beauties little known until now but admirably effective.

c. 2) And truly, My Lord, it is not difficult to discover the reasons why these works have not been brought—in your country, and still less in ours—to the point of excellence of which they are susceptible, if we note that this sort of performance is completely new even in Italy, invented by certain modern musicians within the last twenty or thirty years, contrary to the ideas of the ancient Greeks—the fathers of poetry and music—and the Latins, their imitators, who did not believe that plays completely set to music could be successful, and who admitted lyric verse and music within the structure of the dramatic only in the intervals between acts or between scenes for variety. For, to tell the truth, it was a caprice of musicians who were quite capable men in their own art but completely untutored in poetry, a caprice ill-conceived and ill-carried-out first in Venice, then in Rome, Florence, and elsewhere: and yet the novelty of the undertaking, and the extraordinary and often blind passion of your race in general for music, in a country of which you know that it is said that «*Ogn'un tiene delle quattro M: del Musico, del Medico, etc.*,»<sup>a</sup> won for it such general and enthusiastic acceptance among you, and such a high reputation that these gentlemen thought that they could bring their *Opre*, with the same approbation, to foreign theatres, French and German, and thereby gain rich fruits of wealth and esteem. The favour of the ministers who governed in the one country and the other flattered their opinion and encouraged their projects. It has even been said that the gentlemen of Germany, who have neither such delicate stomachs nor such a refined palate as we, considered them excellent venison and called *Vivat!* and *Bibat!* when the most recent one was performed for the coronation of the emperor. But one would have to be an utter ignoramus not to know that we called them frauds, and that in this independent-minded nation the protection of the sovereign was only barely able to guarantee them *delle Fischate et delle Merangole* [from hisses and oranges]. The reasons, in my opinion, are quite evident!

a *Ogn'un tiene...* «Each one has something of the four M's: Medical, Musical,....» I have not identified this saying. It has been suggested to me that the two final M's may have been less than flattering, which would explain why the author does not complete the thought (*id est, Matto*, «crazy»).

d) First of all, since they found no Poet-Musicians who knew versification and composition of the Lyric sort (that is, appropriate for song), the composers of your plays-in-music turned to poets used to writing ordinary plays, plays designed to be recited, and they set these to music from one end to the other, as though someone from our country would undertake to set the *Cinna* or the *Horace* of Monsieur Corneille. And consequently they did not find what they needed in the articulation of the plots, or in the discussions and serious commands, nor did they discover a satisfactory way to make Augustus sing:

Be seated Cinna, please, but bear in mind  
To keep your promise, so I may keep mine.<sup>b</sup>

e) To express these things they invented certain styles of Music which were half singing, half declaiming, which they called representational, declamatory, recitative, styles which express badly by the inflection of the voice—although rare and used only in the cadences—things which ought to be pronounced with gravity and simplicity, at the unison. Such singing is like plain-song or cloister music, or what we call hurdy-gurdy or ricochet tunes,<sup>c</sup> so ludicrous and so boring that they have thoroughly merited the condemnation which has been their lot. In order to avoid this failing, I constructed my *Pastorale* exclusively of Pathos and expressions of love, joy, sadness, jealousy, despair; and I excluded all serious discourse and even all plot, with the result that the scenes are so apt for singing that there is not a single one which could not be extracted as a song or an ensemble piece, although the composer would be wise not to set them in song-style throughout, but should rather vary them and adapt them to the dramatic style for performance. Now this discovery is new and truly difficult, reserved for those upon whom the Muses smile.

f) Their second weakness lies in their musical style which, besides the fact that it does not please our ears since they are not used to it, must necessarily often annoy them because of its *Disparate*<sup>d</sup> and its supposedly

b The author mixes parts from separate lines to form this couplet from Pierre Corneille's *Cinna*, V, 1:

Auguste: **Prends un siège, Cinna, prends, et sur toute chose**  
Observe exactement la loi que je t'impose....

Cinna: Je vous obéirai, Seigneur.

Auguste: **Qu'il te souviene**  
**De garder ta parole, et j'ètiendrai la mienne.**

c *Ricochet tunes*: «Ricochet s'est dit autrefois d'une espèce de petit oiseau qui répète continuellement son ramage: Et c'est dans ce sens qu'on dit proverbialement *C'est la chanson du ricochet*, pour dire, c'est toujours le même discours,» (*Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, Nouv. éd., 1765).

d *Disparate*: dissonances, or shocking irregularities; (L. *disparatus*: unequal). The word comes into Fr. as an adjective in the early 17th century; by the end, as a noun, it has an acquired sense of lack of harmony, irregularity, disproportion. (*Dictionnaire Robert*).

beautiful leaps which so easily degenerate into extravagance, its affected and too-often repeated slurs, and the licenses with which it is burdened, all of which, in keeping with the ardent and passionate temperament of the Italians, expresses their passions admirably well, and in terms of our own colder and less expressive temper produces music of the lowest sort, gutter music. In this *Pastorale*, besides the advantage which I have found in using a way of singing which is more familiar to us and better accepted (and, truth to tell, more regular and more learned), I selected persons from among the élite of performers, singers who had been instructed for many years by the finest teachers of the art, and whose style is the most fashionable and the most delicate.

g) The third weakness is the insufferable length of their plays, which are fifteen-hundred lines long and take six and seven hours to perform. The normal limit of French endurance in even the most beautiful and entertaining public performances is two hours or so, particularly as concerns music, which, no matter how beautiful it may be, becomes stultifying after that time and wearies instead of pleasing and entertaining. Our *Pastorale* lasted in all no more than an hour and a half, or some five quarters of an hour, and contains scarcely more than one hundred-fifty lines.

h) The fourth is the length of their solos, which they sometimes drag out to fifty or sixty lines, without considering that the ear tires easily of hearing the same voice, no matter how beautiful it may be, and that the greatest secret of Music is the continual varying of voices, of combinations, and of movements. Now, as you will see, my solos and my ensembles are never longer than ten or twelve lines, with the exception of the last scene, which is thirty-two lines long; this I did on purpose, because it is a choral scene, in order to allow for enjoyment and appreciation of the harmony of all the voices joined together.

i) The fifth is that they too often make the same voices perform alone or in combination with each other. Now, this *Pastorale* is varied in such a way that each voice has only one or two short solos at most, and sings only once with any given partner; this variety, combined with the interspersions of Ritournelles and orchestral interludes (*Symphonies*) had such a marvelous effect that, far from being bored, people thought that the play, which had lasted an hour and a half, had occupied no more than a quarter of an hour, which all those who heard it will testify.

j) The sixth, which will always make them fail on our stages, is the inevitable weakness of singing in a language both foreign and unfamiliar to the majority of spectators. This deprives them of the greater part of the pleasure of the play, that of the intellect, and produces on them somewhat the same effect as on those who watch dancing without being able to hear the strings: and this is true to such an extent that the poet [Abbé Buti] who writes the verses for the music which His Excellency causes to be performed has confessed to me that he had often urged him to have

them translated and sung in French, to which that minister responded that he did those things not so much for the public as for the entertainment of Their Majesties, and for his own, and that they preferred Italian verses and music to French.

k) The seventh is the nature of your poetry, generally blanketed and obscure because of its strange inversions within the sentence, its licenses, its obsolete words used only in poetry, and its forced metaphoric expressions which are taken among you for admirable conceits, and among us for pure gibberish; whereas our poetry has at present attained a degree of purity of expression which excludes obsolete or obscure words, licenses, and metaphors or comparisons which are too far-fetched or even too striking, while it conserves the beauties of poetry in its rhythm and rhyme, in beautiful figures, beautiful and natural expression of the passions, the sweetness and majesty of the poetic vocabulary and phrase—all of which depends, however, on the talent and the skill of the poet. That advantage of precision and sweetness of expression serves the Play-in-Music extremely well, because the verses are easily understood by even the least educated persons, particularly in familiar, popular subjects: an absence, a return, an infidelity, a hesitation, an amorous conquest—and thus, since the wits are not too thoroughly occupied, one can enjoy more perfectly and without distraction the pleasures of the ear.

l) The eighth weakness, which contributes to the same disadvantage and results in our inability either to understand the words or hear the music, is that they have always chosen for their performances halls that were too vast, halls in which even the most brilliant voices are only half heard even by those who are the most advantageously seated; whereas in our hall at Issy, which could only contain, with the stage, at most three to four hundred persons, not a word was lost. And even though at each performance we distributed the printed verses for the convenience of our spectators, no one was obliged to consult his book, and they heard everything as distinctly as one would at a spoken play.

m) The ninth is the use of castrati, the horror of the ladies and the laughing-stock of the men, singers who are made to play now Love, now a Lady, and to express amorous passions, a thing which completely offends our sense of verisimilitude and good taste and defies all the rules of theatre. On this point, I have nothing to say to you, My Lord, since you know the good looks and the attractiveness of our actors and actresses, who can certainly very effectively live the rôle they act and thus turn illusion into reality.

n) What I have added of my own is that I have composed the play of lyric, and not alexandrine, verses, because lines which are short and have frequent cæsurae and rhymes are more appropriate for singing and more suited to the voice, which can thus breathe more frequently and more easily. I should add to this that being more varied, they lend themselves

more readily to the constant embellishments and diminutions which beautiful music demands; this is an art which, as you know, was observed before me and practiced by the Greeks and Latins. What is equally singular in this play is a particular way of treating the French Lyric in which there are certain discoveries and delicacies hitherto only little known, and which require a most particular art and talent. However that may be, I have the advantage of having opened and smoothed the road, of having discovered and charted this new territory and furnished my nation a model for French Theatre-in-Music. I have begun with the pastoral genre; my *Ariane* will provide another example, in the comic mode; and in the tragic, *La Mort d'Adonis*, whose composition has occupied my time for the past few days, will make it clear to all that it is possible to succeed in this in all the dramatic genres.

o) But, My Lord, what will you say of my effrontery in daring to criticize to yourself the works of your own country and in taking to task those among your great musicians who consider our French music naïve and ridiculous? Any other Italian besides yourself would be scandalized, offended, and hurt, and would immediately reach for his dagger; and yet I am sure that Father Della Rovera, whom I know to have an enlightened, solid, frank, and cosmopolitan mind, will only laugh. Moreover, I am convinced that he will be grateful to me for this honest liberty, all the more so since he knows that I have no other purpose than a laudable desire to emulate, and, moreover, that I love with deep affection his Country, his Tongue, and his People, as can easily be discerned by those who will observe at the head of my Version of the *Aeneid* a dedication to two great Italian cardinals<sup>e</sup> who honour me with their protection and their good will, and by those who know the particular attachment which I had for you during the years of your ambassadorship. As for you, My Lord, kindly imagine this Letter to be one of those extended after-dinner conversations which we so often held together in your Chambers, ending with a stroll in the courtyard or the grounds, and of which I hold such a dear and sweet memory. This I very humbly beg of you, and further, to trust that I have maintained since your departure the same sentiments of esteem, fidelity, and respectful friendship, and that I am, with all my heart,

My LORD

Your very humble and very obedient Servant.

The Success of the *Pastorale*

a-b) As was the custom in those days when nobleman and commoner alike suffered from the oppressive cold and gloom of winter, the end of the Lenten season and the onset of spring brought a rash of outdoor activities, including theatrical performances *al fresco* and excursions into the countryside surrounding Paris. For reasons which Perrin enumerates, the estate of Monsieur de la Haye, the King's jeweler, that spring of 1659, must have been one of the most popular destinations. The passion for all forms of theatrical entertainment had by no means diminished in the years—less than a generation—since it had become permissible for ladies to attend public performances. The novelty of this «première comédie en musique» guaranteed it at least an initial success. The hopes of seeing a satisfying work in the longed-for French lyric genre drew many spectators, although doubtless fewer than the desire to boast of having seen the latest sensation.

In his prison cell, Perrin was forced to learn at second hand of the events he recounts here.<sup>1</sup> Still, as his careful evocation of all the circumstances pertaining to the performances at Issy shows, even from that distance he conceived his incipient opera as something more than a purely auditory experience. He describes the gardens, the simple set, the weather, the costumes, the looks and skill of the performers; he praises the quality of the music and characterizes the audience—all of which contributed to the success of the production. His comments reveal that he saw the work as a kind of total theatre involving the interaction of words, music, performers, setting, and even, to some extent, audience. For the royal command performance at Vincennes, a final number was added; addressed directly to the King, this laudatory air in two stanzas made explicit the link between play and royal public.

<sup>1</sup> He remained in prison from April to September of 1659 in this, his first incarceration. Nuittier & Thoinan discuss Cambert's responsibility for the details of the production, *Les Origines*, pp. 42-43 & 49-52. Perrin gives him credit while taking care not to call attention to his own involuntary absence.

<sup>e</sup> Books I-VI, to Mazarin; books VII-XII, to Barberini.

Such a conception of lyric theatre came naturally enough to anyone nurtured on the constant shift of focus peculiar to court ballet, where members of that highly artificial world appeared in disguise while the spectators read the verses which drew witty parallels between their histrionic rôles and their official public personæ, and, as often as not, their half-familiar private lives as well. No one at the court of Louis XIV would have seen anything novel in the Pirandellian idea that the play begins when you enter the theatre. To those present at the great ballets of the 1650's and 1660's, at the sumptuous entertainments at Vaux-le Vicomte in August of 1661, or the *Fêtes de Versailles*, «Les Plaisirs de l'Île enchantée» in May of 1664, life and theatre were inextricably mingled. To the courtier or nobleman embroiled in a web of intrigue and protocol, reality was as much a game of illusion as the theatre was an imitation of reality.

There were, of course, some whom this mixed genre displeased. Years later, in his criticism of opera, La Fontaine expressed the classical opposition to the baroque impulsion which animated what he saw as a *mélange adultère de tout*:

Quand le théâtre seul ne réussiroit guère,  
La comédie, au moins, me diras-tu, doit plaire:  
25 Les ballets, les concerts, se peut-il rien de mieux  
Pour contenter l'esprit et réveiller les yeux?  
Ces beautés, néanmoins, toutes trois séparées,  
Si tu veux l'avouer, seroient mieux savourées.  
Des genres si divers le magnifique appas  
30 Aux règles de chaque art ne s'accommode pas.  
Il ne faut point, suivant les préceptes d'Horace,  
Qu'un grand nombre d'acteurs le théâtre embarrasse;  
Qu'en sa machine un dieu vienne tout ajuster.  
Le bon comédien ne doit jamais chanter:  
35 Le ballet fut toujours une action muette.  
La voix veut le téorbe, et non pas la trompette;  
Et la viole, propre aux plus tendres amours,  
N'a jamais jusqu'ici pu se joindre aux tambours.  
....

Car ne vaut-il pas mieux, dis-moi ce qu'il t'en semble,  
Qu'on ne puisse saisir tous les plaisirs ensemble,  
Et que, pour en goûter les douceurs purement,  
110 Il faille les avoir chacun séparément?<sup>2</sup>

2 La Fontaine, «Épître à M. de Nyert, sur l'Opéra,» *Œuvres*, t. IX, pp. 155-156.

Although such lucid awareness of the inadequacies of early opera productions may have been relatively common, they did little to diminish the general enthusiasm for the genre.

Having established that the *Pastorale* received an enthusiastic welcome, Perrin next set out to explain the principles he and Cambert had followed in its creation. Their conception of French lyric theatre had been formulated in opposition to certain aspects of the transalpine model. Most of the letter is therefore devoted to a nine-point critique of the Italian «opre» which had been performed in France. Before taking up those points, though, he enumerates (c. 1) the advantages lyric theatre has over spoken plays: direct expression of the passions, wider scope accorded to the voice, ease of retention because of the union of word and melody, and the purely musical trait of allowing several voices to express similar feelings in harmony, either together or alternately within a formal structure which can suggest similarity of feelings and even express divergent sentiments simultaneously. The verses could provide the composer pretexts for expressing in turn all the emotions which might be portrayed on the stage: «an absence, a return, an infidelity, a hesitation, an amorous conquest» (k), «love, joy, sadness, jealousy, despair» (d), and «rage» (Foreword, e).

The goal of the *Pastorale* had been to explore these lyric possibilities in a series of related scenes, combined and elaborated with variety and imagination. Even though we no longer have the music, it is possible to imagine the possibilities for the composer in the various combinations of voices which the libretto calls for. There are the predictable solos for the leads. There are mixed duets, as well as scenes which bring together several men or all the women. In act three, the duet of the two repulsed suitors becomes a trio as the satyr adds his complaints to theirs; following the men's departure, the three maidens (all sopranos) share an animated dialogue in which all finally agree to devote themselves whole-heartedly to love. The separate grouping of male and female voices parallels the orchestral practice of scoring for separate families of instruments: all strings, all brass, etc. According to Saint-Evremond, who may have learned it from the composer, one of the beauties of this work was the use of choirs of flutes, a sound «which had not been heard since Antiquity».<sup>3</sup>

3 Saint-Evremond, *Les Opéra, Comédie*, II, iv; «On y entendit des concerts de flûtes, ce que l'on n'avoit pas entendu sur aucun Théâtre depuis les Grecs et les Romains» in *Œuvres en prose*, éd. René Ternois (Société des Textes Français Modernes), t. III, Paris, 1966, p. 144. The hypothesis of Nuittier & Thoinan that the exiled Saint-Evremond got his information about the early operas from his fellow exile Cambert after the composer's retreat to London is both intriguing and reasonable.

As Perrin points out, this first French play-in-music was written and produced by private citizens, at their own expense. The work of a court poet and a relatively unknown musician, it was, like *Pomone*, created by amateurs without benefit—although certainly in hopes—of aristocratic or royal support. The possibility of the dream was first demonstrated twice by these men before the professionals took a serious interest in it.

Not unexpectedly in such a tentative, exploratory work, the *modus operandi* seems in retrospect more mechanical than creative. The librettist is visibly more interested in including every possible popular emotional situation than in working out a tightly knit plot or developing character. The fifth act, all thirty-two lines of it, is devoted to the various possibilities of larger ensembles, while the dénouement occurs in Act Four.

Patterned on the ballet model, the method of development which Perrin chose involved dividing a subject into its component elements, then elaborating each one in its turn. The *Pastorale* is little more than the outline, the skeleton of a play. Such a method reflected the rhetorical training central to schooling from the late sixteenth century on. A given subject would receive not essentially linear but analytical treatment, with each discrete parcel seen as a separate entity. Although narrative line or plot might be used, as in the *Pastorale*, it remained secondary. Episodic treatment of a subject was common in the novels and even in the comedies of the time. Contrast between episodes was considered desirable; at the same time, each portrayed a single mood. This baroque practice may be observed in the music of J. S. Bach, where each section of an instrumental suite, a cantata, or the great Mass in B-minor develops a discrete, uniform mood.

The challenge facing French artists in the late 1650's was how to reconcile this accepted approach with the desire for dramatic, linear plotting. Nothing decreed that the one must be sacrificed to make room for the other. Rather, it was a question of what dosage of each should be used. Perrin was to break with the thoroughly episodic character of his ballet model while remaining closely attached to its conception. He explicitly states that he has no intention of writing ordinary plays for musical setting. Instead, he wants to devise a kind of action appropriate to musical expression. His successors were to draw the genre further in the direction of spoken drama.

#### Criticism of Italian Opera

c. 1-2) One of the earliest documents of the period to explain attitudes toward Italian vocal music and lyric productions, the Letter underscores the widespread refusal to believe that opera in French was desirable or even possible. In the fifteen years since the first Italian productions had come to Paris, that public which fought for entry to every performance given at court had been puzzling over the causes of the disappointment they felt in the Italian works. Was it because their French ears were not sufficiently delicate to comprehend the subtle beauties of exquisite music? That could not be. They had, after all, a certain, albeit far from passionate, appreciation of French music—the *airs de cour*, with their

*mignardise* and *délicatesse*, the stylized *récits* which opened every ballet, the light drinking songs in solos or in parts, the tuneful dance music which animated the ballets and seemed to demand French words. The fault, then, must lie in some weakness in Italian music, some lack of refinement which the French soul in its superiority perceived while the earthy Italians—not to mention the indiscriminating Germans—could not.

And still the nagging doubt remained: Was the French language after all simply not susceptible of effective musical setting? Were its sounds essentially unmusical? Did its proud rationality, the searching reforms which learned men had operated upon it over the preceding generation make it ideal for the rhetorical tirades of pulpit and stage but incompatible with music, which goes directly to the heart with only a passing nod to the intellect? Anyone who finds it difficult to understand the tenacity of such doubts in the face of a long and flourishing tradition of popular song (vaudevilles, or *vaux-de-vire*, satirical and drinking songs) and the equally strong tradition of learned song, sacred and secular, might consider the comparable and still prevalent prejudice against opera in English, a prejudice which ignores the successes of Händel—whom Sir D. F. Tovey considered one of the masters of the English tongue—and the persistence of strong folk and popular traditions. This is not to imply, of course, that each language may not have its distinguishing characteristics capable of demanding certain musical adjustments and making particular musical effects more successful than others.<sup>4</sup>

The continuation of this tradition into the eighteenth century is familiar. Its strength at this relatively early date helps to explain French hesitation to plunge into opera. Even Lully resisted opera in French until its feasibility had been demonstrated. The idea would surface, and debate would be engaged afresh, once he had provided a corpus of examples worthy of comparison with Italian models.

Some of the same points of comparison between Italian and French opera which Perrin makes here were still being argued forty years later in the *Parallèle des Italiens et des François* of François Ragueneau (1702) and its refutation by Lecerf de la Viéville, the *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique françoise*.<sup>5</sup> Although unstinting in his praises of Italian opera, Ragueneau had to concede certain advantages to his own country's, that is, to Lully's and Quinault's operas. He granted the greater variety of voices and ensembles used in French operas, the advantageous use of chorus and dancers, the greater «nicety» of French string playing, and the superiority of the French in costume. Similarly, in the foreword to the argument of *Pomone* which Perrin published in 1671, the librettist admitted that the singers and composers of his country had some way to go before they caught up with their southern neighbours, but added that no one held a candle to the French costumers. He was

4 The thoughts of one composer, Castelnuovo-Tedesco, on the differences in character among the various languages are cited *infra* Chapter V, note 5.

5 *Vide* also the English version of Ragueneau and selections from Lecerf de La Viéville in O. Strunk, *Readings in Music History*, Vol. III, *The Baroque Era*, New York, 1965 (orig. 1950), pp. 113-137.

also forced to admit that France had produced only one excellent *machiniste*, his associate Sourdéac.<sup>6</sup> Ragueneau saw no dull moments in Italian opera and many in that of his own country. He found the more Latinate southern temperament more lively in conveying passions, its music more moving and more flexible in expressing a variety of sentiments. Unlike Perrin and many other Frenchmen, he considered the use of castrati an excellent practice. And he thought the Italian language more naturally adapted to song. Thus, while nearly half a century had brought audiences into closer contact with operas and made them in many ways more knowledgeable, the questions being debated were much what they had been when, in 1659, Perrin produced his «first French play in music,» and Lully composed his amusing musical dispute between *Musica Italiana* and *Musique Française*.

Perrin's idea of Italian opera is based upon the elaborate Venetian style of production.<sup>7</sup> He criticizes the composers, inaccurately, for

6 Bibliothèque Nationale, Y5498A, quoted in Nuittier & Thoinan, *Les Origines*, p. 154.

7 Not surprisingly, Perrin's knowledge of the development of Italian opera is faulty and incomplete. He could trace it back only to about 1640, and considered Venice its place of origin, no doubt mistaking the opening of the first public opera house in that city in 1637 for the event that marked the creation of the form. Of the Florentine Camerata and the humanistic ideal of creating a form of musical declamation modeled on that of the ancient Greek tragedies he knew nothing. In fact, quite contrary to the humanists of the late sixteenth century, who believed that Greek tragedies had been sung throughout, he maintained, as others would after him, that the Ancients had restricted the use of lyric verses to pauses in the action (*vide* the article «Opéra» in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Dictionnaire de musique*, Paris, 2<sup>e</sup> éd., 1826, t. II, p. 118.) The language of ancient Greece had both accent and pitch, and poets could therefore claim with justification that they «sang» their poetry. The word was mere foolishness when applied to French poetry.

We do not know when Perrin visited Italy, although he implies that he did («Au lecteur,» *Œuvres de Poésie*). If so, where did he go, what did he see there, what contacts did he have with producers of opera? We know only that he had no extensive knowledge of opera in Italy.

He did have personal experience, on the other hand, of at least some of the Italian works brought to Paris by Cardinal Mazarin. The famous *Finta pazzo* of 1645 was a theatrical extravaganza with incidental music, and as such held little interest for the man preoccupied with setting an entire play to music. Of the true operas performed in Paris before 1659, both the *Orfeo* of Luigi Rossi (2nd March 1647) and the *Noces de Pélée et de Thétis*, «comédie italienne en musique,» (but more ballet spectacle than opera as far as the French were concerned) of Carlo Caprioli (14th April 1654), were composed to books by Abbé Francesco Buti, skillful diplomat and personal secretary to Antonio Cardinal Barberini, but certainly no «author of ordinary plays» (M.-F. Cristout, *Ballet de cour de Louis XIV (1643-1672)*, pp. 48; 72-73 *et passim*). Buti's libretti, as one critic has written, «were typical examples of the magniloquently bizarre, incredibly complicated libretto that lay at the opposite pole from the growing classical spirit of the rigorously controlled *tragédies* in France» (P. J. Smith, *The Tenth Muse, A Historical Study of the Opera Libretto*, New York, p. 45). Like many another writer of his time,

«having turned to poets used to writing ordinary plays, designed to be recited». In fact, many librettists were noblemen or wealthy businessmen who took up writing musical texts solely for their own amusement. It is very difficult to know whether he meant to allude to specific librettists.<sup>8</sup> Very likely he had no one in particular in mind but based his conclusion upon the observation that Italian libretti were very much like traditional plays. There were certain differences, of course. These libretti used *versi sciolti*, or free, unrhymed verse, for recitative sections, often employing a fast-moving seven-syllable (*settenario*) line for the «little songs» which were inserted with increasing frequency in the operas of the latter half of the century before full-fledged arias came into their own.<sup>9</sup> They reduced

Buti never looked far for his subjects. The story of the poet-musician Orpheus was the ideal, almost the traditional subject for opera. It is somewhat surprising that it had to await the reform movement of Gluck for treatment in French. *Le Nozze di Teti e di Peleo*, «opera scenica,» by O. Persani and Fr. Cavalli had been performed in Venice in 1639 (Olderico Rolandi, *Il Libretto per musica attraverso i tempi*, 1951, p. 56).

8 Among the Italian librettists active in the middle years of the century there were very few established playwrights who either shifted from one kind of stage to the other as opera gained popularity and spoken theatre fell into decline, or took time off from the one occasionally to turn out a text in the other genre. One such, Tonsarelli, wrote many plays as well as fifteen libretti for Roman operas; but his importance waned after 1632, and it is doubtful that Perrin had heard of him. For the French librettist, opera had not even been invented by then. There is more possibility of his having known G. A. Cicognini, another prolific playwright, among whose five libretti was that of *Giasone*, set to music by Cavalli and performed in Venice in 1649 (Olderico Rolandi, *Il Libretto per musica...*, Roma, pp. 94-95; *vide* also P. J. Smith, *The Tenth Muse*, p. 25, *et passim*; Worsthorpe, *Venetian Opera*, Chapter V). A solitary example hardly proves a rule, however.

Librettists in Italy were in a curiously contradictory situation. The text had no importance, and authors disclaimed any interest in their creations. At the same time, when the libretto was published, which was more likely than the publication of the score, the composer received no credit on the title-page, and remained anonymous unless the poet had the good grace to name him in the introduction. Contrary to Perrin's impression, the librettist often selected his composer rather than the opposite, and was responsible for the production of the opera. On the occasions when a score was published, it was the librettist who saw it through. (*Confer* Perrin's promise in the Foreword, paragraph 2 to «offer an edition of the score» composed by Boësset «for the first acts» of *La Mort d'Adonis*, so that the public might judge for itself the quality of the verses and the music as well.) It was the publication of the prologue and the first act of each of Cambert's scores for the Académie which saved them from the fate of the rest of his compositions. If Perrin was responsible for the first, was Gilbert, then, the editor of the other?

9 Rolandi, *Il Libretto per musica*, p. 43. «La metrica adottata nei primi libretti... è fondamentalmente basata su settenario ed endecasillabo variamente disposti e rimati; frequente la birima». He refers specifically to the earliest operas. By the time of Cavalli, unrhymed lines were employed regularly for recitative sections. *Vide* also Aldrich, *Rhythm in Seventeenth-Century Italian Monody*, New York, 1966, pp. 103-107; P. J. Smith, *The Tenth Muse*, p. 25; Worsthorpe, *Venetian Opera*, p. 50 *et sequentes*, for «simple love songs».

thoughts, feelings, and expression to simple forms, and generally lightened the dramatic fabric; French opera would do as much. In Rome, and even more so in Venice, under the influence of a less aristocratic public which paid its way in, theatricality often took precedence over dramatic action. Perrin's comments show that he sought to carry French opera even further in this direction. But the tastes of the two nations diverged in some important ways, and those differences would be reflected in dissimilarities of approach to the operatic text. The pages which follow take up in turn the nine major points of Perrin's comparison of Italian operatic practices with nascent French opera as he conceived it. Of those points, the first is by far the most suggestive in its implications, for it outlines Perrin's special conception of the operatic text; hence, it receives the most extensive treatment.

*Point One: The Text*

d-e) Perrin's remark concerning playwrights «used to writing ordinary plays» underscores his belief that the operatic libretto should be of quite a different nature from the ordinary dramatic poem. Just how different it should be remains a central question in operatic theory even today. Theorists in the years after Lully took over the Opéra would continue to struggle with this difficulty. Perrin differs from them on one essential point: He refuses to grant primacy to the intellectual verbal content. Georges Snyders has studied the limitations placed on music by writers from Saint-Evremond to Cahusac—that is, in the century from the founding of French opera to the eve of the Revolution. Time and again, the passages he cites reveal an excessive intellectual and moralistic orientation on the part of these writers. All set the text above the music and assign to the latter the limited task, or power, of bringing out, «expressing» the text. «Choisir, organiser, préciser, animer,» perhaps even add immediacy and spontaneity—all this the music may do, but always in the relationship of servant to master.<sup>10</sup>

Perrin would grant music all these powers, but he goes further in limiting the importance of the words. He is content to allow his contribution to the operatic composite to be what no one later on could bring himself to accept: light fantasy, «passe-temps qui n'ouvre sur rien de valable, sur rien qui puisse être appelé vrai» (Snyders, p. 26). If, however, he makes no attempt to seek profound meaning where none is apparent, he does not altogether exclude meanings from opera. He would agree with Menestrier that «le dessin de la musique dramatique doit être d'exprimer les actions et les mouvements de l'âme [...] il faut pour cela assujettir le chant et la symphonie aux paroles».<sup>11</sup> There is no contradiction here. Perrin is simply not troubled by the excessive seriousness which the late seventeenth century ushered in.

10 Georges Snyders, *Le Goût musical en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, J. Vrin, Paris, 1968, pp. 28-33, and *vide* also pp. 35-40.

11 Menestrier, *Des Représentations en musique*, in Snyders, *Le Goût musical*, p. 27.

Drama, wrote Paul Henry Lang in a page on the aesthetics of opera, is the poetry of the will, while opera starts with emotions rather than will.<sup>12</sup> Opera can express complex emotional states which cannot be captured on stage in words alone; in Perrin's phrase, it can even «allow several persons to say the same thing in different notes, to express at the same time diverse sentiments» (c. 1). Painting of character is slow in drama, immediate in opera. Drama calls for broadness of portrayal and detailed accounting for loose ends; opera, swiftness and summation. The composer must have the ability to take a seemingly formless mass of words, divine their inner meanings and laws, and then transfigure them through purely musical principles of articulation». In opera, music is the ruling force (!), hence the formal, rhythmic, and metric components will all be musical. The «lyric element, which is somewhat foreign in the spoken drama, would naturally seem to be the first requisite in the lyric drama, and in fact it is never missing and no opera can do without it». The problem of opera «has always been to place lyricism in the service of the dramatic; there... have been few composers capable of making real drama out of the blend». Opera is frequently more theatrical than dramatic, and this is particularly true of baroque opera.

The operatic book must, in this conception, be different from the normal dramatic poem. Nor is it really a dramatic poem in quite the sense in which those words were long understood. In principle, a drama is not complete unless it is acted out upon the stage by players; the text, the poem alone is not the drama. Yet in the seventeenth century in France great emphasis was placed on the drama as poem. Many plays were read aloud in private gatherings. Staging directions are infrequent, and descriptive passages are instead included as part of the poem. It was the necessity of breaking with the verbally dominated spoken theatre which placed the libretto in such an unsure position. «Tout ce qui regarde les intrigues et les affaires se refuse à passer en musique,» wrote Saint-Evremond. «Les récits, les sentences n'y réussiraient pas mieux».<sup>13</sup> Using Perrin's own terms. Snyders sums up the restrictions on the early libretti: «On en arrive vite à écarter ce qui est raisonnement; d'un coup, c'est supprimer de l'opéra les discours politiques, les argumentations politiques, et plus généralement ce qui touche à la grandeur comme à la ruine des rois et des empires. Mais par là se trouvent aussi bannis du chant tous les moments où l'on délibère pour trouver des preuves, les plaidoyers où l'on expose et soutient les arguments ainsi découverts» (p. 36).

12 Paul Henry Lang, «The Formation of the Lyric Stage at the Confluence of Renaissance and Baroque,» *A Birthday Offering to Carl Engel*, ed. Gustave Reese, New York, 1943, pp. 143-160.

13 Saint-Evremond, in Snyders, *Le Goût musical*, p. 36.

Opera would accord a larger place to gesture, setting, and machinery. Like the *ballet de cour*, it would enshrine the stylized bodily movement of the dance. And of course the place of honour would go to music. In this union, the text is no longer the prime element; it no longer even enjoys the privilege of possessing an existence in its own right. The best of libretti cannot give the impression of a complete work, satisfying in and of itself. It is perhaps more closely akin to the *canevas* from which the versatile actors of the *commedia dell'arte* improvised their performances. Those scenarios provided at most a skeleton dialogue. Stage business and spectacular effects were needed to give flesh to the work. In opera, it is music, above all else, which breathes life into inanimate texts. «La musique,» Boileau declared, «ne saurait narrer». It is, explains Snyders (p. 36), «le langage d'un certain type de vivacité et d'énergie.... ; dès qu'il est question d'expliquer ou de décrire, on entre dans l'ordre de la constatation objective....». The non-verbal thought expressed by the music, coupled with the concrete suggestions of the words, and supported by the physical presence of an actor on the stage, goes far toward giving the appearance of density to pasteboard operatic characters.

With action all but excluded, along with historicity and characterization, all that remains to opera is an extremely restricted sort of portrayal of love, *l'amour galant* (vide Snyders, pp. 38-39). In keeping with these principles, the first French librettists, somewhat like their Florentine predecessors, clung to pastoral myth, thereby maintaining a marked distance from the details of human existence. Their purpose was mimetic, to be sure, but within a narrow range: they imitated, or portrayed the basic human passions divorced from all specific context. Consequently, they used characters symbolically rather than as individuals. Realism was as far from their intention as was plotting in the ballets from which they drew their inspiration. Finally, granted that lyric and theatrical elements were to dominate the *mélange*, there was the related question of just what sorts of things the characters on the stage might express, and how they were to express them. The pages which follow discuss these aspects of the libretto under the successive headings of plot, fictional level, discussion, and declamation.

### Plot

One of the most striking ways in which Italian libretti followed spoken plays was in their complicated plots. Librettists sometimes multiplied the number of characters and scenic effects in the extreme.<sup>14</sup> They also gave free rein to a penchant for florid, figured language (see point seven). Such traits struck many Frenchmen as excessive. To be sure, some of Corneille's plots, not to mention those of Rotrou's or Quinault's

14 The *Pomo d'Oro* of 1667 called for 23 scene changes and 47 characters, as well as choruses (Rolandi, *Il Libretto per musica*, p. 56). Venetian libretti in particular sometimes required a full page of small print simply to explain the situation at the opening of the opera.

comedies, had been so complicated that even after several viewings members of the audience still found them difficult to follow. But in the wake of the Fronde and the social, moral, and artistic upheavals which accompanied that political turmoil, the yearning for order, unity, and simplification gained new impetus. The labyrinthine plots of earlier comedies and tragi-comedies no longer appealed to public taste. When Perrin wrote his letter, novelists were abandoning complex, unlikely («romanesque») heroic adventure stories for tighter psychological studies. Racine was soon to boast of creating five acts «out of nothing,» and to criticize Rotrou for having used enough material in his *Antigone* for two separate actions and plays. In his own first play, *La Thébàïde, ou Les Frères ennemis*, he proved that claim. In some of Molière's plays, notably *Le Misanthrope*, nothing really happens. Following this new orientation of taste, and doubtless from personal inclination, Perrin concluded that complexity of plot must be eliminated in opera if the spectator was to be permitted to focus his attention primarily on the music and the show. In the best of baroque operas, Snyders concludes (p. 38), «l'histoire n'est qu'un canevas, presque un prétexte destiné à relier les scènes typiques et attendues, de façon qu'elles ne paraissent pas complètement étrangères les unes aux autres». And yet the supposed plotlessness of Perrin's libretti is still condemned as heretical. It must be admitted that his claim of having «banished all discussion and even all plot» from his text has regularly provided ammunition for critics. Even today, scholars dutifully repeat that the *Pastorale* is nothing more than a «collection of fourteen songs linked in arbitrary fashion according to the formula of the *comédie de chansons*».<sup>15</sup> That glorified parlour-game, the *comédie de chansons*, consisted of putting together a «play» from verses of familiar songs, arranged in such a way as to follow the singers through the steps of an amorous adventure; it was practiced, to our knowledge, only rarely.<sup>16</sup> The composition of the *Pastorale* has nothing to do with such a cut-and-paste formula, although the results have in common the absence of connective dialogue.

15 Adam, *Histoire*, t. III, p. 192.

16 There was a *Comédie des chansons* in 1640 and an anonymous «pastorale en chansons,» *L'Inconstant vaincu*, in 1661. Vide Lancaster, *French Dramatic Literature*, II, pp. 299-301; IV, p. 374. The earlier of these works is often attributed to Charles de Beys, but, according to Prunières, *L'Opéra italien*, p. 339, note 2) «il semble prouvé que Sorel en est le véritable auteur». There was also a «comédie des proverbes» (1616) by Adrien de Montluc—Count of Cramail.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, these works «en chansons» were not sung, if indeed they ever got beyond the précieux salons. Nor was the game often practiced. The challenge was to make a more or less dramatic entity, with plot and character relationships, out of bits and pieces of popular song lyrics. I am not convinced that this facile display of wit revealed a desire (in 1640!) to deal in any way with the problem of creating lyric theatre. The work of 1661 may well, on the other hand, have been inspired by Perrin's and Cambert's success and the general impulse toward lyric theatre.

Something inherent in the nature of song lyrics is reflected in such games, for lyrics contain dramatic elements, they express emotional moments,

In Perrin's conception, the text itself was not to be entirely without interest, however. The principles of lyric, analyzed in the next book, indicate some of the kinds of intellectual pleasure which a libretto without plot or character development could provide. The *ballet* and *air de cour* traditions offered the poet and composer who sought indigenous materials with which to assemble their lyric play a combination of possibilities and limitations. Airs could express a variety of sentiments in solo song; dialogues already existed which brought together two or more voices in alternation or in harmony, and the tradition of part-singing remained sufficiently strong to encourage choral writing or the use of ensembles, as in the final act of the *Pastorale*. Furthermore, the *récits* used to explain the conception of each division of a court ballet, provided a model for expository song, for in such *récits* clear expression of a text took precedence over melody. Yet all these materials together did not constitute a do-it-yourself French opera kit. There were still problems of expression and of dramatic purpose to be resolved. The best solution seemed to be to proceed slowly, making at each step a careful differentiation of the part to be played by each component element. It is not surprising, then, to find poets «bending over backwards,» as Prunières complained of the *Pastorale* and the *Triomphe de l'Amour*, «to avoid giving the composer anything to set with even the slightest dramatic complexity» (*L'Opéra italien*, p. 343). And his predecessors, Nuittier & Thoinan, reluctantly admitted that Perrin gave his *Ariane, ou le Mariage de Bacchus* a more ample development than the *Pastorale*. But they added that «il a continué à suivre les mêmes errements: pas d'action...».<sup>17</sup> The assumption implicit in such comments is that opera cannot be opera without a strongly articulated plot. This may be true, in which case we would need another word to describe that sort of lyric theatre which stands midway between the suite-form of *ballet de cour* and the tight, linear plot progressions of through-composed *verismo* opera. All early opera mixes the two approaches, for even in the plot-dominated Venetian operas, there is much stopping for static, lyric expression in aria, much gratuitous digression. Snyder's analysis of operatic theory reveals on the one hand that Perrin's ideas were not such «errements» as has been said, and allows us, on the other hand, to conclude that he formulated them—timidly, perhaps—ahead of others, before the new attitudes had had time to harden into dogma.

while in their very imprecision they easily apply to any number of specific situations.

<sup>17</sup> Nuittier & Thoinan, *Les Origines*, p. 65, quoted with approval by Prunières, *L'Opéra italien*, p. 348.

His conception of opera gave short shift to plot, even though it did not really «banish» it altogether. The text of the lease which he took out on the *jeu de paume*, rue de Vaugirard, defined the genre as he saw it: the building and grounds were to «servir aux représentations des opéra en musique, en langue française... qui sont concerts de chant, de musique, ballets, danses et machines et décorations...» (in Nuittier & Thoinan, p. 130). This suggests where his priorities lay. Nor was he alone in his «errements». A popular ditty, to the air «Quand Florimond, les coudes sur la table,» which circulated as *Pomone* was in production, lists the delights expected from the forthcoming opera but slights drama, tragedy, plot.

Quand l'opéra tant vanté par la Grille  
 Au jour paraîtra  
 Toute la cour l'admira;  
 Baptiste rentrera dans sa coquille.  
 Ce que les ballets ont d'admirable,  
 Les concerts, les airs; la voix, les instruments,  
 Et tout ce que la fable a d'agrèments,  
 On le verra dans son jour véritable.<sup>18</sup>

«La fable,» of course, meant fiction, mythology—story. The accent in this case, though, may just as well have been on the fashionable *agrèments* of mythological settings and characters, which provided exotic, escapist entertainment and at the same time satisfied the taste for hidden, allegorical meanings.

To say that Perrin consciously turned his back on powerfully articulated action and all the plotting which this usually entails is not to grant that he excluded from his libretti all dramatic action. His first task, as he saw it, was to eliminate those misunderstandings, *péripéties*, recognitions, those political and amorous intrigues which Italian librettists and French playwrights had compounded, knotted with the skill of a sailor, and undone with the art of a magician, the mechanically contrived convolutions of situation comedy which make characters chess pieces rather than rounded, real, and unpredictable human beings. The ideal way to accomplish this was to adopt a story so simple in outline or so familiar that it needed no telling: a pastoral plot, an archetypal or symbolic action, reflecting, on a high level of abstraction, psychic situations with which all might identify. Thus poet and composer could focus their efforts on the true *raison d'être* of lyric theatre, the musical expression of a variety of emotions.

<sup>18</sup> «Recueil de Maurepas,» Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds fr. 12618; quoted with melody in Nuittier & Thoinan, p. 152.

No doubt something was missing. Opera, however lyric, can and perhaps must be more dramatic than these first experimenters believed. Along with the superficial mechanisms of plot development, they blithely discarded almost all true conflict. At times in Perrin's libretti, the character who might introduce rivalry is instead made a pathetically comic figure, a grotesque (the Satyr in the *Pastorale*; the Priapic god or the nurse Béroé in *Pomone*). *Ariane* contains no conflict other than the temporary resistance of the once-deserted maiden to a new suitor. Falsirène, former mistress of Adonis, brings about the tragic dénouement in *La Mort d'Adonis*, but not directly, as one would expect in the declamatory theatre. For, having failed to bring Mars to her aid (Act II), she finds herself incapable of using her dagger on her unfaithful lover (III, ii), and ends by summoning Mégère, most fearsome of the Furies, commanding her to take the form of a wild boar in order to wreak her vengeance (III, iii).

In Gilbert's *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour*, similarly, the damage is done before the curtains part. Astérie has caused the death of her rival Climène, and Apollon is disconsolate. The action, which reunites this couple, will be retarded by artificial means: mourning (Act II) and entertainments to distract the Sun-God from his sorrow (I, iv), then entertainments in which Climène, returned from the dead, takes part, first as a shepherdess (III, iv-vii), later as a dream figure (IV, iv-vii), and finally as a shepherd (IV, viii-x). The final act brings about the reunion of the lovers, the pardon of Astérie, whom Apollon accords to her *soupirant* Pan, and an apotheosis featuring Vénus. It will be recalled that Lully's first opera was a hodge-podge of the most successful sections of comedy-ballets he had created with Molière, somehow stitched together with snatches of recitative dialogue by Quinault. The first *tragédie-en-musique* to come from their association, *Cadmus et Hermione*, goes further than any of the preceding works in showing an action of the stage. Nonetheless, like those which followed, it accords a great deal more space to ballets, secondary events, battle scenes, and appearances of deities in chariots and on clouds and birds than to development of motives, characterization.

The art of Orpheus was not dramatic but lyric, and the first tragedies written under the impulse of the rediscovery of classical tradition, the *favole cantande* of the *Camerata dei Bardi* in Florence, were not so much dramas as ideal vehicles for lyric expression. Roughly contemporary with them, Renaissance tragedy in France, according to Gustave Lanson's formula, «est la représentation d'un fait tragique à l'aide d'acteurs».<sup>19</sup> In this conception, action is the contrary of *récit*, or narration, and means simply «la distribution par personnages,» the use of actors. Neither psychological development of character nor careful control of theatrical effects—the surprise of *peripeteia* and recognition—interest the playwright so much as the chance to work up dramatically static but emotionally

19 Lanson, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la tragédie en France*, New York, 1920, p. 14.

powerful lamentations, tirades, narratives, choral odes, and elegies. The play is not over when the calamity has been brought about; rather, its main interest may lie precisely in the poetry which is declaimed once the situation has become hopeless.

With the expressed goal of communicating passion through the union of words and music, the *Camerata* found such a conception of theatre well suited to its purposes. Certain differences in approach may be noted, however. The rhetorical and narrative sections diminish, making place for greater variety in lyric expression. Celebration wanted its part, so strict tragedy—portrayal of victims crushed by fate within a specific political setting—was abandoned for pastoral, which permitted dithyrambics as well as lamentation. Thus, several decades later, the founders of French opera had ample precedent for reviving the pastoral mode. The simplest of plots could provide the unobtrusive pretext for a variety of emotions. In fact, the plot was often so slim that it barely filled out the five-act structure.

Like Perrin's succeeding texts, the *Pastorale* reserves the entire final act for general rejoicing. Since *La Mort d'Adonis* was a «tragedy,» its fifth act was devoted to lamentations and to the miraculous event (transformation of Adonis' heart into the anemone) which turns tragic loss into permanent gain, transcending death. Not until Gilbert's *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour* do we encounter an opera whose dénouement holds back until the fifth act, and even then all is in readiness for the celebration by the conclusion of the fourth. All that remains is for Apollon to discover that the mysterious lady who had appeared to him three times is his Climène, returned from the dead in Act II. Quinault follows the tradition of spoken tragedy in *Cadmus et Hermione* by introducing a new twist at the conclusion of Act IV. The hero, having calmed the wrath of Mars by defeating the Giants (not without the intervention of Pallas, whose shield transforms them into statues), has finally succeeded in liberating his princess, when the irate Junon whisks her off in a cloud. This unexpected turn of events allows for a disconsolate monologue, the «Air de Cadmus,» which opens the last act:

Belle Hermione, hélas puis-je être heureux sans vous!  
Que sert dans ce Palais la pompe qu'on prépare?

and one further brief appearance of Pallas, who explains that «Jupiter et Junon ont fini leur querelle» (scene ii); but the bulk of the act is none the less given over to the traditional all-out display of machinery, and the rejoicing, alternately, of soloists and chorus.

If Perrin maintained extreme simplicity in his first *livret*, his others allow for more ample development. Conceived as a contribution to the celebration of the King's wedding, *Ariane, ou le mariage de Bacchus*, uses its slim plot to elaborate a courtly festival. A prologue follows the pattern of court ballets; addressed directly to the King by Momus, it sets Louis above the gods of Olympus. The first act celebrates the triumphal return from war of the god of wine. The parallel with the preparations for the

Peace of the Pyrenees is archi-transparent. Peculiar to this work are the extensive use of chorus—since celebrations were traditionally sung by choruses—and the two ballet entrées after each act. In the latter trait, one detects the influence of the Italian operas presented in France with French ballet interludes between acts. This work antedates by two years Molière's first comedy-ballet, *Les Fâcheux* (1662), which followed the same procedure. The ballets of the first act here continue «la magnificence du retour victorieux de Bacchus». It is evident how closely tied to *ballet de cour* opera remained at this point.

The ballets after the first act continue the triumphal parade: the general of Bacchus's army and his six lieutenants display their captives, four Indian Kings. After Act II «nymphs and shepherds drawn by Ariane's lamentations deplore the infidelity of Thésée». The ballet after the following act, which ends with Silène lamenting Bacchus's conversion from revelry to love, presents satyrs and Bacchantes in a grotesque parody of the Act II ballet. Following Act IV, five drunkards and five lovers «confirm the agreement between Vénus and Silène».

While there is no ballet following the final act, that act itself is composed entirely of processions and ritual pageantry, the presentation of gifts, the crowning of the lovers, all preparing the final tableau with all the participants in appropriate poses as Ariane's crown of gems bursts into flame and is transformed into a ring of stars to commemorate the event, while all bring the play full circle by expressing the hope that one day «dans les climats françois, le plus grand des Monarques» may celebrate the memory of this happy day which «ramène sur la terre / les Plaisirs et la Paix». With its patent purpose of providing a pretext for as many varieties as possible of both personal and social ritualized expression (victory, marriage, coronation, procession, and «charivari») coupled with pageantry and tableau, *Ariane* takes a great step beyond the *Pastorale*; it is the prototype of French opera for the following century.

*La Mort d'Adonis* reveals some of the same leanings toward pageantry, the same desire to provide the musician the occasion of a variety of effects. However, it also sets out to be a tragedy-in-music, with the result that there are important differences. There is no prologue, there are no ballet interludes; those features directly related to the court festival disappear. The tone is somewhat more serious, for death and vengeance are the dominant motifs here. The action moves from the conflict between the frightening wrath of Falsirène and the bliss of the lovers, Vénus and Adonis, to the fulfillment of that wrath, the death of the mortal hero, transmuted at the last into a joyous event through the immortalization of Adonis's heart. Just as the diamonds in Ariane's crown turn into stars, and ascend to form a constellation lighting the firmament, so too *La Mort d'Adonis* reaches its climax when the distraught Vénus tears out her hair, which is transformed into the plant which bears that name, the *Adiantum capillus veneris*. Pomone symbolizes the mystic union of the fruit harvest and the munificent power of seasonal change. All the libretti, in fact, treat love and its effects as a mystery to be celebrated rather than as a psychic phenomenon to be analyzed.

Perrin sought to bring within the compass of a simple stylized—mythologized—action the greatest possible variety of visual effects and the greatest possible range of musical expression. Would Lully's successful «tragédies en musique ornées d'entrées de ballet, de machines et de changements de théâtre» do otherwise than reduce to elementary form dialogue, action, and characterization in the interests of the staging and the musical expression of emotions? Many a scene, many an act has no other purpose than to bring on the miraculous scene change, the appearance of an airborne deity, a ballet, or a procession.

The emphasis on music gave new impetus to the basic theatrical impulse toward pageantry, ritual, and mystery (*merveilleux*). Spectacular theatrical display of machinery and costumes had always required music, as had the triumphal entries of royalty, the victory celebrations of great warriors, the great festivals: in theatre, as in life, fanfares served to signal the extraordinary event, the appearance of a deity, the magical or mythical occurrence, or the arrival of a king. And of course song expresses tender sentiments as well as Bacchic joys. When members of the court ceased to participate personally in theatrical presentations, their celebrations were transformed, consecrated in the operatic spectacles prepared for them by professionals.

There is frequently a striking similarity of motives between opera and ballet in these early years. That mute art, too, existed, if we may put credence in the claims of its theorists, to express emotions.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, early opera renewed an element always present in ballet, although often in degraded or perverted forms: the quasi-religious basis of art. In a religious context, music may serve to raise the soul to transcendental heights. It expresses the mystery of love or of faith. This period produced an uncomfortable compromise in the arts between sacred and secular ends.<sup>21</sup> Recent studies of the *ballet de cour* have stressed the use of that medium as a propagandistic tool to extol the virtues of the monarch in ways not unlike those in which the arts in other times or other contexts praised the gods.<sup>22</sup> In operatic prologues, as previously in the royal ballets, music contributed to the maintenance of the idea of the King as demi-god.<sup>23</sup> It is no accident that even today in the popular mind there is confusion between the terms Sun-King and Sun-God, applied to Louis XIV. Conversely, music often joined with dance to evoke the diabolical, notably in the grotesque imaginings of the 1630's and 1640's.

20 *Vide* the arguments of Pure, *Idée des spectacles*; Menestrier, *Des Ballets*; Marolles, *Mémoires*, II; also Christout, *Le Ballet de cour*, pp. 26-31. Molière used similar devices in the comedy-ballets throughout the 1660's.

21 Curt Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, New York, 1963 (orig. 1937), p. 392: «The dancing Louis is feared by none but admired by all. He is not possessed by the god, for he is not dancing the God in whom he believes. The dance of the Sun King is the futility of egomania».

22 McGowan, *Le Ballet de cour en France*, pp. 46, 76-77, 93, *et passim*; Christout, *Le Ballet de cour de Louis XIV*, p. 89.

23 I have described this as an «uncomfortable compromise»: The story is told of French prisoners of Prince Eugene after the battle of Hochstadt being sub-

While the first French operas granted more place to plot and dramatic action than had the *ballets à entrées*, they refused them exclusive prominence. Between the first *pièce en musique*, the *Pastorale*, and Lully's operas we discover not a sudden, masterful shift from «the error of plotlessness» to a music drama worthy of comparison with the great classical tragedies of Racine, but rather, as one might have anticipated, a slow, steady evolution in the direction of traditional dramatic theatre, an evolution inhibited by a conception of lyric theatre which from first to last made the opera texts quite different from the spoken plays with which they have too often been compared.

None of these works contains the unrelenting psychological intensity and poetic density of Racine's tragedy, or the unblinking observation of human foibles which gives universal resonance to the unflinching showmanship of Molière's comedies. All place great confidence in music's ability to create and sustain a rich and satisfying edifice upon the foundation of a text which, taken on its own merits, would give relatively little pleasure. They all grant primary importance to spectacle; with the exception of the *Pastorale*, they exist to exploit the spectator's childlike desire to be astonished by the latest technical possibilities of theatrical show, to be dazzled by the joy of graceful bodily movement in the ballet and military sequences, and to be soothed by the enactment of familiar dramatic ritual acts. The human action they portray produces its effect through neither realism nor mimetic complexity nor surprise, but, on the contrary, because it opens a door to ideal forms, because it reflects existence abstracted and heightened.

Comparisons of these first faltering approaches to opera in France with the early works of the Florentine Camerata are inevitable and cast little credit on the French product. One looks in vain here for that high level of poetry, that seriousness of intent, that sense of man's struggle with the profoundest problems of existence which pervade the *Euridice* of Jacopo Peri or the *Orfeo* of Claudio Monteverdi. What one finds instead is a pervading theatricality. Yet Perrin's *Pastorale*, if it has none of the drama of those germinal Italian operas, also lacks their static character. If the high-minded experiments of the Camerata constitute an island of seriousness amid the decadence of the Italian Renaissance, the early French operas reveal a baroque theatricality nearly devoid of the metaphysical shudder which had formerly given that style meaning, but more clearly designed for viewing upon the stage. In this, Perrin's libretti announce those of Philippe Quinault.

jected to the cruel and unusual punishment of having to listen to five Quinault prologues in a row, all full of extravagant praises of a King whose diminishing success in battle was responsible for their capture (Castil-Blaze, *L'Académie royale de musique*, I, p. 47).

### Fictional Levels

The preceding section has suggested that whatever story-telling character the early operas may have had, they were more ritualistic than psychological, more mythic than mimetic. History, wrote Cahusac, «comporte une vérité trop connue, des personnages trop graves, des actions trop ressemblantes à la vie pour que le chant, la musique et la danse ne forment pas une disparate ridicule avec elle». «Que peut être,» adds Snyders, «un personnage inventé pour s'épancher en sentiments divers, et privé en même temps de l'individualité et de la continuité et aussi presque de la conscience de soi qui constituent un caractère? qu'on le projette dans l'Olympe, les Enfers ou qu'on le laisse vivre sur terre, ce sera en fait un mythe personnifié». <sup>24</sup> In order to bring this idea into perspective, it may be useful to approach character portrayal in terms of levels of abstraction. In the Platonic scheme, the primary level of reality is God's idea of a thing. The secondary level is that in which we perceive the object. <sup>25</sup> The mediæval preoccupation with classification and hierarchy could bring about a situation in which a Rubens, for instance, places the humans on the ground—on the level of «down-to-earth» reality—while *putti* fly just above their heads, and the Deity inhabits the heavens. Discounting the evidence of their senses, men persisted in finding less «reality»—that is, moral significance—in realistic portrayals of their kind, than in allegorical figures and other more or less abstracted representations, more or less freed of those differentiating accidents which to our eyes constitute characterization, but which to theirs served to disguise and blur Truth.

«It is noteworthy,» wrote Professor Lång, «that the early music drama in Italy and France, as well as the pseudo-classical opera of the Rococo, preferred nebulous mythological subjects, which easily permitted a lyricism quite remote from the actuality of a truly dramatic fabric. It would be quite erroneous to attribute this merely to the lingering classical orientation, for the contemporary stage managed to create great human dramas while the opera was often satisfied with symbolic tableaux». <sup>26</sup> French opera was to cling obstinately to mythology well into the eighteenth century, but not always to pastoral, its point of departure. After quoting Molière's famous *Maître de danse* on the necessity of portraying singing characters as shepherds and shepherdesses, Snyders concludes that «celui qui s'épanche en musique ne peut pas être considéré comme

24 Cahusac, *La Danse ancienne et moderne*, t. III, p. 65, quoted in Snyders, *Le Goût musical*, p. 37; p. 39.

25 *Republic*, iii 2, 180. Plato's analogy of beds is discussed in Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King*, p. 5. On the first level, there is God's idea of a bed; on the second, any bed made by a carpenter; on the third, the artist's imitation of what others have made. Music, by contrast, leads man directly to an intuition of the harmony of the world.

26 Lång, «The Formation of the Lyric Stage,» p. 147. Perrin explicitly states the final point, Letter, paragraph d.

un homme de chair et de sang: ce sera un être de fiction, propre aux aventures extraordinaires, échappant aux nécessités de la vie commune, n'ayant pas à réfléchir pour s'adapter aux problèmes que pose le monde, et c'est bien à cet univers de fantaisie que correspond le berger des traditions romanesques» (p. 39). It is from this restrictive basis that opera in France starts its career. But there are degrees of fantasy. Professor Lang's reference to «nebulous mythological subjects» makes no distinction between stories of heroes and gods and that branch of mythology called pastoral.

Perrin set his two operas which were actually produced not only in the conventional security of Greco-Roman mythology, but in the even more abstract pastoral mode.<sup>27</sup> The first Italian lyric dramas—Peri's *Dafne* (1597) and *Euridice* (1600), Caccini's *Euridice* (1600), Monteverdi's *Orfeo* (1607)—all used the same mode. Even when the operatic world had expanded to include mythical heroes, its creators often returned to the comfort of that realm, music's legendary birthplace. Granted that the choice was at first motivated by a strong element of necessity, by theoretical limitations on music's powers, it is worth asking what advantages Perrin and his successors found in the mode. The work performed in 1659 is simply called *Pastorale*; it has no other name. That title designates a dramatic and poetic mode with definite purposes, an imitation of human experience with a peculiarly abstract character.

27 Why, we may wonder, did he return to the pastoral mode and take the trouble to write a new libretto when he had, as he says in the preface to the published libretto of *Pomone*, «three heroic ones in readiness»? (The number three may surprise as well: The «Comedy» of Bacchus and Ariadne had been at least partially set by Boësset and performed before the King in concert version; therefore, not a likely choice. The «Tragedy» of Adonis and Vénus had been set by Cambert a decade earlier; it too lacked freshness. The two manuscripts which Perrin left to his landlord, Beauregard—*vide* Chapter II, note 21 *supra*—may have been included among the three.) Pastoral, he explains, «composed of divinities and other characters of a rustic sort, lends itself at one and the same time to the rustic and the comic styles, to a dramatic plot, music and singing throughout, machinery, and dance». Nuittier & Thoinan, *Les Origines*, p. 136, add the cogent reason that the first production in particular had to work with totally untrained actors, voices recruited in the provinces with no previous stage experience. Simply to get them to sing on a stage in costume was a sufficient challenge at first.

Besides, as Perrin's remarks in the Foreword make clear (*vide* Chapter VI, paragraph d), the heroic arena was open only to characters of spoken theatre. Quinault and his successors saw the convention in a somewhat different light. They preferred the heroic mode to the pastoral, but, as we have indicated, maintained a distinction between the spoken, psychological heroic tragedy and the machine-centered, *merveilleux*, musical tragedy.

Nor does pastoral completely disappear from Quinault's libretti. La Laurencie considers it a constant even there: in the prologue to *Cadmus*; *Roland*, II; *Thésée*, IV (The «Enchanted Isle»); *Isis* in its entirety; demons disguised as shepherds in *Armide*; *Acis et Galathée* (*Les Créateurs de l'Opéra*, pp. 161-162).

In French theatre, the pastoral play enjoyed a first period of popularity during the early decades of the seventeenth century. With its «infinite variations on the theme of the conquest of unfeeling beauties or on the motif of chains of lovers (*des amours en chaîne*),» this sort of play was also the «laboratory in which feelings found their vocabulary, where the dialogue of love defined its rhythms and its structure, and where an ethic inspired by Neo-Platonism acquired its voice» (J. Morel, *La Tragédie*, p. 25). In this laboratory, patterns were worked out which, half a century later, would provide the ideal materials for a new kind of lyric theatre. La Laurencie, in a passage quoted above in part and in translation into English, noted that these courtly, precious little plays which helped prepare the way for Corneille's tragedies, confused and dull though they may be,

«offrent une particularité qui touche à la musique. Dans toutes les tirades que débitent bergers et bergères, on semble rechercher avant tout l'effet musical. De-ci, de-là, des chansons se mêlent au dialogue, et les répliques s'organisent en couplets qui s'équilibrent, se font vis-à-vis, en quelque sorte, car ils sont de longueur égale. En même temps, les sentiments exprimés s'estompent et par cette façon d'imprécision, deviennent proprement musicaux. On obtient ainsi des pièces musicales sans musique. Mais à cette prédisposition latente à la musique, la pastorale s'adjoind de nombreux épisodes musicaux, surtout en Italie».<sup>28</sup>

Predictably, the first lyric works in the pastoral mode after 1650, like the first productions of the Camerata, reduced drastically the content of the pastoral play. Where the earlier works had, to a considerable degree, reflected realities of the court society, the new vehicles distilled out all foreign elements, leaving only the alcohol of love. Where earlier plays had turned upon the difficulties of obtaining parental consent to marriage, where the characters in their shepherd costumes had remained noblemen and elegant ladies, those in the later texts have no parents and no ties with any specific human society. We have previously seen that the *Triomphe de l'Amour* of 1655 carries the chain of loves to its ultimate simplification, presenting for our admiration the uncomplicated beauty of a square. Perrin never carried schematization to that extreme.

28 La Laurencie, *Les Créateurs de l'Opéra*, pp. 162-163; and *vide* his article, «Les Pastorales en musique au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France avant Lully,» *Report of the 4th Congress of the International Musicological Society*, London, 1912, p. 142.

In fact, despite the elimination of so many complicating elements, he refuses the symmetrical situation in favour of a more baroque, apparently disorganized structure. Rather than develop by accretion an extremely simple plan or subject, as the classical artists were learning to do, he prefers to proceed from what has the appearance of disorder, formlessness. Cambert's music reflects a similar approach compared with Lully's rigid formalism. The *Pastorale* imitates an action in the Renaissance sense; it presents *un fait amoureux*. That is not to say that there is no conflict of wills, no conversion, but simply that they are of secondary importance. The action has been relieved of nearly all concrete, individualizing detail. The characters have no other story, they bring with them no historical or legendary baggage, they live in no specific society. Even their names generalize them. Tircis and Philis are conventional designations for «a shepherd,» «a shepherdess». The action consists of the encounter of embodied emotions. The *Pastorale*, then, is scarcely drama as the seventeenth century had come to know it, but staged eclogue, representation of a series of emotional states. Indeed, to say that the characters meet and converse is not to imply that they confront each other, reason, recount, or explain. When one shepherdess returns from we know not whence to awaken her faithful lover, he exclaims: «Ah! mon amour! / Hélas! hé! qui t'a donc si longtemps retenue?» to which she responds not «My father, who would separate us,» or «Urgent business at court»—for such comments would connect the characters with an outside world—but simply: «Un dur destin». In its essence, the pastoral convention portrays love as though under laboratory conditions; each reaction is studied in isolation from all the others and freed from contaminating elements. Above all, the genre calls for no character development and no complexities of plot, because the various emotional states represented are lyric and static, and plot usually depends on social conditions.<sup>29</sup> The mode cries out for musical setting, for its characters «sing» even without music, and inhabit

29 Jules Marsan, *La Pastorale dramatique en France à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1905, pp. ix-x. He evoked the dual nature of the mode in the following terms:

«The insipidities of bucolic poetry, the amorous theories of the neo-Platonists, the exaltation of the chivalric novels, the mystic fervour of the Amadis stories, the pastoral absorbs all these. In it are united [...] all varieties of pedantry, but all sorts of poetry, in such a way that its apparent poverty is composed of accumulated riches».

Marsan's study, unfortunately, left off on the threshold of the revival of the genre which led to the creation of the first operas. He carried his bibliography only to the year 1654. By that time, many of the hidden «riches» of which he spoke had been squandered; contemporaries such as Gombauld, in the preface to his *Amaranthe*, deplored the advent in the genre of platitude, insignificance, mediocrity (Marsan, p. 398). We will return to the idea that the music was thought to fill a gap left by the poetry. A «burned out» genre was ideal to provide vehicles for musical drama.

realms totally separate from those of our prosaic, songless everyday concerns. Thus, Perrin's pastoral characters are pretexts not for plot but for musical expression. They exist on a plane of abstraction akin to that of allegorical figures.<sup>30</sup> The poet refuses to give them the appearance of life which humanizing detail might provide, although he counts on the physical presence of singers on the stage to lend a certain density.

The first operas establish and maintain a decidedly supra-human atmosphere in deference to the convention, which the Foreword to the *Recueil de Paroles de Musique* explains (paragraph d), that only fabulous beings or persons known to have sung might credibly do so on the stage. The solution adopted by Lully and Quinault as early as *Cadmus et Hermione* was that of the Greeks: to create within the play two levels, that of the heroes and that of the gods, but to let both sing. The heroes, however weak their characterization in the text, seem by contrast more human than the deities who appear, majestic and motionless, in their chariots or upon clouds or beasts (Pallas seated on her flying owl, *Cadmus*, IV, v). Although Italy had long since abandoned mythology for historical, political subjects, even the move from pastoral to mythical heroic represented an important step for opera in France. None of the works produced before *Cadmus* had gone so far as to make even mythical mortals sing when tradition did not associate them with music.

30 Allegorical thinking was still very much alive throughout the century: *vide*, for instance, Quinault's preface to *Cadmus et Hermione*;

Le sujet de ce Prologue est pris du premier Livre & de la huitième Fable des Métamorphoses, où Ovide décrit la naissance & la mort du monstrueux Serpent Python, que le Soleil fit naître par sa chaleur du limon bourbeux qui étoit resté sur la terre après le déluge, & qui devint un monstre si terrible, qu'Apollon lui-même fut obligé de le détruire.

Le sens allégorique de ce sujet est si clair, qu'il est inutile de l'expliquer. Il suffit de dire que le Roi s'est mis au dessus des louanges ordinaires, & que pour former quelque idée de la grandeur de l'éclat de sa gloire, il a fallu s'élever jusques à la Divinité même de la lumière, qui est le corps de sa devise.

Pastoral drama is by its very nature a form of symbolic enactment in which characters stand for generalized human traits or give form to distinct passions in situations freed from the encumbering complications of social and political considerations. It has been pointed out that as great a playwright as Calderón, Corneille's contemporary in Spain, manipulated, as though on a chessboard, characters whose entire existence was concentrated, like that of a chess piece, in their fixed potential of motion. «It is a somewhat embarrassed commonplace of scholarly criticism,» wrote Micheline Sauvage, «to point out the weakness of psychology» in Calderón's theatre: «as though psychology had anything to do with it!» (*Calderón*, Paris, 1956, p. 109). Calderón's characters conform to basic human categories, each with its potential of reaction: the King and the Father; Power, Wisdom, Love, etc.; outside the needs of the plot they have no existence and no characteristics. Even what seems at first to be a personal touch in a given character always proves in the long run to be essential to the plot.

That literalistic convention did not, however, prevent Perrin from giving his characters, notably in *Pomone*, some of that poetic density which derives from multiple planes of symbolic and mythological function. Pomone, goddess of fruit trees, has several suitors, foremost among them Vertumne, god of vegetation's productivity and seasonal change (Autumn). According to tradition, Vertumnus had the power to transform himself into various forms.<sup>31</sup> His character allowed for many striking costume changes. In the seventeenth century, such figures, household gods by adoption, through long established poetic use, carried with them a well-worn baggage of associations and implications which they have for few of us today.<sup>32</sup> Audiences brought to them a fund of background experience. In human terms, Vertumne's physical metamorphoses, aside from the purely theatrical, *trompe-l'œil* pleasure they afforded, symbolized the mortal error of trying to win a lady's love by pretending to be what one is not. The god finally triumphs over the nymph who, by her nature, is destined to be united with him, only when, despairing of his Protean failures, he appears to her simply as himself. Moral: in love's game, all masks must fall.

The following lines illustrate how the librettist established the interplay of planes while maintaining distance from reality in this highly stylized theatrical art. Flore chides Pomone for not returning Vertumne's devotion:

Ah! ma sœur, à quoi penses-tu?  
Veux-tu bannir de ton Empire  
Ce Dieu puissant, dont la vertu  
Anime tout ce qui respire,  
Et dont les fécondes chaleurs  
Font naître tes fruits et mes fleurs? (II, ii)

«Ce dieu» is at once Love and Vertumne. As productive forces of nature, both sisters depend upon his seminal force (his «vertu») in order to bear their fruits and flowers.<sup>33</sup> At the same time, this sort of language closely resembles that of the love poetry of the time; that is to say, it applies to real men and women, at least as they appear in the poetic conventions.

31 Ovid's telling of the story in *Metamorphoses*, X, seems, whether directly or at second-hand, to have been Perrin's source.

32 They no longer have even the power which a century ago made critic Jules Janin cry sacrilege upon discovering in Offenbach's irreverent treatment of *La Belle Hélène* a profanation of «holy and glorious antiquity».

33 Should «fécondes chaleurs» conjure up literal images, as they may well have in the minds of Perrin's contemporaries? Has the poet overstepped the bounds of decency in this scene? One would hardly think so. On the other hand, what we may not always find in these texts in sufficient quantity is the desire to «donner aux vers une douce majesté qui ne s'eslève point outre mesure et qui aussi ne tombe point,» as one writer has described the pastoral style (Gombauld, cited in Marsan, *La Pastorale dramatique*, p. 398).

The sisters Pomone and Flore are not only goddesses and symbolic (or allegorical) figures, but shepherdesses as well. In pastoral convention, they represent maidenhood outside the scope of, and exempt from, the concerns, material needs, and social strictures of a specific time and place. The device of lifting the *bergère*, herself already a symbol of elemental feminine attractiveness, out of her lowly setting into an ideal realm worthy of poetic celebration by comparing her to a nymph—or making her a goddess as well, and thereby raising her to a mythical status—is a commonplace of baroque poetry. In Perrin's libretti, the realistic level, that of the real woman, is all but omitted. Again, this is but an extreme manifestation of a permanent characteristic of theatre—not to say of all art in general. In the heroic plays of the time, characters did not take time out to eat; Perrin's characters do not ride in carriages or command lackeys, or talk, let alone think, of anything but love.

The theatre has often dealt in abstraction and stylization. The sense of ritual enactment in the dramas of Æschylus can produce powerful effects. The allegorical tradition of the Middle Ages survived in some ways into the seventeenth century and no doubt laid the ground-work for much of what is best in the thought and literature of that period, from the new insights into human motives to the fabulist's fiction adopted by La Fontaine. It continued to play an important part in *ballet de cour*. Closely akin to allegorical abstraction, the pastoral play, that peculiar symbolic mode, despite its failings on strictly literary or dramatic lines, contributed to the creation in France first of psychological tragedy, then of opera.

Earlier, in one of the famous, much criticized scenes, the God of the Gardeners has proposed to Pomone, pleading with her: «Unissons nos cœurs et nos Empires». Now, that is a proposal which any god or king, not to mention any rich merchant, might reasonably have made, in some form or other, to goddess, queen, or heiress. But he continues:

Ajoute aux fruits de tes Vergers  
Les fruits de mes potagers;  
Joins mes Melons à tes Poncires;  
Et mêle parmi tes Pignons  
Mes Truffes et mes Champignons. (I, iii)

The aria was meant to be comic in tone; this graceless suitor would later be put to shame by the maidens. Perrin sought to play upon the grotesque disparity between high-blown sentiments and the list of lowly objects here. This, no doubt, was the passage which inspired Voltaire to his damning quip that *Pomone* was «mostly about vegetables». There is no form of entertainment which, once it has lost its punch, seems more insipid than humour—as opposed to true comedy. Neither Voltaire nor anyone since has found it conceivable that such lines once tickled anyone's funny-bone.

If the symbolic mode has long since earned its place in the theatre, few would deny today that it is most effective when the playwright humanizes his figures, gives them distinctive traits, attaches them with many details to reality. Any kind of art imposes between us and the reality it imitates a gulf. This is literally as well as figuratively true in the theatre. In the figurative sense, it involves not the æsthetic or psychic distance which separates the artist or the critic from the work of art, but that quality which permits the work to be an imitation of reality and not the reality itself. That creation, that reshaping of the world which the artist does may help us to see more clearly something about the world in which we live by heightening our perception or fastening our attention on particular aspects of it. It necessarily selects, orders. The distance between the work and base reality is more or less great. As it approaches reproduction of our everyday experience, we call it realistic, or low mimetic. As it stylizes and transforms, we call it heroic, mythic, or high mimetic.

Nor is it certain that they did. Perrin failed to see that to the new spirit of seriousness and literal-mindedness they might seem not comical but obscene. In Ovid's story, the importune suitor is a priaphalic god; Perrin exchanged that unacceptable, overtly sexual element, with its archetypal resonances, for some less unseemly if less meaningful scatological humour. Unfortunately for him, many a courtier still had his head full of the old burlesque visions, the inuendos, the off-colour puns and witticisms which had been in fashion but a few years earlier. Even though this god is tame compared to the Satyr in the *Pastorale*, who in his turn was a model of good taste besides his probable model in d'Assoucy's *Amours d'Apollon*, he managed to give offence.

Besides, when they had no such overtones as Perrin's lines for the Priapic god did, references to «vegetables» and other lowly necessities of everyday life were no longer considered appropriate to poetic expression. Times had changed since poets such as Saint-Amant could celebrate in verse the pleasures of the pipe or the succulence of the melon. Criticism of his verses, wrote Perrin in the preface to *Pomone*

«had amounted to no more than a few confused and badly articulated noises which ended up by finding blame in no more than three or four verses, whose expressions, they said, were low and very vulgar, without considering either the persons who were speaking or the things to which they applied, verses which I have changed, to avoid difficulties, and to spare myself unpleasant disputes. The rest were only weak jokes: that characters shouted about apples and artichokes, that they talked about she-asses, and similar jibes which did not merit consideration».

Molière had encountered similar difficulties more than once (ref. *La Critique de l'Ecole des Femmes*). All the same, the low comic style dies hard, even in opera. Quinault and Lully included comic scenes in their first two operas, and were repaid with royal displeasure.

Striking effects may be obtained by shifting from one plane of mimetic distance, of artistic illusion, to another. Pirandello explored this device from a basis of nineteenth-century bourgeois realism. The same principle was called into play innumerable times throughout the seventeenth century. We know the sense of depth which Shakespeare obtained by framing his comedies within comedies. In France, the play-within-a-play motif had a great diversity of manifestations.<sup>34</sup> Playwrights drew heavily upon the ambiguities of the illusionist game which is theatre. Molière, for one, enjoyed the burlesque device of bringing gods down to earth. In *Amphytrion*, he included a prologue in which Mercury, tireless messenger of the gods, is discovered lounging on a cloud and, like any overworked valet, complaining in earthy terms of his working conditions. On more than one occasion, the great comic appeared on stage to play the part of himself. Professor Làng believed that he «was of the opinion that in his *comédie-ballets* the musical numbers should be assigned to the *personnages de fantaisie*, clearly recognizing their interpolative nature in the drama» («The Formation of the Lyric Stage,» p. 147). This view not only labels as personal opinion the strong convention which we have mentioned, but also fails to suggest the advantage Molière found in preserving the distinction between «real people» and creatures of fantasy on his stage.

In those works to which Professor Làng alludes, Molière juxtaposed and sometimes mingled the atmosphere of the comedy and that of the ballet, whether by allowing the principal character of the comedy to wander or blunder into the ballet (*Les Fâcheux*, *L'Amour médecin*), by creating one character who lives in both the heroic atmosphere of the comedy and the farcical atmosphere of the interludes (Moron in *La Princesse d'Elide*), or by bringing on the interludes as entertainments for characters in the play (*Les Amants magnifiques*, *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, and elsewhere). A refinement of this in the best comedy-ballets makes the monomaniac the central figure in the patently unreal interlude (*Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*, *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, *Le Malade imaginaire*). Thus, Molière maintains a sense of the humanity of his most idealized as well as his most farcical characters. The shift of levels, or layers of distance from reality, gives the appearance of depth to characters who would otherwise seem flat.

34 Several interesting works turn about that theatrical convention in dealing with the confused area between reality and artistic illusion: Corneille's *Illusion comique* (1635), Rotrou's *Véritable Saint-Genest* (1645), and Quinault's *Comédie sans comédie* (1655) perhaps chief among them, before Molière. Vide also the discussion in J. Rousset, *La Littérature de l'âge baroque en France*, Chapter III, v, «Le Théâtre sur le théâtre,» pp. 66-74.

Perrin made no such use of the convention. Yet this is not necessarily a complete affirmation of Nuittier's & Thoinan's contention that he betrayed a total lack of understanding of theatre (*Les Origines*, p. 158). A new convention was in the making, and he saw a need for proceeding with caution. Molière played up the differences between his «real» characters and the fanciful beings of the interludes precisely in order to heighten the sense of down-to-earth reality in the world of the ordinary stage. Working with characters already far removed from everyday reality, Perrin undertook first to make their song acceptable as a consistent representation of heightened reality. That is, he needed to establish a single level on which characters who reflected some aspect of human existence might normally express themselves always in song. Once this new convention had been established and gained a degree of acceptance, it would be possible to explore more complex structures. Even in Quinault's libretti, among the tricks bequeathed the new genre by its parent, the theatre, self-conscious pretense of breaking from illusion into «reality» (the actor's ploy of seeming to drop his character in order to take the audience into his confidence) was not to be found.

On the other hand, given the literalistic bent of many Frenchmen, it was natural that any work which was to be entirely in music should bring into play situations in which music occurred in life, and that it should provide for such situations an atmosphere in which musical expression was natural to the characters. Thus, once it was established that music could tell a story on the stage, the new genre became a repository for many musical traditions. Some distinction of levels within the musical convention is apparent as early as the closing strophes of the *Pastorale*. Similarly, in *Ariane ou le Mariage de Bacchus*, the prologue sung by Momus addressed itself directly to the King, thus reaching out beyond the artificial world of the stage to that of the court. The prologue would continue to serve this purpose for many years to come. To look at it from the opposite point of view, it effected a transition from the world of the court on a specific day in a particular year to that world in which beings superior to ordinary mortals never descend to prosaic speech. And it did so through appeal to an idealized monarch, himself already considered to be far above other mortals. Thus, it served to relate the performance to its socio-political setting without threatening to destroy the conventional existence of any of the characters. Similarly, the same libretto, in which all the characters are deities, explores the effect of juxtaposition of ballet interludes and lyric sets.

In contrast with the frequent entertainment sequences in Gilbert's pastoral, scenes in which the principal characters stop to watch others perform for their pleasure, the device used by Pierre Corneille in *Andromède*, *Pomone* treats such activities as part of the action. Expression of strong sentiments through song and dance is natural to these super-natural characters. (Even here there is a sort of entertainment competition between the followers of Faune and those of the Dieu des Jardiniers, I, iv.) With Gilbert, Cambert's approach seems to have been to make his heroes express themselves normally in a declamatory style never far from recitative.

Songs, airs, and dance or ritual numbers then appear as set-pieces. In much the same way, the tragic theatre used the alexandrine line and a particular declamatory style for heightened everyday communication, and reserved other kinds of verses for moments of solitary meditation. Processions and other ritual activities patently belong to that other realm; *Pomone* seldom speaks other than in song, as opposed to recitative. Pageantry and show are part of the nature of many characters, not noblemen in disguise, but gods. Thus is maintained a sense of ritual.

If Perrin drew heavily upon the *ballet de cour* tradition in formulating his conception of opera, Quinault turned rather to that of machine spectacle. He set upon the stage at base level neither deities nor ordinary mortals, but great heroes: Cadmus, Alcestis, Medea, Theseus (before Phædra). His gods arrive on their machines with all the animation of the stuffed figures in Greek tragedies. His heroes occasionally stop for entertainment, just as Louis XIV took time out from his martial and political duties to allow others to perform before him. In this system, then, the base reality is simply raised to that of Molière, above that of Racine, to the level of legendary heroes who expressed themselves neither in prose nor even in heroic alexandrines, but in musical declamation, song. That difference aside, the conventions are the same as those accepted elsewhere in the theatre of the time. Whatever its faults, Perrin's approach was at least less banal. As spoken theatre moved toward greater individualization of dramatic characters, operatic audiences learned to prefer even poor character differentiation to the shadow figures which authors manipulated in the symbolic dramas harking back to Mediæval morality plays. Allegorical figures might be acceptable in a prologue, gods and goddesses in their majesty might still be quite useful in apotheosis scenes and to bring about rapid resolution of plot; but from the late seventeenth century until our own time, audiences have demanded that the principal characters even in opera be at least superficially «realistic».

The first operas in France follow a very different principle. They resolutely maintain a supra-terrestrial distance from the audience. When they do adopt the play-within-the-play device, it is always within the bounds of the mythological fiction. When they borrow from ballet the tradition of eulogizing the monarch, it is not for the purpose of bringing mythical and allegorical beings down to earth, but on the contrary to raise Louis to the level of a demi-god. While spoken tragedy was casting off much of its theatricality in order to concentrate on psychological analysis, opera gives the impression of having drawn to itself all the discarded spectacular elements: the machines, the costumes, the battle scenes, the pageantry, the apotheoses.

#### Character

Aristotle, for whom drama meant action, thought that tragedy was possible without character; opera sometimes threatens to prove him right. He did include *ethos*, or character motivation, as one of the six elements of action, however. The conclusion drawn by theorists of opera in the

classical period was that music could not express character, opera could not be like a play, «le récit d'une entreprise, à la faveur de laquelle un héros se développe pour lui-même en même temps qu'il se dévoile aux spectateurs». Music, as Snyders explains, cannot present all the passions, but only those which can be externalized, those which already possess of themselves a characteristic vocal expression: one cannot ascribe song to «un politique, ou un ambitieux, gens froids en apparence et sentencieux, dont les sentiments sont souvent enfermés dans le fond de leur cœur». (*Le Goût musical*, pp. 56-57)

Perrin had the habit, in precocious conformity with these principles, of resolving his simple plots with a strict minimum of psychological explanation. At the climactic moment, the shepherdess or goddess suddenly and laconically yields to the entreaties of her faithful, but hitherto unheeded, suitor. Yet such conversions are always prepared, if not in the ways consecrated in spoken drama. In the *Pastorale*, the heartless Diane has been a spectator at the loving reunion of Tyrsis and Philis, and we have heard her muse upon the confusing, troubling, paradoxical nature of this emotion which she does not yet know (Act II), before she finally enters into a pact with the other two shepherdesses to love, each her shepherd, «ardemment et fidèlement».

Que de plaisirs, que de tourmens,  
Que de douleurs, que de contentemens  
A celui qui respire  
Sous l'amoureux empire!  
Que ferons nous, hélas! suivrons nous, fuyrons nous  
Un bien si cher, un mal si doux?  
Ah! je sens que mon cœur a peine à se deffendre;  
Qui combat en amour est bien pret de se rendre. (II, iii)

The conversion is prepared somewhat differently in the «comedy» *Ariane, ou le Mariage de Bacchus*. Touched by the lamentations of Ariane, Bacchus has no cause to defend his heart and enters readily into conversation with it, in accordance with the lyric tradition:

Mon cœur, quelle est votre pensée?  
Que cherchez-vous en ces lieux pleins d'horreur? (III, i)

Ariane, on the other hand, having only recently been deserted by Thésée, is in no mood for a ricochet romance, as Bacchus discovers in a scene which allows for music of tender pleading on his part and of outraged refusal on that of the lady (III, ii). After this interview, the god is thoroughly in love, and the lady, inexorable. Divine intervention is called for here, and in Act IV Vénus herself offers the doleful maiden her own scarf to wear as an earnest of Bacchus' fidelity (ii). The scarf, in true *merveilleux* fashion, brings about an immediate conversion, in the form of an air in two stanzas, beginning:

O dieu! quel changement soudain!  
Je ne me connois plus, je ne suis plus moy-mesme.

Bacchus returns, and mistaking the object of this new love, suffers the sting of a brief *quiproquo*. He quickly learns the truth, and the scene becomes a joyful duet of mutual love.

Despite Pomone's valiant efforts to remain insensitive to love, she ultimately yields to the entreaties of Vertumne, but not until he unwillingly appears to her in his own natural form. Scarcely two minutes earlier she has declared:

Il serait à mes yeux  
Le plus parfait des dieux,  
Qu'à son amour je serais insensible.  
Non, mon cœur est invincible.

The text makes no comment upon the psychological implications of this event because they are clear. Yet her conversion has been prepared in several ways. /s

Living in a world in which love is the constant preoccupation of everyone but herself, she is frequently exposed to social pressure. The poet had no need to explain or develop this idea, since it was common currency of the lyric mode. Instead he used it, played upon it. After the dance of fruit gatherers, Pomone turns to Flore to ask:

Hé bien, que dis-tu, ma sœur,  
De notre charmante vie?

to which the other responds:

Je dis que sa douceur  
Me donne peu d'envie;  
Sans les plaisirs d'amour, tous les autres plaisirs  
Lassent facilement nos cœurs et nos désirs. (IV, v)

Almost immediately, Vertumne, disguised as Béroé, takes advantage of Pomone's confidence in her old nurse to plead his cause once more:

Je détestais l'amour et traitais ses délices  
De crime et de supplices:  
Mais depuis que j'ai vu Vertumne, ton amant,  
J'ai bien changé de sentiment.  
Qu'il a d'amour! qu'il a de charmes!  
Il me dit l'autre jour les peines qu'il ressent,  
D'un air si doux, si languissant,  
Qu'il m'attendrit, et me tira des larmes.  
Je le dis franchement,  
Si j'étois jeune et belle.  
Mon cœur à cet amant  
Ne seroit point rebelle.

The constant bombardment of such propaganda must finally undermine the goddess's firm reserve. She still declares her heart invincible, but Vertumne interjects, as much to her as to the audience, the general principle which is soon to be demonstrated:

Souvent le plus confiant  
S'ébranle en un instant.

When the real Béroé emerges from her hiding place, the god resumes his natural form. The nurse is moved by his beauty, and this time so is Pomone:

Qu'il a l'air fier et doux, ha! qu'est-ce que je sens!  
Un mouvement secret me transporte les sens.

There follows, as the god openly and directly declares his love for the first time, one of those exchanges in which two characters pursue their separate thoughts simultaneously, finally to join them at the end.

*Vertumne:*                   Aussi jusqu'à ce jour  
Le respect m'a contraint de cacher mon amour:  
Mais enfin, emporté par son ardeur extrême,  
Je viens à tes genoux te dire que je t'aime....

(*Il se jette aux genoux de la Déesse.*)

*Pomone: (à l'écart)* O Dieu, il m'attendrit!

*Vertumne:*                   Et me vois condamner,

*Pomone: (à l'écart)* Je n'en puis plus,

*Vertumne:*                   A des peines mortelles,

*Pomone: (à l'écart)* Hélas!

*Vertumne:*               Et d'autant plus cruelles....

*Pomone:*                   Et je sens....

*Vertumne:*               Que la mort ne peut les terminer.

*Pomone:*                   Et je sens....  
(*se tournant vers lui*)

*Vertumne:*                   Que dis-tu?

*Pomone:*                                           Ce que je n'ose dire;  
(*En le relevant*)           Et je sens que mon cœur partage ton martyre.

*Scène Huitième*

*Pomone,*                   O puissance d'amour, ô divin changement!  
*Flore,*                    Ce que l'amour et la finesse  
*Vertumne:*                Ont tenté vainement,  
L'amour et la beauté le font en un moment. (IV, vii-viii)

So it is established that Love's power can act unexpectedly, even miraculously. Rather than provide a psychological explanation of the mystery of love, the poet leaves it up to the composer to suggest and justify that «mouvement secret [qui] transporte les sens». <sup>35</sup>

Such scenes lend themselves admirably to musical setting. They allow for the creation of varied musical patterns as well as the expression of shadings of emotion. And of course the music contributed to the preparation of the change of heart, for, of all the arts, music can with the greatest ease express sudden shifts of sentiment.

*Discussion.*

On the operatic stage, much had to be shown through staging or suggested by the music rather than explicitly stated. Mably put it succinctly: «Un opéra ne peut souffrir tout cet échafaudage de faits et de suppositions qui précèdent ordinairement les tragédies: son exposition se fera sans récit et son dénouement sans discussion». <sup>36</sup> Sentiments and changes of heart would be expressed musically: serious discussions, as well as the bravura tirades of tragedy, eliminated. Much would depend on the audience's familiarity with the general outline of the story, so that the stock characters need not necessarily explain their situation in detail or elaborate their motivations. When all the supernatural effects and the other spectacular aspects of the production had been worked into the opera, little place was left for probing the depths of the hero's or heroine's psyche, at least verbally.

Perrin speaks in the opening of the Letter of the dissatisfaction which he and his contemporaries felt at the use of «discussions and serious commands» in opera. He had composed his text «exclusively of Pathos and expressions of love, joy, sadness, jealousy, and despair,» excluding all «raisonnements graves». The list of passions will receive comment in the chapter on lyric theory, but the idea of «serious discourse» deserves comment under the rubric of opera, since it touches directly on musical declamation.

<sup>35</sup> Confer the «conversions» of Molière's shepherdesses in the interludes of *La Princesse d'Elide*, and *Les Amants magnifiques*.

<sup>36</sup> Mably, *Lettres à M<sup>me</sup> La Marquise de R.... sur l'Opéra*, in Snyders, *Le Goût*, p. 36.

Just what verbal materials did Perrin consider inappropriate to opera? First of all, he believed that the libretto had to make a clean break with the verbally oriented poetic theatre of his time, had to reduce the part of the word to a minimum while keeping it comprehensible, and leave the lion's share of interest to the spectacle and the music. He continued, of course, to insist upon the importance to the spectator of the «pleasure of the wits,» that is, the intellectual pleasures which only words could provide. Despite appearances, there is no contradiction here. Pursuing the golden mean and the principle of constant variety without excessive concentration on any one subject or activity, the gentleman of the court wanted each of his pleasures in the appropriate dosage, blended into a light, delicately spiced sauce to which each ingredient contributed its part.

It is revealing that in discussing the sorts of verbal materials he would exclude, he specifically mentions Pierre Corneille.<sup>37</sup> In the dramatic poetry of the elder Corneille, decisions often come about through a process of rational verbalization, *prises de conscience*, which the audience is permitted to follow. Characters are shown almost exclusively in their public personæ; they exist largely in relation to others and through externalization of their inner selves. Not to articulate one's feelings and thoughts is to cease to exist. Nothing is rarer in Corneille's theatre than Chimène's sigh after her parting lover, Don Rodrigue (III, iv), the man who has just killed her father in a duel: «Je cherche le silence et la nuit pour pleurer». Lyric theatre, by way of contrast, gives the characters affective density through the music, and therefore requires a minimum of verbalization. All of Corneille's rationalists notwithstanding, many events in the human heart remain inaccessible to the word. Such events occur in that mysterious realm of the ineffable which music, using only a word or two for linking, can paint so effectively.

37 In the late 1650's, the aging Corneille, whose great successes had been achieved two decades earlier, had lost some of his power to move the public. He had only recently ended a premature retirement occasioned by the failure in 1651 of this *Pertharite*. But for many, he was still undisputed king of the French stage.

The Marquis de Sourdéac, whose encounters with Perrin and Cambert—and Champéron—were still far in the future, enjoyed working with theatrical machinery. His generosity with respect to Corneille's second machine play, *La Conquête de la toison d'or*, has been noted (*supra*, Chapter II, note 20). Planned as early as 1656, the work was not played until 1660. Sourdéac then gave the machinery to the actors of the Marais theatre who had mounted the production. Corneille's *Œdipe*, commissioned by the finance minister Fouquet, was given in 1659, and thus marked his return to the public stage. His brother Thomas had by this time written a few successful plays, and Philippe Quinault was enjoying a certain success with his «sweet» galant style. Neither of them, however, moved audiences so much as had the man whom M<sup>me</sup> de Sévigné called «notre vieux Corneille». Jean Racine's first plays would not be seen in Paris for three more years. See the thesis of G. Reynier, *Thomas Corneille, sa vie et son théâtre*, Paris, 1892, and Etienne Gros, *Philippe Quinault, sa vie et son œuvre*, Paris, 1926.

Corneille's plays express a profound sense of *noblesse oblige*, the heroic ideal that the truly noble soul is bound by obligations which those of less lofty character cannot even perceive. The concept of *gloire* as the playwright used it involved the relationship between the character's knowledge of his own inner strength, his conformity to those secret rules, and his need to make his true worth visible to others. The proper expression of this concept of heroic man is not the introvert's monologue, but externalization, tirade, debate. The reader familiar with *Le Cid* (not to mention *Cinna*) may object that there are two monologues in the first act alone, scenes iv and vi, the latter, Don Rodrigue's «Stances,» among the most famous verses in French theatre. But how different in character from a Shakespearean soliloquy! Although each starts by deploring an untenable situation, every speech in the French play immediately leads to formulation of the problem in its clearest form, search for and discovery of a solution and, forthwith, adoption of a mode of conduct. The monologue was later to disappear in favour of the conventional use of a confidant, the nurse, the trusted friend. This device permitted questions to be debated with another character. In each case, the problem would be examined from all sides, points considered: then, with a telling «mais....,» the refutation would begin to unfold, destroying point by point all previous positions. It is this sort of «serious argument,» this oratorical rhetoric, which Perrin rightly determined to exclude from his libretti as unsuited to lyric verse and musical setting.

If Perrin's characters do not exteriorize the inner turmoil which leads them to their decisions, Quinault's characters also remain far less articulate than those of Corneille. One of the most famous passages from the Lully operas is Act II, scene v of *Armide*. Torn between love and in-sensed fury, the enchantress approaches the bed of the sleeping Renaud with raised dagger, intent on teaching him the danger of spurning her.

In confusion, she finds herself unable to accomplish the murder. Her monologue explores her troubled state in the following terms:

Quel trouble me saisit? Qui me fait hésiter?  
 Qu'est ce qu'en sa faveur la pitié me veut dire?  
 Frappons.... . Ciel! qui peut m'arrêter!  
 Achevons.... je frémis! Vengeons-nous.... je soupire!  
 Est-ce ainsi que je dois me venger aujourd'hui?  
 Ma colère s'éteint quand j'approche de lui.  
 Plus je le vois, plus ma fureur est vaine,  
 Mon bras tremblant se refuse à ma haine,  
 Ah! quelle cruauté de lui ravir le jour.  
 A ce jeune Héros tout cède sur la terre.... .

This scene may be compared with that in which Falsirène proves incapable of personally avenging herself on the sleeping Adonis (*La Mort d'Adonis*, III, ii). In both cases, the librettist has wisely refrained from attempting poetic expression of a complex state of mind, leaving the musician sufficient leeway to say what words cannot. The murder of Desdemona in Verdi's *Otello*, Act IV, follows this same tradition.

The two lines which Perrin cites—misquotes, in fact—as an example of the least lyric sort of poetry indicate one further type of textual matter to avoid: prosaic orders and staging directions. Rigid dramatic conventions at the time decreed that stage business, setting, and scene changes be written into the lines spoken by the performers.<sup>38</sup> Exits and entrances had not only to be motivated, but usually announced. A messenger enters to announce: «Seigneur, le roi vous cherche»; at the end of a tirade or discussion, a heroine exclaims: «Continuons ailleurs...».<sup>39</sup> A remarkably large proportion of these relatively short texts is devoted to such matters. Such demands were natural for works which were thought of primarily as «dramatic poems» and only secondarily as plays. When accompanied by appropriate actions, such materials are largely redundant as far as the forward movement of the action is concerned, whatever their necessity within the poetic structure of the text. In a different conventional system, a gesture, a characteristic motif (*idée fixe* or *leitmotif*) or a particular orchestral colouration, might communicate the same information.

Reiterated verbal formulas have a rhythmic function somewhat similar to repeated Biblical phrases such as: «He said unto them...». Like the priest's announcement in the Mass, «I go unto the altar of God,» they contribute an important stylistic element to the ritual effect. But they are not indispensable. Theatre has often existed without them. In music theatre, such a lyric function naturally transfers from the text to the score. Taking his cue from *ballet de cour*, itself related to mime plays and ritual enactments, Perrin was to focus his attention on those aspects of lyric drama which worked best with a minimum of verbal structuring. Like Castil-Blaze nearly two centuries later, he believed that the things expressed in song and opera should be of an order different from those which could be spoken, even in the exalted, highly stylized atmosphere of tragedy or epic poem.

Thus, as early as 1659, Perrin sought to combat the tyranny of the word in lyric theatre, to eliminate redundancies between word and music, word and gesture. Without betraying the Renaissance ideal of clear expression of the text, he wanted to make it totally the servant of the music. Neither in plot development, oratorical harangue, careful exploration of motives, poetic density, nor verbalization of the mechanics of stagecraft did he believe he could find the materials proper to drama in music. He had not created these ideas, even if he was the first to apply them to the problem of opera. Something in the spirit of the times, something in the rationalistic French soul rebelled at hearing expressed in song those state-

38 On the necessity of indicating scenic changes in the text of the poem itself, *vide* François Hedelin, abbé d'Aubignac, *La Pratique du théâtre*, (1657), ed. Hans-Jörg Neuschäfer, München, 1971, Livre I, chapter viii, pp. 45-46.

39 *Vide* Jacques Scherer, *La Dramaturgie classique en France*, Paris, n. d. [1952], Chapter V, «Les Liaisons des scènes,» pp. 266-284.

ments which were clearly prosaic, or which convention categorized as non-lyric. Just as the *bienséances* forbade mentioning in poetry, or indeed in polite conversation, the things in life which were held to be beneath notice of the noble mind—(There was an *Othello* in the following century without a handkerchief, base object.)—so the high art of music, as many believed, should treat only of heightened existence, deal only in moments of strong emotion. The form which French opera finally took involved more compromise of this principle than Perrin wanted to accept, but remained far closer to his conception than to that of the Italians.

### Declamation

Henri Prunières insisted that no logical development was possible in French opera until Lully had created a workable form of recitative. Yet even he admitted that the expressive *récit* used in ballets to explain the situation had sufficient capacity for direct linear presentation of ideas to make plot development quite feasible. The great French musicologist went so far as to claim that it was what he took to be the failure of Perrin's two cantatas that had confirmed his fear of expository style.<sup>40</sup> In fact, Perrin's attitude was determined by other considerations, and did not preclude the use of recitative. Although he criticized the static quality of Italian declamation, in which, as he said, the voice changed pitch only at the end of the line, at the precise moment when, if imitation of speech patterns was desired, it should maintain a constant pitch,<sup>41</sup> he himself ad-

40 Perrin explains this attitude in the Letter and again in the Foreword to the *Œuvres de Poésie*. There is no need to assume, as Prunières did (*L'Opéra italien*, pp. 346-347), that he was turned against recitative by the presumed failure of his two cantatas. In all likelihood, they were written several years after Perrin's position on this point had been set. His distrust of recitative opera gradually decreased, as it did for most interested Frenchmen, while the operatic solution drew nearer. It would be surprising to find him holding any other opinion in 1659.

41 Letter, paragraph e. This reading of his thought is discussed below, note 83. On the difficulties of establishing recitative in France, see Prunières, *L'Opéra italien*, p. 338; La Laurencie, *Le Goût musical*, Chapter IV, pp. 120 ff.

With their strong tradition of poetic theatre, the English shared the French unwillingness to sacrifice the quality, or at least the expression, of the text to the exigencies of musical setting. The playwright William d'Avenant put into the mouth of one of his characters the following answer to the charge that recitative is unnatural:

Recitativ Musick is not compos'd  
Of matter so familiar as may serve  
For every low occasion of discourse.  
In tragedy, the language of the Stage  
Is raised above the common dialect:  
Our passions rising with the height of Verse;  
And Vocal Musick adds new wings to all  
The flights of Poetry.

vocated the adaptation of his text to a «dramatic» or *recitando* style (paragraph e). Cambert's score to *Pomone* shows the composer undeniably using recitative. Prunières came close to doing these men justice when he acknowledged, albeit grudgingly, that some parts of the *Pastorale* (for which no score exists) «seemed almost to call for recitative setting» (*L'Opéra italien*, p. 345). The conventional bias previously discussed has long prevented critics from granting these experimental works their due. But Perrin himself is partly responsible as well. As a result of his unfortunate claim to have «eliminated all plot,» and to have composed the scenes of the *Pastorale* «so that there is not a single one which could not be extracted as a song or an ensemble piece,» the charge has frequently been leveled at him that he tried to establish a form of opera based entirely on «little songs,» and, what is worse, that he composed his texts of «phrases sans suite». Observation belies both these claims. Even the tentative *Pastorale* contains some conversational material. The libretto to *Pomone*, better suited to comparison with the later operas, contains many transitional sentences. What it avoids are the sorts of speech just mentioned: ratiocination and staging indication. And it refuses to bring its characters below the level of abstraction of gods and symbols. We have seen that in order to reduce connective dialogue to a minimum, Perrin simplified plot and character development. Similarly, he shaped each scene in such a way that it could constitute a coherent musical unit. Yet the fact that he sought to forge a form of lyric theatre composed largely of musical set-pieces with little connective dialogue does not imply that he arbitrarily assembled and juxtaposed a jumble of songs without the slightest coherence. If each scene is essentially a separate song or lyric dialogue of the sort familiar enough in *ballets* and *airs de cour*, together they are nonetheless conceived and constructed with the purpose of developing a complete dramatic action. The Mass is a ritualized dramatic action with precious little connective, explanatory dialogue.

«It is through little songs,» wrote Menestrier, taking his terms directly from Perrin, «that [the creators of opera] found the key to that dramatic, theatrical music that had been sought for so long and with so little success, because people believed that the stage could support only alexandrine verse and heroic sentiments similar to those of high tragedy». <sup>42</sup> Accustomed to the fixed forms of dance music and the regular song patterns of *air de cour*, the French public wanted a declamatory style which

(from *The Playhouse to Let*, 1663, in J. A. Westrup, *Purcell*, New York 1962 [orig. 1947], pp. 126-127). Even in the hands of Henry Purcell, opera in England resisted the recitative solution and preferred the spoken word for the everyday, mechanical actions of life, reserving musical expression for true «flights of Poetry». The bias was stronger in England than in France, since opera there arrived on the heels of the Stuart Masque which unlike, the French court ballet, contained extensive spoken sections, called anti-masques.

<sup>42</sup> Menestrier, *Des Représentations en musique*, in Pougin, *Les Vrais Créateurs*, p. 53.

would not sacrifice melodic shaping of the line. The technique evolved by Cambert and perfected by Lully combined the graceful ease of snatches of dance-inspired tunes with short (two or three measure) passages of real recitative, sometimes accompanied, sometimes not. Only rarely would this music break forth into full-fledged, uninterrupted airs; and never would it lapse into long, static passages of recitative sustained only by continuo chords.

The French already had in their theatre a highly stylized, dramatic and flexible form of declamation so close to chant in character, and at the same time so sensitive to the natural inflections of speech that it made Italian-style recitative seem superfluous. It was rumored of both Molière and Racine that they used systems of musical notation to indicate to their performers the proper manner of reciting. <sup>43</sup> Very likely we shall never know whether this is true, or even how closely that declamatory art resembled singing. Studies of the declamatory style that opera adopted might well provide some clues. <sup>44</sup> We may be sure, at any rate, that neither oratory nor theatrical declamation remained within the restrained bounds of conversationalized speech inflections. All speeches were intoned in a highly stylized way which Bacilly termed «the public manner». To some extent, this tradition survives, though in attenuated form, at the Comédie Française today. Perrin, who invokes nature in justification of his claim, draws a distinction not between song and everyday speech, but between one heightened form of expression (theatrical recitation) and another (full-blown, melody-oriented song). The speech of theatre was not «a cathedral plain-chant» or any other form of real song, of course, and convention allowed it to deal with a wider range of subjects than was thought permissible in song. At the same time, Italian operatic declamation seemed too often unmelodic and monotonous.

<sup>43</sup> According to Dubos, *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie* (Paris, 1719), «Molière, guidé par la force de son génie, avait imaginé des notes pour marquer les tons qu'il devait prendre en déclamant les rôles qu'il récitait toujours de la même manière» (quoted in Castil-Blaze, *Molière musicien*, II, p. 220).

Louis Racine provided a tantalizing glimpse of his father's methods for coaching the famous, and witless, actress, La Champmeslé: «First he had her understand the lines she was to recite, showed her the gestures, and dictated the notes, which he even wrote down». (*Mémoires sur la vie de Jean Racine*, in *Œuvres de Jean Racine*, éd. Paul Mesnard (Grands Ecrivains de la France), Paris, 1865, t. I, p. 258). Did he employ a simple system of musical notation, or did these «notes» consist of verbal instructions in the script?

The son commented in another work: «Je ne nie pas qu'on ne puisse noter toute la déclamation d'une pièce, et celle même d'un discours; je ne nie pas non plus qu'un poète ne puisse donner aux comédiens leurs rôles notés, et qu'un comédien ne puisse, avec le secours de ces notes, étudier son rôle, et remarquer les endroits où il faut élever, baisser, ralentir, précipiter sa voix» (*Traité de la poésie dramatique*, in *Œuvres de Jean Racine*, t. I, p. xii, note 2).

<sup>44</sup> There may be much to learn for the theatre from study of Lully's prosody, his declamatory line in particular. Jacques Chailley has suggested some guidelines for such a study in a tantalizing note, «Le Récitatif d'opéra, sténographie de la déclamation théâtrale des XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles,» *Revue d'histoire du théâtre*, XV, 3 (Juillet-Septembre, 1963), pp. 247-248.

Even in its own country, the *stile recitando*, of early *dramma per musica* had come under attack for tedium as early as the 1620's. One writer had suggested the alternation of spoken dialogue with ariettas, the solution that French comic opera, German *Singspiel*, and later operetta were to adopt.<sup>45</sup> At the time, the idea seemed heretical, particularly in France, because, although strong contrasts were considered desirable artistic devices, the logic of convention called for strict compartmentalization of styles and modes. Gods and heroes might meet; gods and middle-class citizens, never—except for comic effect. Only certain sorts of characters could sing at all, and a character who expressed himself naturally in song (as opposed to the sort of singing anyone might do for his own amusement or that of others) would be felt to be stepping out of his proper realm of illusion if he should suddenly begin to speak. Theatrical heroic declamation belonged in one compartment, declamatory song in another.<sup>46</sup>

Taking into account the necessary adjustments between speech—even stylized declamatory speech—and song, we may well find that Lully's practices provide clues to performance practices. It may be possible, for instance, to determine the indicative value of the punctuation of the time by comparing musical pauses and original punctuation.

45 Criticism of recitative was inevitable from the moment when it became clear that the original humanistic desire for greater expressive power had given way to a monotonous, stereotyped convention for rapid exposition of necessary facts. See Rolandi, *Il Libretto per musica*, p. 53.

46 The rationalist spirit led many Frenchmen to reject the whole idea of sung dramatic declamation. Saint-Evremond's dictum is so representative of a prevalent attitude that it cannot be omitted: Opera, he said, with a wit and narrow-mindedness worthy of Dr. Johnson, was «un travail bizarre de poésie et de musique, où le poète et le musicien, également gênés l'un par l'autre, se donnent bien de la peine pour faire un mauvais ouvrage» («Lettre sur les Opéra,» in La Laurencie, *Le Goût musical*, p. 126). Similarly, the prologue which Boileau had written in vain hopes of sharing in the rewards of operatic success, reveals Poetry, as La Laurencie remarks, «jealous of her intellectual prerogatives» (*Le Goût musical*, p. 128; one may follow his discussion, pp. 126-135).

The same kind of rigidity displayed by the ideal «honnête homme,» of which being Saint-Evremond is frequently considered the perfect imitation, was not limited to his period, however; one finds the same lack of confidence in the flexibility of the human spirit among nineteenth-century scholars. Thus, Nuittier & Thoinan, discussing the uses of vocal music in theatre after 1650: «Under the pretext of eluding the difficulty inherent in making the characters of the drama sing, authors aggravated that difficulty by writing plays in which declaimed poetry and prose alternated with song, without realizing that *to do so is to impose on the spectators two conventions instead of one* [my italics]; hence the useless experiments attempted in *Andromède*, the *Toison d'or*, the *Amours de Jupiter et de Sémélé*, etc.,» (quoted in La Laurencie, *Le Goût musical*, p. 129). It is as though the spectator, with his limited powers of imagination, were incapable of reconciling «two conventions!» The same lack of confidence, of course, was an important factor in the establishment of the very conventional version of the «Three Unities» in French classical theatre.

The idea that Perrin should have intended to restrict opera to the frivolity implied by «little songs» has horrified critics and done much damage to his reputation. It is true that his lyrics and Cambert's scores owe a great deal to the light songs and dance tunes of the day. The operas contain many a simple dance-like song. If that were the full extent of their content, we would be justified in denying them the status of true operas. But it is far from the only sort of material of which they are constructed. Some critics have stated as much.

La Laurencie, for one, wrote that they «broke with the song style, bringing into use explanatory *récits* of which the *Ballet de cour* already offered so many examples, and which contained the seeds of operatic recitative» (*Lully*, p. 136). The pages of score that have survived from Cambert's contributions to the first official productions contain more than «the seeds of operatic recitative,» however. They reveal passages of true, if not extensive, recitative; not seeds but seedlings. Unlike its later, more familiar forms, consisting of long, elaborate arias interspersed with passages of *recitativo secco*, Italian opera in 1660 still by and large used an arioso style of musical discourse, «of a lyrical and expressive quality, not narrative and speechlike».<sup>47</sup> The style adopted by Cambert had much this same character, but clung even more tightly than its transalpine model to structured song.

As texts, the libretti of Gilbert and Quinault differ from *Pomone* in that they offer more developed plot and more words, and their characters, as two-dimensional as any operatic characters ever, have one redeeming feature: they appear to be humans in the disguise of gods and shepherds. If Perrin's characters removed the few layers of verbal play they wear, there would remain only disembodied sentiments. It is also agreed by all commentators that both these men, experienced in the theatre before turning to opera, bring to the task a richer poetic imagination and a surer dramatic style than Perrin.

Decidedly one of the secondary playwrights of his century, Gilbert has occasionally been defended, sometimes by those who would treat Perrin with scorn. Wrote Fabien Pillet in the *Biographie Michaud*: If he had not the genius of his contemporaries, Corneille and Rotrou, «s'il manqua presque toujours de chaleur et d'énergie, il fut du moins un des premiers tragiques qui écrivirent avec sagesse et qui contribuèrent à réformer les tours gothiques de la langue». He notes that Racine borrowed not only some of his ideas (his *Phèdre* owed something to Gilbert's *Hippolyte, ou le garçon insensible*, 1646), but «des expressions et des tours de phrase».<sup>48</sup> Henri Prunières, who had nothing but disdain for Perrin, found Gilbert's libretto to *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour* «charmant,»

The subject still needs study. It has been impossible to take into account here the «chanting quality» of seventeenth-century speech, for instance (*vide* Castil-Blaze, *Molière musicien*, II, pp. 204 *et seq.*).

47 W. Apel, *Dictionary of Music*, 2nd ed., Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1969, article «Opera».

48 Quoted in Pougin, *Les Vrais Créateurs*, pp. 161-163.

and Lionel de la Laurencie thought it «délicieux». <sup>49</sup> Even Pougin declared that it was more literary than that of *Pomone*, and the verses singularly superior to those of Perrin. Like Perrin's, Gilbert's playlet is short and «mouvementée,» and he used *vers inégaux* «with rare skill, so as to facilitate for the musician the diversity of rhythm and of measure which is one of the essential conditions of dramatic music» (Pougin, *Les Vrais Créateurs*, pp. 166-167).

The following lines, from the second scene of Act I will give an impression of the quality of this text:

*Apollon:* Ah, Climène! ah, Climène!  
Ta rivale inhumaine  
M'a privé pour jamais  
De tes divins attraits.

*Pan:* Il faut se contenter.

*Apollon:* Ah, cruelle aventure!

*Pan:* C'est une loi de la Nature,  
Que tout ce qui naît doit mourir.

*Apollon:* Climène en son Printemps devait-elle périr?

*Pan:* C'est le destin des belles choses;  
L'on voit bientôt fleurir et les lys et les roses,  
Les fleurs ne durent qu'un matin.

*Apollon:* Je déteste Astérie.

*Pan:* Accuse le destin  
Qui t'a ravi Climène et déclaré la guerre.

Gilbert's return to the more conventional, more traditional literary style for his libretto introduced a new element into the opera. Perrin had consciously held that aspect in check in order to favour the musician's freedom. The operatic composer, of course, wants some text with which to work; in undertaking to compose an opera rather than an instrumental suite, he willingly engages himself to impose upon his purely musical impulses whatever restraints the addition of words demands. Conversely, he expects the music to benefit from the stimulus of verbal suggestions and structures. The degree to which the composer is willing to make concessions to the librettist depends on convention and on his personal inclination. Cambert and Perrin both saw lyrics more as a hindrance to musical

49 Prunières, *Lully*, p. 26; la Laurencie (p. 32) speaks of the «délicate pastorale,» which he discusses at greater length in *Les Créateurs de l'opéra français*, pp. 188-191.

lyricism than as a stimulus. We know from Saint-Evremond that the musician «aimoit les paroles qui n'exprimoient rien, pour n'être assujetti à aucune expression, et avoir la liberté de faire des airs purement à sa fantaisie». He preferred the very words for which Perrin has been criticized: «Nanette, Brunette, Feuillage, Bocage, Bergère, Fougère, Oiseaux et Rameaux, touchoient particulièrement son Génie». <sup>50</sup> Gilbert must have exceeded his wishes in *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour*. Through him, as shortly through Quinault, both of them the sort of «authors of ordinary stage plays» whom Perrin considered unlikely librettists, the new genre moved another step closer to the system of compromises between musical and literary values which it would adopt. Was the new libretto any better than those of Perrin? Most critics have thought so. Whatever the case, it more closely resembled what people expected in a spoken play. The figures singing on the stage now gave the impression of speaking to one another in much the same way as the heroic figures in spoken tragedy, however flat and wooden they remained.

Raguenet believed, with many of his contemporaries, that French libretti—those of Quinault specifically—were better constructed than their Italian counterparts; that may have been true. «Love, jealousy, anger, and the rest of the passions are touched with the greatest art and nicety, and there are few of our tragedies that appear more beautiful than Quinault's operas». <sup>51</sup> Certainly, «nicety» (*douceur*) was Quinault's strong suit. A recent history of the operatic libretto points out that the attention reputedly paid to the text in France is more legendary than real—at best it has been misunderstood: concern for the prerogatives of the libretto produced not literary masterpieces in music, but *opéra-comique*, that compromise in which spoken dialogue alternates with arias and songs. <sup>52</sup>

Despite Cambert's preference for words that said nothing and Perrin's willingness to supply them, literary values were in the ascendancy. The Florentine who was to make opera his personal preserve would soon be doing just what the author of the Letter blamed Italian composers for. He would call upon established playwrights to furnish his libretti, he would submit the libretto not only to the approval of the King he served, but to the Académie des Inscriptions (Louis' «petite Académie») as well, and he would accord it an even more prominent place than it had in the Italian scores. Are his libretti, then, such models of literary accomplishment? Certainly, on their own they do not rank among the world's great poetic dramas. Critics who have risen to their defense have had recourse to the same arguments as those with which we defend Perrin. «On oublie que le merveilleux du spectacle,» wrote Xavier de Courville, «imposait au librettiste une servitude non moins tyrannique que celle de la musique. Il fallait, pour se soumettre à de telles exigences, un poète

50 Saint-Evremond, *Les Opéra, comédie*, II, iv, éd. Ternois, t. III, p. 145.

51 Raguenet, in Strunk, *Readings in Music History*, III, p. 114. In the course of his rebuttal, Lecerf de la Viéville called him on this bit of hyperbole.

52 P. J. Smith, *The Tenth Muse*, p. 44; see his discussion of Quinault's libretti, pp. 47-62.

pret à sa sacrifier, un petit poète». <sup>53</sup> Lindemann argued that music deeply

53 Xavier de Courville, «Quinault, poète d'opéra,» *Revue musicale*, VI, 1 (janvier, 1925), p. 75.

To take but one example, the exposition of *Cadmus et Hermione*—from which I quote in preference to others, because, being the first of Quinault's full-scale libretti, it has not the advantage of experience over Perrin's texts which later ones would enjoy—is hastily drawn and clumsy, and the language often has a prosaic character of the sort Perrin carefully sought to avoid. The following lines open the opera:

*Prince Tyrien*            Quoi, Cadmus, fils d'un Roi qui tient sous sa puissance  
Les bords féconds du Nil & les Climats brûlés;  
Cadmus, après deux ans, loin de Tyr, écoutez,  
Etranger chez les Grecs, n'a point d'impatience  
De revoir un pays dont il est l'espérance?  
Et laisse sans regret tant de cœurs désolés?

*Les deux Princes*        Nous suivons vos destins par tout sans résistance:  
*Tyriens ensemble:*      Faudrait-il que toujours nous soyons exilés?

*Cadmus:*                J'amerois à revoir les lieux de ma naissance;  
Mais avant que je puisse en goûter la douceur,  
J'ai juré d'achever une juste vengeance.

*Premier Prince*            Et cependant, Seigneur,  
*Tyrien:*                Vous laissez en ces lieux languir votre grand cœur.

*Cadmus:*                Après avoir erré sur la terre & sur l'onde  
                              Sans trouver Europe ma sœur;  
Après avoir en vain cherché son ravisseur.  
Le ciel termine ici ma course vagabonde;  
Et c'est pour obéir aux Oracles des Dieux  
                              Qu'il me faut arrêter en ces lieux.

*Premier Prince:*        Si vous trouvez des Dieux dont l'ordre vous engage  
                              A choisir ce séjour;  
Le Dieu que votre cœur consulte d'avantage  
                              Est peut-être l'amour.

*Second Prince:*        Seroit-il bien possible  
                              Qu'un héros invincible  
                              Eut un cœur qu'Amour sçût charmer?

*Cadmus:*                Quel cœur n'est pas fait pour aimer?  
Et pour être un héros, doit-on être insensible?  
Que sert contre Hermione un courage indompté  
                              Qui peut n'en pas être enchanté?  
                              Le Dieu Mars est son pere.  
Elle en a la noble fierté;  
La mere d'amour est sa mere.  
                              Elle en a la beauté.

affects the text, that all non-musical elements must be reduced to a minimum. The *fable* permitted the poet to seek simplification to such a point that there remains hardly any action. <sup>54</sup> She remarks on the suppleness of the rhythms and the constantly changing rhyme schemes, on the abstract language, particularly the personification of abstractions to convey sentiments: «in der Analyse der Liebesgefühle» (p. 105). And she concludes that despite their short-comings, Quinault's libretti are «voll Wohlklang und Grazie» (p. 109). Others have said of Quinault that he had «désossé la langue,» and Henri Prunières found particularly admirable his «verbe mœlleux, arrondi» (*Lully*, p. 137). He achieved a kind of musicality, a sweet harmoniousness in his verses, which has been the norm in French poetry ever since, and which Perrin, representative of an earlier and less refined day, never sought.

His *tragédies en musique* are better constructed dramatically than those of Perrin. But one cannot agree with Lindemann, who believed—it was held as dogma at the time—that «his style comes more from Italian opera and French ballet than from antecedent operas». His style comes from several sources, probably including Racine by this time, although his own dramatic successes had been achieved in the 1650's before Racine appeared in Paris. Like Gilbert, he comes at the business of putting together a lyric drama from the point of view of a dramatist rather than from that of a lyricist, as Perrin was. But he ends up at a point very close to Perrin—richer, fuller perhaps, but not essentially different, at least in his first operas. He retains the prologue in praise of the King. He reduces action—real action that is, psychological action—to a strict minimum. There is always much bustle on the stage. He allows for machines, processions, ballets; every act ends with a ballet or a procession, and there are five acts, whereas Italy used only three. Lindemann praised his skill at rendering sentimental situations in few words, without lengthy explanations, such as were expected in tragedy. This point conforms to Perrin's conception of opera, and is taken up next.

*Premier Prince:*        A quoi sert un amour qui n'a point d'espérance?  
                              Hermione est sous la puissance  
                              D'un tyran qui regne en ces lieux.

*Cadmus:*                C'est un affreux Géant, c'est un monstre odieux.

Here, complete with vague references to «ces lieux,» is an example of the sort of psychological probing Quinault indulges in. The poetic «substance» of the text comes from the combination of «love interest» and supernatural forces and beings: oracles, gods, giants. In the final scene of the act, Junon and Pallas appear, each in a chariot, to offer the hero conflicting advice. The symmetry and the language of the scene relate it to Perrin's style and indicate his effect on the first Quinault libretti.

54 Frida Lindemann, *Die Operntexte Quinaults vom literarischen Standpunkt aus betrachtet*, Leipzig, 1904, pp. 4-8.

In order to paint psychological situations, Quinault depended on the same shopworn devices as Perrin. His natural disposition aside, Prunières wrote, «l'opéra le contraint de situer toute sa psychologie dans la demi-teinte». «Quand les sentiments se prêtent mal à une adaptation musicale, on les atténue, jusqu'à ce qu'ils atteignent à ce vague, à cette imprécision auxquels se complaît la musique» (*Lully*, p. 140). That qualification, setting aside Quinault's natural disposition, shows a generosity Prunières refused to extend to the men who really created the first French operas. As a playwright, Quinault's greatest failing was an inability to characterize his people through their speech. We know Boileau's scathing dismissal of him (in the third satire, «Le Repas ridicule»):

Les héros de Quinault parlent bien autrement,  
Et, jusqu'à je vous hais, tout se dit tendrement.

The most evil of villains finds himself reduced to telling us so: «Méchant comme je suis...». In the spoken theatre this is a sign of pitifully inadequate dramatic skills. Yet, such a character, transported into opera, automatically gains in depth and substance. He needs only the support of music, and of course some suitably melodramatic stances, to convince an audience of his inner nature. There is not the same necessity for his words to differentiate him from the others. So the words he utters may without danger be as harmonious as anyone's.

Daubing his characters with a thin coat of rudimentary characterization, Quinault brings them down one level from pastoral to heroic myth. This step, too, makes them seem more fully realized as dramatic characters than Perrin's shepherds and goddesses. They know none of the psychological anguish of tragic heroes in the modern tradition. The obstacles to Cadmus' happiness are giants and dragons, which he defeats with supernatural aid, and the conflicting will of the gods, whose quarrels must end before his troubles may do so. Ultimately, Quinault resolves the plot by cranking down a god or goddess in a machine, to announce the end of an Olympian quarrel.<sup>55</sup>

55 In the final act of *Cadmus*, Jupiter and all the gods descend to resolve the conflict and unite the hero and Hermione. In the opening scene of the act, Cadmus laments his inability to live without his beloved, and deplores the «wrath of the gods» against which he is powerless despite his valiant deeds, all supernaturally supported. Immediately, Pallas appears in a cloud to announce:

Tes vœux vont être satisfaits:  
Jupiter et Junon ont fini leur querelle.  
L'Amour lui-même a fait leur paix,  
Ton Hermione enfin descend dans ce Palais.

By the time of *Persée*, ten years later, Quinault had grown more confident, and he allowed the hero to overcome a jealous rival and his followers on his own before the descent of Vénus. Persée's victory, however, is not without a supernatural touch, since he petrifies his attackers by showing them the Gorgon's head.

To carry these observations a generation further, if one compares Racine's *Phèdre* with the opera taken from the same story, Rameau's *Hippolyte et Aricie* (1735), one cannot fail to be struck by the simplification, not to say the desecration, which Pellegrini, author of the libretto, operated on that queen of French tragedies.<sup>56</sup> As much in this case as in any of Perrin's libretti, understanding of the opera depends upon previous familiarity with the story and the characters. The background receives scant explanation. Not human but divine forces manipulate the action, and *Phèdre* herself becomes a kind and forgiving lady.

Perrin's enterprise, then, took the form of a wager; he accepted the challenge of creating for lyric drama a verbal framework that could abandon conventional devices of plotting and characterization and call upon music, with its curiously abstract but nonetheless undeniably visceral expressive powers, to provide specificity, to paint psychic reality. Perrin was no dramatist, and he was proud of the fact, for he believed that opera should avoid the established practices of poetic drama, that it required a kind of play so different from those of spoken theatre that to be successful in the one must prove a hindrance in the other. The word, as he saw it, ought to serve a very different purpose in the lyric drama; important as it was, it played a supporting rôle. Perhaps we may borrow the expression of Jean Cocteau, whose theatrical, artificial, and off-beat works have something in common with those of Perrin: the ideal, he maintained, is not «poetry in the theatre, but a poetry of theatre».

This extended commentary on the first point of Perrin's letter has tried to suggest that his program of portraying simple, symbolic, and bucolic actions in a series of songs and dialogues with the support of singing actors to transform emotional states into theatrical events was not the unqualified folly many have claimed. These short-lived forms, valid for their day, formed the building-blocks to other works, a series of alternative solutions to the lyric challenge that preoccupied France in the central period

Etienne Gros remarked that the mythological bias which manifested itself in the love of *merveilleux* and machine spectacle prevented French opera from adopting a psychological orientation («Les Origines de la tragédie lyrique et la place des tragédies en machines dans l'évolution du théâtre vers l'Opéra,» *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXXV [avril-juin, 1928], p. 175). Because the opera was a genre entirely devoted to the *merveilleux*, wrote Henri Prunières, every possible scenic magnificence could be unfurled without disturbing the sense of verisimilitude («L'Académie royale de musique et de danse,» *Revue Musicale*, V, 1 [1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1925], p. 14). One could be transported from a magnificent palace to a wilderness inhabited by raging monsters, the wilderness transformed the next instant into an enchanted isle. Gods descended from the sky, magicians flew off in chariots, flying demons destroyed palaces with a wave of their hands. These spectacular magic scenes seem childish to us today, but many of the best minds of the time did not find them so. La Bruyère wrote admiringly: «The Machines increase and embellish the fiction; they sustain in the spectator that sweet illusion which is the whole pleasure of the theatre».

56 Given the character of the story as it appears in the libretto, it is difficult to believe that it should have been inspired by Racine's tragedy; yet despite numerous earlier—and Pradon's contemporary—renderings of the story, it was Racine's version which won out. The librettist certainly did not return to Greek sources.

of the seventeenth century. If Perrin's program lacks the permanent appeal of other *mélanges* such as comedy-ballet and comic opera, it is no doubt largely because the poet had not the genius to give his conceptions eternal life. But it is partly, too, because tastes have changed, and because so little of the music to these works has survived. While enjoying a much higher critical reputation, the operas of Quinault and Lully have not really, since the end of the eighteenth century, had a noticeably better fate in terms of performance than those of Perrin and Cambert. The taste for the sorts of «irregularities» with which Perrin larded his libretti died out in the age of Louis XIV; the taste for heroic opera, *opera seria*, of the French variety as well as the Italian, flickered and went out before the French Revolution.

*Point Two: Musical Styles*

f) Perrin's thoughts on musical styles contained in paragraphs e) and f) deal explicitly with differences between the operas of his country and those of Italy, most of which are familiar and need no comment.<sup>57</sup> They also imply a shift in styles within the French tradition, a shift which no one could have foreseen in 1659, but which was to engulf the work not only of Perrin and Cambert, but also of their entire generation. The drive toward order and regularization would find its musical trailboss in Jean-Baptiste Lully. The performer always assumes some responsibility for the shape of the music. In the period before Lully's reforms, that part was larger and more significant than is usually indicated. «The constant embellishments and diminutions which beautiful music demands,» as Perrin characterized the copious ornamentation of the vocal or instrumental line which was expected of the virtuoso musician (Letter, paragraph n), acted as a hindrance to the imposition of the classical ideals in music.

Yet the goal, in either case, the striving for musical expression of the passions, assumed two forms. First, it entailed a musical rhetoric, a catalogue of conventional expressive devices.<sup>58</sup> Second, the composer

57 The comparisons made by Saint-Evremond, Ragueneau, and Lecerf de la Viéville within a generation of the events are known and have previously been cited, as have the important recent synthetic studies of Anthony and Isherwood. We have had occasion to refer frequently to the indispensable work done by Prunières and La Laurencie. Certain ideas of this section were formulated during the year when I had the pleasure of sitting in on courses given by Paul Evans at Smith College. And portions of this material were presented in the form of a lecture-recital, «Musique et Poésie: La Prosodie musicale en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle,» at the Fifth Annual Conference on Seventeenth-Century French Literature, The Pennsylvania State University (University Park), 13th April 1973, with the gracious assistance of Mrs. Jenny Harriman at the harpsichord.

58 On the rhetoric of musical expression *vide* Hans-Heinrich Unger, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Musik und Rhetorik im 16.-18. Jahrhundert*, Würzburg, 1941 (rep. Georg Olms, Hildesheim, 1969); George J. Buelow, «Music, Rhetoric, and the Concept of the Affections: A Selective Bibliography,» *Notes of the Music Library Association*, XXX (Dec. 1973), pp. 250-259.

undertook, slavishly at first, «la reproduction minutieuse, tout juste stylisée, des inflexions qu'aurait eues la voix parlée de l'acteur s'il avait déclamé les vers au lieu de les chanter».<sup>59</sup> At a time when Italian opera had already begun to move toward the recitative-aria dichotomy, France discovered the effectiveness of an expressive sort of *parlar cantando* which could allow a constant blend of pathos and exposition. Hence, Perrin's criticism of the Italian *recitativo secco* of his time as «plain-song or cloister music». Without according either *arioso* or recitative complete freedom, the ideal pulled in the direction of speech-like declamation. At the same time, the taste for formal regularization made itself felt. The discussion which follows seeks to elucidate the results of the conflict between ornamental beauty, artificiality, and the need to ensure understanding of text in terms of the shift in styles from Cambert to Lully.

It has been said that composers after 1620 and before Lully took little interest in the *justesse* of their prosody. Prunières and Gérold, who could easily discern such a concern in the work of Guédrón (d. 1621), could no longer find it in as clear-cut form in that of his successor, Boësset. The change coincides roughly with the period of turmoil whose main characteristics I have tried to suggest in the liminary chapter. That elusive «velléité de l'expression dramatique» may involve accurate setting of the text through careful observance of its prosodic accents, use of affective devices to underline specific suggestions or words, and care to capture its general mood. Critics have found in the song of this period a lessening in all three.

Shall we then assume that composers had lost the desire to «en-shrine the text»? Or that they tried to do so and failed, lacking the talent and skills necessary? The first conclusion is contradicted by all that we know of the ideals of vocal music in the baroque period. The second would be as temeritous as that system which classed certain poets as «égarés» because they seemed not to follow the precepts of as yet incipient classicism. The ice is safer on the side of assuming that their goals were different, that composers and poets of this period accomplished in their own ways and according to their own lights and those of their times what song always does: They brought music and poetry together into a union which expressed their perception of themselves and their society, their delights and their fantasies. True to the character of their times, they played more willingly than would their successors upon the tensions which that union of two separate artistic media can produce. Even in their spirit of paradox, however, they observed a moderation quite alien to the Italian music which sometimes served them as model.

59 J. Chailley, «Le Récitatif d'Opéra, sténographie de la déclamation théâtrale,» p. 247.

The key terms in Perrin's evocation of the sort of performance his countrymen accepted and preferred are «regular» and «learned». By the first term, we may understand «more graceful than overtly expressive». Some think, argued Bacilly, that singing, since it is a form of declamation and seeks to express the passions, should be executed with great affectation, «que d'autres appelloient *Outrer le chan*». That extravagant sort of singing might be acceptable, grimaces and all, in the theatre, as «recitative» (that is, dramatic, declamatory music), but for song, «dans les Ruelles, c'est adjoûter de l'agrément que d'en retrancher cette façon de chanter trop ampoulée qui en oste toute la mignardise, & toute la délicatesse». <sup>60</sup> Less is more.

While they disdained the monotonous chant-like character of *recitativo secco*, Gallic audiences objected equally to what they considered unbridled outbursts of passion. Italian music contained unexpected harmonies, frequent dissonance, and large vocal leaps, to which performers freely added sforzandi, sobs, sighs, portamenti—in the modern sense: slides from one note to the next—and other strongly emotive devices. This is not to say that French music did not make regular use of suspensions, anticipations (the *port de voix*), *tremblements*, *coulades*, and other «irregularities,» but that in keeping with its «colder and less expressive» temper which found the more Latin trans-Alpine style «extravagant» and «undisciplined,» French musicians thought it proper to restrict the range of expression. The touchstone of «that style which is most fashionable and most delicate» was not exclusion of expressive devices but skill at nuance and shading in their use.

The trained singer, like his instrumentalist colleague, had at his disposal an assortment of ornaments variously known as «fredons, roulements, broderies, ou agréments,» which he applied at his discretion to any melody he sang. <sup>61</sup> Ornament may be a powerful mover of the soul in

60 Bénigne de Bacilly, *L'Art de bien chanter* (ed. 1679), «Discours qui sert de réponse à la critique,» pp. 11-12.

61 Bacilly analyzes the «ornements du chant» and discusses their uses; another contemporary treatise in the tradition of the books of *passaggi* is that of Jean Millet, *La Belle Méthode* (1666), ed. A. Cohen, New York, Da Capo Press, 1973. Vide Max Kuhn, *Die Verzierungskunst in der Gesangs-Musik des 16.-17. Jahrhunderts (1535-1650)*, Leipzig, 1902; Borrell, *L'Interprétation de la musique française (de Lully à la Révolution)*, Paris, 1934; Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music*, London, Faber & Faber, 1963; Fr. Neumann, *Ornamentation in Baroque and Post-Baroque Music*, Princeton, 1978; Théo. Gérold, *L'Art du Chant au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, pp. 78 ff, 90 ff (for the early part of the century), and 164-165, 193-211 (for the latter part). Gérold's discussion is especially useful, being the only one specifically devoted to the period that concerns this study. He analyzes in detail the comments of Mersenne and Bacilly, the two principal sources for the period, and carefully distinguishes French ornaments from their Italian counterparts. Between these two writers, a generation apart, we may discern a progression in attitude, not so much toward the text as toward the methods of treating it. Bacilly explicitly advises that the singer start by working out the rhythm of each verse, discovering the prosodic trouble spots, then add appropriate embellishments so as to make the melody conform to the demands of the verse.

baroque music. As Leonard Meyer reminds us, «Whether an expressive device is classified as an ornament, as an expressive deviant, or as a compositional technique depends largely upon the particular theory of music in which it appears and not upon its basic function». <sup>62</sup> It may create dissonance, delay or anticipate resolution, or otherwise raise ambiguities within the musical structure. It had that sort of function in French music, but the stylistic norm decreed that it be used subtly, with a finesse which allowed it to be heard as «natural». So ubiquitous were embellishments, so necessary to the shape of the line, that their affective aspect was often taken for granted. Indeed, it frequently passed nearly unnoticed. <sup>63</sup> The shift to a more austere style brought with it a rejection of excessive ornamentation. When Fénelon, in his *Lettre à l'Académie* (1714), referred to those «ornaments qu'il faut retrancher parce qu'ils ne sont qu'ornements,» he was giving voice to the new æsthetics which reclassified as superfluous frills the very building blocks of the baroque style.

We know that the practice of diminution was valued both because performers could use it to show off their inventive skills, and because it smoothed out the melodic line, reduced its angularities by connecting distant notes in a flowing line of «diminished» (faster) running notes. A *coulade*, Gérold notes, often lightened as it rose. It was normal to *pointer* in *passaggi* (or rapid runs), that is, to give a marked dotted value to alternate notes. Other devices had affective uses. The *plainte*, a slight lift given to the ending of a note, was common, as was the *port de voix*; a «repetition of the throat,» Bacilly tells us, is worth an *accent*, or rapid turn; the cadential trill was indispensable, as in fact were all such devices, to the proper shaping of a melodic vocal line.

62 Leonard B. Meyer, *Emotion and Meaning in Music*, Chicago, 1956, p. 205; p. 108; Ernest T. Ferrand, «A History of Music Seen in the Light of Ornamentation,» in 8th Congress of the International Musicological Society (1960), Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1961, pp. 463-469, distinguishes three classes of ornament: that added later by someone other than the composer; that which is still ornamental, but essential, and should not be omitted; and that which constitutes «the very life and substance, the meaning and essence of composition» (p. 466). «Many a composition in Medieval and Renaissance music, even in that of the Baroque era ought,» he adds, «to be seen in this light». Even in the music of the second class, ornament may give the line its definition: «It is of course possible to subject any melody of the florid type to the treatment of what Arnold Schering calls *dekolorieren*, and thus reduce many a melody not only to its barest outlines, but sometimes *ad absurdum*» (p. 465).

63 In the chapter «On Vocal Ornaments» (*L'Art de bien chanter*, Part I, XII), Bacilly draws a distinction between beauty and pleasure, saying that a piece of music can be beautiful but unpleasant, if it lacks the necessary ornaments. Even though their function may be decorative rather than expressive, they remain essential. His ensuing discussion deals with ornaments in terms of «proper nuance,» that is, of their conventional use; it treats the subject from a strictly technical point of view, indicating specifically when, where, and how each device should be employed. Such an approach should not lead us to the conclusion that ornament had no expressive function in French music; it may indicate the extent to which expression had submitted to the regularizing force of convention by that time. Bacilly was contributing to the elaboration of a musical rhetoric.

If the various modifications which performers operated on melody served to produce harmonic, rhythmic, and melodic tensions, and thus that sort of emotional tug with which music touches the soul, they also produced a softening in the angularity of the melodic line. Vocal and instrumental leaps were often disguised by the device of diminution, which filled in the space with a run of the intervening notes, possibly adding a slight flourish at the end. Cadences were always embellished. The *port de voix*, which Cambert wrote into his vocal lines almost everywhere, would have been added by the singers in any case. That freedom left the performer open to charges of excessive vocalism. The Abbé de Pure lays at the feet of «les Chanteurs & les Chanteuses» rather than the poets or the composers the major share of the blame for the difficulties audiences had in understanding the words of ballet *récits*: «Soit par une mauvaise habitude dans leur chant, soit par l'ambition de faire paroistre leur belle voix, ou par l'affectation des fredonnemens, ou enfin pour suivre la mesure, ils ne prononcent qu'à demy les mots, & ne font point entendre les paroles» (*Idée des spectacles nouveaux*, «Des Récits,» p. 269). It is a criticism which even today may still be heard levelled against *bel canto* singers; and the *air de cour* performers were the *bel canto* singers of their day.

Even Italian critics had to acknowledge that French singers from the time of Guérdon and the elder Boësset surpassed their Italian rivals in terms of those two qualities extolled by Bacilly: the «délicatesse et mignardise»<sup>64</sup> of their performing style. The *conditio sine qua non* of the art was an elaborate form of ornamentation that went far beyond the occasional turn or cadence trill which even the rawest novice could easily insert into a melody. It is in reference to this practice that we may understand Perrin's second term, «learned».

Perhaps the most renowned and respected performer of the time when the foundations were being laid for French opera was Pierre de Nyert. The man to whom La Fontaine addressed his «Epître sur l'Opéra» returned from Italy as early as 1635 calling for more respect for prosody. At the same time, he gave new impetus to the habit of embellishment by introducing the latest Italian practices. The two desiderata were not considered antithetical. The author of the *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter* reserved for him unstinting praises. Only one man, he wrote, deserves note in our time:

64 «Où est-ce que l'on chante avec tant de mignardise et de délicatesse et où entend-on tous les jours tant de nouvelles et agréables chansons, même en la bouche de ceux qui sans aucun artifice et étude font paroistre ensemble la beauté de leurs voix et la gentillesse de leurs esprits; jusqu'à tel point qu'il semble qu'en autres pays les musiciens se font seulement par art et exercice, mais qu'en France ils deviennent tels de nature,» *Traité de musique*, de J.-B. Doni, (1640) Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fonds fr. 19065 in Gérold, *L'Art du chant*, pp. 11-12.

«Il a encore augmenté la Politesse du Chant qui luy estoit naturelle...; les plus habiles Compositeurs sont trop heureux lorsqu'il veut prendre soin de polir leurs Ouvrages, je veux dire pour ce qui regarde les Ornemens du Chant François, qu'il sçait appliquer aux paroles avec un discernement & une délicatesse infinie».<sup>65</sup>

What is most striking in such a statement is the association of embellishments with concern for the text. The idea of conflict between the ornamental style and clear pronunciation did not gain currency until the second half of the century. Pure's allusion to «fredonnements» shows the idea gaining ground; yet he gives it neither exclusive nor first mention.

This master trained some of the leading singers of the 1660's and 1670's including M<sup>lles</sup> Hilaire, La Barre, La Varenne, and Raymon. His spiritual successor, the man to whom he passed on the bâton, so to speak, was Michel Lambert.<sup>66</sup> Uncontested master of the vocal art in his time, he several times provided *doubles*, embellished second verses, to arias in the operas of Lully, and trained Lully's actresses to perform them. He is the composer most often named in song collections, such as Sarcy's *Recueil des plus beaux airs...* (1661). The accomplished exponent of the «learned» style of singing was expected to give an air his own individual imprint, somewhat as a jazz or pop singer might «stylize» a song. Both Bénigne de Bacilly in 1668 and Marin Mersenne in the *Harmonie universelle* of 1636 testify to the expectation that singers make the melody their own, that they vary and embellish it freely but tastefully, particularly in the *doubles*. The practice of varying the melody in successive repetitions with increasingly elaborate ornamentation developed early in the century and persisted well into the following one. Bacilly, of course, is more concerned than the learned Mersenne with the ways in which «des fredons» can be made to serve the cause of effective prosody. The singer's freedom to make prosodic adjustments, which he undertook to codify, can be traced back to the first impact of the humanistic experiments in dramatic *parlar cantando* and in *musique mesurée à l'antique*. The same theories that led composers to distinguish a single solo line, to apply to it an essentially syllabic melody, and to take care to set long syllables to long notes—those same theories, paradoxically, ascribed to embellishments an expressive as well as an ornamental function.

65 «Discours qui sert de réponse,» pp. 9-10. I follow Gérold *L'Art du chant*, pp. 121-122) in the belief that the singer, who is never named, is indeed Pierre de Nyert. It is in this «Discours» that he recorded that Signor Luigi [Rossii] «pleuroit de joye de luy entendre executer ses Airs;» and Saint-Evremond adds that having heard him, Rossi would hear them performed by no one else («Lettre au Duc de Buckingham sur les Opéra»).

66 According to Lecerf de la Viéville: «Après Bacilly vint Lambert, le meilleur maître qui ait été depuis des siècles, du consentement de toute l'Europe. Son chant était si naturel, si propre, si gracieux qu'on en sentoit d'abord le charme. Lambert ne péchoit qu'en ce que quelques fois il donnoit trop de grâces...» (*Comparaison de la musique française*, II, p. 77), in Gérold, *L'Art du chant*,

Puzzling over an apparent contradiction in the practice of Guédrón and his contemporaries early in the century, musicologists have remarked that whereas composers took great care in treating important words of the text through appropriate embellishments and placement on stressed positions in the melody, they never set more than the first stanza of these sometimes lengthy poems. Important words in successive stanzas were allowed to fall where they might, sometimes working in sharp contradiction to the written embellishments of that first and only version of the music. It is not impossible that performers and composers were insensitive to those breaches of prosodic etiquette. Yet those very composers who took such care with the first verse were frequently the performers. It seems more than likely, then, that they adjusted melody to text in succeeding verses, and that it was expected that any performer of the music would do the same, even though only one verse could be published. One composer, having submitted his settings of the psalms to the critical attention of Moulinié and Lambert, explained:

«J'ai retranché dans l'impression par l'avis de ces excellents juges beaucoup de choses que j'estimois en quelque façon supportables, comme les ports de voix et les liaisons, qui me sembloient rendre le chant de mes parties tres agréables. J'avois marqué ces agrémens en faveur de ceux qui ne sçavent pas la manière de chanter. Mais je les ay ostés afin de me rendre conforme aux autres airs, qui pour l'ordinaire s'escrivent simplement, laissant à chacun selon sa disposition la liberté de faire ce que bon luy semble». <sup>67</sup>

This in part songs!

Certainly, this practice was long established by the time of Bacilly. He explicitly stated that it was the responsibility of the singer, not the composer, to make necessary adjustments in successive stanzas as regards both proper syllable length (for comprehension) and affective embellishment. He stressed repeatedly that each new strophe, each change of wording called for a corresponding change of embellishment. His preoccupation with nearly exact correspondence between the quantity of the syllable and the ornament placed on it offers proof that as late as the final third of the seventeenth century that bug-a-boo of music theorists, the concern for proper quantification of the vocal text, was still a meaningful auditory phenomenon. Insufficient attention to the length of syllables on the part of the performer could significantly impede comprehension on the part of the listener. (The subject of quantity is discussed in Vol. II, Chapter VI, paragraph q.)

p. 114; *vide* also pp. 108 ff. As a youth, his talent brought him to the attention of Moulinié; later he came under the tutelage of Nyert. His reputation was extraordinary. Bacilly drew the musical examples for his book from Lambert's collections of airs.

<sup>67</sup> In Gérold, *L'Art du chant*, p. 165; La Bouy, *Airs à quatre parties sur la Paraphrase des Psaumes de Messire Antoine Godeau* (1650).

And too, as Bénigne de Bacilly maintained, turns and other embellishments were at least potentially an important means of assuring comprehension of the sung text. In the «Discours qui sert de réponse à la critique,» which appeared in the second edition of his *Art de bien chanter* (1679), he explained that he had heard singers make an egregious error on the line «Lorsque Tircis sçeut m'engager;» «On jettoit si fort le mot sçeut, que cela faisoit *sumen*, au lieu de faire *mi ré mi*, sur la première syllabe de *m'engager*» (p. 19). A rapid turn (*mi re mi*), would have broken that unfortunate engagement. Again, in the song «Des pleurs que je répans,» «on joignoit si mal à propos ces mots, *j'aime à m'entretenir*, que cela faisoit une cacophonie épouvantable de *Maman*, au lieu d'y remédier en faisant trois Notes sur la finale de *j'aime à*, pour la separer de la première syllabe de *m'entretenir*» (p. 21). Applied with care and discretion, then, the catalogue of *fredons* gave the performer full and equal partnership with the composer in the expressive realization of the text.

In his *Harmonie universelle*, Mersenne offered an illuminating example of how the process of decorating a melody in his time could transform it to the point of rendering it all but unrecognizable. He quoted the air by A. Boësset, «N'esperez plus mes yeux,» as sung by Moulinié, first in the «Chant simple» or unembellished form (Ex. 1a, *vide* p. 164), then in a version which featured the *port de voix*—anticipation of a stressed note, and syllable, with a slide from the unstressed note to the next adjacent one—as the principal *agrément* (Ex. 1b *vide* p. 164); and finally, in a *version en diminution* which transformed the original, rather clumsy melody into a graceful, smooth-flowing line of rapid, running notes (Ex. 1c *vide* p. 165). In the ungainly angularity of the *Chant simple*, we find justification of Bacilly's comment on the «oddity» of an unadorned air (*L'Art de bien chanter*, p. 101; ed. Caswell, p. 46). Another version cited by Mersenne is even less satisfactory in its simple form (Ex. 1d *vide* p. 165). A melody of this sort exists as a pretext for embellishment; without that contribution on the part of the performer it is little more than a graceless frame, a skeleton.

The expression «*mesure libre*» which Perrin applies to the poetry of his airs (Foreword, parag. n, o) had a particular meaning in the vocal music of the first half of the seventeenth century. One of the paradoxical effects of the setting of *vers mesurez* was to delay the imposition on serious song of fixed meter. Verchaly states:

«C and  $\phi$  do not necessarily indicate, particularly in the first *airs de cour*, a binary measure.  $\phi$  implies a more animated tempo than C. The figure 3 does indeed indicate, in principle, a division of duration into three parts, but does not signify that the first beat ought necessarily to be accentuated. The performer—this cannot be sufficiently stressed—ought therefore to forget the deadly modern notion of strong beats, which, like the signs of measure, has in this music virtually no meaning. It is with regard to the sense of words—for long syllables do not necessarily coincide with long notes—and the salient points of the melodic line that a rhythmic pattern should be established». (*Airs de cour*, p. xvii)

Example 1a  
(Air de Monsieur Boësset)  
*Autre façon de chanter de Monsieur Moulinié*

N'es-perez plus mes yeux De re - voir en  
ces lieux La beau - té que j'a do - re  
Le ciel ja - loux de mon bon-heur A ra -  
vy ma nais - sante au - ro - re Par sa ri - gueur.

Example 1b  
*Port de Voix*

N'es pe - rez plus mes yeux De re - voir  
en ces lieux La beau - té que j'a - do - re.  
Le ciel ja - loux de mon bon - heur A ra - vy  
ma nais - sante au - ro - re Par sa ri - gueur.

Example 1c  
*Second Couplet en Diminution*

Les pleurs m'ont plus de lieu  
Dans le coeur de ce Dieu Dont le feu  
me de - vo - re Le ciel ja -  
loux de mon bon - heur A ra - - vy  
ma nais - sante au - ro - re par sa ri - gueur.

Example 1d  
*Autre façon de chanter de Monsieur Moulinié*  
Mersenne, *L'Harmonie universelle*, p. 413 *Chant simple*

N'es - pe - rez plus mes yeux De re - voir en ces  
lieux la beau - té la beau - té que j'a - do - re:  
re: Le Ciel ja - loux de mon bon - heur, A  
ra - vy ma nais - sante au - ro - re Par sa ri - gueur.

These conclusions follow the performance practices described and recommended by Mersenne and Bacilly. By 1660, bar-lines were commonly used, but the «free measure» continued to exert a strong influence. At the same time, the constant tactus, that metronomic pulse which alone had enabled performers of rhythmically complex polyphonic music—think of a group of madrigal singers, each seeing only his own part—to finish together, that tactus could give way, when only singer and lutenist were involved, to a liberal use of *tempo rubato*. Verchaly's collection of *airs de cour* illustrates the persistence of the two distinct styles of rhythm which Caccini described in Italian music, and which Putnam Aldrich has studied, the one strict, drawn from dance movements, the other a free, «flexible disregard for strict tempo»—«that noble manner of singing with *spezzatura*».<sup>68</sup> It was the second that acquired abundant embellishment and became the loftier musical art by the time of Cambert, Boësset  *fils*, and Sablières. Airs which followed this pattern called for a slow tempo in order to allow for the insertion of other extensive runs between essential tones. The air «Si je languis d'un martire incognu,» given by Verchaly (*Airs de cour*, N° 33, pp. 74-75) in an ornate version shows the sensuous undulation of the fully realized line (Ex. 2, *vide* p. 168). Melodies and their chordal accompaniments, usually for lute although harpsichord was sometimes used, were frequently presented in relatively long note-values (half/minim and whole/semibreve notes) to express extended time needed for diminutions between chord changes. Bacilly (p. 103, ed. Caswell, p. 48) urges the singer to take the necessary time to give the *agrèments* their full due. Other sorts of airs, particularly those with a popular flavour, such as chansons and drinking songs, called for a less ornamental approach; they would be sung with more regularity and at a faster tempo.

To the eye and ear familiar with that later music in which the classical æsthetics of regularization and rationalized formal structure dominate, the most striking trait of these airs, in both their simple and their embellished forms, is the way in which they avoid repetition of musical materials. Motivic sequence, the balancing of identifiably similar periods, the regular repetition of similar ornamental devices—all are rare. Instead, the style demanded that repeated materials be presented each time in a new guise. In contradistinction to eighteenth-century embellishment practice, it is not possible to predict from a portion of score what *roulements* may appear in the rest of a given *couplet*, or stanza. This principle of asymmetry carried over from Renaissance contrapuntal practice, where imitation among voices was the norm and for any individual voice to imitate itself was undesirable. In fact, the curiously irregular shape of these solo melodies in their simple form may be traced to the fact that composers were still thinking in terms of contrapuntal writing. Although the solo line with instrumental accompaniment emerged in the latter part of the

68 Aldrich, *Rhythm in 17th Century Italian Monody*, New York, 1966, pp. 13 ff. Bacilly defends the singer's habit of taking «liberties with the structure of the music in order to make it more tender,» *L'Art de bien chanter*, pp. 106-107; ed. Caswell, pp. 48-49.

sixteenth century, it remained standard practice to present court airs in two forms, both as accompanied solos and as contrapuntal part-songs, the upper voice normally being the melody of the solo piece. Hence, the similarity of melodic shaping among the melodies just examined and, for instance, the tenor and bass parts, which are all that remain of d'Assoucy's *Airs à quatre parties*. In the airs from Corneille's *Andromède*, it is clear why the poet relegated all the singing in that «machine tragedy» to a decorative function. The use of a contrapuntal texture to express the sentiments of a single individual could only obscure the sense of the text.

As used by skillful Parisian singers before Lully, the embellishment was heard not primarily either as a dispensable ornament nor as a striking affective device, but as an essential part of the shape of the melody. Such *fredons* constituted the everyday rhetoric of *air de cour*, the hinges upon which a piece was articulated. The very ubiquitousness which limited their expressive range made them integral elements of every piece. Without them, the serious air would not have had its characteristic contour, let alone any degree of finish and elegance. Thus, they differed in essence from the exceptionally used, powerful emotive devices of Italian song. One has the impression in reading Bacilly's discussion of vocal ornaments that he mentions their affective power almost as an afterthought.

The drive for a French form of music drama brought about the end of this practice, by and large. At first, though, a satisfactory solution was sought in compromise. We cannot know with certainty to what extent the refined and «natural» virtuoso embellishment formed part of the basic conception of Cambert's operas. The evidence suggests that it was greater than in Lully's, where the principle of restraint holds full sway. Perrin's insistence that the *Pastorale* was performed by singers «well versed in the art,» and his reference to the «continual embellishments which the most beautiful music demands» suggest that they played an important rôle in that tentative work, even when poet and composer shied away from the non-dramatic, strophic structure of the work by Charles de Beys and Michel de la Guerre, a work which was patently conceived in the form of *air et doubles*. Bacilly's remark on the popular style for *les Ruelles* suggests too that by the time of *Pomone's* production there was growing acceptance of stylistic differences which we would recognize today as the sort that distinguish operatic singing from the chamber style of art song. Minimal use of florid embellishment (other than simple turns and frequent *ports de voix*) is probable in the numerous song-like passages, and the choral interludes. On the other hand, a moment of greater psychological intensity such as Vertumne's disconsolate monologue which closes Act I may have called for abundant elaboration by the singer.

Lully scorned the practice of free melodic ornamentation, and if he politically included in his operas a few *doubles* written by his powerful father-in-law, he acted early and unhesitatingly to curtail individual license. Wrote Bonnet:

«Le goût des diminutions n'étoit point celui du sieur Lully,

Example 2a  
Si je languis  
Joachim Thibault de Courville [Verchaly §33]

Si je lan - - guis d'un mar-ti - re  
in - - co - gneu, O - -  
res sans bride à son gré me trans - - por - -  
te,  
Me doy  
je plandre ain - si com-me je fais?

Example 2b  
Si je languis  
Philippe Desportes Joachim Thibault de Courville

[♩ = 72]  
Si je lan - - guis d'un mar-tire in - - co-

gneu, O - - res sans bride à son gré  
me trans - - por - -  
te, Me doy

grand spectateur du beau et du vrai, qui auroit banni de son orchestre un violon qui eût gâté son harmonie par quelque diminution ou quelque miaulement mal placé». <sup>69</sup>

The principle applied to vocal as well as instrumental performance, if somewhat less stringently. It was the practice to mark with a small cross (+) in vocal scores those places where a *fredon* was desired. The sign occurs frequently in Cambert's scores. While not absent from those of his successor, it has the function of restricting use of unwritten ornaments to cadential points. The ornamental style extolled by Bacilly would thus shortly be supplanted by Lully's rigorous program of musical austerity, which demanded strict observance of the rhythm and pitch values indicated in the score. Bacilly's text was much honoured in the following century. But by then, musical styles had evolved sufficiently that embellishment no longer served quite the same purpose. Its function had become frankly ornamental.

Lully has been called «the wealthiest composer in history and the most powerful musician of modern times» (Isherwood, *Music in the Service*, p. 200). His shadow looms large over the latter part of the seventeenth century. Stretching beyond the years when he held a monopoly over French lyric theatre, it obscures the achievements of the men who came after him as well as those who preceded him. «Pour goûter la langue délicate de la musique de Cambert,» wrote Prunières, «il faut oublier les œuvres que Lully écrivait à la même époque» (*L'Opéra italien en France*, p. 360). Such a judgment must seem excessively harsh when posterity concludes that despite Lully's influence, «musical genius did not abound» in him. <sup>70</sup> Certainly, that sort of approach does little to help us understand the pleasure which audiences did undoubtedly find in Cambert's music. What is undeniable is that Lully's music ushered in and affirmed a new style; it superimposed a classical body on the essentially baroque chassis of the lyric theatre. In this sense, it broke with tradition,

69 Bourdelot-Bonnet, *Histoire de la musique et de ses effets*, Paris, 1715, cited in Borrell, *L'Interprétation de la musique française*, p. 95. Doubtless he had begun moving in this direction as early as 1656 with the founding of his own orchestra, the «Petits Violons». We know that the primary court instrumental aggregation under Louis XIII and his son, the Vingt-quatre Violons, played with the abandon of those mandolin and guitar orchestras which were popular in the early years of our own century, or like a dixieland band. Each player considered himself a soloist and improvised freely upon the basic score. The result, a «polyphonie cahotante,» in the expression of Prunières (*Lully*, p. 83), rich in dissonances and florid, irregularly shaped lines, appealed to the mid-century generation described in the opening chapter, even if its excesses had grown tiresome by the time the new King began to exert a personal influence.

70 Leo Schrade, *Tragedy in the Art of Music*, Cambridge (Massachusetts), Harvard, 1964, p. 75. Romain Rolland, in «Notes sur Lully,» (*Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, janvier, 1913, p. 11), concluded that Lully as a composer was «pas un mélodiste abondant, et que ne gênait point le trop-plein de son inspiration musicale».

and as a result the period between 1640 and 1670 has seemed to many writers to have no character of its own. During this time, the French were becoming newly aware—after the short-lived, tentative experiments at the opening of the century—of the expressive potential of a vocal style capable of supporting dramatic action, they were beginning to search for a compromise between the highly embellished style of air so pleasing to refined court sensibilities and a kind of declamatory song which could both move forward rapidly and allow the audience to follow an action. Yet this germinal period is frequently passed over with no more than a glance. The temptation is great to see it as no more than a time of stagnation, a non-productive moment of calm before the rush into a new approach to art.

Of course, Lully too was composing throughout the late 1650's and the 1660's, and the style which he developed owed as much to the musical climate of those times as to his own genius, or, for that matter, the Italian music he had heard. «Musically, Lully's melodic ideas hark back to Cambert and Boësset rather than to Cavalli or Rossi». <sup>71</sup> He had none of the audacity of the Italian composers; «he avoided startling modulations, dissonant chords, and abrupt rhythmic shifts» (Isherwood, p. 209). As he found his own voice, his «sagesse musicale,» in La Laurencie's term, consisted of maintaining the «intellectual» side of theatre by using a «worthy» libretto, favouring dramatic declamation over fully-developed aria, strictly limiting the use of ornaments and diminutions, and keeping the musical line fully subservient to the verse and consequently free of superfluous melodic vegetation (*Lully*, pp. 135-136). The same writer would also have him avoiding excessive display of emotion in favour of *demi-teintes*. It is difficult to discover in the scores the delicate shadings of sentiment suggested by the last term; if the creator of *Cadmus et Hermione* shunned the emotional excesses of his native land, he replaced them with strong and uncomplicated feelings contained by a sense of pomp and stateliness.

Still, like his French predecessors, Lully trained on the dance rhythms of ballet music, the delicate shadings of *airs de cour*. He composed little playlets in pastoral modes, as had La Guerre, d'Assoucy, Cambert, and the others. He began his career as composer where any court musician would have at the time, writing music for ballets, and his later compositions reflect that training. Time and again, a repeated ritornello or a dance interlude in the operas evokes the majestic procession, the grotesque posturing, or the elegant arabesques of *ballet de cour*. <sup>72</sup>

71 Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King*, p. 194. La Laurencie (*Lully*, pp. 147-150) is perfectly willing to admit that Lully's melodies in the first operas «rappellent» those of Cambert, a similarity which he feels called upon to excuse on the grounds of the great man's «inexpérience».

72 Helen Meredith Ellis' «Inventaire des sources de la danse,» *Recherches IX* (1969), pp. 89-130, is summarized in Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 40. Bourrées, minuets, sarabandes, and gavottes dominate; chaconnes, courantes, gailardes are less frequently encountered.

Again one is obliged to return to the observation that French opera is the offspring of court ballet.

As compared to earlier music, Lully's four-square melodies, regular rhythms, and simple harmonies, striving to unite more perfectly—that is, more predictably—with the sense and movement of the verse, express different aesthetics. Like his literary contemporaries Boileau and Racine, he helped bring to flower the classical tendencies of the century. Reflecting the actions and attitudes of his royal patron, he replaced the disorderly and sometimes imaginative play of individual freedom, whether politically expressed in the autonomy of the nobility or artistically in the free ornamentation of the virtuoso musician, with the orderly rigidity of absolute authority. He did away with the star system, as certain totalitarian ideologies pretend to do in our time. His music had the clarity and directness, but also the pomposity and stuffiness, of Louis' reign.

No such neat program can be ascribed to Cambert. His music inevitably suffers by appearing to represent only a transitional and fleeting stage between the baroque practices of the earlier decades, with their rhythmic complexities and their conscious search for counter-rhythms, and the classical repudiation of that style. His line is less regular, his prosody less well attuned to the rhythms of the verse, his melody less elegant, more overgrown and freer, his harmonies less constrained. His phrase has none of the regularity which characterizes that of Lully. Sequence, the repetition of a motive in ascending or descending line, is less rare in the Florentine's music. While both men owe a great debt to the ubiquitous dance music of the court, Cambert's dependence on it is more easily remarked. In his striving for elegance, the composer of *Thésée* generally avoided falling into the patterns of familiar dance music except in the ritornello passages and the scenes specifically meant for dancing; the composer of *Pomone* built his melodies by stringing together such patterns. He had not the disdain for the popular which animated the favourite of Louis-le-Grand. Perhaps because he was an organist, and the reactionary church music with which he was most familiar gave him little support for the elaboration of a secular dramatic style, his operatic vocal line never departs for long from the comfortable familiarity of the dance. Interspersed throughout the two scores are snatches of song with a popular dance flavour, unembellished and doubtless calling for little embellishment, but smelling more of the country dance festival than of sophisticated Parisian court entertainment. When in doubt or difficulty, he falls back with predictable regularity on the skipping triple-time motif:

 . Lully, too, has his unguarded moments. When he nods over his work, it is to slip into the anapaestic rhythm so congenial

to the structures of French speech:  . As far as harmony is concerned, both write diatonically, never straying far from the tonic. Cambert's writing is more chromatic, largely because it plays more consistently on the still unstable nature of the major-minor modes, particularly through free use of the flattened sixth degree. Lully con-

tributed materially to fixing the distinction between these two surviving modes. The two men used in much the same way the instrumental resources at their disposal. «Au violon italien à cinq cordes ils préfèrent avec raison le petit violon français à quatre cordes.... Outre les instruments à cordes Cambert n'emploie que les flûtes et les hautbois; Lully y ajoute un basson et des timbales,» observed Pougin.<sup>73</sup> According to Saint-Evremond, the «concert de flûtes» in the *Pastorale* was a great novelty; such an ensemble had not been heard since Antiquity. Exceptionally, the text of *Adonis*, which was set by J.-B. Boësset, calls for several unusual instrumental effects. There is a concert of «Flûtes douces» (recorders) (II, 3); a «Symphonie lugubre» of unspecified instrumentation (III, 4); and at the climax a «Musique de cors [hunting horns], de cris et de chiens» (IV, 1-2).

### Prosody

It is a commonplace that under Lully musical prosody—the correspondence between the poetic and melodic line—became, as Verchaly puts it, «plus parfaite et plus conventionnelle» (*Airs de cour*, p. xi). The touchstone of his vocal writing was the effort to transcribe the music of the spoken word, a music, which, according to Castil-Blaze, «se cache dans la déclamation comme l'or dans le minerai» (*Molière musicien*, I, p. 205). Lully, it is often repeated, learned declamation at the Comédie-Française, listening to the actors and actresses trained by Racine himself. The declamation of the French stage did indeed have its own music. Tragic actors very nearly sang their lines, and the regularizing tendencies of the time produced a growing sense of the proper—men at the time called it «natural» but we would say conventionalized, if effective—way to declaim speeches. Like the orator, the performer had his bag of tricks which involved rhythm, pitch, dynamics. The story is told how at one highly charged moment in *Mithridate* La Champmeslé let her voice fall to its lowest pitch in order to jump an octave for the startled scream which

73 Pougin, *Les Vrais Créateurs*, p. 271. Elsewhere he explained:

«Il faut constater que Lully, au moins dans ses premiers opéras, semblait moins habile que Cambert dans l'art de grouper et de disposer son petit orchestre; il lui arrivait souvent de faire croiser les parties entre elles d'une façon fâcheuse, de les enchevêtrer singulièrement, et cela probablement dans l'unique but d'éviter des quintes ou des octaves cachées ou réelles. On peut donc dire que chez Cambert, l'harmonie, ou pour mieux dire, le tissu harmonique, est plus ferme et plus serré, plus pur et plus correct» (pp. 146-147).

Lully habitually wrote only the soprano and bass lines, leaving the rest, the so-called «parties de remplissage,» to be filled in by his assistants.

followed.<sup>74</sup> Lully carried over the conventional system of the legitimate stage more or less intact; he brought about a meeting of the rhetoric of theatrical declamation and of musical declamation. As a result, his prosody was long thought to be «completely natural». Voltaire claimed to have astonished audiences by reading to them passages taken directly from Lully, following the general contour of the musical line without singing exact pitch and note values—a process which astounded them because of the excellence of the declamation thus produced (anecdote reported by Snyders, *Le Goût musical*, p. 21), which is not to say that they found it truly speechlike, but that it satisfied their conventionalized expectations for theatrical declamation. Although his recitative seems dry and monotonous to us, Lully developed a fine ear for the simplest essential shape of the spoken or declaimed French phrase.

It remains to be determined whether this prosodic rationalization is the only acceptable ideal relationship between poetic and melodic line, as is commonly assumed, or whether other approaches cannot be equally valid, equally effective. The doctrine of perfect correspondence, a gross oversimplification of the humanistic concern for clarity in the expression of the text, only came to full fruition after 1670. There is evidence that before that time composers sought to create tensions and contrasts between the textual line and the musical line nearly as often as they sought to make them coincide. This evidence has usually been interpreted as proof that those musicians lacked sufficient understanding of their art to avoid mistakes. According to Prunières, who dubbed him «le dernier représentant de l'école de l'air de cour,» Cambefort, *circa* 1650, «commet encore des erreurs de prosody».<sup>75</sup> Boindin noted that Cambert too distorted verbal rhythms. The musical line of Lully's predecessors, then, rather than seeking to conform perfectly with a conventional shape of the spoken line, assumes that shape and toys with it, distorts it as in a funhouse mirror. When a generalized practice of this sort is discovered, should we not consider that perhaps musicians and audiences took pleasure in the effect? That they need not have put up with it if it disturbed their sense of the limits appropriate to the art? It could be that this practice, far from betraying inadequacy, reveals a willingness to profit from the give and take possible between two separate modes of expression even in their union. The earlier prosody becomes more meaningful when seen in this light rather than as an imperfect approximation of a later aesthetic ideal.

No one would deny that the magic of perfect correspondence between the musical rhythm and the poetic is basic to the pleasure of song. Music, as Nietzsche said, is the pleasure the soul takes in counting without knowing it is counting. We want to have a feeling of the accent falling on

74 This anecdote has been widely reported. *Vide* Dubos, *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie*, III<sup>e</sup> partie; Castil-Blaze, *Molière musicien*, t. II, pp. 211-213; La Laurencie, *Lully*, p. 172; Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 78. The actress had been trained by Racine himself (*vide* note 43, *supra*).

75 H. Prunières, «Jean de Cambefort, surintendant de la musique du roi (—1661) d'après les documents inédits,» *Année musicale*, II (1929), p. 205.

an accented beat. The ideal is subject to a wide spectrum of interpretation, however, depending on whether one places primary importance on general mood or specific words, on speech rhythms or pitches, on normal or exceptional expression. Even when convention demands close adherence of melody to normal patterns of speech, one composer's ear is not another's.

Besides, all things being equal, nothing diminishes the soul's pleasure more than to know that it *is* counting. Concurrently with the feeling of regularity, we want the contrary pull. An important part of the delight that song offers derives from the tensions which may be created between musical and verbal structures. Once the pattern has been established, it can be assumed. Then the pleasure may be increased by counterrhythms, slight distortions, disjunction of the rhythms. The principle is familiar enough in music and in poetry. Nothing, we know, is more deadly than a piece of music whose rhythm never varies, a poem in which the poet actually observes the meter scrupulously. It stands to reason that the same principle should apply to the meeting of the two arts which depend so much on auditory rhythms, and that that «sweet disorder» should be at its most effective when it occurs not within each of the separate contributing elements, but in the interplay between (or among) them. One legacy of Lully's reforms, a Pandora's box which has caused difficulties from that day to this, is the restrictive stipulation that music should conform perfectly with text. Only in the twentieth century have composers seriously put this fiction to the test. Poulenc perversely set the word *glo-ri-a* so that the middle syllable receives all the stress. Before that time, composers tended to pay lip service to the principle, while in fact lending it only partial credence. Almost inevitably when melody takes precedence, as in strophic song, there occur noticeable points of disjunction with textual line. And these moments often provide spice in an otherwise bland mixture.

If we consider composers who wrote more or less under the full influence of the classical-rationalist precept of perfect conformity between spoken and musical line, we easily find examples of slight and pleasing distortions. In Fauré's setting of a simple poem by Paul Bourget, «Au bord de l'eau,» the opening line with its gracious shape sweeping down to rest finally for a moment on the rippling stream asks to be sung as though without bar lines (Ex. 3a, *vide* p. 176). The second vocal measure creates natural stresses on *deux*, *bord* and *flot*—an elegant counterpoise of three crotchet/quarter note beats against the two accompanying beats of the  $\frac{6}{8}$  meter. The composer has captured the regularity of the line, and the setting conforms to the shape of the phrase as it might be spoken. In the next line, however, the pattern shifts to retain the proper accentuation on *nu-age*. When we arrive at the line «entendre au pied du saule où l'eau murmure,» the natural speech pattern is thoroughly violated (Ex. 3b, *vide* p. 177). Delicate souls of the time of Louis XIV, with their craving for order and clarity, for rigid conformity to principle, their narrow definition of what they called «natural,» and their literal-mindedness, would doubtless have found fault with this song for those reasons. Yet, even if the singer were not required, as one always is in French song, to

Example 3a  
Gabriel Fauré, *Au bord de l'eau*

*p dolce!*

S'asseoir tous deux au bord du flot qui

pas - se, — Le voir pas - ser, Tous deux s'il

glisse un nu - age en l'es - pa - ce, — Le voir glis -

Example 3b  
Gabriel Fauré, *Au bord de l'eau*

ser, Aux a - len - tours si quel - que fleur em -

bau - me — S'en em - bau - mer. En - tendre au

sempr*e p*

pied du saule où l'eau mur - mu - re —

bring out the most important words, it would appear evident that the composer had a purpose in setting the words in this way, and that a certain interest accrues to this otherwise repetitious and almost simplistic setting as each element asserts its independence by pulling against the other.

Should it come as any surprise then at a time when paradox and contrast were in great favour, at a time when the grotesque was in vogue, that it was the fashion in musical prosody to distort the natural speech rhythms and throw off the natural stresses? As Isherwood points out, Mersenne «challenged Baif's assumption that in antiquity musical rhythm was identical with poetic meter and that therefore effects can be achieved only if music rigidly follows the text».<sup>76</sup> This sort of willing acceptance of stress and pull fits well the general tenets of the period which we have come to qualify as Baroque. The air «Du plus doux de ses traits» by A. Boësset (1632) provides illustration of this practice. In the first line, the voice rises to a climactic point in both pitch and length on the pronoun *ses* (Ex. 4a/b, *vide* p. 180) The accompaniment meanwhile goes its own way, not only with its own material but at the end of the first couplet countering the vocal cadence with a multiple cadence in which the inner voices push on past the expected stopping point. «Déformations du rythme verbal sont fréquentes dans les airs de cour,» noted M<sup>me</sup> Maurice-Amour.<sup>77</sup>

If then in the vocal music before Lully's reforms we frequently discover the effort to throw off expectations, to create irregular rhythms, to set up misaccentuations, this should not surprise nor lead us to cry incompetence. Instead, we should appreciate the affective purpose of such devices.

Castil-Blaze, mortal enemy of prosodic irregularity, quoted a line which Grétry, composer of popular comic operas, had badly disjointed.



It may well be that in that later musical style such license betrayed poor workmanship. But like the Fauré *mélodie*, the example points up another trait of the lyric marriage: poetry's ability to adapt to musical forms without losing its own integrity. A given line of poetry may effectively be spoken within a broad range of rhythms and pitches; in conjunction with a melody, that range may even be extended. It needs to be stressed that Lully's famous accurate declamation was based not on his ability to discover and record some hypothetical perfect or ideal form of the spoken line, but rather on his skill in capturing in music the declamatory conventions of the theatre of his time.

<sup>76</sup> Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King*, p. 35. And see Frances Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1947, p. 24.

<sup>77</sup> «Les Poésies de Malherbe et les musiciens de son temps,» *XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* XXXI (avril 1956), p. 304.

The adaptability of the poetic line functions over a relatively broad range. It is the principle on which strophic song operates. It is to a large extent what distinguishes song, in which melody dominates, from musical declamation. The same text may be set in any number of different ways with effect and validity. So, for instance, we find Cambert or Lully setting the same line several times in succession to quite different rhythmic and melodic patterns, and we do not conclude that one setting must be the right one and the others wrong. Then too, there are affective inflections in the spoken language which lose their force in music unless highly exaggerated. We do not hear every musical line which ends with a rise as a question. An agogic accent heard as part of a regular melodic pattern will not carry the same force as an *accent d'insistence (im-ME-diatement)* in a spoken phrase. Like pitch distinction, which may lose some of its prosodic value as sense indicator when set to music—as in the rising inflection of a question without an interrogative word: *Vous êtes seul?*—the affirmative accent, which is necessary to speech, declamation, and song, plays a structural rôle only in an extended sense of the term.

Lully carried the principle of syllabic prosody further than anyone before him. He used melismata rarely, and then only on significant words. Cambert used them more freely, although hardly to excess. Moreover, his practice shows that he shared Bacilly's contempt for those who «refine upon word-meanings too much, quite often without due consideration for the total phrase of the text, which is the proper approach» (*L'Art de bien chanter*, p. 121; Caswell, p. 54). Reviling those «critics [who] become irritated if the composer has used a sharp or flat on words which don't signify passion,» Bacilly gives the example of a case in which a gentleman has found fault with a sharp on the word *vient* when

«the entire verse is a lament about Absence and as such it can and should be treated in a tender manner. In this case, the composer is entirely justified in using expressions of sadness from the first word to the last, with no exceptions. Nor should he feel constrained to interpret each word individually, or to distinguish noun, pronoun, and verb in this pedantic manner».  
(*L'Art de bien chanter*, p. 122; Caswell, p. 55)

While certain words called for «special attention,» in many instances the expressive figure need not fall on the specific word it illustrated. Cambert's previously mentioned habit of writing in everywhere that ornament of anticipation, the *port de voix*, reflects what performers would have done in any case. This was one of the abuses which would soon fall under Lully's uncompromising ban. It is also one of those traits which have led writers to condemn Cambert's way of setting words. Pomone's opening song, «Qui voudra s'engage,» was, Pouglin believed, «d'une très-jolie couleur, d'un dessein mélodique élégant, d'un caractère mélancolique et tendre; c'est une cantilène pleine de grâce, d'un rythme caressant et flatteur, et dont malgré ses deux siècles d'existence, la fraîcheur ne me semble guère avoir été atteinte». But he could not resist adding: «On

Example 4a  
 Antoine Boësset, *Du plus doux de ses traits* [Verchaly §75]

Du plus doux, Du plus doux de ses traits A -

mour bles - se mon coeur Pour l'a-mour de Sil -

vi - - e. Je l'ay - me, Je

Detailed description: This musical score is for Example 4a. It consists of a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is written in a single staff with a treble clef and a common time signature. The piano accompaniment is written in two staves, with the right hand in a treble clef and the left hand in a bass clef. The music is in a major key and features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes. The lyrics are: "Du plus doux, Du plus doux de ses traits A - mour bles - se mon coeur Pour l'a-mour de Sil - vi - - e. Je l'ay - me, Je".

Example 4b  
 Antoine Boësset, *Du plus doux de ses traits*

Du plus doux, Du plus doux de ses traits A -

mour bles - se mon coeur Pour l'a-mour de Sil - vi - - e.

Je l'ay - me, Je l'ay - me

Detailed description: This musical score is for Example 4b. It consists of a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is written in a single staff with a treble clef and a common time signature. The piano accompaniment is written in two staves, with the right hand in a treble clef and the left hand in a bass clef. The music is in a major key and features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes. The lyrics are: "Du plus doux, Du plus doux de ses traits A - mour bles - se mon coeur Pour l'a-mour de Sil - vi - - e. Je l'ay - me, Je l'ay - me".

peut regretter que la prosodie en soit si fausse et si maladroite» (*Les Vrais Créateurs*, p. 151). Evidently J.-B. Weckerlin, who edited Cambert's two scores for the nineteenth-century collection *Les Chefs-d'œuvre de la musique française*, shared that opinion, for he systematically regularized rhythms and underlay so that stressed syllables and words fall on good, solid downbeats instead of following the composer's intention of anticipating the beat (Ex. 5, *vide* p. 183).<sup>78</sup> This music, as Cambert wrote it, illustrates a particular musical style. A piece such as the prologue to *Pomone* gains a great deal of charm and suppleness when these stylistic niceties are restored to their place. Use of this device, slight displacement of the verbal accent, was enough to produce an agreeable tension between verse and melody without distorting the prosody. This practice may have served to compensate in part the loss of the polyphonic complexities of earlier music; its effect was to throw the poem into relief. Something similar to this could recently be heard in the performance style of France's satirical balladeer, Georges Brassens.

#### Recitative

d) From the point of view of the musician, the most serious difficulty to be resolved in the attempt to create lyric drama was that of musical declamation. Recitative constituted the necessary link between the peripeteia of the affabulation and the thread («le tissu courant») of the action, while the peripeteia itself was examined and its human implications explored in the arias.<sup>79</sup> In the country of Descartes, the emphasis fell inevitably on the rational part of the text. As a result, recitative, «la partie raisonnable de l'opéra, le raisonnement en musique,» as Romain Rolland called it («Notes sur Lully,» *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 1913, p. 9), occupied the place of honour. Yet melody was not to be denied its due—and in this the French have always differed from the Italians. Henri Quittard called Italian recitative «antimusical en principe» («La Première Comédie française en musique,» *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, IV [1908], p. 512). By the time the operatic ideal came to maturity in France, Italian composers had renounced the expressive *parlar cantando* of their earliest operas in favour of a clear-cut distinction between «dry» recitative on strings of rapid-fire notes, and freely melodic arias. Saint-Evremond spoke for his times and his countrymen when he attempted in his «Lettre sur les Opéra» to explain «le grand dégoût que nous donnent ceux d'Italie,» a reaction which he ascribed to the excessive amount of recitative. The French «refusent leur attention à un long récitatif, qui devient ennuyeux par le peu de variété qui s'y rencontre». Even in the otherwise admirable works of Luigi Rossi, «le récitatif ordinaire ennuyoit beaucoup».

<sup>78</sup> Compare Pougin's accurate rendering of Pomone's song, «Qui voudra s'engager» (pp. 104 ff.) with that of Weckerlin.

<sup>79</sup> Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 1707, p. 200; cited in La Laurencie, «L'Esthétique de Lully, Musique vocale,» *Revue musicale* VI (1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1925), p. 29.

#### Example 5 *Pomone*, Act I, Scene i

[Weckerlin]

The musical score for Example 5 is presented in three systems. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are: "Pas - sons nos jours dans ces ver-gers Loin des a-mours et des ber-gers, Pas - sons nos jours, Pas - sons nos jours Loin des bergers et des a-mours." The score is marked with a piano (*p*) dynamic.

This attitude must be borne in mind whenever we consider the rôle of recitative in incipient French opera, for the goals in the two countries were in fact less similar than they might seem. There is no doubt that for French composers the ideal was and would long remain to translate into musical patterns the inflections of the speaking voice—albeit the highly conventionalized declamatory speech of the theatre—in a scarcely amplified form. «C'est sur le récitatif que repose tout l'opéra Lullyste,» wrote Prunières (*Lully*, p. 95), «les airs ne surgissent qu'incidemment dans les moments d'exaltation, de douleur ou de joie. Ils se fondent d'ailleurs dans le récitatif». If the aria never emerges full-blown, however, recitative never escapes the melodic impulse. Working within a narrowed range, the French operatic composer could pass easily and frequently between expository and lyric material. From this point of view, at least, French opera is more closely related to the through-composed works of recent times than to «those Italian operas whose dramatic portions were no more than interstitial relief and arbitrary continuity between the arias,» in the fine phrase of John Barth.

Lully is generally credited with having invented a French style of recitative. «En forgeant le récitatif, Lully forge de ce fait le drame musical,» wrote Prunières.<sup>80</sup> Here again, it is necessary to clarify. Lully certainly gave a new and definitive form to dramatic recitative. In order to do so, however, he drew upon a thoroughly established French tradition. *Ballet de cour* offers many examples of passages of *récit* which slight musical values in deference to the words. As far back as the opening of the seventeenth century, certain *récits* of Pierre Guédron reveal the influence of the musical experiments in Florence and provide a first model of French recitative. After 1621, with Boësset and Moulinié, when ballet dropped all dramatic character, singing became more exclusively lyrical. *Récits* still served to introduce characters and explain the subject of the ballet, but the distinction between *récit* and air was no longer always easily made.<sup>81</sup>

Of the dramatic ventures with music which preceded *Pomone*, most avoided the problem by having the expository material spoken, leaving it separate from the musical sections. The *Triomphe de l'Amour sur les Bergers et les Bergères* of Michel de la Guerre is strophic in form and calls for no expository declamation. The *Pastorale d'Issy*, on the other hand, did allow for moments of recitative. None of that music survives. Lully did a certain amount of experimentation with declamation in his ballets and comedy-ballets throughout the 1660's, notably in the *Ballet Royal d'Alcidiene*, the «Pastorale» of *George Dandin*, and the «Ballet des Nations» of *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*. But it was Cambert who first wrote French opera with recitative—as men at that time acknowledged.

80 *Lully*, p. 94; and *vide* also: *L'Opéra italien en France*, pp. 362-370, where he makes much of «la solution par Lully du problème récitatif».

81 Verchaly, *Airs de cour*, Introduction, p. xi cites as «les premiers véritables modèles du récitatif français» from this part of the century N° 30, «C'en est fait je ne verray plus,» and N° 56, «Quel excès de douleur». N° 72 and 85 «annoncent Lully;» and he singles out N° 77 by the younger Boësset as well (p. xii).

«Cambert avoit cet avantage dans ses opéra,» commented a character in Saint-Evremond's comedy, *Les Opéra*, «que le récitatif ordinaire n'ennuyoit pas, pour estre composé avec plus de soin que les airs mêmes, et varié avec le plus grand art du monde». And in his *Lettre sur les Opéra*: «Il n'y a point de récitatif mieux entendu ni mieux varié que le sien». Thus, the contemporary opinion of this otherwise stern critic contradicts Prunières' statement that «*Pomone* ne contient pas une seule page de récitatif proprement dit» (*Lully*, p. 94). His further contention, in «*L'Académie royale de musique et de danse*,» that Perrin's invention consisted in stitching together airs, chansons, and dialogues of the ballet sort in such a way that «n'importe quel compositeur pouvait les mettre en musique sans avoir besoin d'inventer un style récitatif adapté à la langue française» proves hyperbolic and inadequate in the face of contemporary reaction as well as the texts themselves.<sup>82</sup> La Laurencie, who was less subject than his colleague to irrational antipathies, remarked judiciously that by the time of *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour* «un récitatif ferme et expressif» was taking shape in Cambert's hands (*Lully*, pp. 108-109). There is no denying that the style of recitative which Lully evolved in the course of composing his first two or three operas superseded those of previous ballet composers along with that of Cambert, that it satisfied better than they the profound æsthetic and intellectual needs of the time. That is not to say that it did not derive from them, nor that it invalidated them as adequate expressions of the musical tastes of a few years earlier.

82 Prunières, «L'Académie royale de musique et de danse,» *Revue musicale* (1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1925), p. 4. In his critical biography of Lully (p. 94), he illustrates: «on n'avait jamais entendu.... des tirades de ce genre déclamés musicalement:

Quoi Cadmus, fils d'un roi qui tient sous sa puissance  
Les bords féconds du Nil et les climats brûlés,  
Cadmus, après deux ans loin de Tir écoulés,  
Etranger chez les Grecs, n'a point d'impatience  
De revoir un pays dont il est l'espérance?

It was this sort of flacid and oratorical exposition of background detail that Perrin wished to exclude from opera, and for the inclusion of which Quinault has been lauded. The difference is more literary than musical; Cambert sets lines of similar length and depth.

Lully was accused (in Senecé's «Lettre de Clément Marot...» for instance) of borrowing his recitative style from Luigi Rossi. «Or, le style récitatif du Florentin,» responded La Laurencie, «dépouillé et un peu nu n'affiche aucune analogie avec le copieux ruissellement mélodique de Rossi; il ne ressemble pas davantage à la manière de Cavalli, lequel procède par amples périodes» («L'Esthétique musicale de Lully,» *Revue musicale*, VI, i [1<sup>er</sup> janvier] 1925, p. 30). «Dépouillé et un peu nu»—these, then, are the striking traits of Lully's recitative. Strictly syllabic, particularly at first, it depends for its expression entirely on careful accentuation and on almost exclusive use of chord outlines. Highly oratorical in the first *tragédies lyriques* (*Cadmus* and *Alceste*), conforming but ill with the dramatic *trame*, only slowly did it acquire the plasticity of the final works (*La Laurencie*, *Lully*, pp. 151-152; and *Le Goût musical*, p. 138). If the King's favourite, with all his previous experience and his flair for royal taste started from such a point, is it any wonder that Cambert's recitative showed even fewer of the qualities which were to be so highly prized later on? It would be foolish to expect the earlier composer to have made more progress than the man who took his place. Cambert followed a different path, besides. In his constant effort to forge an interesting line, Perrin's collaborator used relatively frequent accidentals, avoided sequence more than the Florentine, and in general shunned those devices which gave music regularity. In the declamatory sections, he rarely wrote strings of syllables on a single pitch for long before returning to contour motion through the chord. Basses are the most likely to carry a static declamatory line in conformity with their rôle as «heavies,» that is, inflexible and comic figures. Compared to that of Lully, Cambert's recitative may at first glance seem incompletely realized; in so far as the two styles are related in a temporal development, it is. But in its irregularities, in the shape of its phrases, it also expresses a different conception of musical composition. *Autres temps, autres mœurs*.<sup>83</sup>

Unlike Italian recitative which tends to settle on a single pitch, the French declamatory line is built on vertical movement through the chord. Leaps from one chord tone to another were commonly filled in by *passaggi*

83 On the subject of recitative, a word should be added concerning Perrin's curiously garbled criticism of Italian opera (paragr. e) for «des styles de musique moitié chantans, moitié récitans, qu'ils ont appellez représentatifs, racontatifs, récitatifs, lesquels, outre qu'ils expriment mal par le fléchissement de la voix quoy que rare et pratiqué seulement dans les finales des choses qui veulent estre dites gravement et simplement à l'unison» [sic]. He compares this sort of singing to «pleins-chants,» «airs de cloistre,» and to «chansons de vielleur ou de ricochet». The reference to the drone of the hand-cranked barbery organ along with that to the often monotone recitation of church plain-chant indicates that he reproaches Italian recitative with a lack of scalar scope, as opposed to that chordally-oriented arpeggiated melodic shaping which kept French recitative always lyrical. At the same time, he calls for cessation of movement at the cadences. French music always approaches the cadence in stepwise fashion (*vide* Gérold, *L'Art du chant*, pp. 198-200) with a *port de voix*, whereas Italian recitative tended to move at the end of the line, and often in the direction contrary to that of the note of destination.

or diminutions (the two terms having come to be indistinguishable in meaning by that time). With fewer chord changes, French recitative had less harmonic motion than Italian; it was, as La Laurencie put it, «peu modulant» (*Lully*, p. 175). Lully's adherence to these principles at times bordered on the fanatical. Modern linguistics might represent the following line from *Alceste* (I, i) this way:

Ce n'est point avec toi que je prétends me taire.

Lully sets it over a C-major continuo chord:



This line, with its elegant mirror symmetry, corresponds closely in its rise and fall to the «natural melody» of the phrase, the extended duration of «toi» compensating for the slight distortion. Cambert wanted to avoid that sort of predictable regularity. A typical line from *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour* (I, i) suggests a very different speech curve, rising little by little through a major sixth, to climax on the octave before falling back in a sudden shift to major (Ex. 6, *vide* p. 194). It is difficult to imagine Voltaire reciting such a line in order to astonish an audience with its perfect conformity to speech patterns. But it is a happy setting of the line.

Bence Szabolcsi has described the new style of music which surfaced in Europe around 1600 as «irregular, unusual, asymmetrical, fantastic, exuberant, impatient». Polyphony, he points out, favoured asymmetrical melodies, covered by ever-changing and polymetrical patterns.<sup>84</sup> The chromaticism, sliding chords, semitonal melody, and harmonic freedom that insinuated themselves into polyphonic composition from the mid-sixteenth century on continued to exert a powerful influence long after the melody had come to dominate the other parts, which served as accompaniment. French music never yielded to these temptations so fully as that of Italy or England. But such traits are not unknown in the *air de cour* tradition, and they continue to appear in Cambert's operatic scores. After 1630, «airs à forte carrure» become more numerous. The advent of the four-square melody reflects the regularizing drive in monarchy, society, and the other arts.

The shape of Cambert's melody shows greater kinship with early baroque style than with the emerging classical manner. His declamatory line, like his song melody, so seldom has that majestic sweep, that simple, direct movement over static harmonies, that classically inspired contour which in Lully's music has often been seen as the musical equivalent of Cartesian rationalism, that we must conclude that he did not seek them. The term «graceful arabesque» would be among the last to spring to mind in attempting to characterize his melody. It tends to be rugged and irregular. That is not to say that he never wrote a line with the bal-

84 Szabolcsi, *A History of Melody*, tr. Cynthia Jolly and Sará Kanig, New York, Saint Martin's Press, 1965, pp. 77-80.

anced rise and fall which characterize the normal melody of speech, but rather that he allowed the melody to impose a new shape on the textual line. In the Baroque style, the resulting pull between musical and poetic patterns could be a source of refined delight.

If the irregularities, the sharp contours in Cambert's line imply the expectation of improvisatory collaboration on the part of the performer, they imply equally that whatever Cambert's concern for the text, he was not seeking to capture the classical simplicity and balance of the poetic line as spoken by the actors and actresses who came under the tutelage of Racine and Molière. Whether his line reflects the declamatory style of the Regency, which we know those dramatic poets considered stilted and false, is a question which must at present be left to other researchers. We may conclude, however, that it gives clear proof of his concern for prosody as it was understood during that short period when distortion and other manifestations of the taste for the *grotesque* were more fashionable. Composers before Lully are not usually credited with concern for prosody, though Gérold does praise Lambert for his generally correct textual settings. Cambert should be similarly lauded; his declamation in particular consistently gives satisfying, if unexpected, shape to the poetic line.

While he did by and large follow the rhythms of the spoken phrase, he certainly did not undertake, as would his illustrious successor, to reproduce slavishly those of declaimed speech. In all degrees, from parlando recitative to melodic arioso, his line retains a freedom of contour capable of producing an emotional pull rare in Lully. In conformity with contemporary practices, Cambert uses for passages of declamation the freely shifting meters which avoid monotony and which are virtually imperceptible to an audience. Within the space of a few measures, he can write / 3 / C / 3 / C, shortly thereafter a cadential measure in 2, then a return to 3.

We have mentioned the ubiquitousness in Cambert's scores of the skipping, dotted triple-time rhythm, and its counterpart, Lully's «perpetual anapæst». While the French language does not use, or lend itself readily to, classical meters (as explained in Vol. II, Chapter VI), the six-syllable hemistich too easily falls into two anapæstic feet. Classical French poets manipulated the subtle rhythms of the alexandrine so as to avoid monotony within the strict limits of the rigidly set metrical scheme. The composer had the choice of accentuating the repetitious structure of that scheme, or contradicting it. Cambert chose the latter, and made his choice work, without unduly wrenching the language. Nor did the musician of the seventeenth century have at his disposal the most effective prosodic device of the romantic and post-romantic composers, namely, the triplets which, occupying the space where we have been led to expect two notes, render the effect of a group of evenly stressed syllables, of measurelessness within the confines of the musical measure. Lacking such tools, this early declamation must necessarily convey a certain clumsiness—all the more so to our ears accustomed to the fine nuances of Debussy's recitative. The burden of the responsibility for giving nuance to the line in those days fell to the singer.

### Expression

Finally, there is the question of musical expressivity in these germinal, experimental operas. While Cambert's music was generally admired, it was sometimes criticized, notably by Saint-Evremond:

«A la vérité, Cambert n'entroit pas assez dans le sens des vers, et il manquait souvent à la véritable expression du chant, parce qu'il n'entendoit pas bien celle des paroles. Il aimoit les paroles qui n'exprimoient rien, pour n'être assujetti à aucune expression, et avoir la liberté de faire des airs purement à sa fantaisie.... S'il falloit tomber dans des passions, il en vouloit de ces violentes, qui se font sentir à tout le monde. A moins que la passion ne fût extrême il ne s'en apercevoit pas. Les sentiments tendres et délicats lui échappoient. L'ennui, la tristesse, la langueur, avoient quelque chose de trop secret et de trop délicat pour lui. Il ne connoissoit la douleur que par les cris, l'affliction que par les larmes. Ce qu'il y a de douloureux et de plaintif ne lui étoit pas connu». (*Les Opéra, comédie*)

The scores bear this out only in a limited way. Certainly, they reveal a sense of distinction of styles between the gay, song-like scenes, and the buffo passages like those of the Dieu des Jardiniers and his equally unhappy rival, Faune, between affective moments such as Vertumne's monologue (*Pomone*, I, vii) or the lamentations of Apollon for his dead Climène (*Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour*, I, ii) and the straightforward style of his matter-of-fact counselor, Pan, the elegant but not pompous decorum of the prologues in praise of the King. Unhappily, we do not have the «Tombeau de Climène,» that passage from *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour* which Saint-Evremond singled out for particular praise.

As for the allegation that he was insensitive to the nuances of sentiment, he was neither the first nor the last musician to concern himself more with the general sense than with the particular words. Even Monsieur Verdi, as Pougin noted maliciously, attached more importance to the spirit of the drama than to the strict sense of the words. By the same token, «Cambert se pénétrait plus de l'ensemble du sujet qu'il avoit à traiter que du texte qu'il avoit à mettre en musique» (*Les Vrais Créateurs*, p. 180). Indeed, Lully himself «se plaisait plus dans la peinture des déchirements de l'âme et du soulèvement des passions que dans celle des sentiments tendres et délicats» (*Les Vrais Créateurs*, p. 274). Operatic style, of course, called for greater distinctions between contrasting emotions than did the chamber-oriented *air de cour* style. The operatic composer paints with a broader brush.

This is not to imply that Cambert and Lully approached the expression of the «passions» in the same way, for that was by no means the opinion of their contemporaries. We will return below to the final part of Saint-Evremond's criticism. First, though, let us consider the likelihood that the man of letters, who was himself neither poet nor musician, per-

ceived music—like many of his contemporaries—largely in terms of its extrinsic, intellectually accessible, expressive powers. Most writers agree that in some way music is a language, that it can communicate.<sup>85</sup> Such evidence as the fact that the same music may with equal facility grace a drinking song or a hymn of devotion leads to the conclusion that as a language it has the peculiar trait of expressing concepts only or primarily in an abstract or generalized way. The attempt to assign specific meanings to music when no indication exists beyond the music itself can be futile. For this reason, some writers have insisted that music *has no meaning* outside of itself, its own forms. While this is no doubt true in a strict sense, it is equally demonstrable that music can acquire conceptual significance. The addition of verbal indications, whether in a title or lyrics, directs and delimits the evocative force of the music. In ballet music, in music of a programmatic nature, in pieces to which the composer has appended some sort of verbal «background,» the attentive listener may hear sound structures which correspond to elements of the program.

Donald Ivey takes issue with those writers who insist that in song «music swallows the words,» that «when a composer puts a poem to music, he annihilates the poem and makes a song,» that the composer «destroys our appreciation of the poem as poetry.» He argues that «in actuality, the song is neither one nor the other, but a true hybrid in which both art forms relinquish some, but not all, of their individual characteristics» (*Song*, pp. 94-95). And again: «In song, when the words evoke an emotionally oriented image, the expressive potential has been fully realized» (*Song*, p. 97).

The period with which we are concerned has posed special difficulties for the critic because the goals of poetry and music were conceived then somewhat differently from the way they have been understood since the Romantic movement. Much has been written on the non-emotional, intellectual character of Baroque art and on the willingness, even eagerness, of Baroque artists to draw upon a catalogue of established means of expression. Like those working in the other arts, musicians elaborated a complex rhetoric; by the eighteenth century it had been rigidly systematized.<sup>86</sup> Central to that system was the doctrine known as the *Affekten-*

85 The subject is of course fundamental to musical aesthetics. The principles most germane to the lyric union are summarized with lucidity by Donald Ivey in *Song, Anatomy, Imagery, and Styles*, New York, The Free Press, 1970, Chapter Five, «The Image-Vehicle of Musico-Poetic Expression,» pp. 90-101.

86 «Le terme de rhétorique n'a évidemment ici rien de péjoratif,» explains Snyders, *Le Goût musical*, p. 25; «il s'agit, comme pour la parole, de classer les différentes catégories de sujets susceptibles d'être exprimés en musique, et pour chacun d'étudier quelles ressources musicales, quelles 'figures' de musique il convient d'employer.» I have previously cited the recent bibliography compiled by George J. Buelow, «Music, Rhetoric, and the Concept of the Affections,» as well as the still important study of Unger. An article by Hans Lenneberg, «Johann Mattheson on Affect and Rhetoric in Music,» *Journal of Music Theory* II (1959), pp. 47-84 & 193-236, contains an extensive translation into English from *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739). Elsewhere, Buelow states: «The humanist basis of

*lehre*, according to which specific modes, specific melodic and rhythmic formulæ were understood to convey certain emotions to the listener. But, as Buelow points out in «The 'Loci Topici'» (p. 162), «the concept of affect is not an invention of the Baroque musician, but evolves directly from the application of the word and idea in every classical manual on rhetoric.» It would be an error to conclude that this attempt to codify, and so control, the musical means of achieving emotional impact denied or diminished the emotional power of music, when like its model, the orator's rhetoric, the art itself is the study of how to move the listener.<sup>87</sup> Just as men preferred formal gardens, carefully shaped and planted trees, to the essentially irrational disorder of free nature, so they undertook to bring the visceral and sensory under the direction of the rational faculties.

Mattheson, author of the treatise, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739), distinguished what he called *locus notationis*, the purely musical element, from *locus descriptionis*, the musical ability to «depict extra-musical ideas through allegorical and metaphorical means.» For him, the latter sort—Bukofzer quotes him and analyzes his position in his article «Allegory in Baroque Music,» p. 6—was «die sicherste und wesentlichste Handleitung zur Invention.» The passions must be «described» or

education, aspiring to teach every student the art of rhetorical eloquence penetrated musical thought for centuries. As early as the first decades of the sixteenth century, Italian musicians sought a closer tie between rhetoric and music» («The 'Loci Topici' and Affect in Late Baroque: Heinechen's Practical Demonstration,» *Musical Review* XXVII [1966], p. 161). Another useful discussion, though it focuses on a later period, is Alan Lessem's «Imitation and Expression: Opposing French and British Views in the 18th Century,» *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XXVII:2 (Summer, 1974), pp. 325-330. The author points out that the French continued to believe in the necessity of text to make music expressive; in music only song can imitate the movements of the soul, only vocal music could tell the listener *what* was moving him.

87 «The doctrine of the affects and its sister doctrine of musical rhetoric,» wrote Lenneberg, were not empty theories, but practical guides to composers, meant to show them «how the emotions can be expressed in music so that they arouse corresponding emotions in the listener» («Johann Mattheson on Affect,» p. 47). The idea goes back to Plato and Ptolemy, but late Baroque writers base their arguments on Descartes' *Traité des Passions de l'Âme* (1649). That work had as yet exerted but little influence when Cambert composed his operatic scores. According to Bukofzer, «the innovation of the recitative especially gave theorists ample occasion to observe the parallelism between music and speech.» By the mid-seventeenth century, «Bernard could already state that 'because of the multitude of figures music nowadays has risen to such height that it may well be likened to a rhetorica'» (*Music in the Baroque Era*, p. 388). Tracing the development back even further, Worsthorpe *Venetian Opera*, p. 138) writes, borrowing from Pirro (*L'Esthétique de J.-S. Bach*, 1907, pp. 18-21), «Descartes, Mersenne, and Banius testify in their writings to the importance of music used almost as a rhetorical device for explaining and elaborating words and states of minds.» The oratorical impulse dominates, according to Friedrich Blume, *Renaissance and Baroque Music*, New York, 1967, p. 105: «the pathos of the new affective style rests not upon free and arbitrary expression but on the 'right' application of artistic rules.»

«depicted» rather than evoked or stimulated, as they are by purely musical means. To find a way to make the listener *think* of an emotion is preferable to finding a way to make him experience it. There were men, such as I believe Saint-Evremond was, who found no pleasure in music unless they could intellectually grasp its meaning. In an article, «On the Problem of Expression in Baroque Music,» Glen Haydon adopted Mattheson's formulation while applying to it a more manageable modern terminology. His distinction between intrinsic expression (*locus notationis*) and extrinsic (*locus descriptionis*) has the advantage of corresponding to thought patterns of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.<sup>88</sup>

Specifically, then, what extrinsic means did music use? By and large, the same kinds of associative stimulus which it always has at its disposal. The composer may quote from another piece of music (Puccini's Sharpless enters to the strains of the «Star Spangled Banner»); he may use music which has specific associations: military music, hunting music; Lully counterfeited the Italian style, which he opposed to the French in his «Dialogue de la Musique Française et la Musica Italiana,» *Ballet de la Raillerie*. There is music that explicitly imitates sounds from the world, horn calls, the cuckoo, anvils the clatter of war. Lully has a chorus of shiverers in *Isis* (1677). A peculiar manifestation of this kind of association is the so-called *Augenmusik*, which is designed to represent its meaning on the printed page. Then there is the sort of music which describes visual, spatial, temporal events: a Renaissance composer setting the words *descendit de caelis* fills his score with descending scale passages. He may be concerned for the visual impression, of course, but essentially he is making the intellectual association: descent—high notes to low notes. Bach sets the words «dem Tod» in Cantata N° 4 to a bass fall of a (diminished) twelfth. This is the specifically allegorical kind of musical meaning, in which the composer through analogy seeks to reinforce some extra-musical idea. The practice is doubtless as old as music; it was common throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In the Baroque era, it was systematized. It is a constant in Lully's operas: the word *volez* never fails to elicit an ascending run; *ris* calls for a brief trill; *enchaîner* is woven into a winding line; *sans cesse*, a long, sustained one; *hâtez* wants several voices in overlapping, breathless entries.

88 G. Haydon, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. III (1950), pp. 113-119. His conclusion: «So far as intrinsic expression is concerned, Baroque music is as much a language of emotion as is the music of any period.... So far as extrinsic expression is concerned, the means for the expression are not psychologically different» (p. 119) If I exceed the limits of his argument, it is in a way not inconsistent, I believe, with the position taken by Donald Ivey. Haydon's point is well taken; it does not, however, invalidate the discussion of the intellectualizing side of the art in Manfred Bukofzer's article «Allegory in Baroque Music,» *Journal of the Warburg Institute* III (1939), pp. 1-21.

There is a kind of literal-mindedness in the application of the principle of musical analogies which sets in with Lully. Overall concern for mood yielded to a slavish application of specific figures to specific words of the text.<sup>89</sup> Lully's much-vaunted «natural» declamation was in fact patterned on a highly stylized, artificial tradition of theatrical declamation. Much the same may be said of the means of expression he called upon. As the first important exponent in French music of that intellectualism which permeates the Late Baroque, he deployed a panoply of rhetorical devices whose purpose was not so much to convey or underline the general sense, the mood of the texts he set, as to provide illustration for specific words. That he chose this approach is indicated by the fact that he could, when he wanted, easily adopt the highly emotive Italian style. He did so, for instance, in the Italian air «Deh, piangete,» in *Psyché*. The preference for allegorical expression, as La Laurencie remarked, shows up everywhere in his music (*Lully*, pp. 176 ff). Cambert uses it only to a limited extent: syncopes on *chaînes de roses* (Ex. 7a, *vide* p. 194); sighs (Ex. 7b, *vide* p. 195). The first might be considered a non-specific rhetorical device; the second, an example of a *locus descriptionis*. By all indications, it was this sort of musical expression which most pleased Saint-Evremond.

The second approach, often considered that of the Romantics who reacted against the excessive intellectualism of the Late-Baroque-Classical attitude, is the «intrinsic,» that implied—and rejected—in Mattheson's term *locus notationis*. It considers music in itself capable of expressing its meaning without reference to extra-musical elements. Music which is joined to words already has extra-musical support; for that very reason, it should need no other extrinsic aids.<sup>90</sup> It has its own power to express, which the words make specific. Clearly, it will appear that Cambert subscribed to this approach rather than to that which called for great development of the extrinsic ideas of the text.

89 Bacilly deploras a situation «so ridiculous that the critics would have you believe that an air is defective if the composer has neglected to use high notes for the words in the text which indicate elevated objects.... or low notes on such words as Earth, Sea, Fountain, Valleys, etc. There are others who maintain that an air is not well related to its text if it doesn't express the sense of each particular word and who also contend that there are certain notes in music which are precisely effective for the expression of certain ideas such as sharpened notes and the use of flats for tender and passionate expressions» (*L'Art de bien chanter*, p. 121; ed. Caswell, p. 54). Among the conventional devices, an octave leap might indicate surprise, determination; an ascending minor sixth, affliction, despair; an ascending fifth, authority, power, decision; a descending sixth, indignation, resignation. The more delicate emotions: sadness, melancholy, amorous *languueur*—those «passions» or Affects most favoured by the French—called for smaller intervals, chromatic alterations. At moments of increased psychological tension, the voice rose; with feelings of depression, weakness, the line descended. Exaltation called for rapidly repeated notes. Perfect cadences were appropriate for sentences which expressed complete and decisive thought; suspensive cadences, for moments of uncertainty or upset, fluctuations of thought.

90 We have seen that French theorists refused for many years to grant

## Example 6

*Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour, Act I, Scene i*

Je croyois que la mort de ma ri - val heu - reu -

- se, Fi-ni roit ma peine a - mou-reu - se.

## Example 7a

*Pomone, Act I, Scene i*

*Venilie*

Les chais - nes d'a-mour. Sont chais - nes de ro -

ses, Les chaisnes d'a - mour sont chais - nes de ro -

ses, Les chais-nes d'a-mour sont chais-nes de ro - ses. Les

*Juturne*

Les chais - nes d'a-mour sont chais- nes de ro - ses. Les

Example 7b  
*Pomone, Act I, Scene i*

*Beroé*

Com-bien il cau - - se de sou-pirs, -

## Expression

We have mentioned the means by which he distinguishes characters; when the moment is serious or intense, he is capable of finding the musical equivalent of the mood. Yet the line between the two approaches can be fine. When he places a melisma on the word «doux» in the prologue to *Pomone*, vide Example 8 p. 197, we may discern an extension of the descriptive use of music, although the word refers to a moral quality rather than a physical one. The suavity of the melodic turn corresponds to that implied in the word. That function is still present, but less clearly marked, when he gives the words «des bergers et des amours» a brief melismatic treatment (Ex. 9, vide p. 198), in keeping with the pastoral character of the work. Characteristically, the run falls only in the proximity of the key words.

Certain intervals came to be thought expressive of particular emotions in the rhetorical canons which were elaborated in the following decades. Whether Cambert subscribed to these incipient conventions is doubtful. Of a certainty, he did use particular intervals to expressive advantage. To translate suffering or anguish, he often called upon the pull of the lower half-step (raised leading tone cadence formula). In a *récit* from *Pomone*, he set the words «peine et douleur» to the sharp drop of a fifth followed by a wailing undulation on the leading tone (Ex. 10, vide p. 198). Scene ii opens with the disapproving cry of Flore, which descends a D-minor scale to the fifth after a slow dip to the C-sharp. The line continues to descend in order to jump up a minor sixth on «empire,» then continue to climb, through a B-natural for the key words «ce dieu puissant,» and «vertu,» to settle briefly, finally, on a medial A (major—the dominant), for «tout ce qui respire» (Ex. 11, vide p. 198). In the tongue-in-cheek tone of the entertainment provided by the followers of the Dieu des Jardiniers, the Premier Jardinier praises «sa folie,» with an expressive drop of a minor sixth on the words «noire mélancolie» (Ex. 12, vide p. 200).

music without words expressive power; however indefensible the position may seem to us, it did not lack the support of respected authority. Isherwood quotes Ficino's theories of music, from his commentaries on the *Symposium* and those in the *De Triplica Vita*:

«And because music also has a text, it shares with *spiritus* the power of carrying thoughts to the rational soul. But whereas music impresses only the sensible part of the soul, as the *spiritus* merely carries sensation and imagination, the text influences the rational soul. Thus, music, working through air and transmitting intellectual content through a text, affects the superior sense of hearing, as the *spiritus*, itself a rarified and subtle air, carries the material derived from the senses, especially hearing, to the rational faculties of the soul».

(*Music in the Service of the King*, pp. 19-20; from D. P. Walker's article, «Ficino's 'Spiritus' and Music,» *Annales musicales* I (1953), pp. 131-132).

Example 8  
*Pomone*, Prologue

Example 9  
*Pomone*, Prologue

Example 10  
*Pomone, Act I, Scene i*

Qui croit ce ca-jo-leur — N'a que peine — & — dou leur. —

Example 11  
*Pomone, Act I, Scene ii*

Ah! ma Soeur, à quoy pen - -ses-tu, — Veux tu ban-

mir de ton — em - pi - re Ce Dieu puis-sant dont la ver-tu —

— A ni - me tout ce qui re-spi - re, — Et dont

After the light-hearted banter and the grotesque farce that occupied most of the first act, the first relatively serious moment comes in the final scene with the appearance of the only worthy pretender to Pomone's hand, Vertumne. His A-minor meditation opens with a plaintive fall (*sol-re*), and illustrates the way French *recit* moves through the chord. Unlike most of the lines previously quoted, this one is strictly syllabic and slow-moving, which suggests that this passage in particular called for extensive embroidery by the performer. The shift to D-minor produces a striking sharpening (of the previously minor A chord) to the question *Que ferons nous, mon cœur, en des peines si dures?* The cry of despair which follows drops a diminished fifth, the once-forbidden tritone, while the meter vacillates between ternary and binary before launching into a rapid and resolute triple-time drive to C-major as the God decides to pursue his amorous designs through further metamorphoses.

The second of Cambert's surviving operatic scores uses fewer patently allegorical devices, but otherwise the same approach to expression. There are indications that the composer was willing to leave embellishment to the performers. The key line of the prologue is presented first in a simple form, then in a slightly more florid form in descending sequence (Ex. 13, *vide p. 200*). Both no doubt want more coloration. At the opening of the first scene of Act I, Astérie answers the straightforward *recit* question of the Bergère in a languid and potentially highly elaborate phrase (Ex. 14, *vide p. 200*). (We note that here the composer adopts the device of moving away from the cadential note as a way of heightening the effect, although Perrin decries motion at the conclusion of the recitative line as inimical to the French language). On the line «Est-il quelque supplice égal à mon tourment» (Ex. 15, *vide p. 202*) a sharp harmonic shift from the A-major chord through a B-flat seventh to E-flat underlies a leaping line which passes through the unusual distance of a ninth. The following line carries the harmonic movement through to C-major. The climax of the scene arrives a moment later, as the maid's anguished cry of «Hélas!» moves in a tortured rhythm above a chromatically descending bass line with several suspensions and a delayed cadence (Ex. 16, *vide p. 202*). If Astérie suffers the rage and disdain of Apollon, that god despairs over the loss of his beloved. His lamentations open with the outline of a C-minor triad, broken by sighing rests (Ex. 17, *vide p. 203*). The scene then builds, in a conversation between him and Pan, to two further outbursts, both of which leave time for extended embellishments. These examples indicate the variety and the character of the means Cambert employed for the expression of emotion. They should suffice to show that Saint-Evremond's denial of his expressive powers was based on too rigid a conception of what was proper.

The foregoing remarks are meant to show that there is danger in accepting without qualification the principle of perfect correspondence between textual and musical values. In the first place, such a goal is unattainable. In the second, it is undesirable. Now, does the desire to give clear expression to the words of a sung text necessarily entail slavish conformity to the contours of a spoken phrase? Lully's attempt to achieve

Example 12  
Pomone, Act I, Scene ii

La plus noi - re me-lancho-li - - e?

Example 13  
Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour, Prologue

LOUIS est la plus grand des Roys. LOUIS LOU-

IS est le plus grand des Roys.

Example 14  
Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour, Act I, Scene i

Bergere

A quoy pense As - te - rie au bord de la fon-tai - ne

Qui gros-sit de ses pleurs?  
Je pen - se à

mes mal-heurs J'ay fait mourir. Eli - me - ne;

Ma ja - lou - se fu - reur & mon a - veugle a -

mour Luy ra - vis - sent le jour.

## Example 15

*Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour, Act I, Scene i*

-mour est-il quelque sup - plice e - gal à \_\_\_\_\_ mon Tour-

ment? O! rage, o! de - ses - poir,

## Example 16

*Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour, Act I, Scene i*

He - - - las? He - - - las!

## Example 17

*Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour, Act I, Scene ii*

Apollon

Ah! Cli-me - ne, Ah! Cli-me - ne,

that end, his cautious imitation of the declamatory practices of Racine's actresses, marks the emergence of a new kind of music. It does not invalidate the preceding style. In the troubled and disoriented period before Lully's reforms, artists may have sensed conflict between a desire to maintain the singer's art as it was understood—that is, a Baroque art of melodic ornamentation and rhythmic flexibility—and the necessity of communicating emotions while giving clear expression to the necessary textual information. They sought to resolve that conflict not, like Lully, by cutting, but instead by attempting a delicate compromise between the two goals, a compromise in which the very cause of the difficulty could be made to serve in its resolution.

It is to this moment between the clearly Baroque flavour of the music of the earlier part of the century and the final resurgence of that unruly system beneath a calm classical surface that we should ascribe their work. Comparison of their compositions to those of Lully on stylistic grounds, or on the basis of expressivity, is unsatisfactory because the naturalized Frenchman who gave the country its classical music created a style which is more fully realized in score than that of his predecessors. His music depends to a much lesser degree on the creative collaboration of the performer. In comparison, the other, earlier pieces can seem simplistic, lacking in structure and expression, and even incompetent. When the performers possessed the skill to bring the text to life through expressive modification of the written melody, when through the use of appropriate ornaments and pathetic devices the performing artist pulled his share of the collaborative load, then the union of text and music could approach that sacred character envisioned by the idealistic humanists of the Renaissance.

#### *Point Three: Length of Operas*

g) French audiences found Italian operas interminable. When Cavalli's *Egisto* was sung at the Palais-Royal on Mardi gras, 13th February 1646, M<sup>me</sup> de Motteville was doubtless not the only spectator who thought she would «die of boredom and cold».<sup>91</sup> The inclusion of French ballet inter-

91 *Mémoires de M<sup>me</sup> de Motteville*, t. I, Chapter XII, in Christout, *Le Ballet de cour*, p. 48, and La Laurencie, *Le Goût musical*, p. 125. This first opera performed in France had not even the redeeming grace of spectacular sets; it was followed shortly by Rossi's *Orfeo*, which did have them, but lasted more than six hours.

One Italian writer's suggestion that libretti should not exceed 700 verses was not always followed. Earliest operas often have that many, but, as Rolandi indicated, «in generale il più ampio sviluppo dato al melodramma, specialmente dal Monteverdi, fece piuttosto aumentare il numero dei versi» (*Il Libretto per musica*, p. 45).

ludes between acts made the Italian operas even longer, if somewhat more bearable. In the spoken theatre, a tragedy and a comedy could be presented on the same bill and still last no more than three hours. The average length of a French verse tragedy is some 1700 to 1900 lines; Hamlet's players could learn them overnight. Quinault's *tragédies en musique* run to about half that length to allow for the time taken up by the *symphonies*, or orchestral interludes, the repetition of words and lines in solos, and of complete speeches by the chorus. For, if solo singers rarely repeated themselves, the chorus, for the sake of clarity, never enunciated a new idea but always parroted someone else's words. Obviously, even under Lully, a French opera was several hours shorter than an Italian one. Perrin's *Pastorale* contained «scarcely more than one hundred-fifty lines,» and lasted «cinq gros quarts d'heure». Compared to Cambert's *Muette ingrate* which had lasted three quarters of an hour «without tiring the audience,» the new work was a lengthy production. Yet compared to normal dramatic playing time, these restrictions indicate the extent to which their creators (rightly) thought of these works as primarily musical. By 1671, Perrin had softened his strictures; the first act of *Pomone* is nearly as long as the entire *Pastorale*. The complete text contains some six hundred lines, and thus falls only a few dozen lines short of the definitive length which French classical opera was to settle upon.

#### *Point Four: Length of Solos*

h) Closely related to the preceding, points four and five both elaborate a fundamental idea: the desirability of rapid change of texture, of constant variety. The French, it used to be said, excel at epigram and point. The greatest social sin in French society under the *ancien régime* was slowness of wit. Ponderous thought, however profound, was anathema; it quickly won the onerous label of pedantry. The ideal of the *honnête homme* demanded the ability to converse wittily and spontaneously, without visible erudition, on any subject that came up. Not surprisingly, then, in the arts, people sought the same traits, the same rapid flitting from one idea to another.

As the times grew more conservative, as a spirit of absolutism settled upon turbulent France, many of the more exaggerated manifestations of this attitude disappeared. But the principle held fast, although in mitigated form. The author of the *Pastorale* condemns the musical as well as the poetical excesses of Italian lyric theatre. If the extreme shifts in mood of Italian song offended French sensibilities, with the result that a single voice could not maintain the interest of the listener over an extended period, then the solution was to take care that no single voice or combination of voices held the floor for more than a few lines at a time. In compensation, no doubt, for the reduced scope of expression, the refusal of the strongest passions, and the requisite uniformity of tone, the new genre adopted the rapid-fire shifting of focus best illustrated in the kaleidoscope of subjects, scenes, and costumes that was *ballet de cour*.

*Point Five: Variety and Contrast*

i) Striving for rapid movement and variety in his experimental *Pastorale*, Perrin produced a skeletal text, an exercise book in moods and vocal combinations. The two works written immediately afterwards are decidedly more ample and call into play many visual elements. By the time of *Pomone*, he had decided that an opera might last as long as a spoken play, provided the poet and the composer kept things moving. In that *livret* he allowed himself to flesh-out the structural bones with secondary scenes, characters, and events, ballet sequences, *merveilleux*, and other scenic effects. Moreover, one of the most striking aspects of the portions of score which remain for *Pomone* and its successor, Gilbert's *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour*, is the rapid shifting of ensembles. This constant variation of vocal combinations produces an agreeable effect. Lully was to follow suit in this broader way, as well as within individual numbers, where declamatory and arioso style alternate rapidly, in contradistinction to the emerging Italian practice of clearly separating aria from recitative.

In the Académie's inaugural production, the first scene of act I alternates solos with duets and trios, as the three carefree maidens sing of their disdain for love. The third and fourth scenes create a striking contrast as the two buffo basses discuss their amorous projects, accompanied by the three grotesque gardeners who alternate solo and homophonic passages, with instrumental pauses for the comical dance of the cowherds. The female voices are brought back in as the two clowns are crowned in mock respect. Then the two basses and the trio are heard again. After this, a short, stately ritornello suffices to change the mood for the plaintive song of the tenor which closes the act. In both operatic scores, the composer easily passes from one style to another, even in the declamatory measures, and the passage avoids the structural formalism of strophic repetition; the entire act is through-composed. Thus, while a large portion of it is in the low comedy style, it contains much variety and offers rapidly shifting moods which maintain audience interest. Patterns of recurring melody were not excluded, of course. The song of the gardeners in praise of their master, a gay, dance-inspired tune, is sung several times, in the manner of the refrain to the popular sort of song it imitates. Such brief snatches of free melodic writing slow the forward movement of the action very little. Or song may occur in the entertainment scenes—as frequent in Lully's operas as in these—when the characters themselves stop to enjoy a performance.

In the prologue to *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour*, there is another interesting device. After the opening scene—a dialogue between Vénus and La Renommée, suggesting that *LOUIS* had won victories equally over nations and hearts—a four-part chorus sings the words:

Charmés de sa valeur, nous venons dans ces lieux  
Pour divertir en paix ce Roi Victorieux.

Accompanied by the dances of representatives of «the four Nations,» (Africans, Moors, Gypsies, and Spaniards), this scene alternates choral sections successively with a bass solo, a duet of sopranos, and a trio for contralto, tenor, and bass, singing the same words each time, but varying the melodic materials. The one structural pattern French opera eschewed from the very start was static separation between *recitativo secco* and aria, the formula toward which Neapolitan and Venetian opera tended ever more strongly.

*Point Six: Foreign Languages*

j) French audiences seem to have a deep-seated need for intellectual—specifically verbal hooks upon which to hang their musical appreciation. The educated or noble Frenchman was, and to a high degree still is, verbally oriented; he thrives on rhetoric to a degree often startling to the English speaker. It then goes without saying that «the greater part of the pleasure of the play» in spoken tragedy or comedy derived from the verbal skill of the poet. Besides, part of the appeal of *ballet de cour*, particularly in the form it took in the revival it enjoyed under the youthful Louis XIV, depended upon the skill with which a Benserade wove into its fabric, among the visual pleasures of the dance and the aural pleasures of the music, polychrome threads of verbal wit, skillfully blending mythology and gossip, paradox and *double entendre*. All this made *ballet de cour* a distinctly French art form. It developed the paradox that ballet, which boasted (through the pens of several theorists) of imitating nature without recourse to words, in fact made extensive use of verbal materials and kept the wits variously occupied, along with the eyes and ears.

The question whether opera should be played in the language which the composer set, or translated—with more or less satisfactory results—into the language of the audience, has, as the Letter indicates, been around almost as long as the genre itself. Printed *livrets*, sold or distributed (according to the occasion) at performances of Italian operas performed in Paris, provided verse translations of the texts. A glance at the two versions in any *livret* immediately reveals some basic differences between the Italian and the French conceptions of lyrics. The short, unrhymed Italian lines march down the page in a column; their expression is simple, concrete, and, except for free use of metaphor, straightforward. The French version, on the other hand, all elegant flourish, uses lines of varying length, constant rhyme, abstract or general expression, and few metaphors.

The passionate desire of French audiences to understand the words of whatever theatrical presentation they might encounter has perhaps never been more forcefully characterized than by the xenophobic Castil-Blaze. In his *Théâtres Lyriques de Paris*, tome I, of 1855, he recounted that following the success of the little *Pastorale*, the French public had found the Cavalli operas *Ercole amante* (1661) and *Serse* (1660) unappealing:

«... They had acquired a taste for French lyrics, national pride got mixed in, and the work of Cambert the organist, a work which so few people had heard, which others admired on the basis of hearsay, was generally preferred».

«Thus we see the French turn their backs on Italian music, the true, the only theatrical music of that period, from the moment when the rhymers Perrin gives them versicles in French strung-out conveniently upon a cathedral plainsong.<sup>92</sup> They can hear, they can understand the words, the Lord be praised! The game is saved; whatever psalmody it may please you to associate with these dear versicles, believe me, our ancestors will be at the heights of rapture: they understand the words! ...».

«Yes, the Frenchman, from the very first, let himself be taken in in the most disastrous fashion. When he was offered vocal music, he pounced upon the words, ignoring the melody. .... *The words are nothing and should be nothing in an opera.* .... One of the arts must necessarily be the slave, the victim of the other. If the music crushes the words in lyric drama, in its turn it cowers at the foot of the table in ballet, where the dance is the principal, the essential object which should hold our attention».

«A strongly plotted drama, clearly presented; contrasts brought about with skill; action, movement everywhere; no tirades (*récits*), though they be by Thérémène himself;<sup>93</sup> well placed cavatinas, duos, trios, divided, structured with wit, well designed finales—this is what the musician needs. .... These conditions fulfilled, you need have no care whatsoever for the style of your libretto. The words with which you garnish it will be nothing more than markers destined to indicate, to light the road which the composer of the music will follow. Rhyme your versicles or not, it matters little; express banalities, even foolishness, we care not, but take care to give them cadence, to establish a beat with the mathematical exactitude of the metronome; make real verses, not rhymed prose».<sup>94</sup>

I have permitted myself this extensive quotation because it offers a full program for opera as conceived by one nineteenth-century writer, a program which bears more resemblance than the author himself realized to Perrin's conception of the genre, particularly as concerns the rôle of the text. It is true that Castil-Blaze has no good will to spare for either Perrin with his «versicles» or Cambert «the organist». And it is equally true that he differs with Perrin on a central point when he calls for strongly plotted drama. (His insistence that the lines «establish a beat» one of his *idées fixes*, as well as the disdain he shows for rhyme, are discussed in the commentary on the Foreword.)

92 This is manifestly unfair to Cambert.

93 In the closing act of Racine's *Phèdre* (1677), the tutor Thérémène utters one of the most famous and longest *récits* in French classical theatre, telling of the death of Hippolyte.

94 *Théâtres lyriques de Paris*, t. I, *L'Académie Impériale de Musique*, Castil-Blaze, Paris, 1855, pp. 22-23.

Aside from this capital difference, however, the final remarks quoted above seem to pass over the rhymed prose of Quinault in favour of something very much like the kind of poetry Perrin used. Both Perrin and Castil-Blaze are prepared to neglect all else, even the meaning of the words, in order to obtain harmonious, cadenced, truly lyric lyrics. Under Quinault and Lully, the genre was to take a different tack. As Castil-Blaze insists, the French simply were not willing to sacrifice the pleasures of the spirit, the verbal stimulation to which their theatre and their society had attuned them. They demanded clarity of structure even in operatic libretti, and they demanded also that the words be given more weight than was the case across the Alps in «the true, the only theatrical music of that period».

*Point Seven: Mannerist Poetry*

k) Even for those who understood the Italian tongue, Perrin insisted, disappointment was in store. There were marked differences between the poetic tastes of the two nations, to such an extent that even a person as profoundly influenced as he by the fantasy and license in certain forms of entertainment popular at the time of the Fronde could take the Italian lyric style to task for its manneristic character, its «*marinismo*».<sup>95</sup> Since the changes which were taking place in the French conception of acceptable lyric style are discussed at length in the section on the Foreword, we need note here only that by 1660 the excesses and self-conscious refinements, the private vocabulary and stilted paraphrase with which precious ladies and their poets had sought to distinguish themselves from those less «civilized» had been made a mockery by the razor-edged satire of Molière's *Précieuses ridicules*, and a free-wheeling era was coming to an end. While poetic diction had developed and was to maintain a uniformly

95 Bénigne de Bacilly, (*Remarques curieuses*, p. 94; tr. Caswell, p. 43) cites as an example of the sort of metaphor no longer acceptable in French poetry the lines from an Italian song: *Sù la sede / Di mia fede / Sempiterna regnera*.

Jean Rousset (*La Littérature de l'âge baroque*, p. 188) quotes Urbain Chevreau, «a sort of convert» to the neo-classical spirit, and one-time disciple of Marino: «I have long since renounced my love for these sorts of extravagances and for expressions which come from a debauched imagination. [...] Would you want to call birds:

De l'océan de l'air les poissons emplumez  
*Penuti pesci dell' aerea mare*  
[Plumèd fish of the airy sea],

Musiciens des bois et poètes ailez  
*Poeti alati e musici selvaggi*  
[Wingèd poets and sylvan musicians.]

or the nightingale the Siren of the Woods? ... These sorts of visions no longer tempt me». And he notes Longinus' sobering effect on poetic theory.

high tone which kept it at some remove from ordinary speech, the critical efforts of Richelieu's Académie Française (founded in 1635) and other social and artistic forces had eliminated from this still highly artificial diction all those elements which threatened to shock or surprise, all that smacked too patently of desire to distinguish oneself. Like the ideal courtier, the ideal poet concealed the true distinction of his work under a cloak of perfect decorum.

*Point Eight: Faulty Acoustics*

l) Choice of the vast halls in which Italian operas were performed in France had less to do with æsthetics than with the practical problems of finding a stage capable of accommodating Torelli's sumptuous machines and of providing seating—or standing—space for the throngs who squeezed, fought, and bribed their way into the theatre at every performance. Luigi Rossi's *Orfeo* of 1647 had been produced in the Palais-Royal theatre built by Le Mercier for Cardinal Richelieu; the production had necessitated a number of alterations: enlarging the stage, providing fly-space, and opening walls for the sets. *Le Nozze di Peleo et di Theti* of 1654 (book by the Abbé Buti, music by Carlo Caproli, and sets again by Torelli) was performed in the much more commodious Petit Bourbon theatre situated off the eastern end of the Louvre. These works Perrin could have seen in Paris.<sup>96</sup> Naturally, the larger the theatre, the more difficult it became for the audience to hear the words. As a result, particularly since the productions were in a foreign language, the spectacle swamped the text.

For the arrival of Cavalli in France, and doubtless in anticipation of seeing many more sumptuous operatic productions in the capital, Cardinal Mazarin undertook the construction of a great new theatre uniting the north pavilion of the Louvre with the Tuileries. Shunting aside the once adulated creator of earlier marvels, he brought to Paris Torelli's arch-rival, the seventy-one year old Gasparo Vigarani and his two sons Carlo and Lodovico. When the building could not be completed in time to welcome the new queen, Marie-Thérèse of Austria, a portable stage was installed in a gallery of the Louvre for the presentation of Cavalli's *Serse* (1660). In such a setting, could the text of Nicolò Minato, whatever its value, be heard? It is doubtful. No wonder, then, that Loret, rhyming author of the *Gazette*, confines his lavish praises to the French ballets (music by Lully) which, in the absence of set changes which might have helped keep interest alive, attempted to make the eight-hour ordeal endurable. Cardinal Mazarin was to die before the completion of the Tuileries theatre. Had he lived, he would once again doubtless have had to contend with the surge of unpopularity which always resulted from the expenditure of immense sums of money from the treasury for unsuccessful projects. With its

<sup>96</sup> There were also the spectacular plays, *La Finta pazza* (1645) and *La Rosaure* (1658) at the Petit Bourbon. On these productions, see Christout, *Ballet de cour*, pp. 88-89.

unusually large dimensions and its unreasonably elaborate machinery (the final apotheosis scene of one opera involved the entire royal family's being swept to heaven in a basket), the new theatre had abominable acoustics, and remained for many years to come a white elephant.

Perrin had conceived his *Pastorale* as a sort of chamber opera entirely appropriate to a small hall. The style of singing it called for depended on subtle embellishment and used singers trained in the nuances of lute song (*air de cour*) rather than the straightforward skill of projecting to fill a large hall with sound—*bel canto* rather than «can belto». By the time of *Pomone*, the creators of French opera had come to accept the necessity of playing to rather sizable audiences in large halls. The first productions of the Académie de Musique were staged in a «tennis court,» the *jeu de paume de la Bouteille*, on the rue des Fossées de Nesle not far from the Luxembourg palace.<sup>97</sup> This sort of hall, long and narrow, with rows of boxes along both sides, offered a desirable compromise in seating capacity and acoustic features.

By the time of Ragueneau and La Viéville, French singers had earned the reputation of opening their mouths more than the Italians, of swallowing fewer syllables. This situation, the result to some extent of the French insistence upon understanding the text, had no doubt been brought about during Lully's despotic rule over French vocal music. Still, Perrin's and Bacilly's statements concerning syllable length and pronunciation provide sufficient evidence that others had taken up the banner of clarity before Lully came to power.

*Point Nine: Castrati*

m) Ragueneau returned from Italy full of praises for the castrati. They were the finest actors, had the best breath control, the strongest lungs, and the sweetest voices of any singers. But the French sense of verisimilitude never got over the shock of knowing that the person playing the lover—or worse, a beautiful woman—was in fact an unmanned man, an «*incommodé*» in the euphemistic expression of M<sup>me</sup> de Longueville.<sup>98</sup> It is indicative of the extent to which France reacted against the theatrical excesses of an earlier time that by 1659 Perrin could claim as dramatic necessity that actors and actresses be theoretically capable of living the rôles they played. Among the true theatrical artists of the time, similar restrictions did not imply a rejection of the principle of dramatic illusion, but only its internalization. If the illusion was to be effective, it must be patently artificial. Audiences readily accepted certain kinds of artificiality (such as the machinery clouds) but came to dislike the awareness of falsity

<sup>97</sup> This theatre, across from the rue Guénégaud, was to become the first home of the Comédie-Française when the King decreed the merger of the three French companies in Paris following Lully's appropriation of the theatre which Molière and his associates had recently spent large sums of money to renovate and adapt to the use of machines (for *Psyché*, 1672).

<sup>98</sup> Gérold, *L'Art du chant*, p. 124. The famous «*incommodé*» was Bertaut.

where «real human beings» were concerned. As a modern parallel, perhaps, there are people who would find it difficult to sit through a badly overacted Buck Rogers or Superman episode, but watch with pleasure the television soap operas where, in fact, the characters are little more «true-to-life» than those in the science-fiction serial.

Molière's use of the play-within-a-play device, his frequent appearance as an actor playing an actor named Molière, are a far cry from the multiple-layered effect created by Corneille in *L'Illusion comique* (1636).<sup>99</sup> More striking yet, Racine's characters constantly allow themselves to be fooled by the politic lies of others. Illusion has passed from the world of art to the real world; all settings are false, what matters is that the tone be natural. Perrin seems to have had little sense of what drama is all about, or at least not to have shared Molière's understanding of the relation between the world of play and the world of reality, or Racine's penetrating grasp of human capacity for self-deception. He did, on the other hand, have some sense of theatre which pleases the senses and entertains, without perhaps touching the heart or involving the spectator in a vicarious imbroglio—in short, the kind of entertainment he knew in court ballet. When it came to the dramatic illusion of men and women in a stage setting, he wanted not theatrical illusion but distorted, disguised reality.

#### *Lyric Principles*

n) The paragraph makes it clear that the author's primary interest lay in his method of handling the lyrics rather than in larger or more general aspects of lyric dramaturgy. It reveals his overweening concern with rhythm, rhyme, careful placing of rhetorical figures, natural (as opposed to exaggerated or patently artificial) expression of the passions, sweetness (*douceur*, a vaguely defined term which might today correspond to, gentle, or, gentleness, as used in popular songs and by ad-men), and majesty of poetic vocabulary and phrase. Decorum reigns, with clarity or ease of comprehension to its left and harmony to its right. It is this delicate harmony which the reader must try to ferret out if he would appreciate the poetry which not only Perrin, but Molière, Quinault, Benserade, and even Racine offered to the musicians for musical setting. These principles are illustrated and discussed in the next volume.

<sup>99</sup> Molière's use of dramatic illusion, like Racine's, is more subtle than that of his predecessors. I have analyzed his use of the device in my doctoral dissertation, *The Comedy-Ballets of Molière*. Let it suffice to note here that in keeping with his times and his conception of theatre, Corneille enjoyed making the audience aware of the illusion, whereas Molière preferred to blur the line between social «reality» and theatrical illusion.

#### *The Closing*

o) Considering the nationality of the man to whom the Letter is addressed, Perrin acknowledged that it might seem a monumental bit of tactlessness to claim superiority of his pastoral over the sophisticated, elaborate, musically rich lyric dramata of Rossi and Cavalli. Certainly there is an element of overstatement in his claim that only royal protection had saved the Italian operatic performers in Paris from the ignominy «delle fischiate et delle merangole». Yet we know that the spirit of what he says is true. Nor was it any secret that the French had not welcomed the Italian imports with enthusiasm. An open-minded gentleman who had seen for himself how Paris reacted to his country's operas might well have been among the first to agree with Perrin's statements. Rising above narrow national pride, he might even have welcomed the news that Paris was well on the way to having its own style of opera.

The closing remarks suggest that Perrin and the prelate had spent many hours together in conversation, that they had established a certain intimacy, and that they had discussed in person many ideas which the Letter simply records in permanent and more formal fashion. The element of paradox in writing to an Italian to boast of having created a non-Italian and superior form of opera is not at all startling in the light of habits of the century, particularly of that part of the century which took pleasure in stepping outside the bounds of convention, which still saw value in the unexpected, paradoxical twist. Assuming that Monsignor Della Rovera ever saw the Letter, one might suppose such a conceit pleased both author and recipient.

\* \* \* \* \*

There is a kind of art which exists not to probe the depths of the human condition, to confront the gods, but to entertain, to satisfy our need for escape, to slake our thirst for formalization of this unencompassable situation. Malraux has called it «art d'assouvissement;» it does no more perhaps than scratch the surface of life, but it has its place in our lives. Baudelaire held that the great work of art is both timely and timeless. The works we are considering here had primarily immediate interest. The fragments that survive scarcely make us wish for more. Out of such seeds, however, sometimes spring masterworks. Like an infant who sets aside learning to speak until he has mastered the basic uses of his hands and legs, such a complex art form as opera may require for its early development that certain of its component parts be held to minimal form in order to allow for development of the new combinations.

The operas that Perrin, Cambert, and the others brought to French stages before Lully's assumption of authoritarian control over the new genre constitute a variety of experiments in the possibilities of lyric theatre. During these years, there was much uncertainty as to the direction the new genre should take.

«In the end [wrote La Laurencie some years ago], the æsthetic sentiment found itself pulled in two directions: classical tragedy, with its beautiful order and its dramatic power, fed the desire for drama and formal satisfaction; but the ballet, with its diversity of means, its kaleidoscope of dances, its entrées and its machinery, with the sweep and charm of its music, appealed to less austere tastes».

«An agreement was needed which would either bring tragedy closer to ballet, while conserving the preëminence of dramatic sentiment and unity of action, or restructure ballet and bring it toward tragedy, while attempting to attenuate its incoherencies» (*Le Goût musical*, p. 133)

One may speculate—idly, of course—whether without Lully the French might not have continued to experiment with the sort of hybrid spectacle which they enjoyed so much (comedy-ballet, machine spectacle, ballet); whether in a few years their rationalist sense might not have made true opera impossible of realization; whether, in the long run, something like Perrin's conception of lyric rather than dramatic opera might not have taken shape, leaving «raisonnements,» prosaic discussion, and character complexity in the province of spoken theatre. Such a genre might have bridged the gap to the creation of *opéra comique*, which many saw as somehow a more rational answer to the problem of declamation. Speculation of this sort is probably no more dangerous than the unexpressed, unexamined assumption that the actual course of development of any art invalidates all works that seem not to fit that pattern.

Perrin contributed to the shaping of the new materials from which opera would be assembled. There is perhaps a certain naïveté as well as a touch of the grotesque in his conception of opera. To be sure, his work lacks the elegance, the constantly high, noble tone, the sense of decorum and «douceur,» the harmonious relation of all the parts to the whole, which classical art valued so highly. In reading through his libretti, even taking into consideration the indispensable contribution of the music and the staging, one is disappointed. He had neither the skill nor the daring, nor, probably, the moral fibre to communicate through his art a strong sense of that good which is also beauty. We shudder sometimes at the degradation of his adopted gods. At other times, we find his portrayals devoid of substance; just what makes his Bacchus «the most charming of gods» would be difficult to discern from the text. Still, by his very approach to the gods, by allowing them to remain deities to a greater extent than anyone else at the time would, he helps fill the space between ritual and art. And in some ways his *Ariane* is as adequate a vehicle for lyric theatre as Pellegrini's libretto for *Hippolyte et Aricie*.

What is the purpose of opera? What should it be? If to tell a story, then it should be possible to evaluate individual operas according to how well they use story-telling devices. Perhaps the ideal opera sets a scene, unravels a plot, builds to a climax, and unravels the plot, with nothing more extraneous than a short coda—no parts which do not directly contribute to the most efficient telling of the story. But how many operas of the

*ancien régime* do that? The dramatic element, the suspense of the plot, more often than not serves as a hook for all the other, «extraneous» parts of the work: costumes, sets, dances, processions, arias, and songs. Aria stops the action to comment upon it. Interfering with the narrative super-structure, it introduces an infrastructure of discrete scenes or moods. Italian opera of the eighteenth century was a compromise between the lyric and the narrative impulse; a series of arias, each expressing a separate mood, connected by recitation into a story. Comic opera enacted a story in spoken dialogue, pausing frequently to allow for song. French opera under Lully gave less room to aria, tended toward *durchkomponiert* style. Perrin, at the head of this progression, used a series of discrete scenes, each of which allowed the composer to express an emotion. Music has architectonic, superverbally expressive power. Ballet is, after all, an art of visual forms, which uses the human body as its basic material. Why must lyric theatre necessarily prefer the facile device of linear plotting? Is shallow characterization really better than no pretense at characterization? There may be other structural possibilities; Perrin was seeking them.

Perhaps we owe the French court more credit than we have granted it for the æsthetic imagination it showed in nurturing from 1620 to 1670 a form of ballet art which did not tell a story even though it used many verbal elements. Perhaps Perrin, as librettist, was trying to create something other than the sort of opera which Lully developed later. Perhaps he envisioned a form which would unite the expressive and architectonic powers of songs with the mimetic and ritual possibilities of theatre, while avoiding the prosaic and the rationalistic, the careful articulation of motives and action which post-Renaissance, story-telling theatre requires. The result might have been a truly lyric form of «opera». However unusual his libretti may have been, their form does not result from any inherently erroneous conception of his art. The idea that «the words are nothing and should be nothing in opera,» the belief that dramatic art may be effective with no more than a rudimentary plot and with abstractions in place of rounded characters, such ideas are heretical only within the limited perspective of a certain operatic tradition.

Perrin, like many others, was experimenting with the possibilities of expression through combined arts. His creations had appeal to his contemporaries. If they do not resemble the definitive form of French opera, it is because they belong, like the comedy-ballets, the ballets, the machine spectacles, to a broad spectrum of productions which tried various admixtures of musical, theatrical, and verbal elements. Doubtless, one might wish for more bite in his texts, some sense of a deeper understanding of this world and the people who inhabit it; one might prefer that they revealed, however obliquely, some grasp of man's eternal grappling with the mysteries of the human condition. It is not plot or action so much as substance we miss in these works.

Still, many examples could be brought forward to show that music can supply substance with or without the help of words. Discussing the librettist's attitude of self effacement, Smith (*The Tenth Muse*, p. 29)

distinguishes between negative and neutral libretti. By their very nature, libretti are not designed to provide satisfaction unaided. The sort of libretto that succeeds best is neutral because in it adaptive rather than creative faculties dominate. No one, I think, has ever appreciated the extent to which Perrin sought to evolve a neutral kind of libretto at a time when poetic creation was considered the *conditio sine qua non* of theatre. French opera would follow some of the lines he laid out, but it would also permit itself greater latitude than he foresaw. Undeniably, it drew from that widened scope greater richness, greater diversity, and greater affective power than he ever achieved. It would turn much more resolutely than he toward the model of dramatic tragedy. Even admitting that «the way of treating the story, which is of my own invention,» as Perrin boasted, falls short of permanent success, his peculiar compromise between the theatrical structures of *ballet de cour* and the demands of drama deserves note in the history of lyric theatre.

The *Lyric Art* of Pierre Perrin,

Part 2:

Lyric Theory and Practice

—  
Louis E. Auld

The *Lyric Art* of Pierre Perrin,  
Founder of French Opera

—

Part 2

Lyric Theory and Practice

by

Louis E. Auld



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—

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The *Lyric Art* of Pierre Perrin

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## PART THREE

«THE MARRIAGE OF THE TWO SISTERS,  
MUSIC AND POETRY»

J'écris des chansons POUR LA CHANSON,  
Et une chanson n'est pas un poème.

—Pierre Seghers—

## CHAPTER V

## Lyric in the Seventeenth Century

«Lyric poetry» is one of those troublesome terms which all use freely, but which evade definition. What distinguishes lyric from epic, dramatic, didactic, or satirical is relatively easy to discern. What characterizes it in particular proves more elusive. Various writers have fastened upon subject matter, sentiment or colouring, natural imagery or subjective emotion, musicality, even length and structure in their search. Put to rigorous test, each of these criteria proves inadequate; either it is too vague for practical application or it is meaningful in terms of the poetry of certain periods and places, but inapplicable to that of others. Teachers never tire of pointing out the relationship between lyric and song, a relationship consecrated in myth and confirmed by history. Yet, in our culture, a breach which developed between poem and music more than half a millenium ago has never really been more than briefly and tentatively closed.

Whatever difficulty arises in attempts to define lyric poetry, that field appears carefully cultivated compared to the wilderness encountered by anyone seeking to encompass the lyric, or «ditty»—to borrow the term used in seventeenth-century England. The best poetry, it is said, is endowed with a grace which consists in the perfect adaptation of the effect to the necessary movement, of the movement to the desired ends. It is practically impossible to apply even this basic and often unexpressed criterion of poetry to lyrics because the purpose of the poem—adaptation to musical expression—cannot be understood from the text alone. It is a commonplace—though a disputed one—that the best poems rarely make good songs, and conversely that the best song lyrics are not necessarily the best poems. Many a text that we would consider lyric poetry resists musical setting; particularly in our century, many composers have set texts which we would be loath to classify as poetry, from political documents to full-length plays. Passages of «rhythmic prose» have tempted many composers more than has modern «lyric» poetry, which reduces to a minimum the traditional formal trappings: meter, rhyme, punctuation, and that baggage of rhetorical indicators and syntactical clues which in the past made a poem's sense immediately accessible. However much they may have cluttered up the poem with their patent artifice and the sense

of distance they imposed, such indicators also gave the reader or listener easy, immediate grasp of at least one level of coherence.<sup>1</sup> Formal trappings can be an indispensable aid to the listener. Lyrics are designed not to be seen on the page, studied, and slowly assimilated, but to pass audibly, in linear time, into the listener's consciousness. Unless the composer so decides, there is no reversal of the forward movement. The words, once they have passed, whether heard or not, are gone.<sup>2</sup>

Consequently, whereas lyrics often exaggerate the characteristics of the poetry of a given period, they frequently reflect the traits of the poetry previously in vogue; rarely, the most daring innovations of their own time. This is the case in the latter part of the seventeenth century. That period produced no noteworthy lyric poetry, at least in the sense in which the Romantics and their successors understood the term: poetry of intimate personal expression.<sup>3</sup> Many believe that the lyric vein had been worked out earlier in the century. The currents noted earlier also worked against lyric expression: the rationalistic spirit with its mistrust of imagination; the preference for social, group pleasures, distrust of solitude and meditation; the preoccupation of the most sensitive souls with universal human truths rather than individualizing detail. There were other sorts of poetry at the time, of course. La Fontaine made the fable into a genre of great richness and variety. Boileau the satirist and Racine the tragic playwright succeeded, in very different ways, in surmounting the obstacle of anti-poetic times. But, of the innumerable poems of personal expression in small forms produced and even printed from 1640 to 1670, no more than a handful have the power to arrest our attention today. Circumstantial «madrigals,» cliché-ridden amorous sonnets, and facile epigrams make up the great bulk of them.

Yet to say that the period did not produce outstanding lyric poems is not to suggest that it suffered a dearth of effective lyrics. One might even argue that the ditty thrives in soil too poor for the finer lyric flower. At the time when Perrin's interest in the lyric was developing, any number of poetasters, and some true poets, could be found who wrote

1 The density obtained by avoidance of such guideposts has come to be seen by many as the criterion of true poetry. «Rien ne vaut d'être dit en poésie,» wrote Pierre Reverdy, «que l'indicible, c'est pourquoi l'on compte beaucoup sur ce qui se passe entre les lignes». See the definition given by Frederick O. Musser, *Strange Clamor*, Detroit, 1965, pp. 12-14 and 63, note 1.

2 Some modern composers follow the example of poets in suppressing unmoded forms. As a recent example the «Phèdre» of Onahu allows only isolated words to be understood (similarly, in English, George Rochberg's «Tableaux»). In such experimental works, the lyrics, if they are to contribute, must reach the consciousness of the listener otherwise than through the mouth of the singer, as text to be read simultaneously, for instance. There stands always present in the background the popular song tradition to offer correctives when art song strays too far from its lyric origins.

3 Admittedly, La Fontaine's fables sometimes admit expression of personal sentiment. He is the exception, and it is significant that he adopted the genre of fable rather than a more specifically lyric form; the overall impression left by his poetry is one of fabulation rather than of personal disclosure.

occasional lines for music or set new ditties to familiar tunes. In the houses of royalty, nobility, and *haute bourgeoisie* alike, musical performances graced many a meal and gathering. Court ballets regularly contained songs. Commercial theatrical performances used songs occasionally and incidental music with some regularity.<sup>4</sup> The practice of setting new words to a popular melody, or *timbre*, was sufficiently widespread in polite society that Molière could show both its ridiculous and its acceptable side in *Les Fâcheux* (1662).<sup>5</sup> For let it not be supposed that men of the time held no definite views as to what constituted good lyric poetry—and good lyrics as well. In Molière's *Misanthrope* (I, iii), Alceste, at the end of his short patience, blurts out his opinion of the sonnet which an importunate fop has insisted on reciting with evident, if misplaced, self-satisfaction. Good poetry, he declares, imposes taste, moderation, and good sense on precious wit. In its comparisons, it strives for perfect appropriateness; metaphors should pass unnoticed, in contrast with the precious point on which so many poems (including the sonnet in question) turned, and which sought to evoke a reaction of surprise and admiration in the reader or listener through novelty and wit. It is straightforward and, above all, natural; it shuns clumsy inversions and unusual turns of phrase, affected figures, and plays on words; it speaks with clarity and simplicity. These comments reveal the extent and depth of the reaction against the poetic excesses of a few years previous. They mark, as well, a desire to apply to lyric verse—even to that vile sort of verse composed as a parlour game—the same principles of clarity, order and rationalism, the same anti-imaginative damper, which applied to society. An although they deal with poetry in general, they go far toward defining the principles of the lyric. Poems written for music would observe all these restrictions, and many others besides.

Apparently facile, unimaginative, and indistinguishable, lyrics were nonetheless not necessarily tossed off in an idle hour, as were so many precious madrigals. Neither were they necessarily the work of men inca-

4 Instrumental interludes were in common use throughout the century. Borrel, «La Musique au théâtre au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle,» p. 190, states, without offering proof, that «depuis 1640 on chantait des airs dans des pièces au Marais». I have discovered only one or two plays which call for songs prior to 1648, and an equally small number which make use of rudimentary machine effects. There was no regular use of either songs or machines before that date. If Borrel's statement is based on the Chapoton *Orphée*, often cited as the first French spectacle play, there is room for doubt. The text published in 1640 shows no sign of calling for song. Certainly music would have been part of the appeal when the play was revived in 1648 as *La Grande Journée des machines*. I doubt that machines or music played any significant part in the earlier production. From the time of the *Grande Journée des machines*, of course, many plays used them extensively.

5 *Les Fâcheux*, I, iii; II, iii, lines 335-336. He presented first the bore who dances and sings even on public streets, and expects the whole world to admire him for it; and in contrast with him, Eraste, the lover, who decides to set words to a tune he knows his beloved enjoys. The word *cadeau* [gift], meant a musical offering.

pable of writing other sorts of poetry. Tempting as it may be to dismiss as sheer self-glorification Perrin's repeated boast that the lyric art required a rare sort of talent, one must proceed here with caution. Some poets found the mode particularly demanding. As early as 1637, Pierre Corneille declared: «Cent vers [me] coûtent moins que deux mots de chanson».<sup>6</sup>

6 «Excuse à Eraste,» (circa 1637), in *Œuvres de Pierre Corneille*, éd. Marty-Laveaux, t. X, 1862. The poet begs that his Muse be dispensed from the exigencies of song-writing:

Cent vers lui coûtent moins que deux mots de chanson;  
 Son feu ne peut agir quand il faut qu'il s'applique  
 Sur les fantasques airs d'un rêveur de musique,  
 Et pour donner lieu de paroître à sa voix,  
 De sa bigarre\* quinte il se fasse des lois; \* *bizarre*  
 Qu'il ait sur chaque ton ses rimes ajustées,  
 Sur chaque tremblement ses syllabes comptées,  
 Et qu'une froide pointe à la fin d'un couplet  
 En dépit de Phébus donne à l'art un soufflet:  
 Enfin cette prison déplait à son génie.....

The chansons that he did write in this period reveal the truth of what he says (*vide ibidem*, pp. 53-54 & 55-56). He seems to have relented somewhat later on when it became more fashionable for poets to contribute to collections. N° XXXIV of the same volume, for instance, «Air de M. Blondel,» published in the *Recueil des plus beaux vers qui ont été mis en chant....*, 1668, has abandoned the satirical tone of the earlier songs as well as the isometric strophe, and adopted the *vers libres* and the precious tone, complete with final *pointe*, characteristic of Perrin's *Airs*.

Mes soupirs vous ont dit plus de cent fois le jour  
 Que je mourois pour vous d'amour.  
 Que me sert, belle Iris, de parler davantage?  
 S'ils vous ont dit mon mal, pouvez-vous l'ignorer?  
 Hélas! si vous vouliez un moment soupirer,  
 Que j'entendrois bien ce langage!

(*Œuvres*, t. X, p. 233; also the «Air de M. Lambert, pour la Reine,» *ibidem*, p. 153).

Ecorcheville characterized Corneille's sense of lyrics in a brochure entitled *Corneille et la musique*, Paris, 1906. Citing the «Excuse à Eraste,» he remarks on the poet's fear of the place which music grants the irrational; for the author of *Le Cid* music is «une tyrannie qui enchaîne l'inspiration poétique,» and one which renders impossible «la libre expression de notre moi» (p. 8).

For Corneille, as for his contemporaries, lyrics contributed to the musical union not pathos but a pleasant occupation for the wits.

«Dans l'esprit de Corneille l'air à chanter évoque, semble-t-il, l'idée d'une pointe aimable et spirituelle. Pour lui ce qui appelle la musique c'est l'heureuse disposition d'un esprit qui se joue et qui reste maître de soi pour raffiner ses propres sentiments. Le tour du vers et de l'expression musicale, voilà le principal en ces sortes d'ouvrages; l'émoi lui-même importe peu». (p. 6)

Lully's exigencies with his librettist Quinault are notorious. «The majority of people,» insisted Bénigne de Bacilly, «don't give this kind of poetry the praise which is due such a prodigious talent».<sup>7</sup> Despite several efforts, La Fontaine, the only man of his generation who might qualify as a true lyric poet, never managed to write a viable libretto for Lully.<sup>8</sup> In contrast, Molière, whose antic muse made him incapable of succeeding as he might have wished in the heroic-tragic style (witness the dismal failure of *Don Garcie de Navarre*), nevertheless had a particularly fine ear for the sorts of verbal harmonies which music demanded.

Jean Racine occasionally wrote lyrics. He included choruses (set by P. Moreau) in his two Christian tragedies, *Esther* and *Athalie*. One might assume that the skill, verbal power, and sense of harmony which produced some of the most purely musical verses in the history of French poetry and some of the most intense poetic tragedy the world has ever known would easily excel in lyrics where, after all, nothing is required but clear structures and harmonious sounds. And yet, fine as his lyrics are, they did not completely satisfy contemporary taste. When Lecerf de la Viéville compared Racine's *Idylle sur la Paix* (performed in July 1685 in the *Diversissement de Sceaux*) with *La Grotte de Versailles* by Pellisson, a poet seldom mentioned today, and less often read, he found the latter work «much superior to the *Idylle de Sceaux* because, aside from the merits of the words, which are the masterpieces of the Author, it surpasses as well by its music». He explains:

7 Bénigne de Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, p. 119; tr. Caswell, p. 54. He exaggerates, of course, but the principle holds true even today. In her study of the song-poems of Perrin's contemporary Benserade, M<sup>me</sup> Maurice-Amour admits the difficulty of distinguishing, in the absence of their music, between «*versiculets*» and those verses which «annoncent déjà, soit par la grâce et la souplesse du 'phrasé,' soit par l'ampleur et la justesse de la déclamation, les récitatifs et airs du futur opéra classique français» («Benserade, Michel Lambert et Lulli,» *C. A. I. E. F.* IX [juin, 1956], pp. 53-56).

8. One of his libretti was finally set and performed in 1691: *Astrée, tragédie lyrique en trois actes et un prologue*. Presented 28th November 1691 at the Académie Royale, it had only six performances. The music, by Lully's son-in-law Colasse, «eut aussi peu de succès que les paroles,» according to Henri Régner, éd. *Œuvres de La Fontaine*, t. VIII, p. 507. Two others remained unscored. *Daphné* (1674) had been commissioned by Lully, who rejected it. *Galatée*, written at the same period but not published until 1682, was never completed (t. VII). *Vide* Prunières, «La Fontaine et Lully,» *Revue musicale*, II, 10 (1<sup>er</sup> août 1921).

«Racine in his Idyl used strong terms and rich rhymes, instead of aiming for a sweet, flowing softness, which is what the Musician needs. Besides, he failed to lighten the Greek tone, to imbue it with a playful or laughing character and especially a galant spirit, such as our singing poetry demands; and Pellisson succeeded in giving to his Idyl a truly amorous pastoral character which was to animate Lully's music in quite a different manner».<sup>9</sup>

9 Quoted in *Œuvres diverses de M. Pellisson*, Paris, 1735, t. I, p. 149. For the sake of comparison, here are a few lines from «La Grotte de Versailles»:

a) *The opening récit, repeated by the chorus:*

Allons, Bergers, entrons dans cet heureux séjour,  
Tout y paroît charmant, Louis est de retour.

Dans ces charmantes retraites  
Accordons nos chalumeaux,  
Nos pipeaux  
Nos musettes,  
Au ramage des oiseaux;  
Et chantons nos amourettes  
Au doux murmure des eaux.

c) *The final chorus:*

Chantons tous en ce jour;  
Redisons tout à tour:  
Que le chant des oiseaux nous seconde;  
Que l'Echo nous réponde;  
Chantons en ce jour,  
Chantons qu'il n'est rien dans le monde  
Qui soit insensible à l'amour.

(*ibidem*, pp. 149-155)

«Quelques personnes prétendent,» commented Castil-Blaze (*Molière musicien*, t. II, p. 168), «que Lulli, chargé de... mettre en musique [l'Idylle sur la Paix], trouva dans la force des vers un travail que les vers de Quinault ne lui avaient pas fait connaître.... J'avouerai seulement qu'à ces deux vers:

Retrancher de nos ans  
Pour ajouter à ses années,

la chute, à cause de la prononciation de la dernière syllabe, ne satisfait pas l'oreille, et que ce n'est pas la faute du poète, qui n'avait pas pour le musicien cette même attention qu'avait Quinault». Racine's contemporaries, Castil-Blaze believed, failed to understand the unpleasant sensation that resulted from «une cadence finale, se traînant sur une rime douce» (p. 169).

While it can hardly be said that Racine failed as lyricist, it seems that certain conventions of the lyric art evaded even that best of poets. Less talented men sometimes found it easier to tune their lyres to this minor mode.

Even though it was agreed that the lyric had its own distinctive character, its own rules, no formal attempt had been made to define its distinguishing traits until Perrin drew up his principles in the Foreword. To the Ancients, poetry had implied song; they had seen no reason to discuss one kind of poetry with music and another without. This lack of precedent among the respective authorities must have hindered even those sensitive enough to perceive a difference between witty salon madrigal and true song text from feeling the need for a theory explicitly devoted to the Lyric Art.

To be sure, Bénigne de Bacilly, singer, voice teacher, composer, and sometime lyricist, indicated some principles of lyric composition in his *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter* (1668), roughly contemporary with Perrin's manuscript *Recueil de Paroles de Musique*.<sup>10</sup> By and large, he spoke as musician rather than poet. His recommendations to the lyricist are simple: he should avoid «coarse and insipid» words (both in meaning and in sound) as well as strong metaphor (p. 51), «puns and ambiguities,» that is, both *double entendre* and *conchetto*; he should take care, when composing new words to existing music, that the verses «fit into a rhyme-scheme conforming to the cadence-points of the air» (p. 54); and, on the side of flexibility, he should never feel «constrained to follow the vocal line note for note,» for that is «a fatal constraint». Bacilly warns of the danger, when the music has been composed prior to the words, of its not expressing their meaning (p. 45). But for the most part, he limits his comments to problems of performance, for he believes that once a composer has judged a poem worthy of musical setting, it is the responsibility of the performer, rather than the poet or the composer, to make the text comprehensible to the audience. He goes so far as to insist that although careful distinction between long and short syllables is essential, the responsibility for making such distinctions falls entirely to the singer.

A number of poets in the first part of the century had successfully written poems for music, among them Malherbe and his disciples Racan and Mainard, as well as Théophile de Viau, Saint-Amant, and the less familiar Jean de Lingendes and Dalibray.<sup>11</sup> Yet then, as later, there were some who considered any lines which rhymed to be fit for song. The iconoclast Charles Sorel boasted: «I do not put into my books any verses which do not really have a tune, and I do not, as some do, include sonnets as songs, without knowing whether or not they are singable». <sup>12</sup> Bacilly echoes the same criticism when he points out that most of the songs he has quoted are «not truly verse, but only rhymed prose» (p. 54).

10 Bénigne de Bacilly, here tr. Caswell, p. 42 *et seq.*, in particular, pp. 46-55.

11 Voir Lila Maurice-Amour, «Musique et poésie au temps de Louis XIII,» *R. H. L. F.*, (avril-juin 1956), pp. 204-220.

12 «Je ne mets point dans mes livres de vers qui n'aient un air véritable-

Perrin had begun to ponder the principles of lyric composition a year or two before the creation of the *Pastorale* of 1659. The final section of the Letter to Monseigneur Della Rovera sketched in some of his lyric principles. In the *Œuvres de Poésie* two years later, a significant portion of the book was devoted to texts for music, some dating from several years earlier. The preface offered readers the following comments on the genre:

«... you will find a collection of *Paroles de Musique* or verses for singing, set to music at one time or another by the most illustrious composers of the realm. These verses are of the sort which we should properly call lyric, that is, appropriate for singing to the lyre or with some instrument, and they require a very particular art and genius which, I dare say, has until now been little known, indeed almost unknown, to all poets, ancient and modern, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, and French, among whom we find few, if any, Orpheuses, that is, poet-musicians or musician-poets, possessing the skill to marry the two sisters, Poetry and Music. For their lyric verses and their so-called songs have been nothing less than lyric and song in the expressed opinion of the most enlightened musicians. But since that interesting subject is too vast to be treated in a preface, I shall content myself with giving you, through these words for music, examples of the application of this admirable art, reserving for later, should I find the leisure, the pleasure of offering you, the public, a detailed treatise on the subject [...]».

He seems to have found the leisure, for by 1665 in the «*Avant propos*» to his *Cantica pro Capella Regis* he could refer to an already composed Lyric Art, «un traité particulier, par règles & par exemples, de la façon de composer toute sorte de paroles de musique»; he took the occasion to sketch out his principles for composition of Latin lyrics «sur le pied des nostres» (see Appendix). Many of these same principles reappeared in somewhat more elaborate form, applied to French as well as Latin texts, in another «*Avant-propos*,» that to the manuscript *Recueil de Paroles de Musique*, translated into English and commented here.

In the pages that follow, we will be considering Perrin's principles of Lyric composition and asking just what constituted that *douceur coulante*, that «sweet, flowing softness,» which Lecerf de la Viéville praised in Pellisson's lyric verses. This chapter involves general and theoretical considerations, and thus serves as an introduction to Perrin's Foreword and the commentary upon it, which treat in detail his principles and practice.

ment, et je ne fais pas comme ceux qui mettent des sonnets pour des chansons, sans savoir s'ils peuvent se chanter ou non,» Sorel, in *Francion*, cited by Castil-Blaze, *Molière musicien*, II, p. 175. One might take this as a thinly veiled reference to the prosaic verses of Honoré d'Urfé's *Astrée*, but that so many other writers did the same.

In a now classic study, Bruce Pattison analyzed prosodic practices among English poets in the early years of what we have come to refer to as the «Baroque era».<sup>13</sup> Principles similar to those he observed shaped the work of French poets writing for music throughout the seventeenth century. They thus provide a convenient point of departure. They may also pave the way to discovery of some constant criteria or desiderata of good lyrics of any period.

Two fundamental principles emerge from the humanistic desire to give prominence to the sense of the text; both involve simplification of the lyric compared to other types of poetry. First, poetry destined for musical setting should be immediately comprehensible to the listener. Second, it should allow the composer to encompass it within a general mood. If the poem specifically mentioned a particular mood, wrote Pattison, the composer found his path already marked out. The listener «can appreciate the general drift of the song more easily than any fine shades of meaning in any parts of it. Verse for music should therefore keep to broad and simple emotions». While it can and occasionally does reinforce the sense of an individual word through symbolic «word painting,» music most effectively «represents simple emotions, paints atmospheres and moods with a broad sweep».<sup>14</sup>

A contemporary American song writer, John Duke, speaks of song as «enshrining an emotion». Another modern composer has written that the ideal lyrics should «express a state of the soul» capable of «awakening a resonance in the composer's soul». Divorced from their romantic overtones, these two statements reveal the persistence of Pattison's criteria. The «state of the soul» is the seventeenth-century's emotion or «passion» in slightly different garb.<sup>15</sup> The same composer, Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, asked of the poem primarily that it provide «an expressive core,» a simple idea in its most polished form. In the following chapter, we shall see that the lyricist of 1660 sought to express emotion with rhetorical figures which his counterpart after 1860 disdained, and that the principle of generalizing the emotional base of the poem for song corresponds to poetic orientations of the time. The basic principle holds true. Song was «expressive» in a general rather than a personal sense. The poet spoke for mankind, or at least for his limited society, instead of for and of himself.

13 Pattison, *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance*, London, 1948, 2nd ed., 1970. Chapter VIII, «Musical Influence on Poetry,» pp. 141-159. His conclusions are summarized and incidentally confirmed from an international perspective in R. H. Thomas, *Poetry and Song in the German Baroque*, Oxford, 1963, p. 37; and see Denis Stevens, *A History of Song*, New York, 1960.

14 Pattison, *Music and Poetry*, p. 142. I use a prescriptive 'should' where he describes sixteenth-century practices.

15 Castelnuovo-Tedesco, «Problems of a Song-Writer,» in *Reflections on Art*, ed. Suzanne Langer, Baltimore, 1959, pp. 304-305; orig. in *The Musical Quarterly*, XXX, i (1949). I quote John Duke from the pleasure of personal acquaintance. See also Dryden's comments on the French language, *infra*, Chapter 6.

Consequently, to return with Pattison to the seventeenth century, the lyric should avoid «complex associations of idea, subtlety, or verbal ingenuity,» which the music cannot imitate and which it would obscure or contradict (*Music and Poetry*, p. 142). It should ban rapid crowding together of ideas. Its statement should be intellectually clear and syntactically simple. Similarly, it should shun intense or closely wrought images which destroy the balance of the word-patterns and confuse the melodic line. The ingenious turn of thought and the striking metaphor also distract the listener from the affective musical experience by bringing his intellect to the fore. We will find Perrin enouncing similar principles. It will be clear from these basic points that lyrics, as the early poets and composers of the Baroque conceived them, differed in some essential ways from the non-music-oriented lyric poems in which density, subtlety, *pointe*, complex interweavings of idea and image dominated.

«A certain margin should be left for the music,» wrote Castelnuovo-Tedesco along the same lines in our own century; «from this point of view, an intimate and restrained poem is preferable to a too sonorous and decorative one» («Problems of a Song-Writer,» p. 30). Even this requisite of intimacy had its counterpart in the earlier period, for the lyric had neither the formal elevated tone of the epic or dramatic poem nor the overriding play of wit which characterized the epigram and other forms of social verse. Within the limits of personal reticence which poetic convention imposed, lyrics did have a certain «intimacy,» even then. Essential to that «margin» is the compatibility of poetic and musical forms. Arthur Honegger required «that a poem furnish.... the subject and the elements of a musical construction,» that it «satisfy my need for geometry as well as any need for emotion». <sup>16</sup> Perrin's apparently excessive preoccupation with questions of form and structure reflect his awareness of this principle. The composer wants in his text a balance between the open space gained by laconicism and expository clarity. Like many

Castelnuovo-Tedesco makes some observations on the musicality of various languages: Italian he finds broad, expressive, sonorous; it lends itself to song. French, «doubtless less suitable for impassioned outbursts [and consequently for song], is nevertheless subtler and lends itself to more exquisite nuances». Spanish has characteristics similar to Italian, except a hardness which is sometimes more severe, and a softness more languorous. German is in a class by itself, «by virtue of the forcefulness of its declamation, which permits vocal leaps that would be inexplicable in other languages» pp. 306-307. As for English, in Shakespeare's language he found «not only a perfect beauty but also an astonishing 'musicality',» his ideal «the human richness, the greatest psychological profundity, united with the most supple and varied poetry». There were difficulties, too, for example, «the great number of monosyllabic words, which it is difficult to distribute over a melody in an expressive fashion and, at the same time, with correct accentuation» (pp. 308-309).

<sup>16</sup> Quoted by John Koopman, «Honegger as a Song Composer,» *NATS Bulletin*, XXXII, 2 (December, 1975), p. 12, from André Gauthier, *Arthur Honegger*, Lyon, 1957.

another twentieth-century composer, Castelnuovo-Tedesco sometimes found that balance in «great artistic prose having a rhythm which is wisely and harmoniously disposed, [which] gives frequently a stronger suggestion to the musician than does a mediocre poem». <sup>17</sup> By contrast, classical and romantic practice often reveals great care not only in the use of rhyme and strophic regularity, but as M<sup>me</sup> Maurice-Amour has observed, in making corresponding lines conform rigorously to the same rhythmic pattern, «with a view to fitting it to a musical diction which is at times syllabic, at times melismatic *vocalisée*». <sup>18</sup> In the nineteenth century, the essayist and sometime librettist Castil-Blaze, courageously battling the windmills of the Parisian musical establishment, tended to push this principle to extreme lengths. As a result, his criteria for acceptable lyric verses exclude almost all those produced during the *ancien régime*. <sup>19</sup> He insisted upon «absolute symmetry of the verses, all modeled on the first,» refusing to admit even the alternation of rhythms in couplets. The following lines from a cantata of J. B. Rousseau, for instance, arouse his ire, largely because alternate lines begin (yet with what regularity!) with an anacrusis rather than on the stress:

Sa voix / redoutable	U - / U U - U
Trouble les enfers;	- U U U -
Un bruit / formidable	U - / U U - U
Gronde dans les airs;	- U U U -
Un voi- / -le effroyable	U - / U U - U
Couvre l'univers.	- U U U -

He objects further to the triple use of epithets at the rhyme, citing a similar passage in Quinault's *Proserpine*, and the «horrible dissonance» of *gronde dans*. To correct the major faults here, he would change the tense of the three verbs as:

Troublait / les enfers, etc.	U - / U U -
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<sup>17</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, «Problems of a Song-Writer,» p. 304. He cites *Pelléas et Mélisande*, *Boris Godounov*, his own «Fragments» from Proust, and might have added Poulenc's *Dialogues des Carmélites*, among others.

<sup>18</sup> Maurice-Amour, «Musique et poésie,» p. 212. *Voir* Perrin's principles, parag. *k-1*, Chapter 6 *infra*. Ronsard, in his «Abrégé de l'art poétique» (1565): «Quant aux vers lyriques, tu feras le premier couplet à ta volonté pourveu que les autres suivent la trace du premier». J. Pelletier du Mans had previously proclaimed that «la modulation des couplets doit estre semblable;» Marot, Marguerite de Navarre, and others had followed the same principle, a familiar and long-established one, according to R. Lébègue, «Ronsard et la musique,» in *Musique et poésie au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, éd. J. Jacquot, Paris, 1954, p. 111.

<sup>19</sup> Castil-Blaze, quoted here from *Molière musicien*, II, p. 189. His works should be better known, for they present, in however abrasive a manner, much important material. They would be infinitely more useful if someone had the patience to supply them with indices, and perhaps new chapter headings of a more indicative nature. See also Frits Noske, *La Mélodie française de Berlioz à Duparc*, Paris, 1954, pp. 46-53.

in such a way that all the lines would follow exactly the same pattern. Further, he would strictly forbid enjambment, except in recitative, where a «variété piquante» is desirable. Finally, he would never change the rhyme before the thought was completed. As for the content, the thought, a quotation given earlier in relation to opera states succinctly his position that it does not matter in the slightest. The first of these principles was inspired by the conflict he observed between the use of *vers libres* which persisted from pre-revolutionary tradition, and the regularity, the periodicity, which still in his day characterized music's classical period. He mistook a stylistic peculiarity for a fundamental rule. On other points, to be noted later, he came closer to agreement with earlier lyricists.

Lyric practices in Perrin's time reveal traces of their origins in the neo-Platonic, humanist ideals of the later Renaissance, ideals which accorded extreme importance to texts, and therefore stressed giving prominence to words over music. This impetus was still strong in 1660, even though over the intervening years—by chance, almost exactly a century separates the founding of Baïf's famous academy from that of Perrin and Cambert—it had undergone changes, as the arts involved continued, so to speak, to vie for position vis-à-vis each other. While the text still in theory exercised its prerogatives, repeated contact with music had brought it to a position comparable to that of Louis XIII in relation to his first minister, Cardinal Richelieu. Just as that monarch ostensibly governed while the Cardinal exercised the real authority, so poetry written for music gradually sacrificed its substance, density, and seriousness—all its powers—in order to provide a «sweet, flowing» series of unimpressive verbal patterns as a foundation for the affective constructs of music.

The poets of the Pléiade considered the union of music and poetry highly desirable in principle. Ronsard's *Abrégé de l'art poétique* (1565) called for completion of the poem by «la musique et accord des instrumens, en faveur desquels il semble que la poesie soit née, car la poesie sans les instrumens, ou sans la grace d'une seule ou plusieurs voix, n'est nullement agreable, non plus que les instrumens sans etre animez de la melodie d'une plaisante voix». <sup>20</sup> In practice, however, he wrote little for music after the early years of his career, and, moreover, ascribed to music so little power of differentiation that he would gladly have had the ninety-two sonnets of the *Amours* (1552) sung to a single piece of music, or have used music simply as a background for the reading of poetry. A reason for his attitude may be found in the neo-Platonic theories of musical affects of Marsile Ficin. <sup>21</sup> Music, according to this conception, served

20 Ronsard, «Abrégé de l'art poétique françois,» *Œuvres complètes*, éd. G. Cohen (Pléiade), Paris, t. II, p. 999.

21 D. P. Walker, «Le Chant orphique de Marsile Ficin,» in *Musique et poésie*, pp. 17-33. There existed, of course, a long tradition of extended chant to a single melodic motif, as in the epic recitations and the unique thirteenth-century work, the *chanteable* of *Aucassin et Nicolette*.

only to create a mood, to produce in the listener «a particular disposition of receptivity». It was considered the inferior partner in this marriage, for it worked upon the lower faculties of the soul, while the text alone attained the higher peaks. According to this conception, reports D. P. Walker, «the music is nothing more than an indeterminate accompaniment to the text, whose affective powers it automatically increases....; it puts the audience into a state susceptible of being moved—and that is all». <sup>22</sup>

However theoretical it remained in the work of Ronsard and most of the other poets of the Pléiade, the lyric ideal found common cause with the musical doctrines of the religious reformers, for the protestant leaders as well as the humanist poets placed great emphasis on clear enunciation of the vernacular text. In psalm tunes, as in settings of secular poems, there is a new concern for careful conservation of the meter and rhythm, as well as the ethos, of the text. By 1580, there emerged a new style of song, light and sometimes ironic, syllabic and homophonic, a style in which the text clearly dominated a simplified music. <sup>23</sup> Such a style makes only limited allowance for melodic ornamentation. The following century would somehow reconcile the desires on the one hand for clarity of diction and on the other for affective expression through embellishment.

In the new effort to avoid obscuring the words, the poetry, too, underwent some changes. Ronsard and his friends demanded of the poetic line a new kind of harmony; they rejected cacophonous sound combinations, reduced the number of hiatuses (encounters of two consecutive vowels), avoided strings of monosyllabic words, and sought to establish a close harmony between sound and subject, rhythm and sense. <sup>24</sup> Seventeenth-century poetry thought to turn away from many of Ronsard's principles: as we shall see, in the realm of song at least, it turned only its profile.

The man who first enunciated what eventually came to be accepted as the rules of classical versification wrote lyrics himself, and provides a convenient portal for entry into the century of Perrin's lyric art. The early poems of François de Malherbe reflect the stylistic traits and the attitudes of the baroque poetry in fashion at the end of the sixteenth century. But he soon reacted to the liberties taken by many poets and the manneristic weaknesses of courtly poetry in the generation after Ronsard. He left no formal theoretical document, but the example of his own, highly restrained verses, certain quips, and pronouncements which were carefully recorded by his disciples, and his copious annotations in the works of Philippe Desportes, a court poet given to precious turn of phrase, careless syntax, and incomplete metaphorical thought (catachresis), reveal his po-

22 Walker, «Marsile Ficin,» p. 27. Voir the present-day reversal of this position, as expressed by M. Dufrenne, note 36 *infra*.

23 K. J. Levy, «Vaudeville, vers mesurés et airs de cour,» in *Musique et Poésie*, pp. 189-190.

24 Lébègue, «Ronsard et la musique,» p. 108.

sition clearly enough.<sup>25</sup> Where Desportes had written «Puisqu'un amour céleste est roi de ma poitrine,» Malherbe noted in the margin: «Pauvre royaume.» Beside the line «Mais si je perds mon temps sous l'amoureuse loi,» he wondered what the expression «to waste one's time under a law» meant. In many ways, Malherbe's was an anti-poetic attitude, and an entire kingdom, not to say an entire continent, would gradually adopt the same attitude.

Among his other principles were some of Ronsard's, such as strict avoidance of successions of monosyllabic words and other forms of verbal cacophony which could obscure the sense of the phrase. On Desportes' line: «Si la foi plus certaine en une ame non feinte,» for instance, he commented: «N'en nu n'a». In his comments and in meetings with his disciples, he stressed regularization of spelling, orthography, syntax, and phraseology, as well as clarity of thought and expression. Only familiar vocabulary was permitted, and the same might be said (as Perrin actually does) of metaphor, since only the clearest, most logical, and, in short, most familiar metaphors were acceptable in this man's restrictive notion of poetry. Some of Malherbe's poems still have a strong, elegant beauty about them, and some lines, such as the famous «Et les fruits passeront la promesse des fleurs,» or «Et rose elle a vécu ce qui vivent les roses, L'Espace d'un matin» are among the crown jewels of French poetry.<sup>26</sup>

In an article entitled «Malherbe et les musiciens,» M<sup>me</sup> Lyla Maurice-Amour finds fifteen of his pieces (a total of 816 lines) expressly written for music, or at least appearing in various collections of *airs de cour*.<sup>27</sup> Whether or not Malherbe actually composed his poems with a thought to their «musicability,» it is certain that his precepts tended to assure oral comprehension of the poem, and that some of his poems appealed to musicians. The musicologist remarks on the high quality of the verses supplied composers by Malherbe, and comments that mediocre verses can spoil «the most beautiful melody in the world». «No musician,» she writes, «will complain that the verses his poet supplies are too

25 A convenient introduction to his theories is found in Renée Winegarten's *French Lyric Poetry in the Age of Malherbe*, Manchester, 1954, Chapter I, pp. 1-12. Voir also the thesis of Ferdinand Brunot, *La Doctrine de Malherbe*, Paris, 1891; M. Souriau, *L'Evolution du vers lyrique au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1893; and recent editions of Desportes, S. A. T. F., which give Malherbe's acerbic comments in notes.

26 The first, from the «Prière pour le Roy allant en Limousin,» the second from the stoic «Consolation à M. Du Périer» on the death of his daughter. See the analysis of the harmonious magic of the first line by Musser in *Strange Clamor*, pp. 54-55, where, armed with Kenneth Burke's concepts of «tonal chiasmus,» «augmentation,» and «diminution,» he shows that it is possible to penetrate the mystery of the line's euphony.

27 Maurice-Amour, «Les Poésies de Malherbe et les musiciens de son temps,» *XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, 1959, p. 297. Some poems were explicitly written for music, others received revisions to facilitate the task of the musician or to render them more singable.

good». <sup>28</sup> Unhappily, such comments beg the question of what constitutes good lyrics. It is evident that some poems are too good, or at least good and of the wrong type, for effective musical setting. Did Lully, after all, not refuse La Fontaine's libretti? M<sup>me</sup> Maurice-Amour's analysis of each of Malherbe's poems which was set to music brings out a number of technical considerations, but makes no comment on their substance. Is this not a tacit admission that the prime requisite for effective lyrics is a formal, structural clarity rather than the depth or significance of content which many consider indispensable to good poetry?

Through «la séduction exercée par l'Antiquité,» from ancient reports of the marvelous powers of music to touch the souls of men, move the beasts and the birds, and even influence the trees and the stones, had come the impetus for the Renaissance experiments to reunite the separated sisters, music and poetry (to revise Perrin's figure). In a passage previously quoted, Perrin paid homage to that ancient ideal, evoking the magical powers of Orpheus, Amphion, etc.<sup>29</sup> The new imperatives of expression at first contributed to the emergence of the homophonic style and the accompanied monody; they placed great stress on strict subjection of the music to the text, at the same time calling upon it to move the soul, through the use of chromaticism and enharmonics. Yet, even in its first manifestations, the new spirit contained the paradox which we find still operative a century later. While in theory according great importance to text and using music only for mood, it led later artists to assign the expressive rôle almost exclusively to music.

As one critic has written, «if the little verses which the fine minds of the time entrusted to composers are no more, the best of them, than pleasant little flashes of wit whose insipidity quickly grows sickening, many a time the talent of the musician succeeds in animating these pale sketches with the colours and forms of life». <sup>30</sup> The conclusion which must be drawn from study of the available documents is that by Perrin's time, for whatever reasons, that very insipidity had become the goal of the lyricists. They conceived of the text as merely a shell of words and familiar ideas; it provided a limited intellectual colouring and a structure of inanimate affective devices, while the music united with it to form a living organism.

In the wake of Malherbe's reforms, poetry ever more scrupulously avoided strong expression of personal feelings. What began with him as stoic reticence, refusal to yield to strong emotion, softened in later years into extreme delicacy, or, in its worst manifestations, that posturing

28 Maurice-Amour, «Les Poésies de Malherbe,» p. 299. See Souriau, *L'Evolution du vers lyrique*, pp. 101-102, on Malherbe's bad lyrics. Clearly, not all critics share M<sup>me</sup> Maurice-Amour's opinion.

29 See Fr. Lesure's article «L'Académie de musique,» in *Histoire de la musique* (Encyclopédie de la Pléiade), dir. Roland-Manuel, 1960, t. 1, p. 1064.

30 Henri Quittard, «La Première Comédie française en musique,» p. 394. «Aucun des grands poètes du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle,» wrote Gérold, «n'a entrevu la possibilité de l'union de la musique et d'une poésie exhalant l'âme même du poète» (*L'Art du chant*, p. 133).

which masks absence of feeling. Lyric poetry of these years has been justly accused of sterility, and lyrics are included in the general scorn. Certainly, to modern readers, all these verses, whether intended for music or not, lack feeling, sincerity, voice. Neither psychological insights nor lofty sentiments, neither detailed observation of reality, nor brilliant metaphor, nor even unexpected association of words bursts through the veil of sameness, banality, hackneyed formula, uniformity of subject, theme, technique, expression, and vocabulary.

Only on close reading does one begin to discover what differentiates one poem from another. Poetic *trouvailles* are of the most delicate sort and often escape notice: a turn of phrase, a new balance of terms, an idea gracefully molded onto the frame of a new number of syllables, the avoidance of harsh combinations of sounds, a subtle variation on a well-worn conceit. These are songs for performance, often for theatre—songs meant to provide pleasure by conveying a general, familiar mood. They have no didactic purpose, nor do they aspire to the heights of epic or tragic moral power. Songs of familiar, intimate sentiment, they nonetheless avoid the tone of personal confession; one feels no temptation to read into them significant incidents in the life of the poet. Much like the products of the modern popular music industry, they express sentimental truths, bromides, on the broadest possible basis, using detail symbolically rather than to particularize an incident. They are drawn from no indigenous cultural, literary, or traditional fund of references. The pastoral pose, a conventional device derived from the watered-down traditions of ancient mythology, meticulously avoids either assuming extensive knowledge of these legends or providing details about them. Only the general, stereotyped situation is of interest.

Nor do these lyrics draw their language from the well-springs of popular diction. Their highly restrictive vocabulary allows only a few hundred «poetic» terms and expressions. Even metaphor is virtually excluded. Furthermore, this poetry is essentially metonymic; it speaks of certain emotional states which anyone might recognize, by evoking only things conventionally associated with them, divorced from the complex of associations which constitutes everyday life. Thus, for instance, the Shepherdess or the Nymph represents not everything that would go to make up the lady in a realistic description of her, but only that part of her which is youthful, beautiful feminine essence who inspires desire or love in the beholder. As a result, only the most general epithets are used, and they are used again and again: «beaux yeux,» «jeunes beautés,» «cruelle bergère,» «lieux charmants».

De ces lieux l'éclat et les attraits,  
Ces fleurs odorantes,  
Ces eaux bondissantes,  
Ces ombrages frais  
Sont des dons de ses mains bienfaisantes,

(J. Racine, *Idylle sur la Paix*, lines 66-70)

Although closely related to the current of precious poetry which commentators see as developing parallel to and distinct from the pre-classical, Malherbian current, the lyric by 1660 is neither precious nor metaphysical nor baroque. In fact, the precious movement itself had by this time lost some of that sense of exclusivity, that desire on the part of the individual to distinguish himself from the common run of men which is one of its defining characteristics. The lyric in particular was in the process of sloughing off in-group mannerisms, private jargon, and innuendo, and learning to speak more or less straightforwardly to everyone. Like the precious poetry whose vogue was in decline, it stands in striking contrast to the passionate outbursts, often motivated by profound religious feeling, of earlier decades (such as Agrippa d'Aubigné's epic poem, *Les Tragiques*; Jean de Sponde's metaphysical sonnets; Jean de la Ceppède's, *Théorèmes Métaphysiques*). A century of evolution and refinement had swept away poetic density, depth of feeling, imaginative power, nature sentiment, affective imagery, and strong rhythmical effect.<sup>31</sup> In place of all this, the lyric substituted: music.

Curiously enough, these conventional lyrics appealed precisely because they seemed to shun the artificial ornaments of earlier poetry. Admittedly, they maintain a certain artifice in their diction. Seldom do they speak as straightforwardly with «the true voice of nature» as a lyric recited by Molière's Alceste in the scene previously referred to:

Si le roi m'avoit donné  
Paris sa grand' ville,  
Et qu'il me fallût quitter  
L'amour de ma mie,  
Je dirois au roi Henri:  
Reprenez votre Paris,  
J'aime mieux ma mie, au gué,  
J'aime mieux ma mie.

(*Le Misanthrope* I, ii)

This simple, popular ditty harks back to the early years of the century. Its rhyme is not rich, Alceste admits, and the style is old-fashioned, but its directness is worth more than all the «frivolous ornaments» of the artificial poetry which everyone else admires. This is the voice of real passion, he maintains. The anonymous poet had brought within the confines of a fixed poetic form a straightforward, unadorned statement of devotion, rich in the natural beauty of unobtrusive alliteration and other sorts of rhythmic vowel and consonant patterns. Yet such a simple statement did not satisfy the dictates of good court taste. The utter simplicity of the popular poem provided a striking contrast to the fop's pretentious and mannered sonnet. Ideally, the lyric combined «the voice of nature» with an unaffected elegance of expression in keeping with the protocol of the courtly life.

31 See Odette de Mourgues, *Metaphysical, Baroque and Précieux Poetry*, pp. 108-117.

In *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, Molière again set two poems in contrast, and this time it is the simpler one which pales in the comparison. The would-be gentleman, M. Jourdain, falls asleep during performance of the elegant air of Jean-Baptiste Lully:

Je languis nuit et jour, et mon mal est extrême  
Depuis qu'à vos rigueurs vos beaux yeux m'ont soumis.  
Si vous traitez ainsi, belle Iris, qui vous aime,  
Hélas! que pourriez-vous faire à vos ennemis?<sup>32</sup>

The language is that of the great mass of light, amorous verse produced in courtly circles. Here again the vocabulary remains extremely general, the word-order conforms to normal speech (with the exception of the euphonic inversion of the second line), and, instead of a conceit too clever by half, the entire poem turns on a simple, well-worn paradox—the idea that the lady causes more anguish to her lover than to her enemies. M. Jourdain finds this *air* «lugubrious,» and expresses the wish that it could be made «a little gayer here and there». He proceeds to illustrate his own idea of a good song, intoning in falsetto something «with sheep in it» that he has recently learned:

Je croyois Janeton  
Aussi douce que belle,  
Je croyois Janeton  
Plus douce qu'un mouton:  
Hélas! Hélas!  
Elle est cent fois, mille fois plus cruelle  
Que n'est le tigre aux bois.

Through this naïve remark, the comic playwright underlined a principal weakness of the poem as he and his contemporaries saw it: the indelicacy of the heavy-handed reference to a *mouton*, sheep. That unlovely word fell with a thud in the stressed position at the end of the first section of the song, and in performance the actor (Molière himself) could make it even more grotesque by exaggerating the nasal pronunciation of the final syllable and drawing out the hooting sound of the penultimate, *mou*. Further, the snapping rhythm of the melody threw the accent and the longest notes onto mute syllables.

32 *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, I, ii, *Œuvres de Molière*, éd. Despois-Mesnard (Grands Ecrivains de la France), Paris, t. VIII (1883). This score is available in the luxurious edition of Lully's works left uncompleted by Henri Prunières (Paris, 1930-1939, II, iii).

The piece is of particular interest because of the two versions given. When the curtain opens, the musician is discovered in M. Jourdain's house composing the song. To a continuous harpsichord accompaniment, seemingly improvised, he tries lines, perfects them and notes them, rejects weak ideas, misplaces word accents and rectifies them. It is a remarkable piece of musical theatricality. See also Meredith Ellis, «The Sources of Jean-Baptiste Lully's Secular Music,» in *Recherches*, VIII (1968), pp. 89-130.

## Je croyois Janeton

Je croy-ois Ja-ne - - ton Aus-si dou - ce que bel - le,  
Je croy-ois Ja - ne - - ton Plus dou - ce qu'un mou - - ton:  
Hé - las! Hé - las! elle est cent fois mil - le  
fois plus cru - el - le. Que n'est le tigre aux bois.

In its reversion to a popular, less sophisticated style, the song sounded woefully weak in comparison with the gracious flow of Lully's melody.

As the chanson text appears in editions of Molière's works (and as set above), the final line seems to have no corresponding rhyme, as does the fifth (*Hélas! Hélas!*). This set-up respects the contour of the melody but violates one of the most firmly established rules of French versification. Particularly when lines of varying lengths are used, rhyme, the only audible indication of structure, is compulsory. However, if the poem is written out as follows:

Hélas! elle est cent fois,  
Mille fois plus cruelle  
Que n'est le tigre aux bois,

it becomes clear that all lines contain rhymes, following the schema *abba, cbc*.

And it is in that form that it appears, as a Minuet, N° XIV, among the chansons in the *Recueil de Paroles de Musique*. No editor of Molière has ever to my knowledge ascribed this poem to its author, nor the melody to the composer, Jean de Sablières.<sup>33</sup> In the monumental

33 Henri Prunières identified the composer in his *Lully*, p. 26, note 1, and elsewhere. The tune was subsequently applied to a Noël which appears in the *Recueil*, f. 102, beginning «Celebrons ce beau jour». Demuth, *French Opera*, p. 139, compares the two pieces, «Je croyois Janeton,» and «Je languis,» but hesitates to accept the attribution of the *air* of the former to Sablières.

«Grands Ecrivains de la France» edition, MM. Despois and Mesnard puzzled over the fact that they found nothing really to criticize in the poem, for, aside from the minor «weakness» of the sheep in the first stanza, it is, they note, a perfectly adequate vehicle for a chanson.<sup>34</sup>

This enigma would have been resolved for them had they known the authorship of the verses. Molière seems to have shared Boileau's disdain for the author of the *Pastorale*, whether or not he saw him and his operatic projects as a threat to his hegemony. Certainly, few courtiers would have had the same difficulties as Despois & Mesnard—and all their successors—in penetrating this mystery. In Perrin's defense, it should be remarked that the great comic, showman that he was, stacked the cards in his own favour when he set up against his courtly *air*, in a delicious setting by Lully, an unassuming chansonnette set in the popular style by the less gifted composer Sablières.

The kind of lyric poetry produced for musical setting in the latter half of the seventeenth century remained popular for several generations. Only with the first stirrings of the new romantic sensibility, the renewed interest in undisguised personalized sentiment, the growing impatience with the stultified and sterile verses produced by that eminently anti-poetic century, the Enlightenment, only then did this style finally fall from favour, almost as abruptly as if Dame Guillotine had caught it as well as the heads it was created to entertain. André Chénier, on the eve of the Revolution, dispatched it with a stroke: «Of all the nations of Europe, the French are those who love poetry the least and who know the least about it. The most fiery places in Quinault are scarcely lukewarm. The success of this hack versifier simply proves how little poetic sense our nation possesses».<sup>35</sup> And the garrulous Castil-Blaze, so quick to accuse every contemporary within the sweep of his pen of blindness and deafness, so sure that all Frenchmen but himself had tin ears as well as chauvinistic bad faith, could find not one good word to say about the «rimaille» the «versicules» which Molière, Quinault, Benserade *et alii* poured out to feed the musicians' inspiration and charm the ears of noble patrons. More than anything else, these comments indicate that by the time the Romantic mood had replaced the rationalist spirit of the Enlightenment, the concept of the lyric had undergone profound changes. The resurgence of lyric poetry and lyric sentiment, the shift from the poetry of paraphrase and metonymy (with an increasingly static and vacuous «poetic vocabulary») to a poetry of metaphor and renewed personal sentiment, carried in its wake a new ideal for the musical lyric.

34 Despois-Mesnard, in *Œuvres de Molière*, t. VIII, p. 54. The text of the poem, they noted, had been discovered by Paulin Paris «dans un ancien manuscrit» or collection of poetry.

35 Chénier, *Œuvres complètes*, éd. Gérard Walter (Pléiade), Paris, 1958, p. 664.

Some of the requirements for lyrics would carry over: clarity of statement, unity of mood, and simple rhythmic patterns may be permanent requirements in the association of music and poetry. There is always in art a certain tension between individual expression, which in its extreme forms makes the work incomprehensible to any but its creator (and even then?), and, at the opposite end of the scale, the demands of convention which, in their purest form, limit personal expression to the point of producing totally predictable work, too conventional to be anything but dull. Great artists achieve a fine balance between the two extremes, either imposing their individual imprint on the most conventionalized materials or working from absence of convention—as often in our own time—to create their own rhetorical systems which the public may learn to follow. In either case, the artist obtains his effects by setting up anticipations in his public which he then shows to have been inadequate. In times of highly conventionalized artistic production, the danger is great that inattention will prevent the observer from noticing the differences which make one work beautiful and another a tissue of clichés. Mozart's music needs more careful listening than does Beethoven's, for the latter makes his invention a great deal more obvious. To the careless or inexperienced listener, Mozart's music can sound «all the same».

The poems written for music in the latter part of the seventeenth century fall far to the side of conventionality, so far in fact that one rarely perceives in them any personal expression, any new perception. The fact is that these ditties tell as little about the total work, the song, for which they were written as, for instance, the vocal parts for bass and tenor preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale tell us about the four-part music D'Assoucy wrote for Corneille's *Andromède*. Just as those parts may suggest harmonies, but provide almost no clue to the soprano melody, so these poems had a supporting, not a starring rôle; they cannot reveal to us the entity which was the song.<sup>36</sup> At best, they indicate some of the structures with which the composer worked, or to which the ditty was «adjusted».

36 Mikel Dufrenne, in *Le Poétique* (Paris, 1965, p. 51), arrives at the phenomenological conclusion that the initiative «mais aussi la part du lion» goes to the musician in the creation of song. «Car lorsqu'un poème est mis en musique, la voix parlée s'efface devant la voix chantée, le chant commande à la parole, et se soucie peu de la contrarier ou de l'altérer. Le plus souvent, cette subordination est telle que le texte n'est qu'un prétexte, et l'auditeur ne s'y trompe pas. Le poème assume alors la même fonction que le titre d'une mélodie: requiem ou joli mois de mai, il amorce en l'auditeur l'état que la musique veut induire en lui, il le prépare à entendre ce que la musique a mission de lui dire» (p. 51).

Further, these poems are perhaps the extreme expression of an age of social reticence, the last period in which poets performed a political and secular social function (expressing the social conscience, but more often propagandistically praising the monarch) rather than the religious one of expressing a people's praise of its deities, while still pretending to speak for a people rather than for themselves. Victor Hugo's attempts to revive the poet's rôle as seer and priest only indicate the extent to which by the nineteenth century the poet had ceased to speak for an entire society or group. Perrin's sort of lyric still speaks for everyone, or at least for all the court, in much the same way that pop music today gives constantly varied voice to the limited preoccupations of the young.

As concerns technique, this lyric carries the classical attitude further than do the great dramatic works of the period. Malherbe's poetic reforms aimed at lyric rather than dramatic poetry, and while they made a profound impact on the drama of the century, they found their most complete realization in lyrics. Or, from another point of view, one might say that the lyric carried the classical ideal in a different direction, for it embraced wholeheartedly the goal of saying not something new, but rather the familiar in a new way. In a light, highly stylized and seemingly facile manner, it celebrates the most common, eternal human activities and emotions: love, jealousy, hope, and pleasure-seeking.

Taking these preliminary remarks as a starting point, the following section presents Perrin's Foreword to the *Recueil de Paroles de Musique* manuscript, with commentaries on points of detail of his lyric theory and practice. Despite his claims to have discovered secrets which he alone understood, his lyric principles are those of his times, as the illustrations to points in the commentary, selected from a variety of sources, will bear out.

## CHAPTER VI

Lyric Theory and Practice  
Foreword to the  
*Paroles de Musique de M. Perrin*

The Foreword has been divided into five sections:

- I Variety, Novelty, and Character of the Collection (paragraphs a and q. 2-3)
- II Aesthetics and Rhetoric: An *Ars Lyrica* (b-e, g)
- III Diction (f and i)
- IV Versification (h, j-l)
- V Forms and Genres (m-z)

These groupings make some slight departure from the order of the paragraphs in the Foreword. Each paragraph of the Foreword has been designated both here and in the complete manuscript by a letter, and some long paragraphs have been divided into shorter segments in order to facilitate reference. Headings have been added in the English version only.

## FOREWORD

a. 1) The mere title of this book and the list of the pieces it contains will easily convince the Reader of this truth, that of all collections of Lyric Poetry, ancient and modern, none has ever offered the public either so much diversity or so much that is new. The ancient Hebrews never went beyond the canticle and the psalm; the Greeks and Latins, the ode or song, the dialogue, and occasional pieces in their declaimed lays; the Germans, Flemish, English, Spanish, and French, *Airs*, *Chansons*, and *Dialogues*. The Italians have gone them all one better with the solo cantata, the ensemble cantata or oratorio, and the opera, or play in music. The present collection offers not only an assortment of all these sorts of pieces, introducing into France the Italian style of cantata and the oratorio composed of several related numbers, and the opera, but also canticles and Latin songs for the Church based on French words, a system which I have recently invented. There is some of every sort of music here: sacred and secular, serious and light-hearted, Latin and French, music for the chamber, the church, and the theatre, for the daytime and the night.

a. 2) What is most unusual is that all these pieces have been tested and have been set to music, in the eight or ten years since I began to apply myself to these sorts of compositions, by all the Intendants and Masters of the Royal Music whose names are indicated in the margin next to each

piece: Messrs. Boësset and Baptiste Lulli, Director of the Orchestra for the King's Chamber, Mons. Lambert, Master of the same orchestra, Sablières, Master of Monsieur's Orchestra, Cambert, Master of that of the late Queen [Anne of Austria, Queen mother, † Jan. 1966], Moulinié, Master of that of the late Monsieur, Gobert, Robert, Dumont, and Expilly, Masters of the King's Chapel orchestra, and several other illustrious and excellent men; and that most of them have been heard and sung before the Court by the Royal musicians whom these composers command. And as for the airs and chansons, there are few people who have not amused themselves singing them, so that one may say of these compositions that they have spread music and joy throughout the Realm.

a. 3) It is true that these various pieces have met with varied reception, which fact I attribute in part to their unequal value and to the worthy judgments listeners have accorded them; in part to the caprices of those listeners, to their personal tastes, their varied capacities for judgment, and their private motives; and finally, to good or bad fortune. For myself, maintaining my wonted imperturbability, I have heard all the comments, without being either elated to the skies by the praises or cast down by the criticisms, my only goal being to draw profit from the reasons alleged either for approbation or censure, to correct my failings and to enter into the spirit and the taste of the times.

a. 4) I say the *good* taste, because if we had wanted to restrict ourselves and to be content with satisfying popular taste, we would never have gone beyond the air and the chansonnette; but since in such pieces as those I have taken great care to try to content the Ladies and Cavaliers who know music in a cavalier fashion, they will pardon me if I have also dared to work for the learned and to advance the perfection of the art by introducing some pieces of music which are more lofty and more serious. It seems to me that the light pieces are sufficiently well represented that they need envy the other nothing; and for my part I declare that I willingly abandon Nanette to the Ladies and Cavaliers, provided that they leave me Adonis. But to tell the truth [The ms. seems to omit a line here. Read: since there are some who] sing the one [*lid est*, the *galant* style] loud and clear, and war against the other on the sly, I do not know what those who now see them come to light will say, and what judgment they may form of their own wit and criticism. I beg once again, for the sake of that Nymph (Nanette), their permission to present for the others as succinctly as I can in this Foreword some observations that I have made on the composition of words for music and the rules which I have followed: this explanation is absolutely necessary for understanding this work.

b) *Purpose of the Lyric*

And to begin with the composition of the Words in general: it has seemed to me that the purpose of Lyric Poetry was to give occasion to a perfect and polished music, which, in order to transport the entire man, should touch at one and the same time the ear, the wit, and the heart;

the ear by beauty of sound, the wit by beauty of content and by a beautiful musical composition well conceived and well worked out, and the heart by inspiring in him some tender sentiment.

c) *Subjects and Modes*

c. 1) On this basis, I have tried to make my lyric expression beautiful, touching, and appropriate to singing, and to this end I have always chosen the mode (or «subject») from among the tender passions which touch the heart sympathetically, that is, which inspire in it a similar emotion of love or hate, fear or desire, rage, pity, wonder, &c.; and I have excluded all profound discussions and meditations such as are done in cold reason, and even the deep passions caused by serious subjects, which touch the heart without moving it.

c. 2) My reason is that all these kinds of matters which derive from a cool head and quiet heart, should most appropriately be recited in a uniform voice, that is to say a steady and moderate one, which neither quickens nor slows, neither rises nor falls more than moderately and by scarcely noticeable intervals and movements. But this cannot jibe with song, which constantly bends and modifies speech to widely separate notes and highly varied movements, or tempi, whereas the tender and playful impulses and emotions of the heart are expressed naturally and agreeably by passionate and flexible voices. Thus, for lyric modes, I have limited myself to the supernatural, the amorous, and the playful, or comic.

d) *Who may sing?*

I have even taken care that the musical characters I have sing should themselves be wonder-struck, or lovers, or comical figures, as for instance Poets, musicians, lovers, Shepherds, Country bumpkins, Drunkards, Women, Children, &c. and I have chosen those who legend and history tell us sang or danced readily: Apollo, Pan, Pallas, Orpheus, Loves, Nymphs, Bacchants, &c.: David, Solomon, the three children in the furnace, &c.; and I have avoided solemn characters in whom the transports of song are out of place, like old men, judges, &c. I have even eliminated serious allegorical characters, like the Virtues, Europe, France, Justice, Reason, &c, but not those concerned with love and pleasure, like Poetry, Music, Games, Childhood, Topping, Love, Folly, &c.

e) *Agreement between content and mode*

As for the thought, I have made it depend upon objects and actions which fit naturally and point for point into the modes I wanted to use. In material which is meant to excite joy or wonder of a serious sort I have chosen the most beautiful, most agreeable, and most wonderful objects of nature: the Sky, the Stars, plants, flowers, streams, birds, breezes, &c; and the acts of pleasure and wonder: singing, dancing, sleeping, making

love, conversing of pleasant matters, fighting, flying, running lightly, &c. In comical subjects, I have, in the same manner, employed ridiculous objects and actions, country bumpkins, peasant girls, old women, cripples, and everything which bears the character of misshapen nature; and for actions: playing, falling, laughing, scourging, &c. Finally, in subjects which are meant to inspire sadness or pity, I have selected my material from objects which excite that sort of feeling: wildernesses, rocks, caverns, prisons, and all those things which pierce the heart with images of horror or compassion. I have also sought to make the thought refined and delicate, but I have avoided that which is too ingenious or too profound, for it would occupy the mind of the listener too completely, and prevent the application of the ear to the music, which it should be the principal end of the Lyricist to support.

f) *Diction: Figures*

f. 1) As for the means of expression, since the nature of verse is entirely pathetic, I have made my diction as impassioned as I could, and composed entirely of the most powerful and most moving (rhetorical) figures: exclamations of joy, sorrow, and wonder, either serious or comic; questions, lamentations, pathetic sententiæ, oppositions, repetitions of words, conversions of sentences, supplications, invocations and invitations, apostrophes to inanimate objects, and subtle and surprising closures.

f. 2) I have maintained the sentence in its natural order, so that the mind would in no way have difficulty understanding it; and accordingly I have made its order correspond to the order of human thought and ordinary discourse, in such a way that things which act precede the things which are acted upon, as in good ordinary prose, and I have avoided with great care all transpositions which are either forced or unfamiliar.

f. 3) I have made my diction, in so far as possible, sweet and pleasant-sounding to the ear, avoiding with care even the slightest harshness, and a good deal more carefully than even the most sensitive do in poetry destined for recitation.

f. 4) I have kept the sense-groups, the cæsurae (half-lines) and rhymes (full lines), short and broken up, in order to give more rest and freedom to the voice, and to leave the phrase open for the sort of repetitions which music demands in its repeated lines and melodic imitation.

f. 5) I have avoided frequent elisions, particularly in the cæsurae, because they deprive the voice of that freedom and rest which it needs, and force it to continue the musical line in a single breath and thus wear out the lungs and the voice.

f. 6) I have made my diction concise and precise, containing all the necessary words and purged of all superfluous ones.

f. 7) Finally I have endeavoured to make it elevated and poetic, but in moderation, and without exaggerated hyperboles, allusions to too-unfamiliar myths, or far-fetched or uncommon metaphors.

g) *Six Styles*

g. 1) As for styles, since the soul touched by feelings of sorrow or joy may be strongly moved, may languish, or may feel a moderate emotion, in the expression which the soul makes through discourse I have distinguished six kinds of styles: the passionate joyous, languishing joyous, and temperate joyous; and in the same way, the overwhelmingly sorrowful, the languishing, and the restrained.

g. 2) And, so that the musicians might easily vary the music, as well in melody as in mode and tempo, I have tried constantly to vary my styles too, particularly in the long works, and to pass often from one to the other, but not abruptly from the languishing to the passionate or from the passionate to the languishing, without passing through the moderate style. Thus the mode of expression is more natural and more satisfying, and does not oblige the musician to make sudden and opposite transitions in his singing and mood, changes which, when they are too closely juxtaposed, are equally faulty in music.

h) As for syllabic qualities, since one must necessarily take into account long and short syllables in musical verses because they correspond to notes which are themselves short or long, I have constantly and exactly followed this principle in all my Lyric compositions. And although because of the mute e's in our tongue, quantity is largely indeterminate, and syllables are almost all ambivalent and can fit with equal ease all sorts of notes, I have nonetheless distinguished the syllables which are necessarily long or short, and when working for a free measure, I have attempted to produce a beautiful diversity of long and short syllables; or of uncertain (ambivalent) syllables, such that there would be no more than three or four longs or shorts in a row, and when composing for a given melody, I have made short or uncertain syllables correspond to the short notes, and long or uncertain ones, to the long notes. Now, in this question of quantity the ear is the judge, and easily recognizes quantity through usage.

i) *Lyric Vocabulary: Sounds*

As for lyric vocabulary, I have chosen my words short, such that they never exceed four syllables, and contain a good mixture of long and short syllables, or are made up of ambivalent syllables. I have taken care that they be in current use in polite society, that they be sweet and pleasant-sounding to the ear, sweet and light when expressing free and light (*leste*) things, sweet and heavy when expressing heavy and slow things—and that they express in their sounds or their pronunciation, some image of the objects, the actions, the passions, or the sounds they stand for.

j) *Rhyme*

For the rhymes, I have always made sure in feminine rhymes that the penultimate syllable on which the cadence normally occurs, and which requires a sustained tone and a long note, be either long or uncertain, but most often long and strongly felt. To this point most of those who write for music ordinarily pay no attention whatsoever

k) *Length of Line*

For the length of the Lyric line, I have varied it from one to thirteen syllables, avoiding, however, the masculine line of nine or eleven syllables and the feminine of ten or twelve, and in such cases dividing the line in two.

l) *Mixing Masculine and Feminine Lines*

As for the use of masculine and feminine lines together, it is certainly pleasant, since it permits the composer to vary cadences with masculine ones and feminine ones, but not altogether necessary (whereas it is necessary in declaimed poetry) because the variety of the melody gives sufficient variety to the lines, and because masculine lines are more frequent in songs (*chansons*) since they follow more closely the dance rhythms on which they are built. I have taken care only that there be in my free compositions no more than three lines in a row on the same rhyme, unless it be in comic and sprightly things where it is well to affect the ridiculous and the distorted.

m) *Strophes*

For the strophe, I have not gone beyond the octet, and I have found that the best forms are Couplets, Quatrains, Cinquains, Sextets of short lines, or of lines of varying length, because, as we have remarked, the shorter and more clipped the phrase, the better suited it is to musical setting. I have composed my phrase of regular and irregular verses at will when working in a free measure, but most often irregular because in that way the verses allow for more variety in the melody.

n) *Kinds of Pieces*

These are more or less the rules I have followed in writing words for music in general. As far as the pieces are concerned, they correspond to the musical forms for which they are written, which are either solo pieces (*récits*) for a single voice or ensemble pieces (*pièces de concert*) for several voices. The *récits* include the Air, the Chanson, and the solo cantata (*grand Récit*); and the ensemble pieces include Dialogues, Duos, Trios, Quartets, and Choral pieces, either for the Chamber, for Night-time, for the Church, or for the stage. Now, we have provided examples in each of these categories in this collection, and it will be well here to give a word of explanation of these forms.

o) *The AIR*

o. 1) The *Air* proceeds in a free and grave measure and movement, and thus it is suited to express sincere, honest love, and the tender emotions which it evokes in the heart, emotions of sorrow or joy, by various accidents or events such as presence, absence, return, pursuit, desire, hope, fear, fury, disdain, or enjoyment, &c. It never exceeds six long lines, nor is contained in less than the heroic couplet. The best in my opinion are quatrains, cinquains, and sextets of irregular lines. It may be composed of three parts, but it is more successful in two, which correspond to two statements of the melody.

o. 2) It may be combined with a rondeau motif, at the beginning, the middle, the end, or wherever; and these devices are quite graceful in music, because they allow for repetitions, imitations, and relations in the melody, on which the beauty of that art depends. Yet in these Rondeaux and refrains, the tag-lines and their return must be brought about with subtlety and be well turned; and their meanings must be unexpected and different as possible each time they are repeated. The *Air* should also generally have, like the Rondeau, an ingenious turn of thought at the end, and should in fact be a Madrigal set to music. Still, a beautiful turn of phrase and a touching manner will often suffice, but when the two can be brought together, the work is in all ways accomplished.

p) *Use of Second verse*

p. 1) For the sake of brevity, and because serious matters easily become tiring, the *Air* is given only a second verse or a second stanza, the rules of which are that it should be exactly like the first, not only as concerns the union of the meaning to the number and length of lines, syllabic quantity and cæsurae or other pauses and vocally accentuated places, but even to the point of preserving the principal figures of the first verse, particularly when they are strongly marked, as are those of exclamation, interrogation, or lamentation. Now, in these second verses, it is important to retain, insofar as possible, the refrains of the first verses; but they may also be changed, and others substituted in their place in the case of a change of rhyme, as you will see in some of our *Airs*.

p. 2) As for *Airs* in rondeau form, they may do without a second verse. Since the words of the rondeau line return at the end as well as at the beginning of the verse, it is natural to repeat the rest, and the entire song is thus repeated, taking the place of a second verse. Still, it is possible to produce second verses which unite with the words of the rondeau refrain, as you will see in some of ours; or even second verses in free style, retaining only the figure (the conceit) of the rondeau to correspond with its melodic repetition.

q) *The CHANSON; the Lyric Art; the Academy*

q. 1) The *Chanson* differs from the *Air* in that the *Air* uses, as we have said, a free measure and the *Chanson* a fixed measure—dance or other—either entirely or in some of its parts. The most common are composed for or to dance melodies, either serious or gay. The serious ones are Sarabande, serious Gavottes, and Courantes, and call for tender and grave texts, similar to those for *Airs*: and the *Chansonettes*, based on light-hearted dances, such as light Gavottes, Minuets, Gigue, Passepieds, Bourrées, Canaris, Gaillardes, light ballet airs &c., are better suited to playful or rustic words. You will find here poems composed to melodies or for matching songs (*Chants pareils*) of all sorts, even some designated to fit a variety of dance movements, and which are half Gavotte and half Gigue, or half Gigue and half Bourrée, &c.

q. 2) But the secret of composing matching songs which are appropriate to all dances, an idea which is entirely of my own invention and marvelously successful, that secret I reserve to teach to the public when I publish my *Lyric Art*, which shows the way to compose words for music and how to set them to music successfully and how to sing them properly. This Foreword is merely a shorter version of that work, which I offer the public in advance. Therein, I shall explain things in greater detail, and I shall discuss the Art in the manner appropriate to the Arts, through rules and examples, and I shall teach a number of interesting things invented by myself, among others the way to compose words on a written-out melody on the notes themselves.

q. 3) It would be desirable, in order to examine and establish the rules of this Art, rules so useful for the advancement and the conciliation of Poetry and Music, that His Majesty decree the establishment of an Academy of Poetry and Music, composed of Poets and Musicians, or, if possible, of Musician-Poets, who would set themselves to accomplishing this task, which would be of no little benefit to the public and bring no little glory to the nation.

r) *Grands récits, or Cantatas*

You will next find a collection of *Grands récits*, or solo Cantatas, designated for several related melodies, a form first practiced by the Italians, and which I am the first to introduce into France; the first one to have been sung being the one you will find here called «The Jealousy of Polyphemus,» which I have taken from an Italian cantata on a similar subject set to music by Master Moulinié; and the second, «The Death of Thysbe,» set to music by M. de Sablières, also taken from the Italian. The effect of such cantatas, whatever the ignorant may say, is remarkable, provided they not be too long—not exceeding five or six short stanzas, particularly the serious ones, for the frolicsome ones are less boring—that they show a variety of styles in the words and the melodies, and

finally that they be well sung by excellent voices. Given these conditions, it must be admitted that they can be remarkably beautiful and touching.

s) *Ensemble Pieces*

The ensemble pieces, for several voices or groups, should be composed in such a way that all the persons who sing them may do so with understanding and feel the passion which they express, whether they be singing separately or together, whether they be united or divided. Therefore, musicians are mistaken when they set to part-music airs and chansons whose words express the passion of a single individual; such words are appropriate only for singing in a *récit* by a solo voice alone. There are in this collection texts for Dialogues, Duos, Trios, Choirs or Grand Airs in parts, Chansons in parts, and Ensemble pieces combining choirs and solos. The general rule that must be observed in the composition of these pieces is to have the choirs sing only in the repeats, and to be sure that the words are first declaimed by solo voices, once, twice, or three times at least, so as not to confuse the pronunciation and so that they will first have been distinctly understood.

t) *Drinking songs*

Next, you will find the drinking songs, containing several *Airs*, *Chansons*, *Récits*, *Dialogues*, and *Ensembles*, composed according to these same rules, and needing no other particular remarks but that, since the subject matter is entirely light-hearted, I have modeled these lyrics primarily after the spirit of the *chansonette*, suited to gay movements, whether of dance or not.

u) *Serenades*

The *Serenades* follow the drinking songs and are also *Airs*, *Songs*, *Récits*, &c. Composed for performance at night, their only rule is that they not stray too far from their subject, which is Sleep, awakening, night, and the things and actions of the night, and which accompany the fading, absence, or return of daylight.

v) *Mascarades and Ballets*

After that, there are the lyrics for *Mascarades* and *Ballets*: first, two masquerades, the one entirely vocal, and the other composed of vocal music and dances; then a plan for a *Grand Ballet*, also involving singing and dance; and finally the *Récits* which I have written for Royal Ballets, and which have been much circulated at Court and in society.

w) *Operas*

What will seem most interesting in my opinion are three plays in music, or operas, which follow: the first in the Pastoral genre, the next in the Comic, and the last in the Tragic. I wrote these plays with the express purpose of proving to the French nation that such plays can succeed on the French stage, in the various dramatic genres, and with even greater effect than they have in Italy, where they are the wonder and the most pleasant pastime of any nation. This result is assured as long as they are judiciously constructed and formed according to the rules of the Art, of which we will treat at length in our Lyric Art, and of which the principal ones are: that the work should last no more than two or three hours in performance, which is the greatest length of the most excellent music and the limit of French patience in public entertainment; and that they be composed entirely from one end to the other, as these are, of lyric pieces suitable for vocal setting, well balanced and varied, including *Airs*, *Chansons*, *Récits*, *Dialogues*, and *Ensemble* numbers.

x 1) *The Pastorale d'Issy*

The first of these plays is a light Pastoral, or if you prefer, an Eclogue, which was set to music by M. Cambert, Master of the Orchestra of the late Queen, and performed eight or ten times in the village of Issy near Paris in 1659, by an illustrious company, of one and the other sex, who took equal pleasure in it with the public. After that, their Royal Highnesses and his late Excellency desired to see it and came to Vincennes. I shall not speak here of its reception, for I am content to entrust that to the judgment of more than six thousand persons of quality who heard it.

x 2) *Ariane*

The second is the Comedy of *Ariane*, set to music by the same Master Cambert (but never performed), which I had composed at the time of the Peace [of the Pyrenees] for His late Excellency, and which due to his death has remained unperformed.

x 3) *The Death of Adonis*

The third is the *Tragedy of the Death of Adonis*, set to music by M. Boësset, of which His Majesty has heard several selections at his *petit coucher*, sung by those same musicians—with many signs of satisfaction on his part—and of which he has often had the kindness to assume the defense against the entire cabale of the *petit coucher*, who were trying to scuttle it for their own private motives either of personal interest or jealousy. The public will be able to judge for itself the quality of the verses now, and soon that of the music as well, my intention being to offer an edition of the score which that same Intendant of Music has composed for the first Acts of this play, in order to let the public see the power of

that Court Cabal to suppress works of excellence, and now it is possible in this country to fool even the most expert ears and the most enlightened eyes. For this music is without doubt the most learned, the most varied, and the most moving that has been heard, I do not say in France but in all of Europe, for several centuries. That is what I maintain publicly, and I accept quite willingly to be proved wrong if the results do not live up to my promise in the opinion of the public and of a disinterested posterity.

y) *Words for Sacred Music*

So much for secular music; you will next find lyrics for sacred and devotional music, both French for chamber performance and Latin for church performance. First the French, *Airs*, *Chansons*, *Récits*, composed according to our rules; then the Latin Lyrics, in which, besides these same rules, I have been careful first to keep the Latin expression not only elegant but clear and easily understood, composing them, to this purpose, of «Frenchified» words, if I may coin a term, which have passed into our tongue, and avoiding words and phrases peculiar to the Latin language. In the second place, I have composed these poems according to the patterns of French lyric verse, not of regular lines and strophes in the Latin and Greek manner (because I have found that careful working out of longs and shorts had no effect but to embarrass the Poet and the Musician needlessly, and even prevented the one and the other from varying these underpinnings, by establishing a constant equality among the words), but rather of *stances* in our manner, that is, composed of irregular lines and of a pleasing variety of long and short syllables. I have been careful to express only slow things in feminine Latin lines with slow feminine rhymes and long syllables, and lively, light things in masculine lines with a light rhyme and short, lively syllables.

z) *Latin Pieces*

There are in these Latin poems two sorts of pieces for music; *Canticles*, or words for motets; and words for songs, or *Chansons*. The difference between the two is that the stanzas of the *Canticles* are unequal and composed of irregular lines, because the motets to which they must conform are pieces composed of separate, varied sections, while the songs are composed of identical strophes and of lines corresponding the one to the other, because they must all fit and be applicable to the same melody. You will find here long and short *Canticles* from four lines to thirty; any longer than that, the *Canticle* would grow tiresome. There are some which begin and end with a Rondeau theme, others which are divided by refrains, all musical devices being as successful in Latin as in French, so long as they are employed with discretion and do not force the seriousness or gravity of the subject too much. There are *Récits* for solo voice, *Airs*, *Chansons*, and Duos, Trios, and Dialogues for several voices, modeled upon the French pieces, with the exception of the songs in light dance forms: Giges, Minuets, Bourrées, &c.; these can only with difficulty be

made compatible with the seriousness of holy and sacred subjects, which easily permit tenderness but rarely gaiety and particularly facetiousness, the only moods which suit such musical forms. You will find a larger selection of these Latin pieces in the book of Canticles for the Royal Chapel, which we recently offered to His Majesty and to the public. Those given here have been written since that time, and have been set to music largely by Mssrs. Expilly and Dumont and sung in the Chapel before His Majesty.

FINIS

I Introduction: Variety, Novelty, and Character of this Collection

a. 1) The author of the *Recueil de Paroles de Musique* prided himself on having mastered, or at least practiced, more lyric styles than anyone before him. This variety alone, as he claimed, makes the collection unusual. His avowed goal to write *paroles de musique* in all the known styles and forms, from canticle and oratorio through drinking song and serenade to cantata and opera—like his explicit intention in the *Pastorale* to employ and illustrate «all the passions which can be portrayed on the stage»—betrays the influence of a system of schooling which insisted upon formalized mental operations (such as *distinction* and *enumeration*), often to the exclusion of perception and judgment. Perrin's principles sometimes vary from those which were commonly accepted for other sorts of poetry. From the point of view of effectiveness, the content of his poetic text, the *fond*, had for him relatively little importance. Others held the same opinion. Menestrier wrote: «C'est du choix des mots, de leur arrangement, de leurs mesures, de leur nombre, de leur cadence, de la nature des Vers, & du génie d'une langue que dépend le succès du chant pour produire ces grands effets que les anciens ont admirez» (*Des Représentations en musique*, Paris, 1682, p. 94).

a. 2) Perrin could proudly proclaim that his lyrics had been «musicked» by the leading court composers. In all, seventeen musicians are specifically named as having set one or more pieces from the *Recueil*. Table A at the end of this volume indicates the number of works in each category scored by each composer named. Certain of the airs, chansons, and dialogues were as much as eight or ten years old; some twenty pieces, including the *Pastorale*, had appeared in the *Œuvres de Poésie* of 1661, as indicated in our edition. Table B lists all the pieces found among the «Diverses Paroles de Musique» in that collection. Composers whose names appear there are indicated by an asterisk in Table A. This collection adds some new names, notably Jean-Baptiste Boësset and Bénigne de Bacilly, and—a real feather in the poet's cap—Baptiste Lulli.<sup>1</sup> Lully had set relatively few pieces (four chansons and one air) and, in all probability, nothing for several years. The names of Sablières and Perdigal appear here with the greatest frequency. Jean de Sablières had been cryptically designated in the collection of 1661 by the initials D. S. In some cases, two composers had set the same text. Therefore, totals do not necessarily represent the number of works in the category.

<sup>1</sup> Some might wonder whether Bacilly, whose *Remarques curieuses sur l'Art de bien chanter* are contemporary with this manuscript, had Perrin in mind when he referred scathingly to those poets who force their poems upon the most famous composers in hopes they will vindicate the poet's self-estimation by setting their verses to music: «the prevelant practice is for poets to give their words to those who are considered to be the most famous composers of the musical world». «These artists become most indignant when a composer who has received some sonnet or other from their condescending hands nevertheless allows it to languish for years in his pocket without even dreaming of setting it to music, even though

Perrin's recent production had consisted largely of the devotional lyrics with which he maintained his position at court while nurturing his dream of producing operas in French. More than half of those given here appear without a composer's name; not surprisingly, since they had been written after the publication of the *Cantica pro Capella Regis*, some months earlier.<sup>2</sup> We note the curious absence of two of the court chapel composers, Gobert and Robert, although all four are mentioned in the Foreword as having set some of the lyrics. The manuscript shows signs of fatigue and haste in copying by the time the devotional lyrics are reached, and it is not unlikely that the copyist (Perrin himself was probably involved in this clean copy) omitted some names toward the end. In other sections, only the most recently composed texts lacked music; among the airs, for instance, N° LI, LIII. LV, and LVI.

a. 3) Odette de Mourgues has remarked that «précieux poetry gives us the lowest common denominator of the literary tastes in the most sophisticated circles in a given period» (*Metaphysical, Baroque, and Précieux Poetry*, p. 112). It was for these circles that Perrin wrote. Lyrics, by their very nature, seem to seek that most general level, for it is not until poetry has lost the density of intellectual challenge that it opens itself to the interpenetration of music. Writing at a time when that spirit and that taste were undergoing transformation, he was neither capable of the hard-headed, pessimistic clear-sightedness that characterizes artists of the 1660's, nor quite free any longer to indulge in the free flights of fancy and uninhibited hyperbole which gave the works of a few years earlier their peculiar vitality.

This interim between the idealism of the 1630's and an unflinching realism apparent in the disillusioned 1670's, when a new generation imposed its own tastes, had characteristics perhaps best illustrated in the pre-operatic dramas of Philippe Quinault. Often designated as tragedies, the most serious of these plays preserve the complexities of earlier plotting practices, yet contain no hint of the inspiring moral strength we find in Corneille's heroes. They paint moral turpitude with little sense of that unavailing struggle against fate which gives tragic grandeur to Racine's heroes and heroines. They consistently place a strong heroine between two men, the one purportedly villainous, the other supposedly noble of heart and courageous in battle. Yet the characters, drawn not from life but from the sentimental heroic novels of La Calprenède and M<sup>lle</sup> de Scudéry, remain not only undistinguished but—at least in their speech—indistinguishable. They all speak as though they had stepped directly onto the stage from a precious salon.

he may have praised the poem's quality to the skies in their presence. The object and aim of these poets, of course, is to proclaim it to the world in general the very minute one of their poems is set to music by a reputable composer» (pp. 69-70, 113; tr. Caswell, pp. 33 and 51). Perrin had enough success in finding composers to set his lyrics that this would scarcely seem to be the case.

2 Vide Norbert Dufourcq, *Jean-Baptiste de Boësset*, Paris, 1962, p. 54. Among the composers who elected to set Perrin's motets and Latin lyrics were

Similarly, Perrin's desire to adapt his style to current tastes, whose drift he perceived but imperfectly, and his inability to lift his thought above a certain level of mediocrity which he had known at the court of Gaston d'Orléans deprive his subjects as well as his diction of nobility. His libretti, some of the chansons, and the «Mascarade du Roi Guillemot» betray a penchant for infantile comic effects, a kind of humor more at home on the Pont Neuf and in the street fairs than on the operatic stage or in the apartments of royalty. Even Molière, though with a surer comic verve, was to grant a prominent place in his final comedy, *Le Malade imaginaire* (1673), to enemas and chamberpots, placing Argan's famous *chaise percée* downstage center, as it were. The Orphic ideal called for a more elevated vision. Besides, counter to these trends, the growing spirit of *pudeur*, which easily turned to prudery, joined forces with the royal taste for grandeur in imitation of the pomp of the Roman Empire and the desire to achieve or recover the sublime in art.<sup>3</sup> Since the disinterested heroic spirit could no longer be accorded the credence it had enjoyed in Corneille's first great tragedies, poets such as Quinault, and their audiences, learned to seek the sublime in style rather than in the heart.

As the century drew to a close, metaphoric excess and bombast came in for increasing criticism, such devices having for many years been in favor in certain circles. Somehow, arbiters of taste less often bothered to condemn the low, burlesque style, which enjoyed only a short moment of popularity during the years of turmoil and never really threatened serious art. An important comic work contemporary with Perrin's first poems, Paul Scarron's *Virgile travesti*, a burlesque of the *Aeneid*, recounted the heroic events of that poem in lowly language which degraded them to the level of vulgar expression. A few years later, tastes had changed and Boileau preferred the contrary comic device: his mock-heroic epic, *Le Lutrin* (model for Pope's *Rape of the Lock*), told a totally inconsequential story in the loftiest terms. In this respect, both the librettist of *Pomone* and the author of *Le Malade imaginaire* misjudged the taste they sought to satisfy.

Dumont, Gobert, Cambert, Sablières, and Lully, who won acclaim for a piece beginning *O lachrymæ* (from the *Cantica pro Capella Regis*). Expilly chose a canticle by Perrin for his composition masterpiece, and the King remarked that he had «combattu avec des armes avantageuse» (Nuittier & Thoinan, *Les Origines*, p. 78).

3 The word «sublime» was coming into use as the idea it expressed gained adherents. Boileau's translation of the pseudo-Longinus *Traité du Sublime* appeared in 1674. In the preface to that work, he predicted that it might well be condemned by some of his contemporaries, «men accustomed to debauchery and the excesses of our modern poets». «The sublime style,» he continued, «always calls for elevated language (*grands mots*); but the sublime itself may occur in a single thought, in a single figure, in a turn of phrase».

Taken as a whole, though, the *Recueil* gives a stronger impression of serious purpose than of frivolity. Had Perrin's more ambitious secular texts—his airs and operas—like his sacred lyrics, contained larger doses of elevated language and completely avoided the «enjoué,» they might have given a stronger impression of that nobility of spirit whose absence contemporaries such as Saint-Evremond found so disappointing. Simple songs, on the other hand, do not really call for elevated language, as Perrin rightly maintained. What they do demand, and what he sought to give them, is a natural turn of phrase and a directness of statement commensurate with their scope and subject. He adopted as an appropriate mode of expression for lyric sentiments the pastoral, which he developed over a relatively broad range of moods. While he failed to discover any way of effecting a transition from the mincing insignificance of bucolic convention to loftier subjects, he is certainly not to blame for all the fragile bric-a-brac of pastoral lyrics gathering dust in the poetic attics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He neither invented the mode nor popularized it, but only used what was current. No more for him than for anyone else was it a question of renewing the subject, of rejecting hackneyed mythological conventions and rhetorical adornments. Lyrics had to follow familiar paths. It might be argued even then that his libretti reveal a failure of nerve. He did not perhaps dare to be as different as he might have been. Although he carried the genre one step forward, Gilbert and Quinault, after him, brought it a great deal further. Still, in his airs and chansons, we may, if we are attentive, occasionally catch a faint aroma of freshness, enough to suggest the appeal they once held for composers and audiences. In both song and opera, then, he attacked the slopes of Parnassus, carved some footholds, and opened the way to others, without himself attaining the summit.

a. 4) The final section of the opening paragraph stresses the differences between serious art and the light, popular sorts of entertainment which «treat art in a cavalier fashion». The terms call for some explanation. «Chanter à la cavalière» meant impromptu singing, without accompaniment and without other voices. Anyone could sing, hum, or whistle a dance tune, a drinking song, a vaudeville, a lusty, lascivious, or amorous chanson, a narrative *brunette*. Even when set by serious composers, such pieces reflected folk traditions. Not so, serious song, which required specialized training, particularly in embellishment; for its music (and its poetry, so Perrin and Bacilly claimed) were more difficult to create and more demanding on performer and listener. Ideally, it offered comparatively greater rewards.

A comparable distinction between the light chanson or popular-style tune and the air or serious art song persists today. The difference between the two resides not in the subject matter, for serious song may be amusing, nor in the quality of the poetry, for the same poems sometimes serve for both, but in a trait which the term *mélodie*, in use since the nineteenth century to designate the French art song, indicates modestly by antiphrasis. That is, popular song consists of a tune with words; on this the

singer imposes his style, supported by the work of an arranger. The *mélodie*, on the other hand, consists of a complete setting of the text. The performers interpret only in a relatively limited sense. In the seventeenth century, the situation was somewhat different. Performers had as much liberty as jazz musicians in our century. In fact, the more serious the music, the more elaborate the interpretive embellishments. Jazz music and folk song correspond more closely to the two styles Perrin distinguishes than do commercial («pop») and art song. This situation prevailed at least until Lully took over the opera.

Complexity and length of pieces as well as subject and tone contributed to the distinction between «cavalier» style and the higher art—*confer* the poems in the first two sections of the *Recueil*. Perrin wrote for both styles, and whatever the inadequacies of his inspiration, his ambitions for his art were never less than serious. In either style, his writing shows the influence of the literary tastes at court. With the exception of the theatre, the traditional vehicles of serious poetic expression found little support during these years among the public that mattered. One writer remarked that there was not a courtier capable of reading through an entire ode without yawning (quoted in Winegarten, *Lyric Poetry in the Age of Malherbe*, pp. 113-114). Hence, Perrin's defensive posture toward his own preference for «Adonis» over «Nanette». The former, of course, is the hero of his only essay in *tragédie-en-musique*, inspired by Marino's much-admired poem. The subject required treatment in heroic, or at least heroic-pastoral style. Nanette, a popular rustic diminutive (not to be confused with the conventional names given idealized characters in pastoral literature: Philis and Tircis, for instance), figures several times in the collection of chansons. In protesting, then, he refers not to the «airs de la basse cour,» the scullery songs which Bénigne de Bacilly also scorned,<sup>4</sup> but rather to two sorts of courtly song, serious and light. And despite pressures to supply the latter, he would have preferred to compose only the former. He knew how much his fellow courtiers enjoyed a hearty drinking song. He hoped they would also learn to appreciate more elevated subjects. To some of his gifted contemporaries, a Boileau or a Molière, Perrin's poetic talents seemed at best limited, as indeed they appear to us. No doubt the «pinte et fagot» and the sausages of his drinking songs, the mushrooms and melons of *Pomone* already jarred the sensibilities of those who wanted elegance and decorum above all else in artistic expression. In his defense, though, it can be said that there is scarcely a scurrilous line in the entire collection of his lyrics. The airs maintain a high tone. He seldom falls into the excesses which had been in vogue just a few years earlier; in fact, his greatest weakness is his timidity.

4 Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, p. 86, tr. Caswell, p. 39. *Vide* Prunières, «Un Maître du chant au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Bénigne de Bacilly,» *Revue de musicologie*, VII, 8 (novembre 1923), pp. 156-160. Noting his triple production as composer, lyricist, and singing teacher, Gérolde (*L'Art du chant*, p. 166) quotes the appreciations of his talent by Sébastien de Brossard: «... un prêtre de Basse-Normandie, qui avoit un génie admirable pour composer des airs françois desquels il faisoit souvent les paroles; ainsi il avoit une espèce de musique naturelle qui lui fournissoit de très

II *Æsthetics and Rhetoric: An Ars Lyrica*

q. 2-3) As one might expect, at a time when an entire society was pressing toward order and stability through definition and rules, the middle and later years of the century produced a large number of poetics and rhetorics. By 1662, Molière felt impelled to take a poke at the proliferation of theoretical works. In the «Avertissement» to *Les Fâcheux*, he wrote:

It is not my intention here to examine whether all this could have been better, and whether all those who took pleasure in the play laughed according to the rules: the time will come to publish my comments on the plays I will have written, and I have no doubt that I shall be able to show, in the style of a truly great author, that I know how to quote Aristotle and Horace.<sup>5</sup>

beaux chants; mais comme il n'avoit pas assez de musique pratique, il étoit obligé de se servir de l'oreille et de la main d'autres pour les noter»; and of Lecerc de la Viéville: «... homme d'un génie borné, mais exact....». Gérold reads in these two comments the opinion that Bacilly was «a sort of dilettant» in composition, but one who had made a meritorious attempt to establish a theory of art song.

Let us take this opportunity to offer a slight correction to Professor Caswell's text. His translation of the expression «airs de la basse cour» as «with a running bass» is an interesting hypothesis, but not linguistically admissible. With a proper spirit of scholarly inquiry, he expresses his doubts and gives the French phrase in a note. The *basse cour*, lower court or yard, was where servants congregated. Thus, the expression implies a distinction between the sorts of courtly music we have described and popular music of the sort the scullery-maids might sing. It is well to recall that Lully—like Verdi later—could proudly boast that some of his melodies were so popular that one could hear people of all stations singing them.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Despois-Mesnard, t. III, pp. 28-29. Corneille had recently published his collected works, with extensive critical and theoretical appendages (1660). Among the more important treatises may be noted the *Pratique du théâtre* of François d'Aubignac, published in 1657, although written earlier; Michel de Pure's *Idée des spectacles anciens et nouveaux*, Paris, 1668; Bernard Lamy's *La Rhétorique ou l'Art de Parler*, Amsterdam, 1688. Yves le Hir has studied the rhetorical doctrines of these and other writers in *Rhétorique et stylistique de la Pléiade au Parnasse*, Paris, 1960; *vide* also Daniel Mornet's *Histoire de la clarté française*, Paris, 1929.

I use the term «rhetoric» here to include poetics, since the two had long since become virtually indistinguishable in their methods if not their goals. Both sought to produce emotional response, to move an audience. *Vide* Donald Clark, *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance*, New York, 1922 (repr. 1963). It is during the Baroque period that the study of rhetoric comes into its own; *vide* Hugh Davidson, *Audience, Words, and Art: Studies in Seventeenth Century French Rhetoric*, Columbus (Ohio), 1964; A. Donald Sellstrom, «Rhetoric and the Poetics of French Classicism,» *French Review* XXXIV (1960), pp. 425-431.

The time was ripe for codification, and codification was the gateway to respectability. Many a writer expounded in meticulous detail the distinctions among genres and the rules governing them, with examples to illustrate each point. Perrin's ambitious project for a Lyric Art follows the same practice. He had previously noted some of these principles in the Letter; in the «Avant-propos» to the *Cantica pro Capella Regis* (1665), he propounded the principles for composition of Latin lyrics (see Appendix), implying that the full-scale treatise was already completed and only awaited publication. Yet the thorough-going theoretical work remained always a promise for the future. No doubt the plan, adopted subsequent to the appearance of the devotional lyrics of the *Cantica*, to publish all the secular lyrics as well, imposed the task of recasting a work which had at first been conceived exclusively in terms of Latin lyrics. If, as I suspect, it was the presentation of the manuscript *Recueil* to the king's first minister, Colbert, which convinced the authorities to support the establishment of an Academy of Poetry and Music, then we may assume that the prospect of being able to discuss in detail the principles governing the creation of the first official lyric play in France, combined with the time-consuming preparations for that event, forestalled completion of the treatise, whether or not it already existed elsewhere than in the poet's head. Following the personal defeats he suffered in connection with the production of *Pomone*, Perrin never again mustered his strength. We are fortunate to have this unique document on the principles of the lyric art c. 1660-1670.

Part of his program, how to set words and how to sing them properly, very probably lay outside his competence.<sup>6</sup> Principles of performance were elaborated by Bénigne de Bacilly in his *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter*, published within a year of the preparation of this collection. As a working voice teacher, Bacilly had long experience of problems of correct diction, whereas Perrin had, so far as we know, no more than a layman's knowledge of music, and lacked practical grasp of the singer's craft. Even though he may have acquired some experience coaching singers, his contributions on this subject could not have rivalled Bacilly's technical command. He had, on the other hand, worked with several composers, and knew what the musician wanted; his competence, like his interests, lay in the techniques of lyric composition.

Numerous indications in the Foreword reveal a debt to traditional rhetorical training: the habit of categorization, the lists of moods or passions, the preoccupation with affect (*pathos*). Classical rhetoric had acquired new importance by the end of the sixteenth century, partly as a means of codifying the new discoveries concerning the human psyche. Traditional rhetoric, both Christian and pagan, played its part in helping to develop the oratorical skills of numerous clergymen, culminating in the brilliant orations of Fléchier and Bourdaloue, and the less brilliant, perhaps, but more deeply moving sermons of Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet.

<sup>6</sup> Pougin, *Les Vrais Créateurs* (pp. 31-32) indicates that Perrin trained his singers for *Pomone*. This evidence, as well as reason, would suggest that it was Cambert who had assumed that responsibility (*vide* his statement to that effect in Nuittier & Thoinan, *Les Origines*, p. 137).

The rhetorical training given in the schools had effects outside the pulpit as well. Demanding as well as teaching understanding of the heart and mind of man in order to touch and move them, it went hand in hand with the psychological probings that characterize the seventeenth century. Playwrights used it as their springboard to dramatic effect. The classical habit of seeking general truth in preference to individual, distinguishing detail was nurtured by this training. Various affective devices as well as the tropes and schemes were communicated to innumerable students through the study of classical rhetoric. If the inevitable first result of the revival of these skills was to encourage students to memorize pat lists of commonplaces, artists to insert ornaments more or less clumsily and indiscriminately into works in traditional forms, by 1660 the principles had been assimilated and could contribute to the basic form of the work. Rhetoric may be said to have produced on the one hand the grammar, and on the other—in the so-called *agrèments*—the vocabulary of artistic expression.

b) The collaboration of Perrin and Cambert coincides with a time of significant changes both in the conception of the rôle of the artist, and in the perception of the lyric union.<sup>7</sup> As the Horatian formula *Aut prodesse volunt, aut delectare poetae* («*plaire et instruire*») fell from favour, the emphasis passed, under the influence of the pseudo-Longinus *Treatise on the Sublime* as well as the revision of values throughout society, from *delectare* to *prodesse*.<sup>8</sup> Instruction, not delight, became the official goal of

7 Modern critics have more than once discussed the musical tastes of «the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries» as though the writers they have cited spoke for that entire segment of time, when in fact, all the comments they adduced were based on the æsthetic system and the style of opera which evolved after 1670. As cases in point, confer La Laurencie and Snyders in books bearing the same short title: *Le Goût musical en France*.

8 M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (1953), New York, 1958, pp. 16-17 and more extensively in the *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. A. Preminger et alii, Princeton, 1965, article «Poetry, Theories of,» pp. 641-642, traces a shift in æsthetic principles from the «pragmatic» approach expounded in the *Epistolam ad Pisonem* («*Ars Poetica*») to an introspective «expressive» approach derived from the pseudo-Longinus principle of the sublime.

On the importance of Horace, the dominant critical influence in the first two-thirds of the century, vide Jean Marmier, *Horace en France*, Paris, 1962.

The rhetorical bent, insistence upon the lyric as a «made object, a craftsmanlike product... deliberately designed to achieve foreknown ends» (Abrams, *Princeton Encyclopedia*), situates Perrin firmly within the «pragmatic» school. «The measure of poetic success,» for the Latin poet and for his classical followers, was the pleasure the poem gave and the approval of the contemporary audience. Although pleasure and instruction were the twin goals, «pleasure turns out to be the ultimate end, instruction only requisite because the graver readers will not be pleased without moral matter». Thus, exclusively concerned with the effect intended upon the audience, poets such as Perrin slighted the «greatness of soul,» the «vehement and inspired passion,» the personal inspiration, which followers of the pseudo-Longinus came to consider necessary to the sublime style.

art. An uncomfortable tension developed between the idea that music could express feelings and ideas only within a narrow range, and the requirement that, however pleasing it might be in and of itself, it somehow express serious ideas.<sup>9</sup> The only way in which it could accomplish that, according to theorists writing even well into the eighteenth century, was through union with words. «Il est certain que les belles paroles sont les premiers fondements de la belle musique,» wrote Lecerf de la Viéville in a statement echoed by many others (*Comparaison*, «Troisième Dialogue,» cited in Snyders, *Le Goût musical*, p. 27). At first, though, the lyricist felt less obligation than other poets to instruct. His chief aim was to «obtain a beautiful melody in the music,» a melody which he would «prepare in advance by a beautiful melody of words.»<sup>10</sup> He might have said, with a poet who two centuries later would provide many a lyric for composers of *mélodies*:

De la musique avant toute chose,  
Et tout le reste est littérature.

(Paul Verlaine, «Art poétique»)

The goal was to produce pleasurable emotion, and that emotion was to depend more upon well wrought structures, artfully combined, than upon edifying thought.

It is a paradox peculiar to those times that a society devoted to restriction, definition, categorization, and separation in the arts as in all else should have produced the hybrid genre, the complex of aesthetic compromises which is opera. Some felt this contradiction strongly. La Fontaine's criticism of the operatic melange expressed the belief that each of the arts operates most effectively in isolation from the others. Yet throughout the century, artists expressed the ideal of «transporting the entire man». Theorists of spectacle, of ballet in particular, repeat this principle time and again, insisting upon that genre's ability to satisfy all the senses, all

9 Snyders, *Le Goût musical*, p. 26, quotes Morellet, *De l'Expression en musique* (1759): «demander si la musique a de l'expression et en quoi cette expression consiste, c'est demander si la musique imite et comment». Snyders continues: «d'une part on affirme ainsi que la musique n'est pas un simple plaisir physique, sensuel,» he writes, pp. 33-34; «elle n'existe comme art que par son double rapport à la réalité du monde et à la vie profonde de l'individu;... d'autre part, elle ne constitue pas une voie d'évasion hors de notre monde...; non, elle tire son existence et sa signification de sa liaison avec l'action quotidienne, elle s'attache à ce qui est humain, pour lui donner un accent, une vigueur nouvelle».

10 «On ne peut obtenir une belle mélodie dans la musique vocale, si le parolier ne l'a pas préparée d'avance par une belle mélodie de mots. C'est un axiome que je pose; le combattre qui pourra» (Castil-Blaze, *Molière musicien*, t. II, p. 175). My paraphrase somewhat modifies the sense of his declaration.

of man's faculties.<sup>11</sup> How often, in reading the theorists, one comes across the claim that the combined arts, opera and ballet in particular, are capable of ravishing the passions, the senses, and the intellect! Even La Bruyère, implacable student of social ills and human foibles, rose to the defense of operatic spectacle against so many who condemned it as a bastard genre, arguing that the «machines» and other artifices sustained «in the spectator that pleasant illusion which is all the pleasure of the theatre, where it always conveys the sense of *merveilleux*; ... the specialty of this sort of spectacle is to hold the wits, the eyes, and the ears equally in a state of enchantment».<sup>12</sup> «Music's powers in opera,» writes S. T. Worsthorne, «lay in an ability to express various states of mind so that the audience could feel within themselves those emotions by which the characters in the plot were moved».<sup>13</sup> In order to explain why, across the Channel, music remained subordinate to drama, Alfred Einstein claimed that the Englishman «regards [music] as something higher than a mere vehicle of the emotions and passions».<sup>14</sup> In France, where the lyric union did find enthusiastic acceptance, together with an abiding concern for the quality of the text, it was precisely because music was considered «a mere vehicle of the emotions and passions» that it was to be held in check. It must never be permitted to eliminate the rational part of the pleasure given by song, that pleasure supplied primarily by the poetry. In La Laurencie's elegant figure, men of the seventeenth century «feel reassured only when an intellectual roof covers the emotional merchandise» (*Lully*, p. 169).

Admittedly, the wits sometimes received less satisfaction than other senses, as critics from Saint-Evremond on tirelessly pointed out. But the argument carried less weight in 1673 than it would later on. We are dealing here not with the later manifestations of opera, the sense of dissatisfaction its oft-repeated formulas left in the minds of Enlightenment writers and audiences, but with its origins, the excitement of its creation. That impulse to decorate which prompted the embellishment or diminution of long notes and leaps in music and the filling in of empty spaces in paintings with decorative motifs or *putti* also inspired the attempt to occupy each of the senses differently. Thus, even at the height of French classicism, some men showed not an exclusive, puristic preference for

11 Vide McGowan, *L'Art du Ballet de cour*, Chapter I, «Théories sur l'art de la danse,» pp. 11-27. Isherwood traces the development of this principle through Ficino (*Music in the Service of the King*, pp. 5 ff.). All recent commentators are heavily indebted to Frances Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, London, Warburg Institute, 1947.

12 La Bruyère, *Les Caractères*, Chapter I, «Des Ouvrages de l'esprit,» N° 47, éd. G. Cayrou, Paris/Toulouse, 1933.

13 Worsthorne, *Venetian Opera*, p. 138. Vide his discussion of the concept of imitation in the seventeenth century, Chapter IX, pp. 132-154. «Imitation used in a musical sense,» he concludes, «is in fact after the sixteenth century nothing but expression,» p. 150; pp. 132-136, recall the literalistic trend in France; on representational music in Lully's operas, vide p. 133.

14 Alfred Einstein, *A Short History of Music*, p. 81, quoted in J. A. Westrup, *Purcell*, Collier, New York, rev. ed. 1962, p. 130.

separation of the arts, but the capacity to reconcile admiration of classical forms with baroque love of contrasting materials and many-faceted involvement.

c. 1) Many writers shared Perrin's complete adherence to at least part of the Horatian æsthetics, and so were relatively untouched by the new doctrine of the artist's personal involvement in the feelings he expressed. That is, artistic creation was considered a science whose rules could be learned rather than depending on such qualities in the poet as inspiration and high-mindedness. As Perrin states his conception of the union of words and music, the poem becomes an indivisible part of the lyric composition. Score and text must work together in order to «give occasion to a perfect and polished music». Both are capable of «beauty of sound,» both have the capacity of inspiring tender emotion, but they work in slightly different ways, and they contribute different elements to the resultant work.

If lyrics were meant to suggest or evoke emotions without giving them full-blown expression, lyrics and music together were capable of imitating and communicating «the most touching passions and movements of the heart». Menestrier claimed as much in his study of the history of music spectacle.<sup>15</sup> «I constructed my *Pastorale*,» Perrin had stated in the Letter (paragraph e), «exclusively of Pathos and expressions of love, joy, sadness, jealousy, despair». Here he enumerates a greater range of «tender passions, which touch the heart sympathetically, with a similar emotion of love, hate, fear or desire, rage, pity, wonder, &c.» The phrasing reveals an awareness of the problematical relationship between expression of emotion on the part of a speaker and the response—«a similar emotion»—on the part of the listener or spectator.

Henri Prunières saw in Perrin's statement nothing more than proof of fatuousness (*L'Opera italien*, p. 346). He refused to consider that it might be simply a factual statement of the rhetorical categories from which the poet consciously drew his affective devices. If such lists share common elements with Descartes' «six primitive passions» (astonishment, love, hatred, desire, joy, and sadness), it is not by accident, for they all derive from Aristotle.<sup>16</sup> The orator could employ any of three modes of persuasion: Logos, or appeal to the reason; Ethos, or appeal to the moral sense; and Pathos, or appeal to the emotions. Seeking to move rather than to persuade, the artist naturally favoured the final category.

15 For Menestrier, the goal of dramatic music was to express «les actions et les mouvemens de l'âme d'une manière naturelle» (*Des Représentations en musique*, p. 135); Saint-Evremond, *Les Opéra, Comédie*, II, iv.

16 Descartes, *Traité des passions* (1649), paragraph 69. «The great mathematician Kiecher,» writes Worsthorne, quoting from the *Musica Universalis* (Romæ, 1650), «considered [music] capable of expressing eight powerful affections—love, grief, anger, pity, tears, fear, and admiration» (*Venetian Opera*, p. 138).

Aristotle, of course, discusses the various emotions (*Rhetoric*, II, ii) in terms of pairs of opposites: anger and calmness, friendship and enmity, fear and confidence, shame and shamelessness, kindness and unkindness, pity and indignation, envy and emulation.

Perrin's remarks, when he speaks of constructing his first operatic endeavour, or his songs, «exclusively of Pathos and expressions» of various emotions, indicate such a preference. They are no more boastful, no more fatuous, than if a composer were to say: «I have used the minor modes to express sadness». <sup>17</sup> The lyricist means to stress the exclusion of other elements, other categories. Perrin's approach here is consistent with his refusal to allow non-lyric matter in opera. Thus, we return once more to the center of the discussion of which materials were appropriate for singing.

The preface to the *Œuvres de Poésie* of 1661 contained a courtly definition of poetry, which, it said, «being nothing other than a verbal game, must always frolic, and will not suffer the dogmatic, even though it be entertaining in nature, unless [that instructive material] be enveloped and as though absorbed either in the Pathetic, or in the amusing and familiar». If salon poetry demanded lightness of touch, how much more so should that poetry written as an adjunct to musical expression for the same courts and salons! The kind of statement that is made with a cool head and in a moderated voice, even the pronouncement inspired by deeply felt emotion of too serious a nature—such sorts of statement were not appropriate to lyric expression. <sup>18</sup> Convention and necessity permitted their use in spoken theatre; Perrin hoped to ban them from lyric theatre. By and large, he avoided narrative as well. Neither the English-style ballad, nor the French *brunette* finds a place in his work. Only in the *grands récits*, or cantatas in the Italian style, does he call upon a narrator to explain the action between arioso sections, and even there it is easily seen that he has relatively little of the fabulator's instinct. Story-telling, in whatever form, interests him less than conveying moods.

Among the forms of expression unsuited to song were, at one extreme, the prose speech of the people, the bourgeoisie, and the nobility (and their stylized theatrical forms), and, at the other, the oratorical alexandrine verses of the tragic hero. Here again, Perrin appeals to existing conventions; since the speaking voice, whether in ordinary conversation or in theatrical declamation, «neither rises nor falls more than moderately and by scarcely noticeable intervals and movements,» it would be inappropriate to ask that it follow the greater range and more rapid change of pitch and rhythm that song requires.

The lyrics that Perrin and his contemporaries created according to these principles provided minimal intellectual content. They wanted to offer suggestions for the composer without rendering his contribution su-

17 If, on the other hand, we find the composer using a descending line for the words «descendit de cælis,» or a wide descending leap to express the word and idea of death, we have not expressive, affective intent, but allegory (vide Bukofzer, «Allegory in Baroque Music,» p. 4).

18 Snyders, on what may be expressed in opera, concludes: «pour la vraisemblance la musique doit nous jeter dans l'in vraisemblable—et c'est l'irréel qui constitue le domaine de sa réalité» (*Le Goût musical*, pp. 39-40).

perfluous. Indeed, for Perrin it was not the thought but the music which should primarily occupy the listener. Many an opera buff since his time has shared his point of view. In his insistence on the intellectual pleasure offered by «the application of the ear to the music, which it should be the principal end of the Lyricist to support» (paragraph e), he revealed himself more willing than many of his countrymen to accord music the major rôle.

c. 2) The «tender and playful impulses» or affections which could best be expressed in song, Perrin believed, fell under three general headings: the amorous, the humorous or comical, and the marvelous or supernatural. In succeeding paragraphs, these terms become clearer as specific applications are enumerated. Simultaneously the focus shifts and ambiguities come to light. It is well to consider together Perrin's discussion of who may sing (paragraph d), of the sorts of subjects, the «thought» appropriate to song (paragraph e), and the six styles that he differentiates (paragraph g). The three categories of singing beings he names correspond to the three modes: they are lovers, comical figures, and *admirateurs*. This final term in particular calls for clarification, since it is used ambiguously. Not only are some terms, such as this one, used in particular ways, but the categories, too, call for more qualification than he offers. Some overlap; the *merveilleux*, for instance, seems to have both a serious and a light side. Lovers and *admirateurs*, *admirateurs* and comic figures are sometimes indistinguishable. Paragraph e speaks of «material meant to excite joy or wonder of a serious sort» and, later, of «subjects meant to inspire sadness or pity». These serious subjects, while they are clearly seen as polarities, do not quite correspond to the earlier headings of the amorous and the marvelous. Nor is it clear whether 'joy' and 'wonder' are similar, comparable, like 'sorrow' and 'pity,' or distinct categories. It seems the 'wonder' was subsumed under the heading of 'joy,' since in paragraph g only the categories of sorrow and joy remain (the comical having been set aside entirely). Both these sentiments, in any of their degrees—passionate, languishing, or temperate—may reflect the amorous or the supernatural mode.

In distinguishing three fundamental modes, Perrin takes his clue from the traditional tripartite division of styles in oratory: the lowly, the intermediate, and the noble or lofty. These categories are socially determined, however, while lyric pieces, like their pastoral characters, stand outside the social structure. Whereas the sublime expresses itself in the theatre through a highly oratorical language, lyric expression, as it acquires greater nobility, grows less verbal, finally passing, at its loftiest moments, into pure, wordless music. Although the early exponents of French opera refrained from following this principle to its logical conclusion, although for them the word remained a necessity, we have seen in the discussion of those first works that neither Perrin nor Quinault failed to portray a highly wrought personnage as essentially inarticulate. The overall development of these three paragraphs having been sketched in, they may now be considered separately.

d) In real life, there are relatively few occasions when people sing. These may take two more or less distinct forms, depending on whether the singer expresses his own mood—thus, sings for himself—or performs for the entertainment or edification of others. Under the influence of the bottle, people may be moved to celebrate its pleasures (note Sganarelle's song in *Le Médecin malgré lui*); in the seventeenth century feasting was frequently accompanied by paid performances of drinking songs. According to tradition, peoples may be moved to sing the praises of their god(s), their heroes, or their king; again, in the period under consideration here, such activities occurred as performances. As such, they had an ambivalent function; for they both expressed through surrogates the supposed sentiments of those present and helped to shape those sentiments in the spectators. Similarly, a young man in love may be moved to offer a serenade, and may thus realistically be portrayed doing so on the stage. Noblemen often hired poets and musicians to express those sentiments for them. Here again, expression of true sentiments becomes confused with performance, without having to wait for Diderot's *Paradoxe sur le comédien*.

As for other mortals, they normally did not sing, either in life or on the stage. There were powerful conventions to hinder the use of such fictions in the arts. In the wake of Lully's great operatic successes, Lecerf de la Vieville pointed out that certain situations and emotions were not suited to music. Evoking once again the spectre of verisimilitude—despite the patent *invraisemblance* of both the lyric and the declamatory traditions—he cited as an example the dying man, a person unlikely to launch forth upon a lengthy aria. And, with a nod to Saint-Evremond, he wondered: «Is it logical that a master should call his valet and send him upon an errand, all in song?» (*Comparaison*, t. I, p. 39). By the same token, Perrin avoided «solemn characters in whom the transports of song are out of place,» and «even... serious allegorical characters, like the Virtues, Europe, France, Justice, Reason...» Since all his lyrics are situated in the realm of the mythic, they are essentially allegorical. Seldom does he compound the fiction more than a little: «les Plaisirs vont suivre ton retour;» «J'enten le Doux Zephir/Qui va caresser Flore...». Revulsion at the idea of hearing ordinary mortals express themselves in song led Lully and Quinault to cast all their operas in mythological or fabulous heroic settings, even though Italian opera had by this time adopted historical and even contemporary subjects. The convention maintained its force throughout most of the following century. When ordinary mortals finally began to appear, it was in *opéra-comique*, where the dialogue was spoken and ariettas expressed special states of mind, by this means making a clear distinction between specifically lyric and specifically prosaic kinds of speech.

Thus, both in song and in opera, convention was to continue to dictate that musical characters justify their singing. This resulted from the narrow, literalistic conception which Professor Dent noted; namely, that «opera in its completest form depends essentially on the principle that music—that is, the music of the voice—should be the ideal language in

which the persons of the drama express themselves». <sup>19</sup> But for whom, then, may song be the ideal mode of expression? Perrin generally refuses the entertainment convention, probably for fear of compounding levels of theatrical illusion. Doubtless, his literal-mindedness served him ill in this instance. From the very first—from Orfeo's performance of a most touching and plaintive song in his attempt to win from the rulers of the underworld the freedom of his Euridice, through the entertainments in Apollon's honour (*Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour*), down to Rosina's singing lesson and the Tenor's aria in *Der Rosenkavalier*—the performance-within-the-play has been a mainstay of lyric theatre.

We noted in the Letter a tendency characteristic of the times to demand a kind of literalness of art: castrati cannot play lovers or women satisfactorily as far as the French spectator (c. 1660) is concerned. Here we learn that the gods themselves may not sing, even in opera, unless «legend and history tell us [they] sang and danced readily». This widespread bias bespeaks confusion between literal and artistic truth; fiction, in this last third of the century, found an audience only when disguised as authentic letters or memoirs. Mythological, allegorical, symbolic, biblical, or mad characters could «speak» in song if it was commonly accepted that they «readily» did so, that is, if song was part of their conventional baggage; or if it could be supposed that their discourse lifted them into other spheres. It is this latter idea that Perrin suggests, but does not explain, by using the term 'admirateurs.'

Aside from the theatrical representation of singing poets, lovers, drunkards, and choruses, musical expression was generally reserved for beings from the realms of the *merveilleux*, the supernatural. Perrin includes among them the gods of mythology—those associated with song—nymphs, Bacchants, Loves, and, of course, the creatures of pastoral life. Song was the natural means of communication of beings who existed above the level of ordinary mortals. In the theatre, magicians worked their spells in song, incantation; music regularly accompanied any supernatural or even pseudo-supernatural event, as when a character was to be duped into believing that some charm was being worked upon him. Music, often song, also came into play during dream sequences. This, with the fact that lovers were exempted from the general prohibition against ordinary mortals' singing, implies that there were times when a man might attain that higher level.

Of the three categories—lovers, comic figures, and *admirateurs*—the most difficult and ambiguous means literally 'full of wonder' (Latin *mirare*, to marvel). Such a character would not himself necessarily be a supernatural being. Rather, he might be moved by a feeling of wonder, he might exist in a state of heightened or altered consciousness. Poets and musicians were said to experience and express such states; lovers, too, and as a result, they easily won the right to sing with impunity. One wonders whether Perrin included women and children under this heading

19 Dent, *Foundations of English Opera*, p. 2. This was true not only in France, but in England as well; confer Dryden's preface to *Albion and Albanus*; Westrup on Dryden, in *Purcell*, p. 128.

(perhaps as bemused spectators in a man's world) or among the comic figures. They might, we assume, be heard singing more frequently than harried courtiers or tradesmen.

«Admiration» meaning 'wonder,' 'astonishment,' 'awe,' occurs among the «primitive passions» of Descartes; it is recognized as one of the basic moving forces of Corneille's theatre, where it applies doubly, both as astonishment—we «marvel» at the moral strength of the heroes and heroines—and in the modern sense of approval—we admire them.<sup>20</sup> Perrin uses the word in the former sense in the prologue of *Pomone*, when Vertumne tells the Nymph of the Seine:

20 The Cornelian conception of *gloire* is closely linked with the desire to astonish others, to win the highest honours.

A similar impulse moved the writers of the time to make a show of their skill, whether in manipulating an «implex» plot or creating brilliant poetry. One could show that Corneille's famous «difficulties» in bending his genius to the basic rules of composition, such as the three unities, were as often as not an illusionist's trick well calculated to draw a gasp of admiration from the audience by making the danger or difficulty appear greater than it was. In *Le Cid*, Act IV, scene v, to take only one instance, an action which has already lasted overnight, and is straining but not yet breaking the «twenty-four hour» rule of unity suddenly threatens to extend to the following day when the king, Don Fernand, agrees to relax his own laws and permit one duel between Chimène's would-be champion and Don Rodrigue, the murderer of her father. Now, Rodrigue has just spent the night leading the army that saved Sevilla from a Moorish invasion, the action which won him the title of *Cid*, and the king magnanimously accords him a day of rest before defending himself. But—the audience shudders—that will extend the action well beyond the time which the critics agree Aristotle permits for the action of a tragedy. Our playwright is in trouble. No, fortunately Rodrigue's father springs to the rescue, proclaiming that Rodrigue has caught his breath in telling of the battle. He is ready to fight immediately. Thus, playwright and hero share the spectator's admiration in a typically Baroque multi-layered theatrical illusion.

I am aware that this view seems to contradict the poet's explicit statement in the *Discours de la Tragédie*: «Je me suis toujours repenti d'avoir fait dire au Roi, dans le *Cid*, qu'il voulait que Rodrigue se délassât une heure ou deux après la défaite des Maures; je l'avais fait pour montrer que la pièce était dans les vingt-quatre heures, et cela n'a servi qu'à avertir les spectateurs de la contrainte avec laquelle je l'y ai réduite. Si j'avais fait résoudre ce combat sans en désigner l'heure, peut-être n'y aurait-on pas pris garde».

It could be argued—although not in this space—that this is a notable case of the artist's inability to understand the full significance of his own previous creation, the working of his own creative imagination, just as some members of his audience missed his point. We recall that *Le Cid* was first produced in the winter of 1636-1637, while the three *Discours* of 1660 are the work of an older man who has had time to watch tastes shift, to watch his own popularity wane. *Le Cid*, one of the earliest «regular» or nearly regular plays, became the centre of a heated literary dispute; its author never forgot the painful experience of being subjected to sharp criticism from the halls of the learned. The prefaces and *Discours* of the edition of 1660 are the product of years of mulling over that experience. This being the case, it is not surprising that when the result obtained was not what he had anticipated, the playwright should have forgotten the original impetus.

J'admire tes grandeurs et la félicité  
De ta belle Cité;  
Mais ta merveille la plus grande,  
C'est la pompeuse Majesté  
Du Roy qui la commande.

The word is ambivalent as he uses it to describe his musical characters, for he makes it (and its derivatives, as here, *admirateurs*), apply both to supernatural characters and to ordinary persons carried away by lyric emotion on wings of song. Furthermore, the singer may represent someone who is himself strongly moved, or he may seek to elicit such a response in his audience. The poet, the musician means «to excite joy or wonder,» «to inspire sadness or pity». These distinctions are not exclusive, of course; the character who expresses such emotions in himself also intends to arouse similar ones in the audience. In fact, there would be no difficulty at all if these lyrics gave the impression of expressing the true sentiments of the poet. Like the *poète à gages*, dutifully penning sonnets to his master's beloved, the lyricist gives the impression of mechanically and coldly manipulating tried-and-true devices. In extreme adherence to the classical doctrine of artistic self-effacement, he remains forever invisible behind his work.

A symptom of this reticence is the inclusion of fictional poets and musicians among the musical characters, even though they do not appear explicitly as such in the texts. When no other «speaker» is named, we must assume that it is they who translate the wonders of the world into art. Both, traditionally, may claim to sing. They belong to the category of *admirateurs*, although they do not themselves inhabit the spheres of the merveilleux. They may adopt other guises, just as other categories of characters may overlap. Lovers, for instance, constitute a special species of the genus *admirateurs*, since people in love are often thought of as living in a different world from the rest of humanity. The shepherds and shepherdesses of pastoral convention are generalized representations of lovers. In fact, the young lover is none other than the shepherd in street clothes. He circulates in society, and yet his head is in the clouds. Molière played on this ambivalent quality of the lover on more than one occasion. In *Le Malade imaginaire*, for instance, the improvised musical dialogue

This same desire to distinguish oneself, to win the gasp of admiration, animated the manneristic styles of the period as well as the exclusivity of precious society. By 1660, however, excesses had brought about a general feeling of revulsion against such vainglorious show. Just as the «honnête homme» who carefully hides his superiority behind a mask of bantering charm becomes the social ideal, the literary ideal—as epitomized in Racine's tragedies and La Fontaine's fables—becomes *le naturel*, art which carefully hides its art under an appearance of ease. In the latter half of the century, the witty point, the clever play on words, the striking metaphor, the show-stopping tirade, and the great heroic gesture, all come to seem distasteful and hollow. Again, this is a matter of degree. The ease is only apparent, and the more sophisticated audience is capable of discerning the workmanship more readily. The desire to «wonder,» to marvel is still present.

of the lovers who have never been allowed to speak to each other symbolizes the union of their sentiments (II, v). Before the uncomprehending but finally suspicious Argan and the ridiculous suitor Diafoirus, they speak a language they alone fully understand. All love songs depend on this convention.

Shepherds, according to tradition, had no concern other than love, though they might take time out to celebrate the rites of Bacchus—particularly if Amor served them ill—or compete in praising the king. Eternal lovers in a world far removed from the cares of the workaday world, with no creditors to appease and no appointments to keep, their heightened discourse, accompanied by the pipes of Pan, could «naturally» take the form of song. As the Dancing Master explains to M. Jourdain when, perhaps anticipating our own sentiments, the Bourgeois grumbles, «Why does music always have to be about shepherds?»

When you wish to make people speak in music, it is absolutely essential that you make them Arcadian, for the sake of realism. Song has always been a natural attribute of shepherds; and it is not at all natural in dialogue that princes or townspeople should sing their emotions (*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, I, ii).

Certain comic figures might be grotesque enough to express themselves in song rather than «talking Christian,» as ordinary people should. They might be thought of as living in their own world, outside the humdrum, prosaic concerns of every day—if not in love's groves, then «in a fool's paradise». Molière, like Perrin, preserved these distinctions. The comic playwright derived dramatic benefit from them, particularly in the comedy-ballets, where creatures of the fantasy world came into contact with people of the more realistic, but still stylized, theatrical world. Some of his monomaniacs (notably Sganarelle in *L'Amour médecin*, M. Jourdain) are gradually drawn by their refusal of the realities of life into fantasy worlds, yet remain closed to that sort of heightened existence (and expression) which is granted only to those who belong there. In *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*, two lawyers offer their consultation in the form of an absurd duet, one pronouncing his judgment slowly and ponderously, while the other chatters away in a lively counterpoint. Molière had often represented professional men as lost in their own ideas and speaking a jargon of their own. That they should finally step across the line into full-blown song—not in one of the expressive modes, but the comic—is not surprising.

Perrin's idea of what was comic remained far beneath such subtleties. It derived from the taste for the grotesque which had flowered in the ballets and mascarades and was rapidly losing favor. The Satyr was usually a comic figure, as was his counterpart, the priapic god in *Pomone*. Silenus, the old drunkard on an ass in *Ariane, ou le Mariage de Bacchus*, is meant to incite merriment, and the cantata «Polyphème jaloux» is cast entirely in the *enjoué* style, as befits an amorous monster. Similar examples may be found in Quinault's *Cadmus et Hermione*, when Arbas,

the cowardly braggart, boasts of having spoken his mind freely to the fearsome giant, but admits *sotto voce* that he spoke so softly that his words went unheard (I, ii).<sup>21</sup>

e) The author insists that the choice of subjects—the «thought,» Aristotle's *dianoia*—is determined by the power of the object to excite particular sentiments in the listener. The subjects must depend on the themes, or rather on the modes of the poems. Each poem expresses a particular sentiment or mood. The text for music being «entirely pathetic».

f. 1) It should not only state the emotion, but contain references to objects and actions that suggest or evoke the same emotion. The power of mental association thus served as an affective force in art through this rhetorical forerunner of the pathetic fallacy. Even though unexpected metaphors were held to sin against the rules of good taste (paragraph f. 7), the human capacity for analogical thinking was not spurned. Rather, it combined with the ability to deal in abstractions and with the preference for general truth over specific fact.

The number of objects that this poetry names is in fact quite limited. Objects which are specifically named are almost invariably in the plural (if possible), and qualifying epithets are vague and banal:

Le ciel est bleu, la terre est belle,  
Et tout seroit pour vostre amant  
Doux et charmant.  
Si vous n'estiez crüelle.  
Ah! le beau jour! Ah! le beau jour!  
Si vous vouliez faire l'amour

&

Ces bois n'ont plus rien de sauvage,  
L'on y voit cent petits oyseaux,  
Au bruit des eaux,  
Chanter sur le rivage.  
Ah! le beau jour! etc. (Airs XXVI)

This generalizing habit is more than familiar to students of the century's letters.<sup>22</sup> The avoidance of singularity in grammatical terms reflects the

21 *Cadmus et Hermione*, éd. Henri Prunières, *Œuvres complètes de Lully, Les Opéras*, v. I, Paris, 1929. *Vide* also the scene between Hermione and the Giant (I, iv), and the cowardice of Arbas (IV, iii-iv), comparable with Moron in Molière's *Princesse d'Elide*—a standard farce scene derived from, or related to the *fanfaron*, the *miles gloriosus* of Roman comedy.

22 Malherbe condemned the use of *cent* and *mille* as vague numbers (Racan, «Vie de M. de Malherbe,» in *Œuvres de Malherbe*, t. I, p. lxxxv). Still, the best poets followed the convention to some extent. Racine's poetry contains 62 uses of *cent* (especially numerous in the «tragédie galante,» *Bérénice*), and 98 of *mille*, according to Freeman and Batson (*Concordance... Racine*). And La Fontaine, in the *Adonis*: «Déjà la Renommé... / Va parler d'Adonis à cent peuples divers» (II, 42-45); «Mille fois en un jour fait les mêmes serments» (I, 114).

fact that singularity in human terms, individualism, was held in bad grace as men attempted to pin down general truth. The individual object in the «Jeux de Poësie,» the insect, was present to be examined and even described (as a representative of a species), but it soon disappeared in the flurry of verbal strokes.

In the lyric, only the essence of the object is evoked for whatever emotional connotations it carries. Designated objects were supposed to arouse specified responses, and the poet selected from among them the one which best corresponded to the emotion he wished to communicate in the poem. Unlike the objective correlative, a specific outward manifestation of an interior event, both the emotion and the object here remain generalized. In the following example (Air VIII) the object, exceptionally, is singular, but no less abstract:

Quand je me plains du mal que vous me faites,  
Ce rocher en gemit et repond à mes cris.

....

&

Ce confident de mes peynes secrettes,  
Sensible à mon tourment, se plaint de vos mepris.

It has nothing of the image of a rocky place but the name—and, supposedly, the reaction which that name causes in the hearer. It is, after all, through a similar mental process that shepherds can be taken as symbolic figurations of people in love.

g. 1) In distinguishing his six styles, three degrees of joy or wonder and three of sadness or sorrow, the author completely disregards the third mode, the comical. We may assume that it had only one level: that of farce. Comedy of character and social satire were automatically excluded by his conception of lyric drama, for both required descent from the plateaux of idealized existence on which he sought to retain his characters.

g. 2) In the second part of this section, Perrin calls for constant variety of tone and style. As so often happens in the latter part of the century, the Baroque device of contrast is toned down, *dompté*, but not rejected. The earlier part of the century had enjoyed strong, marked contrasts. In a brochure called «How to compose ballets de cour» (1641), a certain Saint-Hubert had written that it was best that serious and «Grotesque» entries in ballet be presented in alternation so that the spectator might have «more time to admire the ones and to laugh at the others».<sup>23</sup> The

23 «Pour estre beau, il faut qu'il n'aye jamais esté fait... que s'il y a du serieux & du Grotesque, que l'on n'en voie pas deux Grotesques de suite, s'il se peut quelles soient meslées parmy les serieuses, elles en seront bien plus divertissantes & l'on aura plus de loisir d'admirer les unes & de rire des autres,» [?] de Saint-Hubert, *La Maniere de composer et faire reussir les ballets*, Paris, 1641, p. 7. The Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris has the only known copy of this pamphlet.

striking juxtaposition of the sublime and the lowly—King Lear grovelling in the dust—had fallen from favour. Rhetorical principle demanded careful transitions from one subject or mood to another, and as Boileau admitted, that was the most difficult part of composition. Contrast and variety help avoid boredom, they allow scope to the composer, and, most importantly, they follow the principle of fidelity to nature. That so-called nature, of course, is largely a reflection of convention, of rhetorical training, and of the «spirit and taste of the times».

### III Diction

«When I say in verse,» Perrin had explained several years earlier in reference to his «Jeux de Poësie» (*Œuvres de Poësie*, «Au Lecteur»), «I mean in poetic style with the ornaments and embellishments that Poetry demands, since it is nothing more than a verbal game» (*un jeu de discours*). Paragraphs f and i indicate the means by which that poetic style is to be obtained. The first contains seven different sections: on rhetorical figures (f. 1), sentence structure (f. 2), euphony (f. 3), concision (f. 6), elevated diction and moderation in the use of metaphors and allusions (f. 7), phrase length (f. 4), and elisions (f. 5). Some of these will be treated in the section on versification. Paragraph i deals with euphonic considerations in the choice of vocabulary, and is also treated under this heading.

f. 1) Rhetorical theory offered the poet and the orator a storehouse of devices from which to choose; some writers list as many as three hundred. The purpose of the poet being to move rather than persuade, convince or exhort to action, many of the orator's ploys such as prolepsis, paralepsis, dubitation, were of little use to him. Perrin wanted «the most powerful and the most moving» pathetic figures, yet those he lists are hardly the ones a Romantic or post-Romantic poet might have selected. Most of them are figures of structure (*schemata*) rather than tropes, those figures of speech that give the word more than one meaning: allegory, metaphor, symbol, irony.<sup>24</sup> Some depend on an appropriate thought: antithesis, sententia, apostrophe, invocation, exclamation. Others involve no more than

24 On the passions and figures, *vide* Lamy, *La Rhétorique ou l'Art de parler*, II, xii, p. 144; and Du Marsais, *Les Tropes* (1729), avec un commentaire par M. Fontanier, Paris, 1818 (repr. 1967), t. I, Art. ii, p. 14:

«On divise les figures en figures de pensées, *figuræ sententiarum*, *Schemata*; et en figures de mots, *figuræ verbórum*. Il y a cette diférence, dit Cicéron, entre les figures de pensées et les figures de mots, que les figures de pensées dépendent uniquement du tour de l'imagination; elles ne consistent que dans la manière particulière de penser ou de sentir, en sorte que la figure demeure toujours la même, quoiqu'on viene à changer les mots qui l'expriment».

a structural embellishment of the phrase. Recent poetry has taken a strong interest in tropes alone, although in criticism we are now witnessing a rebirth of interest in traditional rhetorical theory.<sup>25</sup> Tropes have little place in Perrin's list; metaphor is mentioned at the very end of the paragraph, and hesitantly at that. We have seen that this poetry works in a symbolic, mythic mode. Metonymy and synecdoche are so much a part of its conceptual system that the poet fails to mention them.

Schemes, on the other hand, do not disguise the thought, but only furnish the shape into which it is cast; they provide patterns, structures which remain constant while the words may change. Modern poets have tended to distrust them. It is perfectly acceptable for an orator to declare: «Ask not what your country can do for you, ask rather what you can do for your country». But to many poets such an antimetabole in a poem today would cry out its sterile, artificial nature. Still, from the Renaissance well into the nineteenth century such figures were the building blocks of poetry in the same way that certain harmonic or melodic patterns were available to the composer.<sup>26</sup> This sort of figure was particularly appropriate to a form of poetry that sought to provide schematized thoughts, to suggest rather than to explore feelings—in short, to provide verbal structures loose enough to allow music relatively free play.

Terminology in rhetoric tends to be confusing, no two writers having used the same terms to designate the same things. *Figure* is sometimes used synonymously with *scheme*, as opposed to *trope*. That is Lamy's sense of it. I shall normally use it to mean any rhetorical device of either sort.

«Les tropes enrichissent une langue en multipliant l'usage d'un même mot,» wrote Du Marsias, *Les Tropes*, I, p. 35, point Six. Both *schemes* and *tropes* were considered adornments of speech. Theorists imagined a level of everyday speech so straightforward and prosaic that it contained no figures whatsoever. Du Marsais must have been among the first to point out that the contrary was true, that *tropes* were much more common in popular speech than in «the entire French Academy».

Perrin's contemporary John Smith defined a *trope* as «a garnishing of speech in one word... where the Signification is changed» *The Mystere of Rhetorick Unveiled* [1656], London, Tenth Ed., 1721, p. 2); a *figure*, as «the Habit and Ornament of Words or Speech» (p. 3). He distinguished *Figura Dictionis*, a figure of individual words, and *Figura Sententiæ*, as «a garnishing of the Frame of speech in a Sentence».

Lamy's list of traditional *tropes* includes synecdoche, antonomasia, metaphor (with the indication: «tous les tropes sont des métaphores»), allegory, litotes (or diminution), hyperbole, irony, and catachresis (Liv. II, chapter iii, pp. 92-100).

25 This aspect of literary creation—whose decline under the withering scorn of the Romantics was accelerated by the demise of classical training in the schools—has recently come under renewed scrutiny.

26 Northrop Frye, in the *Anatomy of Criticism*, has a paragraph expressing envy of the musician for his formal grasp of the materials of his art. Music must be grasped through its structures; literature offers the appearance of other possibilities (Princeton, 1957, p. 132).

Most of the figures Perrin mentions are familiar enough to require little comment: or rather, they would be if he used a more familiar name for them. In some instances, the French term he uses is so vague or so general that only by seeking examples in the poems is it possible to determine just what he meant. Contemporary rhetorics and poetics offer some guidance, if we bear in mind that there was much disagreement on specific terms. Lists such as this one, which names devices so common that we scarcely think of them as being heightened forms of expression, remind us how carefully and consciously the poet selected his materials. They remind us as well within how narrow a range of expressive possibilities the lyric was contained. Perhaps fully as important as the figures used is the great number of those rejected; some will be pointed out in the discussion that follows. I have made no attempt here to catalogue all the uses of every figure, but only to illustrate the most common of them.

1. *Exclamations*. After having studied the common tropes, Bernard Lamy began his study of the figures with Exclamation, which, he wrote, «should in my opinion be placed first in the list of Figures, since it is through it that the passions begin to make themselves known in speech» (*L'Art de bien parler*, p. 114). John Smith defined exclamation, or *ecphosis*, as:

«a pathetic figure, whereby the Orator or Speaker expresses his vehement Affection and Passion of his own Mind; so he also excites and stirs up the Minds and Affections of those to whom he speaks. It is expressed or understood by an Adverb of crying out: as Oh! Alas! Behold! which are the Signs of this Figure.<sup>27</sup>

Lamy cites several common French exclamations, such as *Helas! ah! mon Dieu!, ô Ciel!, ô terre!* and, on the grounds that animals cry out in pain, concludes: «Il n'y a rien de si naturel» (p. 115). The figure may serve many purposes; it may express surprise, indignation, fear, entreaty. Perrin points out its usefulness in all six styles.

Its versatility combines with its strongly pathetic or affective nature, noted by both theorists just quoted, to place it among the most frequently used figures in song, as in oratory and everyday speech. It may convey the sighs of a lover:

Ah! si vous connoissiez les plaisirs infinis (Recueil, Air VI),

Mais hélas! q'un amant  
Souffrira de tourment (*ibidem*);

rapture:

Ah! c'est moy qu'elle veut choisir,  
O fortune d'amour! o douceur! o plaisir! (Dialogues XX);

or some other strong emotion such as exultation over the treaty of 1660:

Ha! que de biens en mesme temps  
Vont donner à la France  
Amour, la Paix et le Printemps!  
Ha! les doux fruits! ha! la douce esperance! (Dialogues XXIII).

The poet reserves the strongest forms of exclamation for moments of extreme anguish. Perhaps the most concentrated use of the device in this collection is to be found in the cantata «La Mort de Thysbé» when having discovered her lover stabbed and dying, the maiden

Pleure, gemit, soupire et se lamente,  
Et fait ses cris et ses regrets:

&

O! Pirame! Pirame!  
Seul espoir de mon âme!  
O malheur!  
O douleur!  
O mort! ô sort! ô destin déplorable!  
O Tysbé misérable!

The lamentation of the deserted Ariane (Act II, scene ii), by comparison, shows her to be in much greater control of her reasoning faculties. She states her situation in three octet stanzas of alexandrine lines. In other places, the separation of Vénus and Adonis (Act II, scene i), the indignation of Mars and the Graces (Act II, scenes i-ii), and the death of the intrepid lover (Act IV, scene iii) elicit many exclamations. The entire final act of *La Mort d'Adonis* is devoted to the most powerful expressions of sorrow and grief, punctuated by many an exclamation.<sup>27</sup>

2. *Interrogations.* Whereas in oratory or Scripture the rhetorical question (erotesis) might be used to deny or affirm an idea by implication, as indeed it is used in Air XX:

Pensez-vous de l'amour exprimer le martyre?

in the lyric it more often serves to underline an emotional state, feelings otherwise indefinable:

Qui les sçaura, mes secrettes amours? (Airs XLIX)

It may also express doubt and hesitations.<sup>28</sup>

27 Smith, *The Mysterie of Rhetorick*, p. 104. This English work, roughly contemporary with Perrin's texts, represents a point of view independent of the factionalism of both the Neo-Ciceronian and the Talon-Ramus rhetorical theories.

28 *Vide* Lamy, pp. 130-131. The figure is particularly well suited to persuasion.

3. *Plaintes.* The attitude, or pose, of lamentation often called upon the devices just discussed (see particularly the cries of Thysbé, and the death of Adonis, also the Latin lyrics). The cause need, however, be no more serious than unrequited love: «Ah! Cruelle....!» hence the plaintive tone of so many airs. Closely allied to *plaintes* are:

4. *Prières.* These consist of supplications, often to the poet's Mistress:  
Ah! cruelle! laissez-moy mourir! (Airs XV)

and are often accompanied by:

5. *Invocations*, in which the poet addresses himself to Apollo, the Muses, the god of Love:

Aux armes, Amour! à l'assaut! aux armes! (Dialogues XXI)

Often combined with these figures are found:

6. *Invitations.* The poet may summon his drinking companions:

Sus, donc, Camarades,  
Rejouissons-nous, (Paroles à boire I)

call the warriors home from the field of battle:

Sus, sus, guerriers!  
Quittez Palme et Lauriers,  
Couronnez-vous de myrthe et de Lierre, (Dialogues XXII)

beckon to the creatures of nature:

Filles du ciel,  
Et de nos veilles,  
Meres du miel,  
Doucees abeilles!  
Dans vos climats les beaux jours sont faillis,  
Quittez, quittez vos collines Romaines:  
Venez, venez vivre parmy nos plaines,  
Venez mourir dans le sein de nos Lys, (Chansons XXI)

or to his Mistress: «Venez, belle Iris». A substantive adjective may replace the name:

Adieu, parjure, adieu, (Dialogues IV)

as may some other periphrastic expression:

Maintenant, belle inhumaine. (Airs LVII)

These figures (4-6) are all of the locative mode which is still common in popular song literature. They are all forms of apostrophe, although for Perrin and his contemporaries the term was reserved for a specific use:

7. *Apostrophes aux choses insensibles.* The term today designates words addressed either to other persons or to insensate objects; at the time it referred specifically to the latter.<sup>29</sup> In this figure, then, the speaker addresses himself to objects or abstractions, such as the lady's eyes («Beaux yeux») or his own thoughts:

Pensers, à quoi pensez-vous. (Airs XXVII)

This communicative attitude dominates the collection. Only rarely does it threaten to become ridiculous, as when Venus proclaims: «Vous, cheveux arrachés...» (*La Mort d'Adonis*, IV, ii); and even there, the expression, although daring, is justified, since the play follows the legend that the hair ripped from the head of the distraught goddess was transformed into the maidenhead fern:

Vous, cheveux arrachés, témoins de mes douleurs.  
 Qui tombez sur les fleurs,  
 Changez-vous en herb menue,  
 Et conservez au moins aux Siècles à venir  
 De cette disgrâce avenuë  
 Et d'un mortel ennuy l'immortel souvenir.

Convention demanded that a person speaking aloud address himself to someone or something. The declining use of the monologue in the theatre has been noted previously. As a result of this convention, theatrical characters, borrowing from Petrarchan tradition, when they felt moved to meditation—that is, when in a lyric mood—usually apostrophized the objects about them, the rocks, the trees, or the birds. Among the rare pieces of Lully's vocal music to find their way into post-revolutionary anthologies was one such meditation, the air «Bois epais». As Perrin indicated (paragraph d), the choice of object depended upon the subjective reaction desired from the audience. The sorrow of a lover who confessed his pains to the birds (Airs XXVIII, XXVII, and see the song of the Satyr in Molière-Lully's *Princesse d'Elide*, Interlude III, scene ii) or to the waters of a stream (Airs XXX, LVIII) had a different resonance from that of a lover who murmured his laments to the desolate wastes of the wilderness («le désert») or to a rock-bound shore.

29 The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1694, defines *Apostrophe* as a «terme dogmatique, figure de Rhétorique par laquelle on adresse la parole à quelque personne, ou à quelque chose, comme si c'estoit une personne». And *vide* Lamy, *La Rhétorique*, p. 131.

The lyric denies itself the use of many of those devices that usually allow poetry to shortcut the intellect and speak directly to the heart. True to its times, it deals largely in abstractions. The use of the figures just discussed is one means of retaining immediacy, while continuing to maintain the intellectual distance which to men of that century seemed to bestow the sanctity of truth. All the figures just treated belong to the category of attitudes that the speaker assumes in order to arouse in the listener similar emotions. Those that follow may be classed among the schemes, for they all depend, at least to some extent, on the shape of the phrase.

8. *Sentences pathétiques.* Like the maxim and the apothegm, *sententia* expresses a memorable saying in aphoristic form. It is, wrote Lamy, «nothing more than the reflection one makes upon something that surprises and that is worthy of consideration» (*La Rhétorique, ou l'art de bien parler*, p. 129). Unlike its lowly relative, the proverb, this noble figure speaks in generalities rather than seeking a homely concrete illustration. Even though Perrin had banned «serious discussion» from his lyrics, the *sentence* held a place of preference in his catalogue of devices. It might take the form of a general moral observation, thus:

Le secret en amour,  
 C'est d'aymer et se taire, (Airs LIII)

or

Le plus charmant des plaisirs amoureux,  
 Quand l'object de nos feux repond a nostre envie  
 C'est de voir a ses pieds un amant malheureux  
 Mourir des mesmes traits qui nous donnent la vie. (Airs LVI)

Clearly, some degradation had come about in the conception of the *sentence* since the time when it served to express the noble and high-minded, if sometimes erroneous, moral values of Corneille's heroes. As one might expect of an age that drew heavily upon the literary creations of a distant past, the true *sententia* was frequently borrowed from a source in Antiquity.<sup>30</sup> Schoolboys practiced rendering into French the moral maxims of Seneca, the pithy remarks of Vergil, the polished observations of Horace. Dramatic poetry often squeezed the *sententia* within the limits of the alexandrine line. Many considered the figure one of the great beauties of tragic theatre, and Pierre Corneille, *primus inter pares*, found many an opportunity to demonstrate his poetic skill through the deft insertion into his plays of Senecan *sententiæ*, brilliantly rendered in harmonious and balanced French verses.<sup>31</sup> Boileau, the satirist and author of an *Art*

30 The device called *Gnome*, bringing in a saying of an author without naming him, is not likely what Perrin meant. *Vide* Smith, *The Mysteries of Rhetoric*, pp. 4-6. For Lamy, the *sentence* contains «peu de paroles qui sont énergiques et qui renferment un grand sens» *La Rhétorique*, p. 129; and *vide* Le Hir, *Rhétorique et stylistique*, p. 134.

31 William I. Schwartz & Clarence B. Olsen, *The Sententiæ in the Dramas of Corneille*, Stanford/Oxford, 1939. As a youngster, Corneille won prizes for his skill at rendering Latin verses in French.

*poétique* modeled on Horace's famous epistle «Ad Pisone,» translated the Latin poet's «festina lente» in a six-syllable hemistich: «Hâtez-vous lentement». It might seem that such a figure would have less place in lyric than in oratory, where simply to cite the words of a great author(ity) can add weight to an argument. In the theatre or even in lyric poetry, it could give force to an ethical position, and it was heard with pleasure. The shock of recognition, in a very literal sense, is a simple intellectual pleasure of the sort this, the lyric, art demanded: it allowed the poet to pique the intellect without unduly complicating the thought.

The lyricist, however, wrote for a public that did not necessarily know the ancient authors in detail. Here again Corneille provided not only the model but the source of sayings to imitate. Everyone could be expected to recognize lines from *Le Cid*. So it was that Pan in Gilbert's libretto *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l'Amour* urged Apollon to forget Climène in the following terms:

Il n'est qu'un Apollon, il est tant de Maîtresses, (I,ii)

which will be recognized as a weak paraphrase of Don Diègue's advice to his son:

Il n'est qu'un seul honneur, il est tant de maîtresses. (*Le Cid*, III,v)

Earlier, the old man, physically unable to respond to an insult from his rival, the Count, had given way to despair:

O rage, ô desespoir! ô vieillesse ennemie. (*Le Cid*, I,iv)

In Gilbert's libretto (I,i), Astérie deploras her jealous crime of causing the death of Apollon's favorite, Climène:

O rage, ô désespoir, ô fureurs insensées;

the Satyr in Perrin's *Pastorale*, finding himself rejected, vents his spleen with:

O rage! ô desespoir! ô tourment sans égal! (III,iii)

and again, in *La Mort d'Adonis* (II,v), Falsirène uses the same expression. Evidently, Corneille had hit upon a very useful formula.

It would be a mistake to cry plagiarism in such a case, despite Gilbert's unfortunate earlier venture into that morass. The resemblance of these lines springs from that sort of imitation which is the sincerest form of flattery. Like the famous «Mannheim rocket» (an ascending arpeggiated figure affected by an entire generation of German composers, including Beethoven), such expressions might be used by any and all. Once found, they became part of the poetical baggage of the time. When the audience recognized a reference to a familiar work, the line was considered clever. Perrin uses this device less overtly than Gilbert, yet in *La Mort d'Adonis* he brings about the following exchange:

Vénus: Fuyez.

Adonis: Moy, vous quitter!

Vénus: Il le faut.

Adonis: Je ne puis. (II,i)

In the confrontation scene of *Le Cid*, mentioned above, Rodrigue urges Chimène to force herself to pursue him with hatred for having slain her father:

Chimène: Va, je ne te hais point.

Don Rodrigue: Tu le dois.

Chimène: Je ne puis. (III,iv)

Corneille himself returned to this formula in *Polyeucte* (1640; end of Act I, scene i). Key words, structures, and situation bear a close resemblance in the two cases just cited—with the difference that it is no longer the maiden before her warrior lover, but the young man, Adonis, before the goddess of Love who betrays weakness. If the author of *Pomone*, author, too, of a complete translation of Vergil's *Aeneid*, did not borrow lines from classical sources in his lyrics, as he had in his *Jeux de Poésie*, it was because he held such erudition to be inappropriate to the genre.

He qualifies this figure as *pathétique*. John Smith defined *figura sententiae* as «any garnishing of speech in Words:» and it is probably in this broad sense that Perrin understood the term. The figure belongs, Smith held, not to the matter, but «to the Form and as it were, to the Soul, that is, the Sentence». One might assume that the matter, or thought, was contained within the form of the sentence as the soul within the body. But the English rhetorician distinguishes between the two in yet another curious fashion, which explains the earlier idea. *Sententia* is a figure, he writes:

«which for the forcible moving of Affections, doth after a sort beautifie the Scene and very Meaning of a Sentence; because it carries with it a certain manly Majesty, which far surpasses the soft Delicacy of the former Figures [of words], they being as it were effeminate and musical, these virile and majestic». (p. 6)

The figures of words that he calls «effeminate and musical» are in fact many of the devices that make up the verbal music of poetry: repetitions, relationships, and changes of sounds or of words within a sentence or phrase. All are relatively independent of the thought. The others «more virile and majestic,» «are called Pathetical, or such as move Affection and Passion». They may shape or contribute to thought—being figures of thought rather than of speech—and it is for this reason that they constitute the soul of the expression.

Among the familiar devices in the category of *figuræ sententiæ* are periphrasis, parenthesis, synonymia, ecphonesis (exclamation), aporia (doubting), apostrophe, and prosopopoeia. The figures that appear next in Perrin's list indicate the extent to which poets worked in terms of structures, schemes, patterns—changing the words but using the same formal framework time and again.

9. *Oppositions.* Bernard Lamy justified the use of oppositions or antitheses, saying: «It is well known that opposites bring each other out; white is accentuated by black» (*La Rhétorique*, p. 124). The Baroque habit of antithetical thought, which has received much critical attention in recent years, took many forms. The practice of conceiving psychological problems and human relationships in terms of contraries produced a kind of symmetry in thought, gave a semblance of order to the moral complexities of the world. In verbal expression, it translated into antithesis, paradox, oxymoron. Already on the wane by 1660, after decades of abuse, the figure found a final resting place, like so many other poetic discards, in the lyric and the libretto. The rôle of oppositions in the structural designs of musical dialogues will be taken up below. Here is an example of opposition through paradox:

Ah! que mon sort est déplorable!  
Je suis heureux et misérable  
Et je meurs de douleur au milieu des plaisirs      (*Airs XIII*).

A sudden, final reversal of position can be extremely effective in song (*vide infra: chutes*). It creates a two-part pattern of thought to correspond with a similar stanzaic structure. If the opening section is repeated, in what came to be known as song-form (ABA), the return of the first idea can act as an ironic commentary upon the idea. The *Recueil* abounds in oppositions on every level and of every sort, to such an extent that no illustration is called for here.

10. *Répétition de paroles.* Repetition of words at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end of phrases (anaphora, epanalepsis, epanadiplosis) is one of the most effective devices for the poet, as it is for the orator. «When one is in combat with his enemy,» Lamy explained, «he is not content to inflict a single wound, he strikes many blows, and for fear that a single one may not have the desired effect, one gives many». <sup>32</sup> Repetition serves to impress a point or to reveal the strength of an emotion. The writer just quoted distinguishes two sorts of repetition, depending upon whether the same words recur or the same thing is said in other terms. The latter type interests the poet less than the orator, paraphrasis having less value in the short, lyric forms than in those longer narrative forms where prolixity may sometimes be a virtue.

32 Lamy, *La Rhétorique*, p. 120. For other schemes of repetition of the same words, Le Hir (*Rhétorique et stylistique*, p. 129) cites Bary on *polyptote, réflexion, distinction*.

Where the union of poem and music is concerned, special problems arise. The figure was used frequently by both poet and composer, but both handled it with care. The poet seldom repeated a word simply for effect (or to fill in a line: *cheville*), because his partner needed a certain freedom to repeat words as the musical structure might dictate. If, however, repetitions could be brought about with a slight shift in sense, or otherwise heard as necessary to the expression, then the figure was particularly effective.

The first air of the *Recueil* uses textual repetition in its opening line: «J'ay pleuré, belle Iris, j'ay pleuré vos malheurs». A common pattern this, to repeat phrases with only slight but significant variations, as in this *précieux* piece:

Je ne sçay pas comment, je ne sçay pas pourquoi  
J'adore une inconnüe,  
Que je n'ay jamais veüe  
Je ne sçay pas comment, je ne sçay pas pourquoi,  
Mais je sçay seulement,  
Que pour je ne sçay qui je sents je ne sçay quoy      (*Airs XXVII*).

As the expression «je ne sais quoi» came into common use to indicate any sentiment for which no word was available, a poem such as this one no doubt became inevitable.

A variant of this figure which had great currency among the Baroque poets in the earlier part of the century played upon the semantic polyvalence of a repeated word, producing such word-plays as those in the poem «La Pensée:»

Ma pensée, où pensez-vous estre?  
Pensez-vous toujours me forger  
Des pensers, qui me fassent naistre  
La crainte devant le danger?<sup>33</sup>

Through the combination of apostrophe and an allegorical turn of thought, the poet doubles the object back upon itself, thereby giving the repeated word a new sense. In one libretto, Vénus denounces the immortality that would prevent her following her lover to the grave: «Je mourrois mille fois de ne pouvoir mourir» (*La Mort d'Adonis*, II,i). The device is used with an entire phrase in Air XLVIII, where the apparently innocent question: «Que faites-vous, Sylvie?» repeated at the end of the stanza, has become a reproach. This sort of manipulation of the language, calculated, behind the façade of its apparent facility, to suggest unstated relationships of ideas through the homophony of words and expressions which in fact function differently, this interplay of phonetic similarity and

33 The poet, Jean Godart, in Rousset, *Anthologie de la Poésie Baroque française*, A. Colin, 1961, t. I, p. 94. *Confer Recueil*, Air XLVII, «Pensers! à quoy pensez vous?».

semantic divergence, is particularly well suited to use in lyrics where, as we have seen, more complex thought processes would be out of place. Analogous to motivic repetition (sequential or otherwise) in music, it can suggest relationships of meaning through phonic echo.

Not all repetition was determined by the lyricist. The poem, as Perrin insisted, must allow for «the sort of repetition music demands» (f. 4). In Italy, a few short lines of poetry could lend themselves to elaboration into a lengthier vocal showpiece. Any repetitions the poet wrote into the text, unless necessary to the thought, as in the examples cited above, would be lost on the listener. In France, composers by and large avoided belabouring single words or phrases. Choral music made use of refrains because of the difficulty of making the words understood. Part-songs continued to make extensive use of melodic and verbal imitation. But solo song generally followed meekly the forward movement of the text.<sup>34</sup> Unless the composer, as well as the poet, took extreme care in the use of repetition, there was danger of causing confusion to the ear of the listener, who wanted to hear the underlying poetic forms and sense. When Jean de Sablières wrote into the melody of the minuet «Je croyois Janeton,» (Chanson XV), a reiteration of the word *Hélas*, he contributed to the misunderstanding that allowed a perfectly acceptable line of six syllables («Hélas! elle est cent fois») to be heard as so clumsy that it lacked even a rhyme.

Use of the figure of repetition of words is but one manifestation of an aspect of the poetry of the seventeenth century which I believe to be central to it and essential to its understanding—I mean, the building of poetic edifices on schemes rather than tropes. The practice should be of particular interest for understanding of the lyric, since the value of that genre lies not in the innovativeness of its thoughts, emotions, or forms of expression, but in its ability to combine with music to produce a new affective unit. Perrin himself notes, although as usual without elaboration, the necessity of compatibility of structural elements between music and text (f. 4 and f. 5). Exhaustive study would, I suspect, show composers giving preference to texts that offered the sort of balanced periodicity (parallelism, antithesis, and so on) which had been much favored in the poetry of the first half-century. Words being but one aspect of the poetic structure, the figure just discussed leads to consideration of the next.

11. *Conversions de phrase.* Conversion in logic is defined by Littré as «a change which is effected in a sentence when the subject is made the attribute or object, and the attribute, the subject». In rhetoric, the figure involves use of similar or parallel constructions (chiasmus, antimetabole: «Il faut manger pour vivre et non vivre pour manger»), as well as similar constructions just noted), and is therefore closely related to the preceding

34 There were places where repetition of whole sections was called for. *Vide* «Parts IV, Forms,» *infra*, and Bacilly on repetition of words, *Remarques curieuses*, ed. Caswell, p. 42: Italian permits repetition of words «which would seem hardly to be worth the effort,» and such repetitions sound «ridiculous applied to our language».

figure. As the foregoing examples have suggested, this period had a pattern-oriented poetry in which balanced and imitative responses, parallel phrases, and various other sorts of repeated constructions provided a large measure of the aesthetic pleasure. One full line of Air XXVII (quoted *supra*) is repeated verbatim. Moreover, according to the markings in the manuscript (repeat signs: :|| j.), this air followed the traditional pattern in which the first part is sung twice, then the second (AABB). One other large structural form involving repetition is the *rondeau*, in which a phrase, usually the opening expression, returns periodically in the course of the poem, and finally at the conclusion of the work (see Airs XLIV and XXVIII; in the latter the opening line of each stanza is repeated at the end, making a five-line stanza.)

We have remarked how much Perrin's conception of the lyric and the libretto owes, in both a positive and a negative sense, to Pierre Corneille's dramatic poetry. Here again, the foremost dramatist of his generation exerted an influence.<sup>35</sup> Following the lead of François de Malherbe, who strove for simple, clear formulas in his poetry, Corneille found ingenious ways of structuring and working out situations based on antithesis. He excelled at constructing problems in terms of polar opposites and at presenting both sides of a question equally well: his plays constantly turned upon paradox and dilemma. If the audience appreciated his skill at presenting Senecan *sententiæ* in the form of perfectly balanced alexandrines crossed like rapiers (see *Le Cid*, I, iii, for perhaps the most famous example of the use of stychomythia; and Lamy, *La Rhétorique*, pp. 199-202), his characters, in their efforts to see with clarity and accuracy the intricacies of their psychological and moral situations, constantly formulate those situations by means of antithesis and other balancing devices. They have recourse time and again to paradox, equilibrium, oxymoron, chiasmus, either in separate lines or in the two equal halves of the alexandrine. As any student who has encountered Corneille in a French course knows, the verses at first all seem to say more or less the same thing. Closer examination reveals—How many students ever reach this stage?—that one of the delights of this highly intellectualized poetry consists in watching as the poet develops through his characters all the aspects of a single problem, turning the subject like a jeweler to examine and polish each of its many facets. Examples taken from his most famous play, *Le Cid* (1637), illustrate his way of playing with the symmetry offered by the two six-syllable hemistiches of the alexandrine. In the first act (scene ii), the Infante explains that although she herself loves Don Rodrigue, he is beneath her in rank, and she has forced herself to encourage the love between him and Chimène:

Moi-même je *donnais* ce que je n'osais *prendre*.  
Je mis au lieu de *moi*, *Chimène* en ses liens  
Et j'*allumais* leurs feux pour *éteindre* les miens.

35 If influence is difficult to demonstrate, the frequency of direct references is suggestive. To poets of the day, as to us, Corneille was the model, the most familiar practitioner of current styles, which indeed he helped impose.



To avoid monotony, the two lines are broken into different lengths. And ambiguity—just the degree of verbal play musical poetry called for—is provided by the fact that the first phrase «Il est l'amour,» seems to stand by itself. The second phrase, parallel to the first, starts with the same number of syllables but demands the complement (*du monde*); that element is picked up to form the parallel hemistiches of the following verse.

2) *Pomone*, Acte Premier, i:

*Pomone*:

Passons nos jours / dans ces Vergers,  
Loin des Amours / et des Bergers.  
Passons nos jours

*Pomone & Juturne*:

Passons nos jours  
Loin des Bergers et des Amours.

This light song, designed to express the carefree life of the nymphs as they frolic in their bowers offers a simple example of a verbal «conversion». The play on rhymes and the inversion of terms in the final line illustrate the sort of wit that could be enjoyed as an adjunct to the music while more complex conceits would only have confused the listener.

As early as the *Pastorale* and the first dialogues, Perrin liked to set up situations for the musician in which two characters express either complete agreement or opposing ideas within the same formal syntactical and rhythmical patterns.

3) *Pastorale*, Acte II

*Diane*: Tant que l'Astre du jour brillera dans le monde....

*Sylvie*: Tant que la Lune au Ciel fera sa course ronde....

*Diane*: Je serai sans amour.

*Sylvie*: Mon amour changera.

Roman

4) *Pomone*, Acte Premier, ii: Flore, who speaks in favour of Love, and the aged nurse Béroé, familiar with love's disappointments, argue with Pomone, each stating her position in a sequence that uses diminishing lines and various parallels, and ends in a duet on words that, while identical, conclude contrary thoughts:

*Flore*: Ah! si tu connoissois comme moi ses delices!

*Béroé*: Ah! si tu connoissois comme moi ses malices!

*Flore*: De combien de douceurs il flatte nos desirs!

*Béroé*: Combien il cause de soupirs!

*Flore*: Que ses fers....

*Béroé*: Que ses lois....

*Flore*: Sont doux!

*Béroé*: Sont inhumaines!

(a)

(b)

*Flore*: Quel plaisir!....

*Béroé*: Quel tourment!....

*Flore & Béroé*: De vivre dans ses chaines!

(c)

Although the two take opposing positions concerning love, they employ parallel phraseology to express them. In section (b), the well-worn metaphor «love's chains» gains a bit of new interest through structural intertwining with another cliché «inhuman laws». The two oxymora create a criss-cross of affective reactions, since the outside terms (*fers* and *inhumaines*) evoke a negative response, while the two middle ones do not. The final group, with its feminine ending making a fifth syllable, and the long rhyme vowel (*-ai-ne*) introduce just enough variety into the line to give it interest and at the same time impose a proper retard at the end of the thought. The entire passage operates a gradual telescoping of the phrase, culminating in the final paradoxical dovetailing unity in expression of contrary sentiments (c). As opera acquired more sophistication, such simple techniques would no longer be so useful. They would have no more value than the comparable ones which had been the stock-in-trade of Pierre Corneille. At this point, though, they served their purpose, for they helped make possible a new union.

12. *Chutes fines et surprenantes*. I find no equivalent term in English for the clever and surprising twist at the end of a poem. The favourite device of epigram, this sort of *pointe*, this rising fall—if I may be permitted the oxymoron—had great appeal in courtly society, from the ruelle to the pulpit.<sup>38</sup> It used to be said that the French excelled at epigram and point; the light, rapid play of wit which this implies has never been quite so much at home in Anglo-Saxon countries. The Shakespearean sonnet contains an unexpected twist in the final couplet, sometimes opening up a new point of view on the subject, but as often not. English poetry has generally scorned such display of wit. In France, a Ronsard might construct his sonnet of two opposed ideas contained in an octet followed by a sestet which began with «Mais...» (as in «Je veux lire en trois jours...»). In precious salon poetry, the clever twist frequently revealed not so much a new facet of the subject as the wit of the poet. Here is a sample of the style in a little poem which develops the conceit of the wind from the lady's fan:

38 «Il n'y a pas longtemps qu'ils [les prédicateurs] avoient des chutes ou des transitions ingénieuses,» La Bruyère, *Les Caractères*, XV, 5.

## Sur un Eventail

Ce petit vent délicieux  
Qui vous rafraîchit le visage,  
Ne fait qu'augmenter davantage  
Le feu qui brûle dans vos yeux.

Ainsi l'espoir assez souvent  
Qui flatte l'ardeur de mon âme,  
Ne fait qu'en augmenter la flamme,  
Car cet espoir n'est que du vent.<sup>39</sup>

While the lyric must not be «too ingenious or too profound,» it could profit from such slight conceits. In defining the Air (paragraph o), Perrin again mentions the «ingenious turn of thought at the end,» adding that the air «should in fact be a Madrigal set to music». Both the madrigal and the chanson were thought of in the mid-seventeenth century as kinds of poetic pieces having no necessary connection with music. The latter term designated a light piece, usually in several regular strophes. The former, a short witty piece, usually in verses of unequal length.<sup>40</sup> Structurally, the poems had the same appearance whether set to music or not. Musical statement had to be more straightforward; the play of wit, like every other element in the lyric, had to be toned down. The poet could seek out paradoxical turns of thought, to be sure, as here:

Belle Philis, accordons-nous  
Je veux que vous soyez aussi tendre que belle,  
Et vous voulez estre cruelle.  
Soyez tendre pour moy, soyez cruelle à tous. (Airs XI)

And he could call on familiar conceits which did not try the listener's wits:

Quand je me plains du mal que vous me faites,  
Ce rocher en gémit et répond à mes cris.  
Hélas! Hélas! ingrate Iris!  
Il est moins cruel que vous n'estes. (Airs XIII)

39 Abbé de Laffemas, *Recueil Sarcy*, Tome II, 1662, in Blanchard, *Trésor de la Poésie Baroque et Précieuse*, Paris, 1959, pp. 175-176.

40 Here is a madrigal by M<sup>lle</sup> de Scudéry which, in its effort to avoid using the word «love,» as well as in its prosiness, illustrates the difference between salon poetry and the lyric (in Blanchard, *Trésor*, p. 224):

Mon cœur, pour contenter le vôtre,  
Consent que vous pensiez qu'en parlant pour une autre  
Je vous parle pour moi;  
Pourvu que vous vouliez subir la même loi,  
Et que quand vous parlez à notre Philoxène  
De ce qu'on n'appelle point haine  
Même parmi les Ottomans  
Je prenne aussi pour moi vos plus doux sentiments.

Je veux vous aymer, adorable Sylvie,  
Le reste de ma vie.  
Je consens à souffrir,  
Sans espoir de guérir;  
Mais lors que j'y consens, je consens à mourir. (Airs XVI)

Another aspect of this figure is the rondel pattern, the construction of a song in such a way that the opening line or lines fit naturally again at the end. Occasionally, the poet takes special pleasure in making a slight variation in the opening words of the refrain, as in this drinking song:

O charmante bouteille!  
Pourquoi renfermes-tu  
Dans un osier tordu  
Ta liqueur sans pareille?  
Pourquoy nous caches-tu sous tes sombres habits  
Ton ambre et tes rubis?

&

Pour contenter la veüe,  
Ainsi que le gosier,  
Dépouille ton osier,  
Monstre-toy toute nue,  
Et ne nous cache plus &c.

(Airs à boire IX;  
see also III and  
Chansons XXV)

Like other forms of poetry in the post-Renaissance era, then, the lyric leaned heavily for its heightened poetic expression on verbal schemes, figures of structure. Nearly any elegant manner of speaking could come under this heading, and could contribute to the poetic effect. Perrin notes (f. 7) that he has endeavoured to make his diction elevated and poetic, that is, he has sought out those turns of phrase which do not normally occur in prosaic conversation. One must not forget that for many years men found the essence of poetry neither in images nor in innovativeness of thought, but rather in the elegance and indeed the formal perfection of such verbal patterns, in the excellent expression of commonly accepted truths. One who looks elsewhere for the beauty of this poetry will find little reason indeed why music should ever have wanted to marry with it.

Study of Perrin's lyrics reveals the rarity of some important figures. Lamy, for instance, discusses some twenty-five different ones; the lyricist names only thirteen. Some of his earliest published works, such as the *Chartreuse* and the *Jeux de Poésie*, were descriptive, but hypotyposis occurs rarely in the lyric (the exception is an idyllic scene, Chanson XVI). Nor does enumeration come in for much use (see Chanson XXIII). While repetition of words is desirable, periphrasis, not surprisingly,

plays very little part (for two examples, see Chanson XII, «Filles du ciel,» an early lyric; and Air LVIII). The simple, balanced phrases and lines which the poet seeks for the pleasure of the ear and the intellect, if not the eye, profit greatly from the judicious iteration of the same word, the same expression. This is in sharp contrast with the practice in other forms of poetry, where to designate an object by its name, or to repeat the same word too often, may diminish the pleasure of the reader.

Besides, the song lyric operates within quite narrow limits, and no doubt the lyricist finds it more economical to repeat a key word than to seek out an expression that means the same thing (*vide* f. 6). It takes more words to say that «lantern set in the sky as a guide to mankind» (Pascal) than to say the sun, even though the periphrase may suggest many more ideas. This limitation relates to the restrictions on lyric vocabulary discussed below.

f. 2) It may seem contradictory to set great stock in those figures of speech which wrench the phrase into unusual constructions while at the same time insisting, as Perrin does, that the sentence must be «maintained... in its natural order». The difficulty is only apparent, however. Lamy insists that the figures he lists are in fact the natural language of the passions.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, poets sometimes let themselves be drawn into the error of completely distorting a phrase either to achieve a sort of false elegance or simply because of the demands of rhyme. We find in the *Berger extravagant* of Thomas Corneille a song which begins:

Certain Berger d'amour tout enflammé.

This could prove to be a nasty inversion unless the musician took care to break up the group «Berger d'amour». Castil-Blaze loses a shaft of scathing irony at the «tour gracieux» of lines like:

D'un héros sur les cœurs que l'exemple a d'empire.

To some limited extent, the composer might remedy the poet's faults in this matter, but in general, natural word order was even more important in song than on the dramatic stage. Aside from the necessity of assuring immediate comprehension of the thought, only the natural word order would permit the effective working-out of patterns. Perrin's prose style is diffuse and convoluted, in a manner typical of the period of Louis XIII. The simplicity and directness, the logical structuring that he imposes on his lyrics reveal an effort all the more noteworthy in that it runs counter to his native propensities.

41 Lamy, *La Rhétorique*, Book II, chapter vii, entitled «Les Passions ont un langage particulier. Les expressions qui sont les caractères sont appelées Figures,» pp. 108-110.

Du Marsais wanted to show that *tropes*, far from being «des manières de parler éloignées de celles qui sont naturelles et ordinaires,» are the most natural

f. 7) Noteworthy by their scarcity in the *Recueil* are allusion and metaphor. Moderation is the key to good lyrics, the author insists, and that principle leads him not only to avoid «exaggerated hyperboles,» as we might expect, but also to shun «unfamiliar myths» and «far-fetched or uncommon metaphors». Earlier poetry had at times created a distorted picture of the world through extensive use of overstatement, strong, shocking metaphor, and extended analogy, or conceit. Some of these habits of thought and vision had become the currency of speech in salon society, that society which lionized Marino, author of the florid *Adonis*.<sup>42</sup> Molière made mock of such affectations, and illustrated their use for future generations, in *Les Précieuses ridicules*. Perrin's diction is indeed noticeably free of affected adverbs («Je suis furieusement content») and, as already noted, of the sort of periphrase which permitted referring to lowly objects without sullyng the lips of the speaker or offending the ears of the auditor.

The new spirit of rationalism execrated far-fetched metaphors. People had grown weary and wary of excessive troping following its unbridled practice by the metaphysical poets (D'Aubigné, Sponde, Chassignet) and the elegant hyperboles of a second generation of baroque poets. Here are the opening lines of a poem called «Sur les Fontaines et Rivières» by Drelincourt:

Verres tremblans, miroirs liquides,  
Flots d'argent, veines de crystal,  
Qui de votre coulant métal,  
Humectez les terres arides.

(in Rousset, *Anthologie*, I, p. 254).

By 1660, it seemed almost immoral to subject the realities of this world to such wanton metamorphoses. The classical spirit carried its restrictions further yet: it demanded avoidance of all metaphors which could be considered unfamiliar, «hors d'usage». Even when calling for sublimity of expression, the rhetorician Bary gives a list of admissible images.<sup>43</sup>

and common means of expression, the peasant and the workingman speak in *tropes*, even if the Academician does not. So the poet is really seeking through art to rediscover the simplicity of the natural state (*Les Tropes*, pp. 40-41, and Chapters 1-2, 8-9).

The devices categorized by the rhetorician as figures originated in popular speech too. They do not necessarily leave that realm for having acquired the benefit of a name. Distinctions between poetry, oratory, and everyday speech are largely matters of degree, the first two being artificial, heightened forms of discourse.

42 *Vide* P. Bouhours on Marino's *Adonis* of 1623 quoted in La Fontaine, *Œuvres*, éd. Régner, t. VI (1890), pp. 213-214.

43 Bary, *La Rhétorique française*, (1653), noted in István Söter, *La Doctrine stylistique des rhétoriques du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Budapest, 1937, p. 35.

Du Marsais thought that the author should use only those images which sprang naturally to mind, for those which were too evidently sought-after spoiled the effect of naturalness in a work. «Les tropes ornent le discours,» he wrote, adding that «ils doivent sur-tout être clairs, faciles, se présenter naturellement, et n'être mis en œuvre qu'en tems et lieu,» much like the seasonings in a delicate dish. *Recherchées* expressions are not «à l'unisson du bon sens, je veux dire qu'elles sont trop éloignées de la manière de penser, de ceux qui ont l'esprit droit et juste, et qui sentent les convenances». <sup>44</sup> There were some who protested that the reaction had gone too far; their voices had little effect. In his *Réflexions sur la poétique d'Aristote* (1674), Rapin lamented the loss of some of poetry's expressive powers:

«We have gone to the other extreme in our overly scrupulous concern for the purity of the language; for they [the grammarians] began by depriving our Poetry of its force and its sublimity through an excess of timid restraint and a false modesty, which they resolved to establish as the basis of our language, in order to remove from it all those judicious and wise sorts of boldness which Poetry demands: with no justification they cut off the use of metaphors and of all those figures which give force and brilliancy to words» (quoted in Le Hir, *Rhétorique et stylistique*, Paris, 1960, p. 106).

44 Du Marsais, *Les Tropes*, I, p. 32, pp. 40-41. He wants them drawn from things whose «image se présente d'elle-même,» p. 101. Lamy, too, insists upon the necessity of drawing on «les richesses du langage» which are contained in the *tropes*, while stressing the need for great circumspection in their use:

«Premièrement l'on ne doit employer les tropes que pour exprimer ce qu'on n'aurait pu représenter qu'imparfaitement avec des termes ordinaires; & lorsque la nécessité oblige de s'en servir, il faut qu'ils ayent deux qualitez, dont la première est qu'ils soient clairs, & fassent entendre ce que l'on veut dire, puisque l'on ne s'en sert que pour rendre le discours plus expressif. Le second est, qu'ils soient proportionnez à l'idée, dont ils sont la peinture». (*La Rhétorique*, p. 100)

For the Romantics, the *tropes*—metaphor in particular—were to be of the essence of poetic expression; for the *ancien régime*, they were no more than embellishments.

Lamy lists three faults which obscure the clarity of *tropes*: when they are far-fetched, «tirés de trop loin»; when no natural relation exists between the word and the idea; and when metaphors are compounded or come too close together. He concludes: «L'on ne doit jamais se servir d'expressions Métaphoriques, qui ne soient pas ordinaires, sans y avoir préparé les Lecteurs» (pp. 100-103). Admittedly, he wrote specifically for orators, not poets. Du Marsais, though, held similar tenets, and he wrote for both.

What use, then, did the lyricist make of the dethroned queen of tropes? As in the popular songs of today, an entire song often depended upon a single metaphor. Often, too, that metaphor was a familiar one, borrowed from the common fund:

Le doux plaisir d'amourette  
Est une tendre fleurette  
Qui ne dure qu'un matin,

sings Pomone (I, i), in a comparison that was already old-hat with the *Pléiade* a century earlier. Other lyrics—to cite examples only from the *Airs*—developed the image of the lover in chains (I, XLII), the flames of love (IX, X, «imprudente flame» XXVII, XIX), the wings of love (XLIV). Occasionally the poem employs a key word in two ways, one of them figurative:

De quoy murmurez-vous,  
Charmants ruisseaux, qui coulez sur la plaine! (LII, and  
see V, VII)

Streams always murmur, but not always in the sense of 'complain'.

Petits ruisseaux, confidents de ma plainte,  
Roulez toujours,  
Vous roulez moins que les amours  
D'Aminte. (XXX)

In the «*Récit d'Orphée*,» *Chanson* III, the expression «rompez les liens» is not literal, since Euridice is a prisoner but not necessarily bound; «brisez les liens» later on is more figurative still, and the contrast is essential to the poem's effect.

Rarely does a text fall into the pattern of the typical precious madrigal by compounding conceits: *Air* XII is the exception (see also *Chanson* XIX, «L'Amour est un enfant»). Explicit comparisons are frequent, and for important reasons, since the simile, as opposed to metaphor, establishes an equivalence. As the Romantics enjoyed pointing out, simile appeals to the intellect, it serves to make clear. In our century, poets have preferred to both metaphor and simile what they have called «image,» born of the bringing together of two realities which are more or less distant. <sup>45</sup> Thus, they have in a sense restored to poetic expression that freedom to by-pass the intellect in distinctly non-prosaic discourse which it enjoyed before the classical reforms. To the child of Surrealism, the more unlike the things compared, the better the image. To the critical spirit of 1660 such images offended the reason.

45 Pierre Reverdy (*Le Gant de Crin*, p. 32), cited in Pierre Caminade, *Image et métaphore*, Bordas, Paris, 1970, p. 10. The poet is defining «image» as opposed to «métaphore,» and my quotation somewhat distorts his thought. The liberty is

The lyric image might involve an explicit analogy (Chanson XXIV, «Mon cœur est un oiseau sauvage»), or no figurative expression at all. Usually it is stated in terms of degrees (*plus—moins*):

Belles mains de Philis  
Plus blanches que lys....

(Airs XXIV, and see  
Chansons XIV, Airs XXIX)

The relationship is sometimes established through an example drawn from nature:

Pour bien chanter d'amour, il faut estre amoureux

....

L'aymable Rossignol le fait voir dans les bois,  
Perdant l'amour il perd la voix.

(Airs XIV)

justified in that there has been a shift or displacement of terms over the past two centuries. Rhetoric uses the term metaphor for any *trope* (vide Lamy, *supra*, note 25), any expression which changes the meaning or sense of the word. The Romantics reacted against simile, found it sterile, cold; they preferred what they called metaphor in a much narrower sense, as a mysterious key to the inner self.

The symbolists based their creed on the replacement of one word or image by another—resonant, imperfect substitute for, but gateway to, the veiled, idealized Real. Their successors, the surrealists, in the wake of the often bombastic poetry of a century which had drawn more heavily on classical rhetoric than it cared to acknowledge, wished to reject all figures, all «cuisine poétique». Despite their claims, however, they too continued to value metaphor for what it made clear to the intelligence, and even simile found regular employ among them. Baudelaire had used the word *comme* more frequently than any other (according to W. T. Bandy's pre-computer word count of the *Fleurs du Mal*). Caminade shows that his successors considered that aspect of his formalism (like others) sterile, and rejected «*métaphore*»—not to mention «*simile*,» *comparaison*—in favour of a new term: *image*, which speaks directly to the senses, supposedly without calling upon the intellect as intermediary. The symbolists suppressed terms of comparison to bring together dissimilar objects, the thing compared and the thing compared to—I. A. Richard's «*tenor*» and «*vehicle*». The surrealists enjoyed the shock of irrational *rapprochements*: The «*exquisite cadaver*,» the «*soluble fish*. «*Le ciel est bleu*,» they cried, «*comme une orange*».

But on close inspection, one finds the difference to be more apparent than essential. Apollinaire's «*soleil cou coupé*» is simply a strong visual image, a metaphor without the familiar syntactical mortar: The sun is a truncated neck, circular and blood red. The gratuitous juxtapositioning of surrealist word games such as «*Le cadavre exquis*» have value only in so far as the mind can find some inkling of rational significance in them. They are an extreme form of oxymoron.

Argument by analogy with observable phenomena, particularly the natural actions of God's creatures, was one of the common-places (*loci communes*) of rhetoric. In poetry, it usually exhorted to love (as in Chanson XV). Poets had not always stayed so close to home in their search for examples; in a play from that free-wheeling earlier period which Perrin's lyrics so frequently repudiate, a pander seeks to seduce a young woman by pointing out to her in a shop window a painting which depicts creatures of the sea:

Dans ce froid élément les Sepches s'entrelassent,  
Les Dauphins font l'amour, et les Poulpes s'embrassent.

(Durval, *Agarite*, Paris, 1636, I,i)

The embrace of the squid, a vision which would once have appealed to many as a delightful and innovative exemplum, had by 1660 come to seem merely grotesque. Despite his efforts, Perrin did not always avoid the baroque image:

Voy dans mon flanc ouvert jusqu'au fonds de mon cœur  
Les restes de ma flame. (Adonis, IV, iii)

Such an image, with its half-dead metaphors, fell easy prey to those—and they were numerous—who, in the wake of the previous excesses, lay in wait to pounce upon and denounce every incompletely realized metaphor, every catachresis, every utterance (however justified in the poetic thought) which jolted the intellect by shifting focus from the physical to the spiritual. Often the poet found it safest to establish his comparison by simple juxtaposition, as when he apostrophized the birds:

Que vous estes heureux! vous vivez en chantant,  
Et ie meurs en contant  
Les peynes que j'endure. (Air XVII)

Neither metaphor, in the general sense in which the term was taken then, nor hyperbole, nor allusion was an indispensable element of the lyric. That same Du Marsais who stressed the need for restraint in the use of metaphor while insisting on its usefulness added an important afterthought. Figures, he said,

«when they are employed appropriately, lend vivacity, force or grace to the discourse; for, aside from their ability to express thoughts, like all other associations of words, they have also, if I may dare speak thus, the advantage of their garments, I mean of their particular transformation [compared to non-figured statements of the same ideas], which serves to attract attention, to please and to cause emotion. [Although figures] embellish the discourse, and although they are, so to speak, the language of the imagination and of the passions, we must not think that discourse draws its beauty only from figures».<sup>46</sup>

46 Du Marsais, *Les Tropes*, I, p. 11. He uses the term *figure* in the general sense to include both *schemes* and *tropes*.

He cited several lines, including a passage from Malherbe's «Paraphrase du Psaume CXLV» to show that not all beautiful lines of poetry include tropes. I have suggested that the greater part of the interest afforded by the lyric depends on schemes rather than tropes. This is true even when images are involved. In the following air (LVIII) a comparison is established, in fact a double comparison:

Petits ruisseaux,  
Dont les captives eaux  
Sont à la chaisne,  
Et ne disent plus rien,  
Vous estes moins glacez que le cœur de Climène,  
Et moins enchaisnez que le mien.

Both hearts are comparable to the ice-entrapped water of the streams, but for opposing reasons involving two different aspects of the thing compared. That much is more than evident, but beyond that we note that the poet also establishes a simple system of degrees: the stream is less imprisoned than one, less frozen than the other. Similar patterns are to be discovered in a large percentage of the texts here assembled. In this instance, the comparison involved a visual image. Often that is not the case, and the figure quantifies an emotion with the abstractness of an algebraic formula. Here, an equal sharing:

Que votre cœur severe et doux  
Partage à mes rivaux les maux et les Supplices,  
A moy les biens et les delices. (Airs XI)

Here, a binomial equation:

Rien n'est si doux et si crüel que vous,  
Si doux que vos beaux yeux, si crüel que vostre ame.  
Il en est ainsi de ma flame,  
Rien n'est si crüel et si doux. (Airs XXI)

Here, a curve with the coördinates time and torment:

Avant que d'estre aymé de la belle Climene.  
Je croyois que ce doux plaisir  
Dût finir mon tourment et borner mon desir,  
Mais depuis ce moment ie sens crêstre ma peyne,

ending with a balanced equation from logic (If A, then B):

Ah! quand il reste à desirer,  
Il reste encore à soupirer!. (Airs XXII)

Conversely, there is the formula: Not A, then B; A, then B' (where B and B' are essentially the same-forms of suffering or torture):

Quand on n'est pas aymé, l'on souffre incessamment,  
Et quand on est aymé, l'on craint le changement. (Airs LIV)

A similar principle is involved when the poet declares that it is pleasant to see an unfortunate rival «mourir des mesmes traits qui nous donnent la vie» (Air LVI). No device is employed more often than this sort of scheme. The lyricist did not invent it; he did no more than adopt an already well-worn practice. But he did vary the applications of it, he did adapt it to the needs of song. And he used it to the exclusion of other figures, particularly of many tropes.

He restricted use of allusions to mythology, history, and current events even more severely than he did metaphor. He could neither surround unclear references with explanatory paraphernalia nor expect his listeners to dash out to look up for themselves allusions to unfamiliar stories or names. As the ideal of the *honnête homme* gained currency, the weight-limit on the intellectual baggage of the courtier was correspondingly reduced. There remained a certain stock of stories familiar to all, and upon which poets drew exclusively. The most common source was Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, but many people knew only the most important tales even from there: Orpheus, Daphne and Apollo, Perseus and Andromeda, Psyche and Eros, Pomona. Perrin hesitated to use those stories which depict humans meeting (and mating) with gods, and retired to safe, but highly circumscribed ground in *Pomone* for the opening of the Académie de Musique.

Allusions of any sort are extremely rare in the *Recueil*, and more often than not they serve a comical purpose. The popular tradition of King Guillemot, an old-fashioned monarch who wipes his nose on his sleeve, appears twice, once in a mascarade, and again as an *entrée* (without text) in a ballet project. One *Chanson à boire* (X) evokes Ariosto's mad Roland, rival of Médor, and lover of Angélique; another, Saint Martin, «Patron du vendange». One of the devotional pieces (IV) grants voice to the three Children in the fiery furnace.

There are references in some of the early lyrics to events taking place at court. Circumstantial poems of this sort involve allusion only in a special sense, of course. There is the «Air en Parties pour la naissance de M<sup>r</sup> le Dauphin» (Pièce de concert XV), a «Sarabande en Parties pour Madame representant Diane» (Pièce de concert XVI), an Epithalamion for «a mariage» in 1661 (Pièce de concert XVIII), and a piece for chorus and soloist celebrating the victorious return from battle of the king in 1660 (Pièce de concert XIX). Perrin had written a Christmas song for Gaston's eldest daughter; in these works he celebrated the birth of the king's son, the Peace of the Pyrenees, and the king's marriage. The libretto of *Le Mariage de Bacchus*, too, was meant to celebrate that of the king. But attempts to combine the lyric and the circumstantial vein cease abruptly in about 1661, whether because of lack of patronage or because the

poet concluded that the lyric ought to break with its progenitor, the always circumstantial *ballet de cour*, and remain aloof from contemporary events.

f. 6) While Perrin may sound naïve to speak of poems «containing all the necessary words and purged of all superfluous ones,» there seems to be no better way to state this principle which is fundamental to the lyric. A modern composer, Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, has resorted to nearly identical terms in describing his ideal poem. It should express its «core,» he states, «in a perfect, simple and direct, clear, and harmonious form, rich but without too many words». <sup>47</sup> Until the present century, observance of this principle has insured lyric statement against the accretion of prosaic self-protection, the 'so-to-speaks' and the 'let-us-now-turn-tos', the 'therefores', 'perhapses', and 'in-order-tos'. Some modern composers have found those fillers, the padding on which smooth prose often rides, more amenable to their musical tastes than the claptrap of rhetorical figures which clutters up much of the poetry of the last century. Many poets in our own times have hewn the poetic carcass to the bone, leaving no superfluous words, but losing in the process that «direct, clear, and harmonious form» and that structural regularity which in the past served the composer, whether he wished to follow its suggestions or set the musical composition in conflict with them.

i, f. 3) As far as choice of vocabulary is concerned, the desire to make the expression «sweet and pleasant-sounding to the ear, avoiding with care even the slightest harshness,» had important consequences. More than demanding merely that the lyricist assemble his vocabulary with care, it meant in fact that he was limited, even more than other poets, to an extremely restricted set of words: those which were accepted in polite society, considered sufficiently elevated for use in poetry, and properly «musical» as well. <sup>48</sup> Bénigne de Bacilly complained of «a language practice

47 Castelnuovo-Tedesco, «Problems of a Song-Writer,» p. 30. He dismisses the idea that mediocre poems yield great songs. He is doubtless right, so long as the words *mediocre* and *great* are read as having their full force. The thought of the poem certainly contributes to the worth of the song, and a song cannot be great on the strength of the melody alone. We will assume that a fine sacred song whose lyrics have been replaced by an unimaginative bawdy ditty (or *vice versa*) loses a good part of its appeal. Still, there are many perfectly passable, even good songs with undistinguished lyrics. There are many others with fine lyrics and unimpressive music. The proportions may vary.

The Romantics, claims the same writer, offered ideal texts to their musicians, texts not only expressive, varied, and harmonious, but of reasonable length. Might we not add that Romantic poets also retained in their poems a sufficiently solid rhetorical skeleton to support the musical flesh, a neat and essentially simple frame?

48 Saint-Mard estimated, according to Snyders, *Le Goût*, p. 37, that the poet had at his disposal fifteen to twenty thousand words. The figure seems high, given the restrictions under which the poets wrote at the time. The humanist

which... is too severe;» «in vocal settings of Latin and Italian, all kinds of words are utilized without resulting in outcry from the ranks of the critics. Lightning, Thunder, Stars, Purgatory, Hell, and thousands of other similar words are all available for musical interpretation in Italian airs». He quotes Italian songs that contain slightly daring metaphors («Sù la sede / Di mia fede»). «The very use of such expressions,» he complains, «would be considered barbarous in French airs, which can accept only sweet, flowing terms and familiar expressions». He goes on to say: «It would seem that this exclusion of certain words and expressions from vocal music is indeed an overly strict limitation upon the use of our language, especially since the expressions concerned are viewed as being not only worthwhile outside of a musical context, but are often the very expressions which bear the greatest weight and expressive profundity in the art of poetry». <sup>49</sup> Later in the book, in discussing syllable length, he includes several lists of words which occur frequently in French song. Those lists are not long.

As though this were not sufficient restriction, the poet forces himself to speak in plurals. He tends as well to name genus rather than species. Although occasionally he goes so far as to name several kinds of birds, usually it is *oyseaux*, pure and simple. His adjectives, too, carefully avoid adding distinguishing, specific information. If the goal of the lyric was to explore and evoke an inner state, the challenge was to do it without producing shock, without unusual or daring expressions, and without recourse to technical or concrete language. No lengthy Latinisms—words of four syllables at most—no philosophical terminology, no scientific names would be used. Instead, the psychic reality would be correlated with familiar elements of poetic convention.

poets of the Pléiade had taken as their mission to introduce new words into the French vocabulary, *Doux-amer*, bittersweet, is one of their inventions, and they made many borrowings from Greek and Latin. In this as in other ways, François de Malherbe reversed the practice by restricting poetic vocabulary; he claimed it was necessary to submit any doubtful word to the test of whether or not it was familiar to the «crocheteurs du Port au foin,» essentially the unschooled Parisian labourer. By 1660, the poet was expected to limit himself even more. The vigour of the language of the streets was no more open to him than it had in fact been to Malherbe, and society had conspired with poetic convention to remove from his reach all but a handful of words. Jean Racine created some of the most beautiful and densest poetry France has ever known with a vocabulary of fewer than 5000 words (Bryant C. Freeman & Alan Batson, *Concordance du Théâtre et des poésies de Jean Racine*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca [New York], 1968, t. II, p. 1451: «Nous croyons pouvoir affirmer de façon certaine que le vocabulaire poétique de Racine... comporte 4.088 mots différents»). The lyric operated under greater restrictions yet.

49 Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, pp. 92-94, tr. Caswell, pp. 42-43. His diatribe may be interested, but he is right.

Yet Perrin was too much a man of the mid-century, too profoundly penetrated with the taste for the minutiae of life which had been in vogue during his youth, to purge his vocabulary sufficiently to satisfy the critics. The drinking songs speak of bottles, mugs, pots—worse: sausages. The two pieces which have done his reputation greatest damage since his death dealt with foodstuffs. One was a drinking song, and the other, the grotesque proposal of the Dieu des Jardiniers, who invites Pomone to «unite her melons with his mushrooms». Although meant to be humorous, such passages proved instead to be distasteful. Perrin never descends to the level of bawdy that characterized Dassoucy's Satyr (*Les Amours d'Apollon*). He prefers the slighter punch, the lowly word or object placed in an elevated, heightened context: the appearance of fat, inebriated Silène at the opening of *Le Mariage de Bacchus*; the naïve question of King Guillemot as he seeks to select a wife and wonders why none of the contenders blows her nose on her sleeve, as the girls did in the old days. His advisor Robert Vinot explains to him that those good old days are gone:

Le bon temps qui estoit, quand au lieu de Levriers  
On menait les cochons en laisse,  
Lors que sur un poignet tout parsemé de graisse,  
On portoit des Coqs d'Inde en guise d'Eperviers.

Through this evocation of an imaginary and distorted past, the poet sought to elicit the laughter of superiority among the fashionable habitués of the youthful court. The same «Mascarade.... du Roy Guillemot» contains the burlesque entry of La Reine Gillette, who creates a comic effect through use of non-lyric vocabulary, words such as *affiquets*, knitting baskets, to rhyme with *caquet*, which Perrin uses several times for similar purposes, and *vertugale*, (var. *verdugade*, ref. W. von Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Basel, 1961, 14. Band, p. 514, a kind of padding worn about the hips and designed to cause the skirt to puff out, ancestor of the panier), and a series of vulgar expressions: «la fillette / s'amuse bien souvent à croquer le marmot». The *Recueil* contains only one Gallic sexual allusion that being a well-worn conceit couched in abstract terms:

Amour est un plaisant moqueur,  
Il tire aux yeux et va frapper au cœur,  
Encore voit-on souvent, dans ses combats  
Que le coup porte un peu plus bas. (Chansons VI,  
Gaillarde)

Finally, one *air de ballet* (XX) uses Latin words to create a humorous effect. The device was to be revived in the nonsense words of the eighteenth-century «*amphigouri*». The final lines of this paeon to the «little girls» of the ballet, those which contain the Latin words:

Et ces *non sunt*, qui chantent des *libera*,  
Pour la mémoire de leurs *etcetera*,

remind one of a similar line from e. e. cummings. Comic devices such as these doubtless still found favour with part of the public. For many others they were among the lower forms of witlessness. The «*enjoué*» style, even granted that it had its place, was to be carefully avoided in the *Airs*, where in fact it is entirely absent.

Above all, most writers stress that the poem for music should have the quality of *douceur*. The idea is as difficult to define as is the word to render into English. '*Doux*' means sweet, or soft; the word had somewhat the same connotations as the term 'gentle' in use today among popular song writers and advertising men. It was the trait most praised in Quinault's libretti; it has often been lauded in Corneille's plays as well. Lyric vocabulary, as Perrin said, could be either «*doux et leste*» or «*doux et léger*,» as long as it had *douceur* and contributed through its sounds to the expression of the idea. A prime requisite of this trait is that the words used be both familiar and comfortable. In an earlier chapter, I quoted a criticism of Racine's words for music which complained essentially that they were too forceful, that the poet had not toned down the boldness of the Biblical phrases. Critics specifically condemned the use of «expressions hardies,» just as they insisted that the poet should avoid complexity of thought and of sentence structure.<sup>50</sup> Banality, it is worth repeating, was considered a fundamental desideratum of the lyric.

*Douceur* had another side, though; the word designated euphony. From across the Channel, John Dryden took a dim view of the idea that the French language might ever rival the Italian.

«...the French, who now cast a longing eye to their country [Italy], are not less ambitious to possess their elegance in Poetry and Music; in both which they labor at impossibilities. 'Tis true, indeed, they have reformed their tongue, and brought both their prose and poetry to a standard; the sweetness, as well as the purity, is much improved, by throwing off the unnecessary consonants, which made their spelling tedious, and their pronunciation harsh: but, after all, as nothing can be improved beyond its own species, or farther than its original nature will allow; as an ill voice, though ever so thoroughly instructed in the rules of music, can never be brought to sing harmoniously, nor many an honest critic ever arrive to be a good poet; so neither can the naturalness of the French, or their perpetual ill accent, be ever refined into perfect harmony like the Italian. («Preface» to *Albion and Albanus, an Opera*, 1685)

50 On avoidance of «expressions hardies,» see Rapin, quoted in Winegarten, *Lyric Poetry in the Age of Malherbe*, p. 85. M<sup>me</sup> Maurice-Amour has demonstrated a number of changes, simplifications of wording in musical adaptations of early seventeenth-century poems, in «Musique et poésie au temps de Louis XIII,» pp. 208-209, 215.

Some Frenchmen were of a different opinion, and continued to work for euphonics, in their language. Basic principles had been established early in the century by Malherbe. Aside from his mania for consistency in grammar, he had demanded and used end-stopped lines, marked break at the *cæsura*, and rhymes for the ear as well as the eye. These principles are discussed in the following section. More to present purposes, he called for avoidance of interior rhymes, groups of similar syllables, and long strings of monosyllabic words which can create difficulties in comprehension. «Madame, Amour...» in a poem by Philippe Desportes evoked from him the notation: «Ma-da-ma-mou». (Two centuries later, Castil-Blaze could still wield with effect the same weapon of derision.) Finally, he declared war on the hiatus, the jarring encounter of two adjacent vowels. In this he codified a reaction of the French ear, which for several centuries continued to reject this sort of vowel-shock, primarily, again, because it made syllables blur and confused meaning. The pleonastic *t* added in inversions of pronoun subjects ending in vowels («que dit-il,» but «qu'a-t-il dit») illustrates the principle. Until recently, one could hear unschooled Frenchmen saying «moi-z-aussi» instead of the hiatus «moi/-aussi». Malherbe, then, codified that distaste. From his time on, a public speaker or an actor let slip an hiatus at his peril, and poets added one more important restriction to the list of rules. (One way of resolving the difficulty, at least in performance, was to pronounce final consonants which were by that time not normally sounded. Bénigne de Bacilly recommended this method to the singer as a technique he could borrow from the dramatic stage.)<sup>51</sup> Refinements of this sort, refinements which our ears, accustomed to the Romantic and modern din, sometimes have difficulty discerning, are the building blocks of the poetry of the classical period.

51 He is concerned primarily with clarity, but the principle brings about some curious departures from everyday speech. «It is incorrect to claim that a singer ought to sing his words just as he speaks them unless one adds «in public» to the statement; ... the pronunciation used in familiar language has the effect of abridging and curtailing some letters. This abridgement even applies to entire syllables and is the result of speech-habits of long standing.... As an example, let me cite the case of the final *s*». He calls for pronunciation of that consonant whenever elision is possible (second person singular verbs: «tu parles à moi»), pp. 250-251; Caswell, p. 130.

Infinitive endings (*donner*) should also be pronounced before vowels. Many people claim, he admits, that the infinitive as a final «must be absolutely suppressed». Others hold that it is always pronounced in whatever situation. He shows that in the line 'c'est un bien de celer,' «if the *r* were to be omitted from *celer*, the meaning would be confused since it would sound like 'un bien de celé!» Even more striking, on the line 'vous sçavez donner de l'amour,' «if the singer were to slur over *sçavez* in addition to dropping the infinitive *r*, the result would be 'vous avez donné de l'amour». «In conclusion, as a general rule it is always better to pronounce the final *r* of verbs than to omit it» (pp. 295-297; Caswell, pp. 152-154). Castil-Blaze quotes Bruzen La Martinère (*Nouveau Recueil des épigrammatistes français*, Amsterdam, 1720, t. I, p. 230) lamenting that «les comédiens de

The poet and the lyricist took care in the choice and placement of consonants as well. They avoided percussive combinations while at the same time striving to give the line a strong backbone through a variety of consonants. Castil-Blaze found dissonant the combination *gronde dans* in a text by J.-B. Rousseau. In the phrase «Je ne dois.... plus t'entendre,» he heard both cacophony and a *contresens* (*tenten*).<sup>52</sup> That he was doing no more than following tenets which had long been established is indicated by the fact that much earlier Bacilly found cacophonous the two *m*'s in the line «Mais ne m'ordonnez point» (*L'Art de bien chanter*, pp. 426-427; Caswell, p. 223). One of the lines destined for singing in Corneille's *Andromède* incurred the wrath of Voltaire, who thought that there as «nothing less musical, less harmonious» than this:

D'où le mal procède part aussi le remède.

What does it lack? How does it sin? First of all, it must be admitted that the *philosophe* was stacking the deck against the line. To an ear accustomed to the regular march of the alexandrine line, this one with its mute *e* on the sixth syllable limps perceptibly. Let us quote the passage properly:

Paris ont pris depuis quelque temps la mauvaise manière de donner un son retentissant à l'*r* final des infinitifs en *er* pour sauver les mauvaises rimes des poètes modernes» (*Molière musicien*, I, p. 502).

Bacilly continues: «It is only obligatory to pronounce final *s*'s (I include *x*'s and *z*'s....) when they are essential to proper understanding of the text; for instance, when the *s* distinguishes the plural from the singular; to avoid cacophony....» (pp. 312-313; tr. Caswell, p. 164). In the line, 'Inutiles penses d'abandoner Sylvie,' the *r* and the *s* of 'penses' must be pronounced «so that the listener doesn't mistake 'Inutiles penses' for its feminine 'Inutiles pensées'». The *s* must be pronounced in *crus*, past participle of *croître*, to avoid confusion with *cru*, past participle of *croire*. In the phrases, 'Arbres, rochers, aimable solitude,' and 'Fleurs qui naissez,' the final *s*'s must be pronounced in order to avoid uncertainty in the listener as to their singularity or plurality (pp. 315-319; tr. Caswell, pp. 165-168).

52 Castil-Blaze, *Molière musicien*, II, p. 200, also 325; and «je ne dois,» *Vers lyriques*, p. 32. Hiatus was another form of cacophony. The mute *e*, he proclaimed, was the only soft vowel in French; all others created a grating harshness when they met. Nothing was less agreeable than the encounter of two identical vowels: *lu une*, or *si il* (*Molière musicien*, II, p. 243, also 241, 238, 250, 296). The nasals, according to d'Olivet have the peculiar prerogative of allowing avoidance of hiatus; they function like an aspiration (*Traité de la prosodie française*, by Pierre-Joseph Thoulier, Abbé d'Olivet [1736, rev. ed. 1767] with notes by Du Marsais, Paris, 1810, pp. 61-62).

Et nous dirons enfin que d'où le mal procède  
Part aussi le remède. (I,iii)

In a construction such as this one, it often happens that the entire first hemistich has no other purpose than to lead into the next two, which are balanced, so that the five-syllable burden of the earlier line («d'où le mal procède») sounds weak—expresses the idea of *le mal*—compared to the expansiveness of the following six-syllable line, so unhurried that it has place for the adverb 'aussi'. But to a disciple of Malherbe, the music of this line lies in the interplay of sonorities and rhythms. The latter will be discussed later. To the combination *m-(l)-p(r)* of the first line corresponds the inverted pattern *P-(r)-(l)-(r)-m* of the second, forming what Kenneth Burke has dubbed a tonal chiasmus.<sup>53</sup> The lengthening of the second line has an echo in the spacing of these key consonants and the long first syllable of 'part'. It is a better «line» than Voltaire thought.

Similar effects are to be found regularly among Perrin's poems. One of the better examples occurs in Air XXXIII:

Dans le desespoir où ie suis,  
Les plus noires forests, les plus profondes nuits  
Ne sont pas assez sombres  
Pour plaire à ma douleur et flatter mes ennuis.  
O mort! pour les finir, couvre-moi de tes ombres.

The balanced second line employs a tonal chiasmus in *noires forests* (n-f) and *profondes nuits* (f-n); while at the same time it varies the rhythm by introducing an anacrusis in the second adjective (*noi-rés forests; pro-fon-des nuits*). The fourth line picks up one of the key consonants in the word *flatter*, while echoing the repeated word *plus* in the opposed word *plaire*.

In another case (chanson XXV), the poet varies a line to produce an effect of harmonious progression:

Il est vray qu'elle est belle  
....  
Je dy bien qu'elle est belle....

The fricative *v* is mutated into the plosive *b* in a progression which foreshadows the exquisite musicality of Mallarmé's line, «Le vierge, le vivace et le bel aujourd'hui». When the line reappears with the *b* in place of the *v* the effect is comparable to the satisfaction we feel when a chord first heard in inversion sounds finally in root position.

53 Kenneth Burke, «On Musicality in Verse,» in his *Philosophy of Literary Form. Studies in Symbolic Action*, Rev. ed., abr., Vintage, New York, 1957, pp. 296-304, and see the analysis of the line «Et les fruits passeront la promesse des fleurs,» in Musser, *Strange Clamor*, p. 53.

Thus, the combined sounds go beyond simple «musicality» to contribute to the expression of the thought, as Perrin suggests when he demands «that they express in their sounds or their pronunciation, some image of the objects, the actions, the passions or the sounds they stand for». The poet establishes between the sounds and the sense a correspondence which the French call «harmonie imitative». To some extent there is imitation of explicit sounds in nature (streams always murmur), onomatopoeia, but in general, the relationship is formal, abstract, rather than overtly referential.<sup>54</sup>

Time and again Perrin's principles of lyric diction consist of restrictions, of limits imposed on the materials and on the imagination. I have attempted to show in this section how those restrictions leave the lyricist free to explore form and to create texts which are neither discursive and wordy nor so dense as some lyric poetry not meant for singing, but poetic and at the same time open enough to «leave a margin,» to unite graciously with music. The lyric, perhaps to a greater extent than any other sort of poem, ought not to be rhymed reasoning, for what it says is less important than what it allows its mate to say. Through the combining of familiar and simple elements into elegant, balanced and discrete structures of sound, word, and thought, the lyricist expresses the structure of a mood, leaving up to the music to make it real to the heart of the listener.

#### IV Versification

French versification differs significantly from that in English. For this reason its basic principles (measure, length of line, rhyme, syllabic quantity) are examined here in some detail in relation to Perrin's sketchy remarks.<sup>55</sup> The purpose is to show both how lyrics are constructed and how they differ from non-musical forms of lyric poetry. Throughout, the underlying subject involves the relations among several sorts of rhythms, stresses, and accents.

54 The idea of music as an imitative language is allied to a conception of spoken language as a system of «natural signs,» writes Georges Snyders: «l'intonation du mot et sa signification sont unies, et cela par leur genèse même» (*Le Goût musical*, p. 20). He quotes Morellet, *De l'Expression en musique* (1759, from *Mélanges de Littérature et de Philosophie du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, t. 4, 1818, p. 368), who set out to demonstrate that many words paint the objects they designate; among them «piquer, creuser, voler, glisser, briser: 'l'articulation -fl- exprime la fluidité au point qu'elle retrace la sensation même que nous donne un écoulement fluide...» (p. 20).

55 Ref. Maurice Grammont, *Petit Traité de versification française*, Paris, 1964 (orig. 1908); Yves Le Hir, *Esthétique et structure du vers français d'après les théoriciens du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours*, Paris, 1956; Frédéric Deloffre, *Le Vers français*, Paris, 1969; Morier, *Dictionnaire de rhétorique et de poétique*, Paris, 1961. In this and the following section, on quantities, we draw extensively upon recent work in linguistics: P. and M. Léon, *Introduction à la phonétique corrective*, Paris, 1964, pp. 64-72, et passim; Ernest F. Haden, «Le Système accentuel en français,» in *Papers in Linguistics*, ed. A. Valdman, 's-Gravenhage/Paris, 1972, pp. 209-213; the still-

The fundamental observation which must serve as point of departure for any discussion of French versification is that in the spoken language words have no fixed accent. Doubtless it was this fact that caused John Dryden to speak of the «perpetual ill accent» of the French tongue. The tonic accent or stress falls on the final syllable of a sense-group, unless that syllable is feminine and has as its vowel a so-called mute *e* (or *e-caduc*), in which case the penultimate (the last firm syllable) receives the stress. All syllables in the group are spoken with an evenness which the ear accustomed to English speech often finds difficult to appreciate. These principles apply equally to everyday speech and to verse. It must be established at the outset that the unstressed *e* counts as a syllable when followed by a consonant within the line. Indeed, it was pronounced as one throughout the seventeenth century.<sup>56</sup> (In the illustrations that follow, a bar (—) indicates individual syllables; sloping slashes (/), accented syllables; smaller slashes within parentheses, secondary stresses; and bars within parentheses, a final mute syllable.)

Thus, unlike English usage, where non-stressed syllables may be «thrown away,» all syllables in French are equal, stressed ones only slightly more weighty. Addition of a word at the beginning of the group may have no effect on the accent, thus:

La sai- son                      La be- lle sai- son,

but simply lengthen the group by adding more unstressed syllables. Addition of a word at the end, on the other hand, may completely displace the accent:

La sai- son nou- ve- lle.

authoritative compendium of Charles Thurot, *De la Pronunciation française*, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1883, Livre V, t. II, pp. 561-726; Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter*; and d'Olivet's *Traité de la prosodie française* (1736). / S

<sup>56</sup> Today, when the *e-caduc* has all but disappeared from normal speech, at least in northern France, it poses a problem for recitation. I have heard professional French readers dropping *e*'s in traditional poetry as though they had no value. The result is to destroy the rhythmic structure of the verse. Actors of the Comédie-Française use the effective expedient of lengthening the preceding vowel to provide the necessary beat without sounding old-fashioned or provincial.

As early as 1565, Ronsard recommended that the unpronounced *e* be freely dropped when not needed for meter; his suggestion did not win widespread acceptance, but anticipated a freedom which French poetic prosody has acquired only in our century. In popular poetry and song, it has long been acceptable to drop mute *e*'s, usually indicating their absence with apostrophes (*un' jeun' fill'*). Pronunciation practices and the desire for careful maintenance of regularity in the seventeenth century militated against such liberties.

We return to the phenomenon of the mute *e* in the section on syllabic quantities.

The longest unbroken sequence is the breath group; within that series of syllables the sense may call for or the speaker may choose to distinguish shorter rhythmic groups. The final of each of these groups becomes a secondary tonic:

J'ai pleu-re.                      Ta-ta-tuh  
 J'ai pleu-re vos ma- lheureux.                      Ta-ta-tuh-ta-ta-tuh  
 Tout re- nou ve- lle.                      Tuh-ta-ta-tuh-(ta).

Let us recall that all syllables in French are pronounced with a smoothness and regularity, a *legato* unfamiliar to the Anglo-Saxon ear. Note also in passing the preference for non-end-stopped, or open syllables, that is, syllables ending in a vowel rather than a consonant sound. The following lines show the elision of the mute *e* before a vowel and its maintenance before a consonant:

Quel moy- en, be- lle I- ris, de vous fai- re com- pren- dre....  
 Soy- ez ten- dre pour moy, soy- ez cru- ë- lle à tous.

The accented vowel has three characteristics: force, length, and pitch. The final syllable of a group receives a slight stress in relation to the unaccented syllables; it is approximately twice as long in actual time of pronunciation; and it changes pitch, either rising (usually in secondary tonics) or dropping slightly (normal for the final tonic).

Anticipating these discoveries of modern linguistics, the eighteenth-century grammarian d'Olivet listed in his *Traité de la Prosodie française* (1736) the three properties which a syllable may have: *accent* (defined in a preliminary way as relative pitch), *aspiration* (the sweetness or roughness of the tone; Du Marsais quarreled with this definition), and *quantité* (the «greater or lesser time required to pronounce the syllable».<sup>57</sup> Unlike his recent successors, d'Olivet failed to see that at least two of his properties tend to take on importance only in the tonic syllable. From this point of view of the systematic regularity needed to support versification, this fact was acted upon by poets even when not recognized.

<sup>57</sup> D'Olivet and Du Marsais, *Traité de la prosodie française*, pp. 3-4; for modern linguistic views, see Pierre R. Léon & Philippe Martin, éd., *Prolégomènes à l'étude des structures intonatives*, Montréal/Paris/Bruxelles-Brussel, 1969.

Recognition of the straightforward rhythmic system just described was long hindered for theoreticians of French poetry by two related phenomena: the existence in the spoken language of several non-tonic kinds of stresses, or *accents d'insistance*, and the persistence of a vestigial system of syllabic quantities or vowel length. Most common of the non-tonic stresses recognized by modern linguists, the *accent d'insistance affectif*, or *émotif*, is normally placed on the *first consonant* of a word or group, doubling the length of that consonant (*MER*veilleux *ME*ne-moi, *SOM*bres lieux, *JA*mais) and serves to indicate that the speaker places emotional value on the word.<sup>58</sup> The interpolated stress may be stronger than the final tonic; it does not eliminate it: *mer*veilleux. Furthermore, the intermediate syllable, although totally unstressed, holds its own against the other two. It must not be slurred over or dropped. Again on this point, d'Olivet's analysis reveals a relatively clear understanding. He carefully distinguished the several senses of the word 'accent' (prosodic or pitch-related, as above; musical, having fixed pitch; national or provincial). In the «Second Article: Des Accents» (pp. 26 *et sequentes*) of his treatise on prosody, he designates as most important the oratorical or pathetic accent, defined as «une inflexion de voix qui résulte, non pas de la syllabe, mais du sens qu'elle sert à former dans la phrase». The human voice is so flexible that it takes on naturally the proper inflections for each feeling or sentiment. «Toutes les passions, en un mot, ont leur accent,» as rhetoric teaches. Degrees of passion being infinitely divisible, it follows that this oratorical accent is susceptible of an infinity of nuances. It follows further, however, that it is useless as a principle of versification.

The second sticking-point of prosodic theory has been non-tonic syllabic quantity. The fact that French words carry no fixed accent has made the application of the prosodic principles of Latin and Greek poetry at best tenuous. English poetry could adopt the metrical feet of classical poetry rather easily by substituting stressed and unstressed syllables for the long and short syllables on which were based the Ancient models, a substitution which had long since come about in mediaeval Latin verse. French, at least from the early seventeenth century on, had neither fixed stress patterns (lexical stresses) nor a pervasive system of quantitative values. «On nomme mesure,» wrote the Jesuit Bernard Lamy, defining the closest French equivalent to the metrical foot, «un certain nombre de syllabes que les oreilles distinguent, & entendent separement.... L'union

58 Ex. borrowed from Frits Noske, *La Mélodie française de Berlioz à Duparc*, Paris, 1954, p. 47. Confer Léon, *Introduction à la phonétique corrective*, pp. 64-68; Haden, «Le Système accentuel,» explains this and the *accent d'insistance distinctif* or *intellectuel*, which falls on the first syllable and varies the pitch; its purpose is to oppose the sense of the word to that of another word, either explicit or understood («J'ai dit, le troisième exemple»). He would further distinguish two others: the dramatic accent, which falls on a monosyllabic word at the beginning of a group, and underlines the whole group; and the grammatical accent, which falls on adjectives and numerals.

de deux ou de plusieurs mesures fait un vers». <sup>59</sup> The most common number of syllables to group together into a «measure» is six, two such groups together constituting the standard classical line, the alexandrine.

By the late sixteenth century, syllable length had for all practical purposes ceased to play a significant role in the language. Yet for the next two centuries and beyond, theorists clung to the idea of quantitative syllable values in French poetry, while slowly groping their way toward understanding of the dominant rôle of tonic, phrase accent. As early as 1585, Théodore de Bèze advised foreigners attempting to learn his tongue that «French pronunciation is very rapid and is not retarded by more than a small number of long syllables, final consonants uniting with the initial sound of the following word». He gave as an example the sentence: «Je parleray demain à vous à huict heures du matin». This sentence contains nineteen syllables which, he said, are all short, and they should be pronounced as a series of proceusmatics, that is, feet of four shorts. This sort of pattern, or «foot,» occurs frequently in French speech, contrary to what some writers have claimed.<sup>60</sup> But any rhythmic group that can be called a foot brings into play the tonic accent. The sentence just quoted could be broken in several places; each pause would produce a tonic or secondary tonic accent by lengthening the final vowel:

$\overset{v}{J} \overset{v}{e} \overset{v}{p} \overset{v}{a} \overset{v}{r} \overset{v}{l} \overset{v}{e} \overset{v}{r} \overset{v}{a} \overset{v}{y}$  (or)  $\overset{v}{J} \overset{v}{e} \overset{v}{p} \overset{v}{a} \overset{v}{r} \overset{v}{l} \overset{v}{e} \overset{v}{r} \overset{v}{a} \overset{v}{y}$   $\overset{v}{d} \overset{v}{e} \overset{v}{m} \overset{v}{a} \overset{v}{i} \overset{v}{n}$  —  $\overset{v}{\grave{a}}$   $\overset{v}{v} \overset{v}{o} \overset{v}{u} \overset{v}{s}$  —  
 $\overset{v}{\grave{a}}$   $\overset{v}{b} \overset{v}{o} \overset{v}{n}$   $\overset{v}{e} \overset{v}{s} \overset{v}{c} \overset{v}{i} \overset{v}{e} \overset{v}{n} \overset{v}{t}$  —  $\overset{v}{\grave{a}}$   $\overset{v}{h} \overset{v}{u} \overset{v}{i} \overset{v}{c} \overset{v}{t}$   $\overset{v}{h} \overset{v}{e} \overset{v}{u}$  —  $\overset{v}{r} \overset{v}{e} \overset{v}{s}$   $\overset{v}{d} \overset{v}{u}$   $\overset{v}{m} \overset{v}{a} \overset{v}{t} \overset{v}{i} \overset{v}{n}$ .

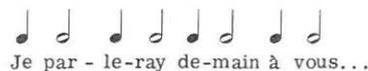
59 Lamy, *La Rhétorique*, p. 211. He adds, «Nôtre Poësie ne consiste que dans un certain nombre de syllabes, et dans les rimes [...] chacun de nos Vers n'est composé que de deux mesures, qui le partagent en deux parties égales, dont la première est appellée *Hemistiche*» (p. 227).

«L'égalité des deux mesures dont chaque vers est composé ne peut donner qu'un plaisir mediocre: Aussi on lie tout au moins deux Vers ensemble qui font quatre mesures. Cette liaison se fait par l'union d'un même sens. Pour rendre encore cette liaison plus sensible, on fait que les Vers qui renferment un même sens, riment ensemble» (p. 228).

Some French writers do speak of metrical feet, *exempli gratia*, La Harpe, cited in Castil-Blaze, *Molière musicien*, II, pp. 162-163. But the use of the term lends little clarity to the discussion; it is one of those unfortunate overlaps of an alien theory on a formal structure which it fits only imperfectly.

60 Thurot, *De La Prononciation*, II, p. 561, quotes Théodore de Bèze (*De Franciæ linguæ*, Genève, 1584). In the early part of the nineteenth century, Castil-Blaze tried to show that such patterns did not exist in French, and that consequently musicians were mistaken when they set phrases as though they did. Such an attitude denies that very maleability which is a notable trait of lyrics when they encounter musical structures.

It would be most inaccurate to scan the line as a series of iambs in the English fashion: Je par- le- ray de- main... . And yet the syllables thus accented would graciously accept the lengthening required by music if they were set to a triple-time melody as:



Length of singing time does not necessarily imply or influence prosodic quantity.

Du Marsais wrote, «Although we have a quantity, as the ancients had one, yet the difference between our longs and shorts being scarcely audible in all our words, our verses take their form entirely from the harmony which results from the number of syllables». <sup>61</sup> The line is therefore strictly defined by the syllable count. If the poet chooses to use a ten-syllable line, the line will have ten syllables, no more, no fewer. To all rules there must be exceptions: The final mute *e* of feminine lines makes an uncounted extra syllable or, as in Perrin's method of counting, makes feminine lines one syllable longer than corresponding masculine ones. The pages that follow take up the various aspects of Perrin's principles of versification in an order somewhat different from that of the Foreword: length of line (k), rhyme (j), alternation of masculine and feminine rhymes (i), and finally quantities (h).

k) Desire to ensure textual clarity led Elizabethan lyricists, according to Pattison, to «regard the line as the rhythmical unit» (*Music and Poetry*, p. 142). In France, too, Malherbe stressed the importance of end-stopped lines; the practice allowed the musical cadence to coincide with the rhyme (Winegarten, *French Lyric Poetry*, p. 5). Perrin notes that he has used lines ranging in length from one to thirteen syllables, that is, twelve plus the feminine ending. For him, as for nearly all poets since the poetic reforms of Ronsard and the Pléiade, the most common line by far, the French counterpart of the pentameter iambic of Shakespeare, Dryden, Pope, Milton, and others, was the twelve-syllable alexandrine. No longer line was used, except experimentally. <sup>62</sup> In shorter lines, the even numbers of syllables, from ten to six, have predominated. Perrin includes the feminine final syllable in his count, and therefore speaks of verses of thirteen syllables. <sup>63</sup> He has avoided lines of nine and eleven syllables (feminine

61 In Thurot, *De La Prononciation*, II, p. 564, Lamy would agree: «personne ne pourroit disconvenir que nous ne prononçons presque toujours également nos voyelles» (*La Rhétorique*, p. 227).

62 Bâif's «metered» chansonnettes used lines without syllable count, lines whose length was determined by the number and order of feet on the Latin and Greek model.

63 Gérold (*L'Art du chant*, p. 19), found that lines ran from three to fifteen syllables, with shorter lines preferred, nine-syllable lines occurring occasionally, and ten and twelve not unusual. The case of a masculine line of thirteen is discussed *infra*; Castil-Blaze, too, cites a *chanson à boire* in thirteen-syllable lines, *Molière musicien*, I, p. 130.

lines of ten and twelve) because, as he says, they disturb the ear. The feminine ending with its «mute» but pronounced vowel makes the line seem to limp. <sup>64</sup> In shorter lines uneven numbers of syllables may have a pleasing effect.

The seventeenth century produced a marked increase in the number of poems employing lines of uneven length, as poetasters displayed their wit in bantering epigrams, madrigals, chansons, and rondels—none of them necessarily meant for singing. <sup>65</sup> Before Perrin, poets writing for music frequently chose a single length, usually a short line, and stuck to it through several stanzas. They might use two lengths, rarely more. The collection of *airs de cour* edited by André Verchaly contains many texts on patterns such as this:

Que douce est la vi-o-lence	7 (+ 1)
Des beaux yeux qui m'ont surpris,	7
Puisqu'au plus fort du silence	7 (+ 1)
Ils cognoissent mes ennuis;	7
Et que les traits vainqueurs de leur flame adoucie	12 (+ 1)
A tous causent la mort et me donnent la vie.	12 (+ 1)

(N° 6, Gabriel Bataille)

64 Faithful to his belief in the need for perfect regularity of music and poem, Castil-Blaze commented: «Les innombrables parodies faites sur des airs de danse nous ont donné des vers boiteux, des vers de onze syllables, toutes les fois qu'une mélodie irrégulière a forcé le parolier de reproduire les défauts du patron qu'il avait choisi. Ces vers seraient excellents pour la musique, si le rythme adopté dans le premier vers n'était pas rompu, détruit dans le second.

[5]                      [6]  
 Tout ce que l'amour / a de rare et de doux /  
 [3]  
 Est en vous.

*Est en vous* est un puits dans lequel tombera le musicien sans pouvoir en sortir» (*Molière musicien*, I, p. 128).

65 See Corneille's defence of *vers libres* in the «Examen» to *Andromède*. He considers them «moins vers» than the alexandrine (Souriau, *L'Evolution du vers français*, pp. 175-176). Corneille helped acclimatize the *vers lyrique* in the theatre, but his verses were not so lyric as those of the true lyricists. Confusion results from the bombastic, declamatory character of the conventional alexandrine speech used normally in theatre; use of *vers libres* produces a more informal, less artificial effect.

Or this:

Belle, qui m'avez blessé d'un trait si doux,	11
Hélas! pourquoi me laissez vous?	8
[ Moy qui languis d'un cruel désespoir	8, 10
Quand je suis sans vous voir.	6

(N° 13, Pierre Guédron)

The seven-syllable line, as illustrated in the first example, is used repeatedly for airs in this collection. The line of eleven is rare, and we note that the poet in the second example (Guédron himself) uses no feminine endings which could cause confusion. Light subjects calling for rapid movement need sequences of very short verses, as here:

Ma bergere	3 (+ 1)	(f)
Non legere	3 (+ 1)	(f)
En amours,	3	(m)
Me fait recevoir du bien tous les jours;	10	(m)
Je la meine	3 (+ 1)	(f)
La pourmeine	3 (+ 1)	(f)
Par les champs,	3	(m)
Où nous prenons ensemble de doux passe temps.	12	(m)

(N° 23, Gabriel Bataille)

The speech of the theatre, in rhymed alexandrine couplets, was heard as elegant and heightened oratorical discourse. Irregular lines conventionally served to underline the lyric character of a passage, to create a sense of mystery, or, conversely, to simulate the prosaic. When, for instance, there was occasion to read a letter, rather than lapse into prose, the poet often elected to pass from one convention to another by setting the letter in *vers irréguliers* or by causing the reader on the stage to interject comments of his own in such a way that the text of the letter never fell into rhymed heroic couplets. When Myrtil in Molière's *Mélicerte* turns inward in a monologue, faithful to the tradition of the Stances in *Le Cid* or *Polyeucte*, he breaks the oratorical stride in favour of a no less artificial style:

Innocente petite bête,	
Qui contre ce qui vous arrête	
Vous débattiez tant à mes yeux,	
De votre liberté ne plaiguez point la perte....	(I, v)

This passage was not sung; yet since it is lyric in character it takes on the traits of the lyric style. And in deference to a convention discussed above, the inner feelings are played off a sympathetic object, in this case being addressed to a trapped sparrow.

The  *récit* (of *ballet de cour*, as distinct from that of drama) normally used *vers irréguliers* because it was sung usually by an allegorical figure. The more serious the tone of the poem, the less likely it was to employ short lines exclusively. In the ballet *La Fontaine de Jouvence* (1643), there was a  *récit* in dialogue form between Time and Youth.

<i>Récit du Temps:</i>	Quelle incomparable merveille Arrête mes yeux et mes pas! Où dans les corps éteints la vigueur se réveille? Est-ce icy le démon qui trompe le trépas?
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<i>La Jouvence:</i>	C'est moy la divine Jouvence Qui règne et tiens icy ma cour. Dedans cet humide séjour Tous mes admirateurs trouvent leur récompense Et sont renouvelés à l'usage d'amour.
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(in *Les Contemporains de Molière*, éd. Victor Fournel, tome ii, pp. 228 ff).

These strophes of nearly identical structure, both ending in double alexandrines, set a tone of rather rigid dignity. In the second part of the same ballet, *La Joie* speaks to the ladies in a less formal way:

Sources d'amour et de lumière Beaux yeux, c'est à vous seulement Que ces corps, revestus de leur forme première, Doivent un si prompt changement. Dans vos regards si pleins de flames Ils ont rallumé leurs désirs, Et retrouvé des sens aussi bien que des âmes Capable des plus doux plaisirs.
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Perhaps as a result of writing for the theatre, Quinault, as librettist, never left the alexandrine for long. He often gives the impression of not caring to recast his lines in any form but that in which dramatic poets habitually thought. Without yielding entirely to the urge to write nothing but heroic couplets, he allows shorter, more lyric lines to dominate only in moments of heightened emotion (airs, choruses). Here is an example of conversational style, passing rapidly into an outburst of sentiment:

<i>Alcide:</i>	Ah! Lychas, laisse-moy partir en diligence.
<i>Lychas:</i>	Quoi! dès ce même jour, presser votre départ?

*Alcide:* J'aurais beau me presser, je partirai trop tard  
 Ce n'est point avec toi que je prétens me taire;  
 Alceste est trop aimable, elle a trop sçu me plaire;  
 Un autre en est aimé, rien ne flatte mes vœux,  
 C'en est fait, Admète l'épouse  
 Et c'est dans ce moment qu'on les unit tous deux.  
 Ah! qu'une âme jalouse  
 Epreuve un tourment rigoureux!  
 J'ai peine à l'exprimer moi-même:  
 Figure-toy, si tu le peux,  
 Quelle est l'horreur extrême  
 De voir ce que l'on ayme  
 Au pouvoir d'un rival heureux.

....

*Lychas:* L'Amour est-il plus fort qu'un héros indomptable?  
 L'univers n'a point eu de monstre redoutable  
 Que vous n'avez pû surmonter.

....

*Alcide:* Ah! Lychas! quelle nuit! Ah! quelle nuit funeste!

*Lychas:* Tout le reste du jour voyez encore Alceste.

*Alcide:* La voir encore? Hé bien, différons mon départ;  
 Je te l'avois bien dit, je partiroy trop tard.

(*Alceste, ou le Triomphe d'Alcide*, I, i; *Le Théâtre de M. Quinault*, tome IV).

He also turns to lyric lines and groupings for the *merveilleux*, allegorical figures, gods and goddesses. This device provided an immediately perceived stylistic difference between supernatural creatures and mortal men, even when those men were great mythological heroes. The lyric sections that Quinault did write got a great deal of use, for the composer, intent on constructing balanced scenes and acts through placement of musical blocks used some passages as many as four times in a single scene.

After Perrin's death, his reputation rested for some time upon his supposed introduction of lyric verses into musical drama as a means of developing or advancing the plot, since «before his time the theatre had only known Heroic lines,» according to Dom Joseph Mervésin (*Histoire de la poésie française*, Paris, 1706, p. 243). It is true that he fought for more than a decade to win acceptance for the idea that lyric verse should be constantly varied in length, as well as for the idea that the theatrical stage could support works in which all the verses were sung. He may well have had some influence in gaining acceptance for both ideas. Of course, he did not invent the lyric in *vers libres*. French poetry in the seventeenth

century identified lyric sentiment with irregular verses. Corneille had used them in *Andromède*, as had others who wrote occasional verses for the theatre: Dassoucy, Beys, Molière.<sup>66</sup> But others who wrote for music frequently used strophes of lines of uniform length, and no one else varied the length as consistently as did Perrin. Present and active as he was at the moment when French opera was taking shape, providing, as he did, the earliest models of French operatic libretti, he may well have been instrumental in preventing the new genre from adopting a single length of line, or perhaps one length for recitative (the alexandrine?) and another, shorter, for aria. Admittedly, ballet and opera *livrets*, when they provided translations of Italian texts, which used lines of roughly uniform length, set the French in *vers irréguliers*. While Perrin's was not the only influence drawing opera in this direction, through his efforts he helped raise the consciousness of the possibilities of the irregular line.

How did Perrin himself illustrate these principles? Some general patterns emerge, along with a few curious irregularities; at times, a happy combination of meters. The lyricist acts throughout on his expressed preference for «lines of varying length,» or at least short lines (paragraph *m*). Among the airs there are two songs composed of quatrains of alexandrines and two of octosyllabic quatrains. Otherwise, he takes care to vary the length in as many combinations as possible. The alexandrine line appears with markedly less frequency than in Quinault's libretti, but remains the mainstay of the airs, the early dialogues, and the libretti. The first part of the collection of airs uses lines of even numbers of syllables exclusively (6, 10, and 8, in that order of frequency, with one lone four-syllable line in N° 111). Even in the dialogues, the serenades, and the libretti, odd numbers seldom appear; surprisingly, they are relatively rare among the *chansons à boire* as well.

Chansons, being more light-hearted in spirit than airs, amorous dialogues or operas, tend to use short lines with more regularity. It is there—and in the comic cantata «Polyphème jaloux»—that we find the greatest use of odd numbers. The first chanson consists of octets of seven-syllable lines; the fourth, of five-syllable lines. Seven syllables seems to have been a favourite length for chansons, as noted above. The reader may compare Molière's use of it in scene iii of *Le Sicilien, ou l'amour peintre* (and see the Guédrón text just quoted):

66 Many were of the same opinion as Castil-Blaze, who thought that «Molière seul a réussi des vers libres,» *Molière musicien*, II, p. 168. There have been studies of that aspect of Molière's prosody, both in his free verse plays (notably *Amphytrion*) and in his prose (notably *Le Sicilien*), H. Chatelain, *Le Vers libre de Molière dans Amphytrion*, Paris, 1904.

Pauvres amants, quelle erreur  
 D'adorer des inhumaines!  
 Jamais les âmes bien saines  
 Ne se payent de rigueur  
 Et les faveurs sont les chaînes  
 Qui doivent lier un cœur.

&

On voit cent belles ici  
 Auprès de qui je m'empresse;  
 A leur vouer ma tendresse  
 Je mets mon plus doux souci;  
 Mais lors que l'on est tigresse.  
 Ma foi je suis tigre aussi.

Odd-numbered lines begin to appear toward the end of the collection of airs as well (namely XLV, XLVII, LVII), as though the lyricist had discovered the possibility or grown bold only after several years of experience. At the same time, he begins to break away from dependance on the alexandrine.

As far as libretti are concerned, Quinault used the alexandrine for his recitative, where the purpose is to communicate information rather than convey a mood. Although Perrin never really yielded to the pressure for recitative opera, he used the alexandrine for similar purposes on a smaller scale. The opening monologue of the Satyr in the *Pastorale*, for instance, is meditative, but ought not to be sweetly lyric in style, since satyrs must not be antagonistic. Perrin cast it entirely in alexandrines, leaving an expository impression which Prunières noticed when he conceded that «certain airs for bass have a recitative-like quality» (*L'Opéra italien*, p. 345). The opening act of *La Mort d'Adonis* (scene ii) contains a brief discussion between Mars and Falsirène, but very quickly the librettist draws them back to pathetic generalities, the stuff of lyric expression. The laments of Ariane (II, ii) contain their share of pathetic figures, but, being in alexandrines, allow also for all necessary exposition. In contrast with this, the long lines of the «Mascarade de Roger Bontemps» serve to minimize the sweetening effect of the music in this burlesque piece.

Since Malherbe, poets had taken care to provide for a clean break at the cæsura after the sixth syllable of the alexandrine. Accordingly, the sixth syllable, as well as the twelfth, carries a strong stress. In practice, sense groups seldom contain six syllables, but usually fall into shorter groups. Thus each hemistich of the alexandrine usually has a secondary accent (ta-tée-ta-ta-tuh; or ta-ta-tée-ta-ta-tuh, etc.—always with the greatest evenness possible), which contributes to rhythmic variety. The ten-syllable line often has a cæsura after the fourth syllable with a secondary stress somewhere in the six-syllable group.

— — — / ( / ) — — — — /  
 Dé-cla-rez vous, / di-tes si vous m'aimez.

Shorter lines have no fixed cæsura. The eight-syllable line frequently divides into two equal halves, but it may just as easily have another structure:

Quand je bois avec Amarante (3-5)  
 Du Rossolis a petits coups (4-4)  
 Je dy d'une voix languissante, (2-6)  
 Ah! qu'il est doux! ah! qu'il est doux! (4-4)

We have previously seen the use Corneille made of the two equal hemistiches of the alexandrine. Perrin, always careful to provide simple balanced forms for the musician, made extensive employ of structural symmetry in all the even-syllabled lines, and particularly in the dialogues and libretti, where it could be quite effective. Some examples have already been quoted, and the reader may find others (notably Dialogues VI: 4-5, 5-3; IX: 4-6, 4-6). Perhaps of greatest interest here is the use of the device in ten-syllable lines to produce two blocks of unusual length. In Dialogue VIII, the singers pass from a four-syllable unit to a five, thence to an evenly divided, decasyllabic line, «vers en taratantara,» as Castil-Blaze dubbed it.<sup>67</sup>

<i>Philis &amp; Sylvie,</i>	Changeons, Bergere	(4)
<i>Ensemble:</i>	Changeons de Berger.	(5)
<i>Philis:</i>	Le tien est jaloux,	(5)
<i>Sylvie:</i>	Le tien est léger,	(5)
<i>Philis:</i>	Il faut le punir,	(5)
<i>Sylvie:</i>	Il faut nous vanger,	(5)
<i>Philis:</i>	Il faut le bannir,	(5)
<i>Sylvie:</i>	Il faut le changer.	(5)

The occasional irregularities of these lyrics offer a certain interest, too. These include extremely short lines and long lines of odd numbers. All-inclusive as it sounds, Perrin's statement that he had varied the line «from one to thirteen syllables» is perfectly accurate. There is one monosyllabic line, which occurs in the first *chanson à boire*:

Ah! que nous sommes tous  
 Fous;

67 Castil-Blaze, *Molière musicien*, I, p. 502, and *L'Art des vers lyriques*, p. 34. Vide also his comments on Racine's «Idylle sur la Paix» *L'Art des vers lyriques*, p. 35). The poet uses the nine-syllable line, the best lyric verse, but allows it to *trébucher*, he does not restrict himself to the regularity of a 3-3-3 pattern.

and, aside from the normal feminine alexandrines (which have thirteen syllables, strictly speaking), there are two masculine lines of thirteen syllables. They must be considered in a special category:

Ma bouteille fait glouglou, glouglou, glouglou, glouglou (5-8)  
Et mon gosier fait loulou, loulou, loulou, loulou.

(*Chansons à boire*, XII)

A facetious line of this sort is for all practical purposes unheard of in regular poetic practice. Like the *tralala* nonsense syllables which have had such a long and happy career in song, these lines remind us how close all lyrics stand to the border beyond which musical form renders verbal expression superfluous. On several occasions, we discover Perrin thinking in terms of the audible, temporal structures of music as he places lines on the page, as here:

<i>Climène</i> :	Aymons,	(2)	
<i>Tyrsis</i> :	Aymons,	(2)	
<i>Climène</i> :	et soupçons,		(4)
<i>Tyrsis</i> :	et soupçons,		(4)

*Ensemble*: Aymons et soupçons le reste de nos jours. (*Dialogues*, III)

The musician can break up the line in this way, repeating phrases so as to create an effect of suspension of the poetic line. The listener discovers the structure of the line only upon completion of the musical pattern. What is noteworthy here is to find the poet consciously calling for such a structure on the part of the musician, and in that way encouraging him to break away from the restraints of the *mise en page*. The conventions did not exist for setting on the page those «repetitions which music demands,» musically motivated repetitions which create tensions between the formal structure of the poem and the musical form. A concession such as this in the written poetic line is rare indeed. For a man as artistically timid as Perrin, it reveals the courage of the heretic.

Another device with which the poet experimented consisted of juxtaposing a line of unusual length (nine or eleven syllables, masculine) and another, just one syllable longer or shorter—the imperfect or catalectic verse and the finished one.

Ah! le doux Echo que nous faisons (5-4)  
Ma bouteille et moy, quand nous nous baisons. (5-5)

(*Chansons à boire* XII)

Tout rit, tout fleurit, dans ce parterre, (2-3-4)  
Tout rit, tout fleurit, dans ce beau séjour. (2-3-5)

(*Dialogues* XIII)

In the following example, two slightly varied decasyllables precede a line shorter by one syllable, which seems to make the song miss a beat:

Nous danserons au chant de la musette	(4-2-4)
Nous danserons au doux son du hautbois	(4-3-3)
Nous unissons nos cœurs et nos voix.	(4-2-3)

When working with longer lines, Perrin thought of them in terms of the sense-group (Lamy's *mesures*) of which they were composed, and frequently picked up a group from a longer line for the shorter which followed. Groups of five, for instance, occur more often in texts with lines of ten syllables, whereas if the six-syllable line is dominant, the longer line is more likely to be an alexandrine or decasyllabic, divided 4-6. This no doubt reflects the rhythmic patterns of the dances on which many texts were based. The Air XLIV gracefully progressed from a six-beat pattern to a five by means of a limping feminine line, then from five to six again for the final full alexandrine:

Sur les aisles d'amour	(3-3)
Alcidor est venu, pour revoir Climene	(6-5)
Mais si l'inhumaine	(5)
Ne finit sa peyne,	(5)
A beau jeu, beau retour	(6)
Alcidor s'en ira sur les aisles d'amour.	(12)

One final point deserves mention concerning the lyric line: that is the care with which the lyricist avoids elision, particularly, as Perrin indicates (f 5), in the *cæsurae*. Almost all syllables in French speech and song are open—they end with a vowel sound. When a final consonant which is capable of *liaison* is linked with the opening vowel of the following word, as in this case:

— (1) — — (1) (2) 1 (—)  
Un cœur / a-mou-reu- x et ten-dre,

or

cœu- r a-

the consonant forms part of the following syllable. Such cases seldom pose any musical problem, except to the non-French speaking performer who wants to know when a particular linking is possible, necessary, or forbidden.<sup>68</sup> True *liaisons* occur in places where the sense does not permit a break (after articles, prepositions, etc.) and, as the line quoted above illus-

68 On *liaisons*, compulsory, forbidden, and optional, see Fouché, *Traité de la prononciation française*, pp. 434-479; and the useful synopsis for singers in Pierre Bernac, *The Interpretation of French Song*, New York/Washington D. C., 1971. pp. 25-28.



Rhyme was an important indicator of structure particularly in the air, with its constant variation of line. Even in the chansons, which often employed a single length of line, it was considered necessary. This had not always been the case. Simple assonance, homophony of the vowel sounds alone, condemned as a fault in Perrin's century, had been considered respectable in less careful periods. Two decades after Du Bellay's call for rich, careful rhyme, Antoine de Baïf followed the models of Antiquity and abandoned rhyme in his *Chansonnettes*.<sup>71</sup> His experiments had no progeny. The popular poetic spirit always remained freer of dogmatic restraint than its highbrow sibling. Alceste, quoting an old song, in *Le Misantrope*, (I, ii), praises it, even though, as he says, «the rhyme is not rich,» for its expression is devoid of affectation.<sup>72</sup> Modern folk song, too, is often content with assonance.

Early in the seventeenth century, Malherbe stressed attention to rhyme, as to other technical matters. He called for difficult and unusual rhymes, banned the use of the simple form with a compound of the same word (*arme-gendarme*), words of the same root (*assemble-ensemble*), even words «ayant quelque convenance ou rapport,» words with any relationship whatsoever (*montagne-campagne, mère-père*) and, toward the end of his life, even the same grammatical form of verbs, even words of the same part of speech (as adverbs in *-ment*). In these strictures, he carried to extreme lengths principles accepted by the poets of the Pléiade. «La Rythme [*id est, rime*] de notre Poète,» had written Du Bellay, spokesman of the group, «sera volontaire, non forcée...., bref, elle sera telle que le vers tumbant en icelle ne contentera moins l'oreille, qu'une harmonieuse Musique tumbante en vn bon, et parfait accord». He cautioned the poet not to be satisfied with the facile rhyme of *eminent* and *imminent*, or *miseri-cordieusement* and *melodieusement*, to «chasser bien loing» the rhyme of simple forms with their compounds (*Deffense et illustration*, éd. Person, p. 131). Pushed to too great an extreme, rhyme becomes an end in itself and detracts from the poetic expression. Malherbe's ideal was that no rhyme should be so simple that the reader (or listener) could say to himself: «I could have done as much». By 1660, few poets of serious intent could be found willing to grant such a prominent place to the technical side of poetry. Poetic expression went about its affairs in a correct, discretely elegant business suit.

71 Du Bellay admits elimination of rhyme, but cautions that in such a case the verse must be «bien charnu, et nerveux» (*Deffense*, p. 131). Not until the nineteenth century was rhyme to be considered expendable in poetry destined for singing. In conformity with his hatred of «versicles,» Castil-Blaze believed that rhyme could be eliminated from operatic libretti as long as the rhythm was strictly observed. Replacing one tyranny with another, he called for perfect uniformity of the syllables «*d'attaque*,» that is, the presence or absence of anacrusis, which would permit perfectly regular repetitions of musical structures (*L'Art des vers lyriques*, Chapter II, pp. 13-27; *Molière musicien*, I, pp. 189-204).

72 Alceste's chanson rhymes the past participle *donné* with the infinitive *quitter* (while *ville* and *ma mie* have only assonance). This was indeed a natural kind of expression. Vaugelas, author of the *Remarques sur la langue française* (1647), com-

Perrin's rhymes are usually satisfactory, sometimes rich (*rigueur-langueur, persévère-sévère*). He does not attempt to find extremely rich rhymes which would distract the listener's attention from the music. He hesitates no more before a weak rhyme than did playwrights of the time. Rhyme served as a structural indicator rather than as a primary source of poetic pleasure. In Chanson II, if *voilà, delà*, and *qui l'a* are sufficient rhymes, *qui va* has, technically, nothing but the vowel sound to relate it to the others, since the theory of rhyme made no provision for divergence of sounds within the rhyme.<sup>73</sup> Similarly weak: *vous-doux, jaloux-vous, feux-orgueilleux*—although in all these performance practice permitted sounding a final *s* or *z*, which would make them adequate rhymes.

Perrin takes care to rhyme plurals with plurals, but in most other ways his rhymes reveal a conception quite different from that of Malherbe. In general, the more serious the intent, the more familiar—one might say banal—his rhymes. Light or humorous texts contain the most interesting rhyme words: *coquettes-sornettes, coquet-caquet, vertugale-Martingale, marmot-Guillemot*. This results in large part from the limitations imposed on vocabulary in the airs, the serious dialogues, and the libretti. Non-lyric poems employ a freer vocabulary which permits greater variety in rhymes. Besides, in a poem destined for reading, rhyme played a more important part. In song, rhyme serves as a line-marker. That which calls attention to itself gives an impression of cleverness, calls the wit into play, and detracts from the pathetic effect of the music. Therefore, the lyricist makes his rhymes unobtrusive, and concentrates his efforts on placing them in a variety of combinations in relation to the length of lines.

plained that many people spoke quite correctly in conversation, pronouncing infinitives in *-er* as though they ended in *-é*, but when they began to read or speak in public «soit dans la chaire ou dans le barreau.... prononcent [non seulement] l'*r* bien fort, mais encore l'*e* ouvert» cited in Souriau, *L'Evolution du vers français*, p. 46. Molière broke a lance or two against this practice in the theatre.

73 Modern theorists allow for this eventuality. After defining rich rhyme as one in which the vowel is preceded by an identical *consonne d'appui*, as in «*image*» and «*hommage*,» Morier adds:

«En réalité c'est le nombre de sons homophones entourant la voyelle accentuée qui décide de la richesse. 'Minerve' et 'réserve' riment plus richement que 'sève' et 'rêve'. Une voyelle d'appui dans la syllabe précédente donne à la rime une richesse supérieure, à notre avis, à celle que donne une consonne d'appui; en effet la voyelle est un son plus audible; pendant longtemps la poésie s'est contentée de l'assonance, prouvant par là que la voyelle était, pour elle, la note dominante. Ainsi 'Harem' rime richement avec 'Jérusalem,'»

as also 'aurore-sonore,' 'image-rivage,' *Dictionnaire de poésie*, art. «Rime,» pp. 350-351).

With almost mathematical predictability, *âme* evokes *flame*, *lieux* elicits *yeux*, *peynes* conjure up *chaînes*, and, of course, *fougère* beckons to *bergère* (always *legère*). The adverbial ending *-ment* saves the day many a time, as does the adjective ending *-able*; even verb endings serve: *guérir-choisir*, *aura-tombera*. Simple forms seek out their own offspring: *nouvelle-renouvelle*, *terre-parterre*. In special cases, a word may rhyme with itself in a different sense: *marché-si bon marché*. If Malherbe's standards are applied, the eye is offended: *attraits-jamais*, the intellect insulted by weak rhymes. The fact is that we should not attempt to apply Malherbe's standards here. The rhyme is there, not clever—leave that to the precious wits who would compose a madrigal in order to use the play on words: *Amarante-à ma rente*—but dependable and constant, a marker for the ear.

In many ways less rigid than Malherbe, Perrin nonetheless takes great care, particularly in the dialogues and libretti where lines may be shared by two or more singers, to set them on the page so as to distinguish, for instance, between two broken lines of six-syllables, and one alexandrine, broken at the *cæsura* but rhymed only at the end. In only one instance, the lines «Aymons et soupirons,....» quoted above, does he break down this pattern in favour of the musical structure. He uses a variety of rhyme schemes (*aabbcc*, *ababcc*, *abbacdd*, etc.), seldom separating a rhyme from its mate by more than one line, and always taking care to repeat the pattern in the second stanza. The rhymes either continue, repeating the same pattern, or, if they change, the relative placement of masculine and feminine rhymes is maintained.

Verse 1.		Verse 2.		
absence	a (f)	martire	d (f)	
désir	b (m)	pressants	e (m)	
soupir	b	pressants	e	
constance	a (f)	soupire	d (f)	
cœur	c (m)	cœur	c (m)	
langueur	c	langueur	c	(Airs IV)

He frequently carried the rhyme across the break for repetition (Airs N° I, V, XXIII, XXVII, XXXXI, etc.). Thus, if free verse is involved here, it is only in the first strophe of the song or air. In the second verse and any that followed, slavish repetition of rhyme scheme, length of line, and even important stresses was the rule.

1) The Pléiade had adopted the principle of regular alternation of masculine and feminine rhymes «in order to facilitate the work of the musician». <sup>74</sup>

<sup>74</sup> The poet should alternate his rhymes, said Ronsard, «afin que les musiciens les puissent plus facilement accorder» (Lébègue, «Ronsard et la musique,» p. 111). Phérotée de la Croix saw the practices of his time somewhat differently: «On devroit encore éviter de metre de suite deux masculins ou deux feminins de differente rime. Lorsque l'air demande à faire plusieurs masculins de suite, il est beaucoup mieux qu'ils aient tous une même rime jusqu'à ce qu'ils rencontrent un Vers féminin» (*L'Art de la poésie française*, p. 136).

The rule passed into general poetic practice, both in the long succession of alexandrine plays and epic poems and in short forms. The lyric, however, in Perrin's time enjoyed a measure of exemption from this canon. Alternation of rhymes is «pleasant.... but not altogether necessary». Masculine lines clearly had the edge. They provided a solidly stressed syllable which fell easily on the down-beat, thus allowing the musician to «mark more effectively the beat of the dances» on which many of the songs were based. Perrin rarely carries the principle as far as in *Chanson XIII*, where all the rhymes are masculine:

Verse 1			Verse 2		
aymé	a		tromper	(c)	
aymer	b		trompé	(d)	
enflamer	b		dupper	(c)	
enflamé	a		duppé	(d)	
charmer	b		charmer	b	
aymer	b		aymer	b	
charmer	b		charmer	b	

Here past participles rhyme with past participles, infinitives with infinitives. In the opening quatrain, the *consonne d'appui* is the same for both pairs of rhymes. In certain rhymes, as here, he counts on the *r* of *-er* verbs being pronounced; Bacilly advocates the same, particularly if there is likely to be misunderstanding of the line. <sup>75</sup>

Malherbe considered the repetition of a word at the rhyme, even in a different grammatical function, highly undesirable. The lyricist doubtless thought it quite clever in this instance. Thus the play of precious wit creeps back into this chastened poetry.

In the *Gygue & Bourrée*, *Chanson XXIII*, the introduction of very short feminine lines after a succession of masculine ones produces a lilting effect:

Le beau printemps est de retour.  
 Tout brille et fleurit,  
 Tout chante, tout rit,  
 Tout chante d'amour.  
 Le joly Pinson  
 Nous dit sa leçon;  
 Et l'Aloüette,  
 Qui piroüette  
 Sur les sillons,  
 Répond au ramage  
 Que font au bocage  
 Cent mille oysillons.

<sup>75</sup> Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, pp. 295-296, tr. Caswell, p. 53; and p. 171. He advocates pronunciation of letters which we would never consider sounding today, although in the more popular vaudevilles there is room for choice; in general it is better to pronounce than to omit.



Greek versification, and led to experiments in *vers mesurez à l'antique* by certain poets of the Pléiade. There was a degree of validity in attempts to match French speech patterns with ancient metrical units, however negligible their long-term effects, since spoken French at the time did observe quantitative vowel distinctions. By the end of the sixteenth century, that system had begun to break down. Where quantitative distinctions had previously served to differentiate one word from another, qualitative distinctions took over or other cues came into play. Still, the ghost of the former system remained to haunt the theory and practice of poetry for many decades.<sup>77</sup> Most of those who dealt with the subject affirmed, like Perrin, that «one must necessarily take into account long and short syllables,» especially in lyrics «because they correspond to notes which are themselves short or long».

The strictest application of the quantitative approach to prosody began in 1570 with the founding of an Académie de Poésie et de Musique by Jean-Antoine de Baïf and Joachim-Thibault de Courville «pour travailler à l'avancement du langage françois et à remettre sus, tant la façon de la poésie, que la mesure et régleme[n]t de la musique anciennement usitée par les Grecs et Romains».<sup>78</sup> These men and their associates believed that through the quantitatively determined poetic meters of Antiquity they could revive the fabled expressive powers of song. For a time, they slavishly attempted to force French lyrics into the metrical mold of classical Latin and Greek poetry. In favour of a tenuous application of ancient metrics to their native tongue, they neglected tonic accent as well as other stresses normal in French.

77 The authoritative source in modern times is now a century old: Charles Thurot, *De la Prononciation française*, (1883). The most detailed study of the subject in Perrin's time may well be that found in the Third Part of Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter*. Thurot notes that d'Alembert criticized d'Olivet's provincialism in his *Eloge de l'abbé d'Olivet*; this man, he wrote, «né loin de la capitale, et qui n'y est pas venu d'assez bonne heure, s'est trompé sur la quantité de quelques syllabes qu'il prononçait à la manière de sa province» (in *De La Prononciation*, I, p. lxxix). Bacilly, too, was a provincial. In the case of d'Olivet, his provincial ear may well have led him into hearing distinctions of length which had never been made in Paris; it may also mean that his treatise preserves some usages of the earlier period that interests us. It is certain that the language, particularly in Paris, underwent a great deal of regularization during the two intervening generations.

78 «Lettre patentes,» in d'Olivet, *Traité*, p. 13. He mentions several experiments with *vers mesurez* in the 1550's, noting that Pasquier (*Recherches*) attributed the invention of «vers mesurés et rimés tout ensemble» to Marc-Claude de Buttet, whose poems appeared in 1561. Passerat, Desportes, Rapin, Scévole de Sainte-Marthe, all wrote *vers mesurés*; a shame, he comments, that none of them thought to leave a theory of accents and quantities. Henri Estienne is insufficient, Théodore de Bèze is the only one who went into it in a little depth—«qui ait un peu approfondi»; his *De Franciæ linguæ* of 1584 has four or six pages on the subject (d'Olivet, *Traité*, pp. 10-16).

To some extent, their error was not that they challenged established poetic practices, but that they held too simple a conception of the working of quantitative values in the language of their day. They attributed a *constant* value to longs and shorts without taking into account the subtle nuances of accentuation. Even the simplest poem contains a great variety of patterns of rhythm, sound, suggestion, reference. We can no more ask that a musical setting respond to each of these elements individually than we can expect two readers to respond to the poem in exactly the same way.

A recent critical edition of Baïf's manuscript *Chansonnettes* is an invaluable tool for the study of his use of syllabic quantities.<sup>79</sup> It is easy enough to discover in this work many examples of the sorts of inconsistencies that must result from the attempt to impose a rigid, restrictive system on complex linguistic phenomena. «Il est vrai,» as the editor, G.-C. Bird, observes, p. xiv, «qu'il y a un élément arbitraire dans la détermination de la longueur, parfois au détriment de l'accent tonique; cette longueur n'est toutefois pas absolue puisque'elle peut varier pour une même syllabe d'un même mot».

The composers who set these *vers mesurez à l'antique*—among them, Claude Le Jeune, Eustache du Caurroy, Jacques Maudit—subjected their music to seemingly crippling restrictions. Using variable measures based on repeated patterns of poetic feet, they systematically set long syllables to notes of a single, fixed value and shorts to notes of exactly half the value of the longs. (If the long corresponded to a half-note/minim, the short was set to a quarter-note/crotchet). They did at least allow themselves the relative luxury of «making change for the longer notes» in Masson's happy expression, so long as the series of shorter

Important studies have been devoted to the influence of the *vers mesurez* by P. Masson, «La Musique mesurée à l'antique,» *Bulletin français de la S. I. M.* III (1907), pp. 677-718; and D. P. Walker, «The Influence of 'Musique mesurée à l'antique' on the 'Airs de cour' of the early seventeenth century,» in *Musica Disciplina*, II, 1948, pp. 141-163; confer K. J. Levy, «Vaudeville, vers mesurés et airs de Cour,» in *Musique et Poésie*, pp. 185-201; on the music, see the article of François Lesure in the *Histoire de la musique*, Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, t. I; and A. Verchaly, «La Métrique et le rythme musical au temps de l'humanisme,» in *Report of the Eighth Congress*, New York, Soc. de Musicologie, Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1961, pp. 66-74; and his introduction to the *Airs de cour pour Voix et Luth*.

79 Jean-Antoine de Baïf. *Chansonnettes*, édition critique, Text inédit avec une introduction et un lexique, par G. C. Bird, Vancouver, 1964, p. 5. This edition includes photographic reproduction of the manuscript with transcription opposite. Baïf's text is of particular interest because he marked the longs and shorts consistently in the first books. He also wrote in a phonetic alphabet with which he hoped both to simplify French spelling and to bring it into conformity with pronunciation. The editor has wisely chosen to transcribe the text into modern orthography for the reader, at the same time making available the original. Modeled upon the Greek gnomic poets, these *chansonnettes* with their peculiar charm have some striking characteristics; they avoid both rhyme and feminine line endings. I note only two of the latter in the entire first book (n° LIII).

notes added up to the exact value of the syllable set to it. In the famous part-song *Reveycy venir du printemps*, the poet followed throughout the text the pattern established in the first line; the composer, Claude Le Jeune, followed suit:

Re - ve - - cy ve - nir du prin - - temps /

Re - ve - - cy

L'a - mou - reuze et bel - - le sai - - son.

Le cou - rant des eaus re - cher - - chant ...

Le ca - nal d'e - té s'é - clair - - cit

In successive lines and stanzas, he varied the melody constantly through a series of different combinations of voices from solo to five parts, while maintaining the same basic rhythms. One finds *airs mesurés* occasionally in the collections from the early part of the seventeenth century. One of the loveliest of them is the air *Eau vive, source d'amour*, given by Marin

Mersenne.<sup>80</sup> In the long run, quantities, as the humanist poets used them, were too unstable to acquire any permanent applicability.

Baif's experiments carried the innovative spirit of the Renaissance a long way. By the end of the century, however, other currents were beginning to make themselves felt, currents which were to nullify the theories of the Académie de Poésie et de Musiquè. A new conservatism was already taking shape. The influence of Antiquity soon lost much of its pristine force; if the authority of the Ancients continued to cast its spell, it was now subject to a broader scope of interpretation. And, not incidentally, speech patterns underwent a shift, with the result that distinctions in the length of atonic vowels ceased to matter as they had previously. Paradoxically, as far as the union of poetry and music was concerned, the new spirit, rationalistic and legalistic though it was, freed song from that straight-jacket in which the Académie had sought to restrain it.

Furthermore, although men continued to pay lip service to the ideal of achieving conformity between note-values and syllabic quantities, the realization was growing that the meters of Greek and Latin poetry could not be made to apply to the French language. Greek prosody is impossible in French, argued D'Olivet at last, not because French makes no distinctions between longs and shorts, but because the poet or orator is not free to place them as he will. He must follow the natural order of the phrase. Even if the poet should happen upon one perfect Sapphic line, there is little chance that he can find another, not to mention an entire ode, as sixteenth-century poets tried to do. «Parmi plus de mille vers mesurés que j'ai eu la curiosité de lire, je n'en ai pas trouvé un seul de bon, ni même de supportable» (D'Olivet, *Traité*, pp. 120-121).

We began the discussion of versification with remarks on the accentual system, noting in particular the tonic, phrase-final accent and the pathetic accent, or *accent d'insistance*. Both sorts of accents, operative in French speech since the seventeenth century, involve lengthening of the vowel as well as stress (*appui*). In the case of the *accent d'insistance*, the consonant may receive most of the length and stress. Quantity in French is today, as it has been since the early years of the seventeenth century, almost exclusively linked to tonic accent and *accent d'insistance*.

Thus, we consider normal in French speech three situations in which lengthening of the vowel may occur: in the tonic and sub-tonic, phrase-final accent, which is to say, always in the last firm syllable preceding a pause—the principle upon which French versification is based; in exceptionally stressed syllables, those which receive an *accent d'insistance*; and finally in those syllables which have length without receiving stress, vestiges of an earlier quantitative system. Only relatively recently have theorists acknowledged the almost exclusive dominance of the first two types. Discussion in the past often confused tonic-created length with other

80 «Eau vive,» in Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, vol. 2, *Liv. des chants*, p. 419; and, in modern notation, in Verchaly, *Airs de cour*, n° 14, pp. 28-29. That collection contains several other examples of true *airs mesurés*, see the introduction, p. xi.

sorts. This section deals primarily with the third group and its relation to the mute *e* which contributed to the confusion.<sup>81</sup>

Three systems of quantity interact in modern French, as they have since the seventeenth century.

1) Stressed syllables are longer than unstressed, at least twice as long under full stress.<sup>82</sup> When not phrase-final, word stress is reduced in various degrees, but not completely lost. All depends on syntactic position: *grand* in *un grand homme* loses nearly all stress or length.

2) Length may be determined by the nature of the syllable; *exempli gratia*, vowels followed by voiced fricatives ([r], [z], [ʒ], [v]) are long (but not r+consonant: *il part* is long; *ils partent*, short). Followed by other voiced consonants, these are somewhat long:

vīve	long
vif	short
vie	short today, except in Burgundy
vide	half-long

Elsewhere, vowels are considered short. As the seventeenth century progressed, such distinctions ceased to be made except in stressed syllables.

3) The most persistent form of length was that which was etymologically determined. It sometimes served to distinguish one word from another. Today it persists only with the vowel [E], and in conservative styles: *mètre* versus *mātre*. In some provinces, the practice is extended to word-final position (*fini* versus *finīe*) and unstressed syllables (*ieter* versus *fēter*). In standard French today, it operates only in checked (that is, ending in a consonant sound), stressed syllables.

81 This brief synthesis of the rules of syllabic quantity as they may have been applied in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is culled from Bacilly, d'Olivet, and Thurot. It is with deep gratitude that I acknowledge here my debt to my colleague Alexander Hull of Duke University, and his invaluable contribution to this section. The summary of principles which follows owes much to his generous, lucid, and detailed help. The inadequacies are mine.

82 «Entre accent et quantité il n'y a nulle relation,» wrote Erasmus, referring to Latin and Greek prosody (cited in d'Olivet, *Traité*, p. 35). This was at least partially true in the French of his time. The truth since the seventeenth century, however, has been quite the contrary. «Sans qu'on puisse parler de voyelles vraiment longues ni de voyelles vraiment brèves,» states Pierre Fouché, (*Traité de prononciation française*, Paris, 1956, p. xxxvii), it is possible to distinguish in a relative way two principles: «Les voyelles inaccentuées sont toujours brèves. Seules les voyelles accentuées peuvent être longues».

Another writer formulated the situation this way: «En général, les syllabes françaises se prononcent toutes dans le même espace, ou la même mesure de tems, hors les penultiemes et les finales, et.... la quantité ne devient sensible que

Quantitative distinctions originally depending on etymologically long vowels became qualitative. The vowels [o] (closed), [ø] (closed), [ə] (back) and the nasals are long in checked, stressed syllables: thus, [sol] *saule* versus [səl] *sōl*; [pa:t] *pâte* versus [pat] *pâte*; [kõtāt] *contēte* versus [kõtā] *contēt*.

If quantitative distinctions in word-final and unstressed positions have for all practical purposes disappeared from standard French speech, certain of them maintain their forms in the provinces. A speaker from Burgundy, for instance, pronounces and hears a quantitative difference between the lengthened vowel of *vie*, and the short vowels of *fini*, even though such distinctions are meaningless to Parisians. This may extend to unstressed syllables. The French of Canada, (*confer* standard *côté* versus Canadian *côté*, *printemps* versus *printemps*), which preserves many traits of seventeenth-century speech, uses long, often diphthongized vowels in non-final syllables of words like *passer* (versus short in *effacée*, for example), so long that they often give the impression of a shifted stress.

Conversely, whereas in Paris throughout most of the seventeenth century many quantitative distinctions continued to be made, speakers from Provence made none. For them, the whole question was an exercise in pure fantasy. As a result, the golden voices recruited from the Midi by the founders of the Académie de Musique et de Poésie required careful training in the principles of declamation, that is, of proper syllable quantification, before they could appear on a Parisian stage. It was not simply a question of training church singers to act; they also had to learn to distinguish to the satisfaction of the listening ear *sōl-saule*, to pronounce *rōse* rather than *rose*.

Virtual disappearance of tonic accent in syllables not immediately followed by a pause made quantitative values less marked. As long as system 3) was active, intelligibility depended in part on maintenance of quantitative distinctions. During the seventeenth century, pairs like *face-grâce* began to be distinguishable because of qualitative differences in the vowels. This occurred particularly in the mid and low vowel system (*e*, *eu*, *o*, *a*). In high vowels, all distinctions disappear: 16th-century *ville* versus *īle*, today equal. As the quantitative system broke down, other cues became more important, and quantity became only a subtle indicator of stress and relative importance of words.

From the shift, there resulted a long-lived conflict between the theoretical applicability of classical metrics to French prosody, and the observable fact that quantitative values lacked sufficient definition to serve that purpose. «Personne ne pourroit disconvenir,» stated Bernard Lamy in 1697, «que nous ne prononcions presque toujours également nos voïelles. Nous les fai-

sur la fin des mots» (Antonini, *Principes de la grammaire française pratique et raisonnée*, 1753, cited in Thurot, *De la Prononciation*, II, p. 562; see the section on tonic lengthening, *ibidem*, pp. 561-581). When a word loses its tonic accent, although its length decreases, it may remain semi-long: *un vase, un vase de fleurs* (Fouché, *Traité*, 'Introduction,' p. 1).

sons presque toutes breves, ainsi il n'y a pas assez de voïelles longues pour faire différentes mesures» (*La Rhétorique*, Livre III, pp. 226-227). Perrin's statement that «one must necessarily take into account long and short syllables in musical verses,» his insistence that although most syllables are ambivalent, there are some «which are necessarily long or short,» and the fact that Bacilly devoted to the subject one entire section of his *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter*, all indicate that not everyone would have agreed with Lamy, however right he may have been. They would not have agreed, at least, where musical prosody was concerned. It was in fact that encounter of language with the tonal art which helped keep alive the discussion of quantitative metrics in poetry. One rule of thumb for determining relative length of syllables, according to both D'Olivet and Bacilly, was to ascertain whether and what sorts of embellishments they could sustain.

Audiences, too, had a sense of quantity, though perhaps determined rather by the ease with which they understood the singer or actor than by any theoretical or historical considerations. «On siffleroit,» wrote Du Marsais, «un acteur qui prononceroit *mâtin* au lieu de *matin* bref, l'*ai* de *faisons* comme l'*ai* de *maître*» (note in D'Olivet, *Traité*, p. 18). The first of these distinctions is still made; the second is, and was, qualitative, the resemblance between the two words being no more than orthographic.

There follows a brief summary of rules for determining syllable length in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century practice.

#### General Rules

- All writers agree that all syllables are long at the tonic; finals in masculine endings, penultimates in feminine. Some are longer than others, even there.
- The mute *e* is always short, usually very short, when pronounced.
- Principle of «retrograde symmetry» (Bacilly): Once the final length-stress has been determined, certain preceding syllables may be lengthened in order to avoid the occurrence of several shorts in a row. «Just as there are never two consecutive short monosyllables but what one of them must be allowed to become long in order to preserve retrograde symmetry, by the same reasoning there are never two consecutive syllables in a multisyllable word but what one of them can be as long as one wishes. (...) There can be as many consecutive long monosyllables as can be imagined; similarly, a multisyllable word can possess any number of consecutive longs» (*L'Art de bien chanter*, pp. 416-417, 338-339; Caswell, p. 217, 180).
- The basic rule for words of more than one syllable follows the principles of tonic lengthening. Any syllable followed by another which is unquestionably short acquires some length. Hence, Thurot's rule that tonic and atonic vowels *é* (*ai, oi*), *i, u*, (*eu*), followed by a feminine, or mute, *e* are long. *A* and *O* present difficulties; *oi* will not support either a long cadence or an accent (Bacilly).

#### Specific Rules

- A vowel or diphthong deriving from two vowels originally separated by a consonant is generally long: *haine, âge, âme*.
- Unlike Latin, where multiple or doubled consonants may lengthen preceding vowels, the doubled consonant (*tt, ll, nn, mm*) in French usually indicates a short syllable: *pâtte, ville*.
- Previously the double *rr* syllable had been pronounced as long, so *terre*. D'Olivet still heard the double *rr* as a phoneme distinct from the single. «Quelle que soit la voyelle qui précède deux *R*, quand les deux ensemble ne forment qu'un son indivisible, la syllabe est toujours longue» (*Traité*, p. 84).
- There was much confusion over nasals. D'Olivet saw that when the nasal vowel is followed by a consonant other than *m* or *n*, which starts a new syllable—when the vowel is in fact fully nasalized—the syllable is lengthened.
- Any vowel or diphthong followed immediately by an *s* which has become silent is long: *même* (*mesme*), *tête, hôtel*, similarly where a syllable has been suppressed: *rôle* from Latin *rotulus* or *rotula*.
- Any syllable whose last vowel is followed by a final consonant other than *s* or *z* is short: *sac*. Length served as a mark of the plural. All masculine syllables, whether short or long in the singular, are long in the plural: *sacs*. Any masculine singular whose final is characteristic of the plural is long: *nez*; but probably less long than a true plural. The stressed vowel in feminine endings was long; in plural, probably extra long: so *fini, finie, finis, finies*.
- Before another consonant, *-l, -r,* and *-s* shorten the syllable. Bacilly considers words such as *perd, sert,* and *sort* not long but «privileged,» capable of sustaining certain ornaments. Longer words with *-r* (*alärmer, ardeur, tärder, Tirsis*) on the penultimate cannot support even an accent or a *plainte*. The *-l* + consonant combination he calls semi-long, the *-s* combination is similarly unstable.
- Bacilly groups words according to length and ending (masculine or feminine). Monosyllables and longer masculine-type words ending in *s, x,* or *z* tended to be long: *me, de, le, ne* are naturally short, while *ces, aux* are long.

All the writers give lists of special words which do not fit the rules, and all emphasize the relativity of these usages. As Perrin says, «in this question of quantity the ear is the judge, and easily recognizes quantity through usage».

To complicate matters further, Bacilly pointed out the necessity of distinguishing two separate applications of syllable length, one to verse in written form, the other to pronunciation or performance. «The difference... is such that a syllable which may be short in written French or Latin verse may become long when it comes to the manner of reciting it

with the proper grace and nuance» (*L'Art de bien chanter*, pp. 327-329; Caswell, p. 175). In written poetry, syllable length became important only at the rhyme. In song, the placement of longs and shorts acquired importance in relation to the musical note values. Bacilly regretted that composers paid so little heed to this point, but admitted that the solution lay with the singer, who could differentiate prosodic quantities even when they were contradicted by the musical values.

The theory that verses for music «must necessarily take into account long and short syllables.... because they correspond to notes which are themselves short or long,» was fraught with peril from the outset. It implied both a too rigid conception of the relations between musical and verbal rhythms and a too restrictive idea of the range of quantitative values of which the spoken language was susceptible. We shall return to the first point. The first experiments with the idea of quantity in relation to versification were inspired by the study of Greek poetry, in which length had been associated with pitch. Henri Estienne argued *circa* 1582 that the French language had long and short syllables, although he qualified the idea, adding: «nous prononçons.... d'une manière unie, élevant seulement la voix sur certaines voïelles»<sup>83</sup> He offered examples: «*p*arole sont trois brèves, *m*aitressé, une longue entre deux brèves, *m*iséricorde, trois brèves avec un trochée». A decade earlier, Cauchie had denied the existence of quantities in French.<sup>84</sup>

Antoine de Baïf and his friends, when they set out to follow the Ancient model in uniting poetry and music, allowed for only two lengths, the one having exactly twice the duration of the other. In fact, there was even at that time great variation in the surface manifestations. To illustrate, using notes to indicate relative, measurable length:

- |                               |                                                                                     |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1) C'est un sac.              |  |
| 2) Ce sont des sacs.          |  |
| 3) C'est un sac d'avoine.     |  |
| 4) Ce sont des sacs d'avoine. |  |

83 Lamy, *La Rhétorique*, p. 226. Vide Léon, *Introduction à la phonétique*; on the question of pitch, see Haden, «Le Système accentuel».

The principles of Latin versification, metered feet, were completely alien to French verse; see Deloffre, *Le Vers français*, Paris, 1969, Chapter II, pp. 23-30; Lamy, *La Rhétorique*, pp. 217 *et passim*. Du Marsais wrote, «Quoique nous ayons une quantité comme les anciens en avaient une, cependant la différence de nos longues et de nos brèves n'étant pas également sensible en tous nos mots, nos vers ne sont formés que sur l'harmonie qui résulte du nombre des syllabes,» quoted by Thurot, *De La Prononciation*, II, p. 564.

84 Cauchie (Antonii Caucii, author of the *Grammatica gallica*, 1570), in a letter, «Ad Martinum Barnecovium,» 1574/1575, quoted in Thurot, *De La Prononciation*, t. II, pp. 566-567.

Physically, 1) and 4) would have had approximately the same length. Psychologically, the listener would have perceived 1) as short, 4) as long. Thus, it would still be correct to speak of two types of syllable in underlying structure. Music and poetry, of course, play on the interaction of physical and psychological perceptions, a source of affective power of which those restrictive theories sought to deprive them.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, all syllables were still thought to be either long or short, although observation revealed that they were «presque toutes brèves» (Lamy), or, in Perrin's expression, «douteuses,» uncertain or doubtful. D'Olivet later adopted the same term (symbol -), explaining that 'uncertain' syllables may be of two sorts: ambiguous or ambivalent. Those that are clearly either long or short, and may be used by poets as needed are ambiguous: «Our poets may incline them any way they wish». Those that are now long, now short, but not arbitrarily, since their length «dépend absolument du lieu où la syllabe est placée,» are ambivalent (as *aîmē*, but *āimēr*; *lē dāngēr*, but *lē dēvoîr*).<sup>85</sup>

The idea of syllables of only two lengths tended to force the language into a straight-jacket, for when French speech does make quantitative distinctions, they are neither so fixed nor so polarized as assimilation to the Greek system would have required. Even though writers such as the oratorian Lamy vehemently denied that ancient metrics could be applied to French poetry, the temptation was strong to speak and think in just those terms.<sup>86</sup> Bénigne de Bacilly, like many another, would have liked to believe in a clear-cut system of longs and shorts. But he found himself making intermediate distinctions: certain words (monosyllables with *r* or *l* plus a consonant: *perd*, *sert*, *sort*) are not really long, but «privileged»; others (the vowel *au* in *beau temps*, *haut*, *faut*) are «long in an extreme sense»; *batre*, *quatre*, *aime*, *parole*, and *place* are long, but not so long as *idolâtre*, *albâtre*, *mesme*, *controlle*, *grâce*. He concluded, with insight, that «one of the chief delights and subtleties of poetry [...] is the slight differences in length and quality of metered words which result from differences in syllable length» (*L'Art de bien chanter*, p. 392; Caswell,

85 D'Olivet, *Traité*, p. 71. Thurot (*De La Prononciation*, II, pp. 562-563) cites no earlier use of the term, which must, however, have been in current usage in Perrin's time. In his *Eloge de d'Olivet*, d'Alembert brought in music as witness to the existence of *syllabes communes* (that is, *douteuses*), for «dans les paroles mises en chant, où un très-grand nombre de syllabes, de celles même qu'on seroit porté à croire essentiellement breves, comportent indifféremment et sans choquer l'oreille, des longues ou des breves dans la musique». To these, he opposed syllables whose quantitative value must necessarily be long or short («longues ou breves d'obligation»), «soit dans le discours, soit dans la musique même, quoique les compositeurs se permettent quelquefois de les dénaturer au grand désavantage de leur musique» (quoted in Thurot, *De La Prononciation*, p. 563).

For *Le devoir*, see the rule of «retrograde symmetry».

86 Lamy, *La Rhétorique*, pp. 226-227. There were attempts to establish rigid equivalencies, even when greater variety was acknowledged. Montmignon, for one, claimed that the long was only a third longer than the short (in Thurot, *De La Prononciation*, II, p. 564).

p. 206; *vide* Part III, Chapters ii-vii). The final section of his book is devoted to teaching the singer the rules of syllable length, and in fact the entire work builds toward that final section.

In his system, that is in the vocal style of the middle third of the century, syllable length and therefore proper declamation are best indicated by the embellishments that he discusses. The kind of argument used by Bacilly to determine the length of a given syllable—the test of whether or not it can support a particular embellishment—may yet prove a useful tool for learning about speech patterns of the time. It was pragmatic, involving the ear in lieu of theory, and should be an accurate guide to performance practice. That this method was not merely a dubious invention of Bacilly's is indicated by the fact that we find D'Olivet adopting the same arguments: *an, en, in, on, un*, are pure sounds because one can make *modulations, tenus, ports de voix*, and *tremblements* on them, and those embellishments may never be used except on pure vowels (*Traité*, p. 61).

A later writer, Boindin, would discover a full range of fine shadings in French prosody:

«It is false that in general all French syllables are pronounced in a more or less equal interval of time, except long ones, which are pronounced in an interval again as long as the others; for it is certain, on the contrary, that in general our syllables are susceptible of the same differences of quantity as the notes of our music, that is, that there are some that have the length of half notes [minims] and quarter notes [crotchets,] and others that we may see as eighths [quavers] and sixteenths [semiquavers]; in a word, that there are five or six different lengths, like the syllable *je* in the words *fais-je, je fais, jeu, jeux, jeûne*; and the syllable *ce* in the words *st* [as in *c't homme*], *cet, ces, c'est, soient*, which are nothing other than the same vowel more or less open and more or less lengthened» (quoted in Thurot, *De la Prononciation*, tome II, p. 561).

Today, some of these would be considered qualitatively different vowels (*je-jeûne*) or non-vowels (*c't homme*). Still, the brain may associate them today as it did then; the scope of possibilities open to the poet and the musician in prosody as surface structures and underlying structures interact is immeasurably more vast than the simplistic conception of two, and only two, lengths allowed.

The so-called mute *e* is the single most troublesome element in French prosody. If it were really mute, there would be little difficulty; but it is not.<sup>87</sup> Even careful standard French today drops many *e-caduc*, while

87 For d'Olivet, the mute *e* is not so much a letter as a «signe prosodique». He defines it as «une pure émission de voix, qui ne se fait entendre qu'à peine; qui ne peut jamais commencer une syllabe; qui, dans quelque endroit qu'elle se trouve, n'a jamais le son distinct et plein des voyelles proprement dites; et qui

retaining others, according to the principle that Bacilly called «retrograde symmetry»: *Je m' souviens; le d'voir*, but *il fait l'devair; relever* or *rel'ver*, but not *r'l'ver*; careful *je n' sais pas*, versus popular [ʃepa]. In any poem written according to the traditional principles of versification, the unstressed *e* followed by a consonant supported a syllable and was therefore necessary to the maintenance of the meter. Thus, it could always sustain notes on its own, and might even become relatively long.

It has long been permissible to drop unpronounced *e*'s in light songs, particularly when imitating rustic speech. A song from 1791 indicates the suppression of normally written (although often not pronounced *e*'s) with apostrophes:

Je m' souviens qu' mon père  
Souvent la grondait sans pitié,  
Et qu' alors ell' tout au contraire  
Lui répondait qu' par l'amitié.<sup>88</sup>

Similar practices may be observed in the popular songs of today. In serious song, mute *e*'s within the line are maintained in deference to the tradition. There is no conformity, however, where the line-final feminine syllable is concerned. Francis Poulenc, for one, is inconsistent, sometimes giving a final mute syllable full sung value, and at other times tossing it off as a slight flip at the end of a note held on the stressed, tonic syllable.

The *e-caduc* had weakened somewhat in the half-century that separates Perrin and Bacilly from d'Olivet, but had certainly not ceased to be pronounced, particularly in poetry, where it continued to have full force in the syllable count of the line. Since the *e*, when not elided constituted a fully accredited syllable, Bacilly suggested that it should be sung as *eu*, as it sometimes is (mistakenly) even today. D'Olivet considered this an abusive absurdity, and held Bacilly totally accountable for its prevalence among singers of the time. If one sings *gloi-reu*, he argued, the phoneme, acquires all the rights of pure (long) vowels: *modulation, tremblement, tenue, port de voix*. He noted facetiously that since in normal speech men say *David* with the same slight vocalic exhalation as in *avide*, since *tonnerre* and *mère* have the same final sound as *airs* and *mers*, they might as well all be rhymed: *mère-reu / ai-reu*. Some poets today, notably Raymond Queneau, have adopted just such freedoms; at the time, the very thought was unacceptable. Today, as in the past, the careful singer takes pains to avoid adding a phantom syllable to those words that end in consonants. At the same time, he avoids giving the final mute syllable the value of a stress-length indication. The mute *e* may acquire relative length within the line; at the end it must remain essentially, eternally short.

même ne peut jamais se rencontrer devant aucune de celles-ci sans être tout-à-fait éliée,» *Traité*, p. 43. Poets of the Pléiade held similar views.

88 «On nous dit que dans l'mariage,» chanson by Dalayrac, from *Camille, ou le Souterrain* (1791), in *Echos de France*, Paris, G. Flaxland, n. d., pp. 88-89.

Because of the complexity and subtlety of quantitative values in the language, French poets have used them not to provide the skeleton of their verses but for colour and shading, on a par with the affective uses of vowel and consonant quality, rather than as fixed, clear-cut structural elements like rhyme and syllable count. Just as they draw upon phonemic patterns—alliterations, metatheses, consonantal augmentations and diminutions—poets create complex rhythms through the interaction of syllables of various lengths with the fixed phrase accents that make up the line at *cæsura* and cadence. Inevitably, a long syllable carries with it some stress, and that displaced accent frequently creates slight tension by pulling against the fixed stresses of the line. Having described a tranquil scene, a sunlit landscape in which a soldier sleeps beside a stream, Arthur Rimbaud's sonnet, «Le Dormeur du val,» (October 1870) begins to accumulate disquieting but scarcely noticeable details as it draws us closer to the young man, until the final tercet reveals the terrible truth:

Les parfums ne font pas frissonner sa narine;  
Il dort dans le soleil, la main sur sa poitrine  
Tranquille. Il a deux trous rouges au côté droit.

The shock of the last sentence is reinforced in the construction of the line, through the interaction of syllable length with the placement, or rather the displacement, of the *cæsura*. The line opens with a strong enjambment to echo several others which have gone before, each one creating a further tension against the traditional sonnet form of the poem. The sentence ends with a jolt on the second syllable of the line. The feminine ending of '*tranquille*' cannot elide, as it should, over the pause; it must either drop, thus producing a prosaic effect, or sound slightly, thus suggesting a jarring extra syllable in the first hemistich. In either case, the poem suddenly ceases to sing. The line then concludes in a short sentence that compounds the shock as it forces displacement of the *cæsura*:

- 1 0 ~ ~ - 1 / 1 / ~ ~ ~ ~ 1  
Tranquille. / Il a deux trous rou- ges au cô- té droit.

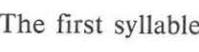
With the abrupt stop on *tranquille*, we sense that a more careful poet might have avoided such a cacophony as *-quill (e)*... [kilil], for we do not yet know how overpowering a sense of human disorder motivates this apparently idyllic poem. The following, final sentence will hammer home the shock.

The phrase *deux trous rou- ges*, with its three necessarily-long syllables, forms a sense group which cannot be broken. The numeral adjective *deux*, long, as distinct from the preposition *de*, receives what Ernest Haden calls an «accent grammatical» («Le Système accentuel,» p. 212). Each of these three syllables carries a quantitative stress in relation to the others in the line, and the tonic accent falls one beat late, on the seventh syllable. The key word *trous* lands emphatically on the sixth syllable, the traditionally stressed half-cadential point; but the conclusion of the sense-group *rou-*, bearing a tonic accent and extra length from the following

mute syllable, carries across that inviolable barrier to the attribute, lurid against the green background. The crescendo has swept us past the familiar point of repose. The last five syllables slip by in a rapid coda, and the sense of all the earlier discordant notes becomes clear. In response to the violence of war, the poet has broken a poetic taboo of more than two centuries' standing, doing violence to the structure of the alexandrine line.<sup>89</sup> Of such tensions is the musicality of a poem created.

Perhaps the most remarkable fact to be noted concerning the humanist experiments is that they produced some beautiful songs. Although the relation between longs and shorts was of the vaguest sort, Noske has written, «the music had the power, its movement being determined in advance, to give the syllables an absolute length, and thus to establish their quantities» (*La Mélodie en France*, p. 37). This is a privilege that music always enjoys. In their failure to take into account the full range of differences, both quantitative and accentual, possible among syllables, in their refusal to bring the melody into conformity with the inherent musical line of the spoken phrase, the artists who worked with Baif restructured the verse just as certainly as does any modern songwriter.

The conformity between verbal and musical values is never more than relatively complete in any real sense, nor should we expect it to be. If it were possible, no new entity would result from the union, but rather, redundancy. Equivalences between music and poetry have the same validity as those established between two objects in metaphor, and the same transiency. The danger lies in taking these relative similarities as absolutes.

Poetic quantities even within a given line of poetry have more variability, more fluidity than do the fixed note values of the musical line. They depend to a great extent upon the speaker's ear, mood, and speech habits. Thus it is that music can impose quantitative values on the text. The word *modérément*, according to Castil-Blaze (*L'Art des vers lyriques*, p. 14), consists of two iambs; and well it may. The second syllable, which is theoretically short, may receive a barely perceptible lengthening in relation to those that precede and follow it. A composer might well want to treat it that way (*exempli gratia*, ). But then, should he set the bar line in one place rather than another? To put the first syllable on the beat would more closely approximate the normal rhythm of the word than to situate it on an upbeat, but would deprive the final, tonic syllable of its normal stress. The first three syllables could just as well be set as equal:  | . The first syllable might be given a longer note without violating the possibilities or normal speech: .

89 It is true that Victor Hugo had introduced the 4/4/4 rhythm in the alexandrine, a daring innovation. Even in the classical period, the *cæsura* was often only virtual. As evidenced by punctuation in Racine's texts, a speaker might perform the line 2/10. Still, the hemistich maintained its rights well into the twentieth century.

Even a patent distortion of the normal stress and length patterns might be pleasurable if other considerations within the musical structure demanded it.<sup>90</sup> The proper question for the student of song is not whether such clashes occur, nor whether they are desirable, but when, and to what effect they are used.

In the meantime, we may borrow an example from Frits Noske, who points out that the word *jamais* in the French-Canadian folk song «A la claire fontaine» is correctly set with a relatively long note on the first, atonic syllable (*La Mélodie en France*, p. 47).



Its position on the down-beat of the measure gives it added stress. We have established that normally in French speech the tonic accent falls on the final syllable of a sense group. Here, however, the *accent d'insistance* comes into play; the lengthening, which affects primarily the consonant, finds its musical equivalent in the combination of metrical stress and note length. The word consists of two longs, a spondee. Further, the tonic syllable maintains its relative strength in relation to the two short notes—unstressed syllables—that follow it. Contrary to the opinion of Baïf and his friends, the ear hears and easily adjusts to rapid shifts in relative value. Thus, the two syllables of *jamais* in the song are heard as nearly equivalent (with the first receiving an added emotional stress), even though in absolute terms the first is much stronger.

«During the first half of the seventeenth century,» wrote Noske, «music progressively reasserted its rights, under the influence of the dance, with the result that the supposed quantitative values survived only in theory» (*La Mélodie en France*, p. 38). Similarly, Verchaly has summarized in the following terms the evolution of musical prosody in the century before Lully's reforms:

90 Castil-Blaze held much more restrictive views. He thought the four-syllable foot, even when it could be scanned as two iambs, two trochees, or a four-beat anacrusis, «vicieux»: He cited the line:

— √ — — — // — — — √ —  
Vous avez/pu // voir / sans fremir,

«monstruosité, licence effroyable d'un parolier maladroit...» (*L'Art des vers lyriques*, p. 18).

«The *air de cour*, which had at first given concrete form to the ideal of Ronsard by evoking the ancient Orphic song, without seeking subtle refinements, came to adopt at the opening of the seventeenth century a rhythmic system which completely escaped the rules of prosody. Thus we may say that its evolution consisted in disengaging itself from that influence, while retaining its suppleness, and rediscovering a form of declamation that was more logical, more natural, and finally, more in conformity with the spirit of the French language, which does not lend itself to strict principles» (*Airs de cour*, pp. ix-x).

Music too, has various sorts of devices that serve both to establish overall patterns and to create tensions within those patterns. In terms of melodic stress alone, there are the accent created by lengthening a note, that produced by meter (down-beat), and that resulting from interval (melodic leaps). Some composers use all these to bring out the stress points of the text. Yet the melody has its independent demands which do not always conform to those of the text. The idea that they can or should always correspond perfectly is one of the great fallacies in the theory of song. The possibilities of poetic rhythm are so complex that music cannot and should not attempt to follow them slavishly, any more than the text written for an existing melody should sacrifice all else in order to conform perfectly to that melody, even if it were possible. The resulting regularity would pall only too quickly. The fact is that poetic prosody is susceptible of a broad range of application to musical patterns, that the singer can and does make adjustments in relative stress within the framework imposed by the given note values, and that composers who set words to music seek to establish equivalencies between now one set of elements now another but never all, and sometimes produce their most pleasing effects through tensions, clashes between the verbal and the musical patterns. This is a constant in the musico-poetic symbiosis; it may vary with styles and tastes, but it never disappears.

Although the assimilation of ancient quantitative metrics was seen by some as a false ideal based on faulty analogical reasoning, writers continued to call, time and again, for perfect matching of text to music. D'Olivet asserted that French poetry could have all the variety of Greek poetry but without the necessity of measured verses. His comments reveal that even in the wake of Lully's reforms the perfect correspondence between music and verse prosody was no more than an ideal: «On est content du musicien, lorsque son air exprime le sens des paroles: peut-être qu'en même temps il pourroit le faire répondre à la prosodie; et ce seroit une nouvelle source d'agrément».<sup>91</sup> Burette's dogmatic assertion in his *Mémoires aux musiciens de l'Académie des belles lettres*, reveals just as clearly the distance between expressed ideals and musical practice:

91 D'Olivet, *Traité*, p. 127. An example that he finds in Boileau perfectly expresses its sense with no need of musical support (pp. 127-129): «La Mollesse oppressée /.../ Soupire, étend les bras, ferme l'œil, et s'endort».

«Quoique notre poésie ne se mesure point suivant les longues et les brèves, cela n'empêche pas que le chant ne doive faire sentir exactement, par la durée des sons, la quantité de chaque syllabe: et c'est ignorance ou négligence au musicien d'en violer les règles». <sup>92</sup>

In the best of instances, the conformity that these writers call for can be no more than relative. Music has the power to forge the prosody of the text to a great extent, and conversely, the text and the performance operate changes in the score, make slight alterations which would not occur if the voice line were performed by another instrument. That principle of fidelity to nature that had helped produce the creative force of the classical moment had by the early eighteenth century turned into a narrow-minded rigidity. Imaginative interplay between the two arts was called upon to bow to principles of unbending conformity. Fortunately, as these comments unwittingly attest, composers continued to follow the demands of the music rather than the precepts of theorists.

In so far as it is desirable that music and text meet on some quantitative ground, the question remains whose responsibility it is to make them do so—the poet's, the performer's, or the composer's. All three positions have been maintained, and in various ways all three are justifiable.

From Bacilly's point of view, primary responsibility fell to the performer, for in music quantitative syllable values were to be observed only to support diction, to assure comprehension. When musical and verbal stresses failed to correspond, it was frequently because the words had been composed after the melody and with little regard for its long and short notes, because the composer had «not been exacting enough to write notes which correspond[ed] exactly to the long and short syllables as they [were] found in the text,» or because the strict rhythms of the dance had forced him to neglect textual values. Such occurrences might constitute defects, but in the hands of a sensitive and intelligent performer they were not irremediable. The singer had at his disposal a curious tool just for this purpose; he could have recourse to the musical ornaments which indicated length.<sup>93</sup> A turn or simply «a repetition of the throat» could give a melodically weak syllable the value of a semi-long; a full cadence formula (in a serious air) or an *accent* (in a light song) could restore to a slighted long penultimate its natural value.

<sup>92</sup> In d'Olivet, *Traité*, pp. 130-131. D'Alembert's affirmation of this principle has been quoted.

<sup>93</sup> See Bacilly's defense of the use of diminutions and passages, *Remarques curieuses*, p. 213-214, tr. Caswell, pp. 106-107, and Chapters XII-XIII, *passim*.

It is no longer possible to use ornaments in the same way, yet it is still to some extent the singer's responsibility to observe nuances of quantity and stress that the score neglects. In the «Chanson épique,» second of Ravel's three *Don Quichote* songs, the line «L'ange qui veille sur ma veille» is set so that the first, long syllable, *L'an*, falls on the final, weak beat of the measure, the *arsis*; the *caduc -ge* then receives the full force of the down-beat as well as an agogic accent as the highest note of the line:



To describe this as «faulty musical prosody» would be to impose a negative value judgment in the face of the evidence that the composer consciously chose to create tension at that point by throwing the poetic rhythm slightly out of line with the musical. From the point of view of the performer, it would, I think, be an error further to accentuate the disjunction; rather, he will seek to attenuate it by restoring some of its force to the first syllable and lessening the stress on the second. Thus the word retains its rights without entering into conflict with its musical partner. Similarly, in the *air de cour* which begins «Ma bergère / Non légère / En amours,»:



(Verchaly, *Airs de cour*, n° 23, p. 52)

the first two syllables serve as an anacrusis to a stronger, tonic syllable, and normally the second should receive less stress than the first which opens the phrase. Yet the syllable *ber-* must reflect the lengthening effect of the *r* + consonant, an adjustment which the accomplished singer makes almost automatically. In the second phrase, *non légère*, the more familiar pattern is restored. In neither of these instances is it a question of improper prosody. Whether because the musical logic demands it, or for a particular effect, the composer remains within his rights in taking certain licenses with the rhythms of the text. The performer who does not distinguish syllabic values on the sub-notational level may not be understood. In the conversation between poet and composer, he plays the indispensable part of *truchement*, translator.

Of course, the singer does not assume entire responsibility for musical prosody. When text encounters music, one of two situations must be the case; either the poem has been written freely, so that the music follows its dictates and suggestions, or the lyrics have been designed

to conform to some actual or virtual structure. In Perrin's words, the poet either works for a free measure, or composes for a given melody. If the lyricist matches his text to an existing tune or *timbre*, he will to some extent take care to «make short or uncertain syllables correspond to the short notes, and long or uncertain ones, to the long notes». His responsibility, unless he seeks a particular effect, is to see to it that the stresses of his poetic line do not violently and unpleasantly contradict those of the musical line. Ditties were often devised to popular dance tunes (*vide* paragraph *q*). In such instances, then as today, the lyric line had to seek some measure of conformity to the beat of the music. It may be that the temptation was stronger to fit a syllable to every note («a fatal constraint,» Bacilly called that) than to match syllable length to note length.

Although Perrin composed a number of ditties in this fashion, it is impossible in most cases to know how well he succeeded. We do have one example, however, the Menuet «Je croyois Janeton,» the melody of which has been preserved thanks to Molière's satirical use of it. That melody also served as the basis for a Noël. In all likelihood, the secular piece was freely composed, while the sacred text was designed to match the melody. There is only moderate consistency among lines set to the same melodic phrase. Two longs have the same value as two shorts (the melody is given *supra*, p. 19).

The only constantly observed principle is the coincidence of melodic and poetic final line-stress, tonic accent. No syllable refuses the lengthening effect of tonic placement. The penultimate masculine and the antepenultimate feminine also lengthen easily. Clearly, the system was quite flexible.

When a long or semi-long syllable encounters a short note, as in *dans ces prés*, the performer could, according to Bacilly (*Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter*, p. 378, tr. Caswell, p. 198), resolve the problem by not rushing over it. In this light, popular sort of music, at least, any syllable, even a mute one, can support a long note. The opening syllable of line 1 is short in four out of six cases, and in all but one in line 2. That fact does not prevent the composer from setting it to a dotted note on the down-beat with passable, if not admirable, effect. In line 3, the equal notes seem to have been inspired by the persistence of longs in the original poem. The later version replaces the three longs with a series of shorts, to express effectively the idea of *allegresse*. Note that in this line, in which only the final has any real claim to length, any syllable might be lengthened to preserve symmetry and ensure comprehension. In such songs, then, regularity takes precedence as an effective device over relative length, and quantity functions on the subnotational level.

The *timbres* to which poets usually set new words were *chansons*, such as this one, based on dance rhythms. They frequently had a fast tempo, making little allowance for adjustments during performance and, as in this case, really little distinction between long and short notes. Serious *airs* took a slower tempo, partly to allow for careful declamation supported by ornaments and diminutions which the singer performed and was expected to invent for the second and any subsequent stanzas.

Even this unassuming song reflects, in the second version, the poet's care to follow salient patterns of the original such as the exclamations *Hélas!* / *Noël* / and the choice of rhymes. When it happened that the music to an *air* was composed before the poet had written a second verse, he faced added constraints. The new version should be «exactly like the first, not only as concerns the union of the meaning to the number and the length of lines, syllabic quantity and *cæsurae* or other pauses and vocally accentuated places, but even to the point of preserving the principal figures of the final verse» (paragraph *l*). Perrin prided himself on conforming as closely as anyone to such narrow restrictions. Blank spaces anticipating the addition of a second verse occur several times in the *Recueil* manuscript and indicate that the challenge sometimes proved too much for him.

The «free measure» of which he speaks has two meanings. In the first sense, the poet, following solely the dictates of his inspiration, the subject and the mood, could freely choose his lines and his rhyme scheme, place his *cæsurae* at will, and end the strophe with the thought. This done, he left the poem to the composer who then had the responsibility of following the given form. The poet had no such liberty when he wrote new words to a *timbre*. In the second sense, the more serious vocal music (*air*, *dialogue*, and *opera*) wanted careful declamation. The more it freed itself of the fixed meters of vaudeville and dance tune, the more flexible and responsive to speech rhythms it became. One of the unpredictable effects of the earlier humanist experiments had been to delay the imposition on serious song of fixed measure. Patterns of long and short notes rather than bar lines and a set down-beat provided the rhythmic frame for many a song until well into the seventeenth century (Verchaly, *Airs de cour*, p. x; Gérold, *L'Art du chant*, pp. 20 ff). By 1660, bar lines were in regular use, but composers frequently shifted meter at will from duple to triple. This practice, coupled with the liberal use of a kind of *tempo rubato* which allowed performers to insert lengthy embellishments with relative disregard for the written note values, produced a free give and take between musical and prosodic demands. By imposing strict limitations on free embellishment, Lully was to further the imposition of the tyranny of fixed meter.

Theoretical arguments notwithstanding, the application of classical meters to French poetry has never been more than a wishful exercise. If quantitative values play a rôle in versification, that rôle remains vague and involves euphonic rather than structural considerations. Thus, Perrin calls for «a beautiful diversity of longs and shorts, or of uncertain syllables, such that there would be no more than three of four longs or shorts in a row». We have seen that Bacilly, unlike Perrin, accepted any sequence of naturally long syllables. Disagreement on this matter had a long life. In 1850, Castil-Blaze, disregarding the principle of retrograde symmetry, could still maintain that two mute *e*'s should never be coupled, any more than should two longs (*L'Art des vers lyriques*, pp. 14 & 24-25). There was general agreement that a series of shorts was pernicious. Both the *Pléiade* and *Malherbe* had condemned any succession of

several monosyllables, since they tend to be short.<sup>94</sup> This precept once duly observed, both the composer and the performer could impose quantitative values within the line so as to avoid any cacophonous sequence of short- or long-seeming syllables.

Then, too, it is somewhat puzzling to find so many writers insisting that any series of undifferentiated syllables, particularly shorts, weakens a line, when observation reveals that one of the delights of French poetry and lyrics is just this ability to sustain such sequences without sacrifice of the song-like effect. Orators and actors used it constantly. Musicians have drawn on it to fine effect, as in the Renaissance madrigal which begins on a four-note arsis, «Il est bel et bon, bon, bon...». The anacrusis figure of four essentially undifferentiated monosyllables leading up to «bon, bon, bon,» joyously repeated on the same note, is the very trait which gives the opening of the piece its charm. Not until the nineteenth century would composers begin to take full advantage of this peculiarity of their language. The opening line of the «Villanelle» in Berlioz' *Nuits d'été* sets the phrase *Quand viendra la saison nouvelle* in such a way that the syllables *sai-son nou-* are relatively unstressed, the tonic accent correctly placed on *-ve,-* feminine penultimate, as indicated by length and placement on the strong beat or thesis without breaking the rhythm of the rapid succession of notes.

From the end of the seventeenth century, it was the composer and the lyricist rather than the poet who continued to respond to the danger of the series of short monosyllables. Even the anguished cry of Hermione to Oreste in Racine's *Andromaque: Qui te l'a dit?* despite its ironic resonance in the play, lacked, for this reason, the *douceur* requisite to lyrics. To consider the other side of the coin, Chabanon criticized Jean-Jacques Rousseau for setting the lines of his operetta *Le Devin du village* to «a series of equal notes,» even though the stresses of musical and poetic measure correspond perfectly (cited by Noske, *La Mélodie française*, p. 42).

Perrin and his contemporaries used blocks based not on stress or feet or quantitative considerations, but only on phrase balance, as shown above. So the relative placement of longs and shorts within the line had no bearing on versification, and little on musical prosody. The principle of *douceur* was served if the poet took care, as Perrin said, to provide a «nice variety» of longs and shorts. In this sense, the ear is indeed the final judge of syllabic quantity, and, while that judgment must be based on many extremely fine distinctions, the basis for the listener's perception of quantity must be a result of the collaborative contributions of lyricist, composer, and performer.

94 «Tu éviteras aussi l'abondance des monosyllabes en tes vers, pour estre rudes et mal plaisans à ouyr,» wrote Ronsard, *Abregé de l'art poétique françois* (1565), *Œuvres complètes*, II, p. 1006. Malherbe came to censure even relatively inoffensive lines of monosyllables («J'ai tant et tant de maux que plus je ne dois craindre») through his extreme sensitivity to lack of verbal harmony, *cacophonie*; see Souriau, *L'Évolution du vers*, pp. 32-33.

There remains one place where syllabic quantity may still play a significant rôle, that is at the rhyme. Placement at the rhyme or before any pause causes a syllable to acquire length along with tonic stress. Still, Perrin implies (paragraph *j*) that that lengthening effect does not succeed in making all syllables equally long: «I have always made sure in feminine rhymes that the penultimate syllable on which the cadence normally occurs, and which requires a sustained voice and a long note, be either long or uncertain, but most often long and strongly felt». As early as 1597, Lanoue had claimed in the preface to his *Dictionnaire des rimes* to have distinguished the shorts from the longs at the finals of masculine and penultimates of feminine endings, «ce que ie ne sçache avoir encore esté beaucoup remarqué, quoy qu'il ayt esté pratiqué de chacun plus ou moins qu'il a aproché de la perfection». <sup>95</sup> «To this point,» echoed Perrin, «most of those who write for music ordinarily pay no attention whatsoever». Again, half a century later, D'Olivet reiterated the same principle: «Une brève, à la rigueur, ne doit rimer qu'avec une brève; et une longue avec une longue; toute la licence qu'on peut prendre ne regarde que les syllabes douteuses» (*Traité*, p. 131).

The stressed position at the rhyme makes most syllables compatible. It lengthens *syllabes douteuses* and even normally short ones such as *visage-langage*, which D'Olivet classes as *très-bref*. To judge from Bacilly's comments on embellishment, one would conclude that nothing prevents shorts such as *audace-menace* from appearing at the rhyme, but that they would not take so extensive cadence formulæ as the longs of *flamme-âme* or *grâce-passe*. Even today there are some endings that are heard as essentially dissimilar in length. The longer the vowel, remarked Georges Lote, the better it will be heard: «*onde* et *monde* sonnent plus heureusement à l'oreille que *flot* et *îlot*»<sup>96</sup> We know that Malherbe condemned some of Desportes' rhymes, commenting that *glace* and *grâce*, a short versus a very long, rhymed «comme four et moulin». Commentators frequently mention the incompatibility of *maître* and *mettre*, *pâte* and *patte*. One eighteenth-century writer, Restaut, carped that Boileau had rhymed *grâce* with *préface* (quoted in Thurot, *De la Prononciation*, tome II, p. 566). This particular coupling presented little danger to the lyricist; when would he have call to use the word *préface*?

95 Cited in Thurot, *De La Prononciation*, II, p. 565. And *vide* Du Bellay, *Défense*, in *édition citée*, p. 131: «Que tu te gardes de rythmer les mots manifestement longs avecques les brefz, aussi manifestement brefz, comme vn pässe, et race, vn maître, et mettre, vne chevelure, et hure, vn bast, et bat, et ainsi des autres».

96 «L'Alexandrin d'après la phonétique expérimentale,» p. 78; quoted in Morier, *Dictionnaire de rhétorique*, p. 350, art. «Rime».

Most quantitative distinctions at the rhyme, as elsewhere, have long since disappeared, often replaced by qualitative differences which make impossible the rhyming of previously homophonic word endings. This is particularly true when convention demands the intellectual satisfaction of true rhyme, rather than the sort of rough equivalent which in less classically oriented times and styles has frequently been considered quite satisfactory for song as well as extended poetic narrative. We noted when discussing versification that rhyme served as a line-end indicator. The above comments make clear that in the classical period more was demanded of it.

The lyrics I have examined from both the *air de cour* literature and the early days of opera indicate that lyricists and librettists avoided most traps. Like Perrin, they are careful to rhyme *pasme* with *âme*, not with *Madame* or *on le diffame*. There are occasional lapses. One finds Benserade rhyming *les Grâces* and *traces* in the *Ballet des Festes de Bacchus*, 1651. Sometimes they make very careful distinctions no longer heard today. In *Cadmus et Hermione* (I, v-vi), the rhyme *j'espère—téméraire* is followed two lines later by *tonnerre—guerre* separated by the masculine *précipiter—t'arrêter*, in which the final *-r* might have been pronounced as well—Bacilly calls this practice «faire gronder l'*r*»—thus juxtaposing two or three like but distinct sets of rhymes.

In some words, the seventeenth century did not make distinctions that were evident to D'Olivet. The most striking example of this is the complete failure to differentiate words ending in *-aine*, *-eine*, *-âines*, *-ène*. Perrin rhymes *pèynes—chaînes*, *Climène—pèyne*, *pèyne—haïne*. Molière links *inhumaines—saines—chaînes*, *Philène—peine—Climène* (*Le Sicilien*, iii). Others, (Hauteroche, *Crispin musicien*, V, xii), *peine—gêne*; (Thomas Corneille, *L'Inconnu*), *inhumaine—gêne—peine*. Similarly, Perrin ties *sans cesse* to *faiblesse*, *qui me presse* to *vitesse*. Quinault: *Princesse—me presse*, *tendresse—presse* (*Cadmus et Hermione*, II, i & iv).

Finally, why does Perrin insist upon feminine rhymes in particular? The pairs of words just cited as trouble spots are all feminine. Masculine endings presented less difficulty. As a general rule, they were short in the singular, long in the plural (*vide* Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter*, p. 333; Caswell, p. 178). It was for this reason, as well as for the intellectual satisfaction of congruity, that poets avoided rhyming singulars with plurals.

Musically, the long, stressed penultimate syllable of a feminine word supported a long cadence which sometimes filled the entire measure, before the mute final syllable was allowed to sound briefly on the down-beat of the following measure, (or just before the down-beat in the syncopation that accompanied a *port de voix*). In masculine endings, the cadence frequently occurred on an antepenultimate syllable, leaving the penultimate which in many cases was a short, a brief note just before the strong final. Discrepancies in length of the two or three final syllables from one verse to the identical place in the next (*fontaine—la plaine, des beaux*

*jours—les amours*) either were heard as inconsequential or could be adjusted by the performer. Thus, in rhyme as in the rest of the line, even though there was frequent expression of concern for careful matching of longs and shorts, the practice left final adjustment to the composer and the performer.

According to Noske, it was the instability of the tonic accent, the lack of fixed word accent, that «caused the fiction of quantity to haunt French theory for two-and-a-half centuries» (*La Mélodie française*, p. 37). I have suggested that quantitative values in French are not so much a fiction as a vestigial reality too complex to serve as a basis for versification or for musical prosody. Certainly, the absence of a linguistic base from which to deal with poetic feet otherwise than in terms of sense- or breath-groups or hemistiches, coupled with the undeniable existence of some fixed quantities in the language, led men to seek to accomplish the union of music and lyrics through this inappropriate tool. The spectre of syllabic quantity was real but, like all spectres, insubstantial. 15

#### V. Forms and Genres (m. 2)

n) Having outlined the rules of the lyric from the point of view of aesthetics, diction, versification, and syllabic length, the Foreword concludes with a description of each type of piece included in the *Recueil*. We have seen with what pride the poet proclaimed that he had provided examples of more lyric genres than anyone before him. He intended the *Recueil de Paroles de musique* as a catalogue of the possibilities of lyric expression. Each type of piece, having its particular use, and usually a prescribed range of subjects or moods, also had its own forms and musical styles. Many categories overlap, of course.

In that compendium of musical knowledge and speculation, *L'Harmonie universelle* (1636), Marin Mersenne distinguished three sorts of vocal music, which he called: «Chanson, ou vaudeville,» «Motet, ou... Fantaisie,» and all variety of «danceries» («Livre Second, du Chant,» p. 163). The first group included plain-chant, *air de cour*, and all solo song in which the rhythms of the text determine those of the music; the second consisted of part-songs, contrapuntal—that is, all church—music; the third, those songs which «belong to metrical music,» because they follow fixed rhythmical patterns. Highly contrapuntal part-singing had become less common by Perrin's time. Choruses dispersed among solo passages in secular and devotional dramatic works were largely homophonic. Still, one does occasionally encounter a duo or trio in imitation, such as the «Bon dî Cariselli» of Cambert or the drinking songs that close the fourth act of *Le Bougeois Gentilhomme*. Many of Perrin's early lyrics were for several voices, either in motet form or in dialogue, and go under the heading of «Pièces de concert». After the early 1660's, he confined the motet style to devotional lyrics. In secular dramatic pieces, he followed the convention that several persons should not express the sentiments of a single individual.

I translate his term «*récits*» as «solos». The sense of the word was vague and shifting at the time. It should not be confused with «recitative,» even though in the early part of the century it designated a form of declamation. In the spoken theatre, a *récit* is an explanatory narration, often by a messenger, and frequently one of the poetic high points of the play, recounting events of prime importance for the action but which for the sake of taste (*bienséance*), credibility (*vraisemblance*), or poetic effectiveness could not be shown on the stage. In the ballet tradition, the *récit* was a scene at first spoken, then (*circa* 1610) sung, usually by an allegorical figure, at the opening of each major part of the presentation. Serving, along with the printed livret, to explain the meaning of the mute events which the audience was about to witness, this «naturalized» verbal element set the scene. It came increasingly to provide a pretext for praises of the King as well. From the fact that it communicated information developed the extended meaning which included any serious solo, as opposed on the one hand to ensembles and part songs, and on the other to the more popular *chansons* and *airs*. Perrin uses the term «*Grands Récits*» to designate solo cantatas with their narrative or dramatic content.

o. 1) Perrin distinguishes between songs in which the text determines the meter and those in which fixed musical patterns, such as dances, impose certain sorts of feet or measures on the text. He calls the first *airs* and the second *chansons*. The term *chanson* and *vaudeville* had come to signify a sort of simple song that even the untrained could sing, as opposed to the *air*, which increasingly demanded skills, particularly in embellishment and diminution, which only the trained artist could command.<sup>97</sup>

97 Wrote Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, II, *Livre second Des Chants*, p. 164:

«Now the song that is called *Vaudeville* is the simplest of all *Airs*, and applies to all sorts of Poetry which are sung note against note [homophonically] without preestablished meter and according only to the longs and shorts which are in the lines, which is called *mesure d'Air*, or the *Air meter*; under this title are contained the plain-chant of the Church, *Fauxbourdons*, *Airs de cour*, dancing and drinking songs, and *Vaudevilles*, and often only the top voice speaks, which is therefore called the *subject*, and this without chords or harmonies in the other parts, because to make a song, *chanson*, means no more than to *set to song*, or *give song to words*. Now this facility leads to calling *chansons Vaudeville*, because the least skilled performers are able to sing them, all the more so because the author usually does not observe the subtle complexities of figured counterpoint, and fugues, and syncopations, and is content to give to the tune a movement that is pleasing to the ear; and this is called *Air*, as being its principal and indeed almost its only part...».

The term *air*, as Mersenne and his contemporaries used it, meant any solo piece in which the melody was the dominant feature. Thus, it could encompass light or serious numbers, strongly rhymed dance tunes, or «unmeasured» melodies. In Verchaly's collection, it extends to dialogues.<sup>98</sup>

In contrast with this indiscriminate use of the term, for Perrin the *air* is a relatively short, solo piece, of serious and elevated tone, whose strophe or strophes (rarely more than two) follow no preestablished pattern in number of lines, length of lines, or rhyme-scheme. It is the ancestor of *mélodie* or art-song. In contrast with the lighter *chansons* and their lower-class cousin, *vaudeville*, the *air* came as close as any kind of vocal music of the time to achieving the ideal give-and-take between the demands of the poem and those of the music that we seek in art song. Aside from those grouped in the first part of the *Recueil*, Perrin included occasional *airs* in his libretti; there are two in the *Pastorale* (I, v & II, ii) and another in *Adonis* (II, ii). The first two devotional pieces are *airs*.

From the fact that a chord change accompanies nearly every syllable in *airs* for voice and lute from the late sixteenth century on, we infer that they were sung relatively slowly (Gérolde, *L'Art du chant*, p. 25). The complex embroideries which the singer wrought upon the melody, and the simultaneous concern for clear expression of words (newly revived in the 1660's) militated against rapid tempi. Because of its languid and convoluted musical character, the *air* was the ideal vehicle for the expression of «sincere, honest love,» in the full range of emotions of which it was susceptible in public performance. The expression, «honest love» distinguishes the sentiments a gentleman might respectably confess for a lady in court society from the more direct, down-to-bed desires he could give voice to in a lusty tavern song. We find it difficult today to hear the note of sincerity in poems where not only the means of expression, but the very emotions expressed are largely determined by convention. Lyric voice as we understand it was stilled for more than a century while poets continued to write verses more in tune with the conventional sentimental attitudes of their contemporaries than revelatory of their own deepest feelings. Yet the one does not exclude the other. «Pour bien chanter d'amour, il faut estre amoureux,» begins one *air* (XIV).

From the literary point of view, confer the definition given by Phérotée de la Croix, *L'Art de la poésie française et latine*, Lyon, 1694 (rep. 1973), p. 304: «Le VAUDEVILLE, sorte de Chanson Populaire, composée de plusieurs Couplets, ordinairement Satirique, ou Historique.... Voiture en a fait de forts plaisans». Perrin has one piece called *Vaudeville* in the collection of 1661.

On distinctions in terminology among *vaudeville*, *air*, *air de cour*, and *chansonnette*, at the close of the sixteenth century, vide Kenneth Jay Levy, «Vaudeville, vers mesurés et air de cour,» in *Musique et Poésie*, pp. 185-221: By the end of the following century, this terminology had undergone a shift. Clifford Barnes, «Vocal Music at the Théâtres de la Foire, 1697-1762,» *Recherches*, n° 8 (1968), p. 142, defines *vaudevilles* as «songs whose tune has passed into the consciousness of the people».

98 Perrin sometimes used the term *air* in this broad sense. In its generic usage, it could include any short secular song—solo or ensemble, homophonic or polyphonic, even dialogues, as the catch-all expression *airs de cour* attests.

Amour donne à nos chants ie ne scay quels appas,  
 Je ne scay quoy de doux, ie ne scay quoy de tendre;  
 Mais qui ne le sent pas  
 Ne le peut faire entendre.

It is possible to write of feelings one does not have, but ideally the poet or lyricist converts his own experience into forms that all society can appreciate.

The text for a serious *air* is free to establish its own patterns of line and strophe, internal rhythms, and rhyme schemes. Just as the poet considers «a pleasing variety of long and short syllables» desirable, so too the line is most satisfactory when varied in length. Absence of pre-established structure in lyrics helped composers in the latter part of the seventeenth century maintain flexibility in the shaping of melody. The same freedom has caused some critics to see in the lyrics nothing but rhymed prose, on the assumption that lyricists adopted the practice simply because it was easier to fit thought into such free-form frames than into fixed molds. The argument may have some validity here, as in the case of the untold numbers of «madrigals» composed at the time with the same disregard for fixed form but, curiously, not meant for music. Those bagatelles in particular usually have the earmarks of rhymed and slightly polished salon conversation. Like the madrigal, the *air* ideally has «an ingenious turn of thought» at the end, the *chute*. Yet the list of restrictions in subject, treatment, and form previously discussed suggests that the lyricist did indeed impose upon himself, in favour of the music's demands, limitations which neither the *prosateur* nor the social *madrigaliste* accepted. Besides, the madrigal lacked a second verse.

p. 1) Although Perrin applies discussion of the second strophe specifically to *airs*, similar rules applied to lighter groups. Particularly in the *air*, though, when writing a second verse, the lyricist was obliged to reproduce all the principal structural features of the first, as we have seen in comparing versions of «Je croyois Janeton». Successive strophes generally maintain strictly identical metrical patterns, and at times go so far as to place the same or similar figures in the corresponding places, as the apostrophe in this *air* by Perdigal (XXXII):

I, 1	Rosignols! petits cœurs jaloux....
II, 1	Insolents! vous serez punis....,

or this (XLVI):

I, 1-2	Parlez, parlez mon cœur; Dites vostre langueur....
II, 1-2	Allez, allez soupirs; Dites mes déplaisirs....

There is evidence of a desire to eliminate for both the ear and the intelligence the discrepancies in rhythm and sense which an earlier generation had either considered sufferable or, as I believe, found pleasurable. The classical, regularizing tendency is apparent here, counteracting habits of the past. In this way as in others, Perrin stood at the crossroads, a transitional figure between the *air de cour* tradition and all that is classical in Lully's music.

The refrain was usually repeated verbatim in the second strophe; occasionally the poet changed a word or two, particularly in the conjunctive phrase, if such a change promised to add the spice of wit, while retaining the burden essentially intact. An *air* set by Moulinier (in *Œuvres de Poésie*, p. 248) illustrates how changing a single word might add point to the refrain:

O doux sommeil, que tes songes aymables  
 M'ont donné de plaisir!  
 Ah! si la mort a des *charmes* semblables,  
 Je consens de mourir.

J'ay crû, Philis, dans vos bras adorables  
 Me pâmer de languir.

Ah! si la mort a des *songes* semblables,

(see also «Petits ruisseaux,» XXX). Each verse might introduce a slight change in the refrain, as in the *chanson à boire* IX, «O, charmante bouteille». In *air* N° XXXVI, «Après le plaisir de l'amour,» the rhyme scheme is *abbacca*, but the break in the strophe comes after the third line, with the result that the second verse, with a different *a* rhyme word, must also have an entirely new refrain.

m) The strophe seldom exceeds eight lines, and most often has six, five, or four. The ideal strophe, of six lines of varying length, contains a complete break, usually after the second, third, or fourth line (paragraph *o*). Traditionally, each section was sung twice in succession: AA:BB. Markings in the manuscript—the siglum :|| for repetition of the first part (A), and *ſ. Segno*, for the second (B)—indicate where the poet wanted the breaks; they have been retained in this edition.

One of the rare indications we have of Malherbe's conception of lyrics shows the master being brought around by his disciple Mainard to acceptance of the break in the strophe. It shows as well that Perrin's conception of the use of that break was much freer in his *airs* specifically designed for musical setting than it had been for these earlier poets, whose work was only potentially, or hypothetically, meant for song. When he arrived at the Court of Henry IV, and for several years thereafter, recounts Racan in his *Vie de Malherbe*, the great reformer neglected to make a full break after the third line in six-line stanzas. It was Mainard who pointed out to him the necessity of that break, «and that is perhaps

the reason why M. de Malherbe considered him the man in France who best knew how to write verses».

«At first Racan, who played the lute a little and loved music, yielded in favour of the musicians, who could not make their *reprise* in six-line stanzas if there was no break at the third verse. But when M. de Malherbe and Mainard insisted that in ten-line stanzas, besides the break at the fourth verse, there be another at the seventh, Racan opposed them, and has never observed that break. His reason was that ten-line stanzas are almost never sung, and if they should happen to be, they would not be performed with three repeated sections; that is why it sufficed to make one break at the fourth line.<sup>99</sup>

Sure enough, M<sup>me</sup> Maurice-Amour finds in Mainard's total output a «more or less constant submission to the laws imposed by a type of *air de cour* which the society of the time was hearing at every moment» («Les Poésies de Malherbe,» p. 213). Repetitions of sections is a regular feature of Perrin's *airs* and songs, but placement of the break, and even the number of sections may vary in several ways. The first *air* of the *Recueil* has a natural break after the second and again after the fourth of the six-line stanza, and the *Segno* *ŷ.* before the fifth. In the second strophe, a repetition is called for after the second line, with the following four lines forming a repeated unit. (In such a case, we may suspect careless placement of symbols.)

In the traditional two-part song, where each section is sung twice, the break may occur after the second, third, or fourth line, leaving a refrain of from one to four lines. In *air* N° XXX, it appears after the first of the four lines, even though the second line is different in each strophe, and the refrain is the same only in the two final lines. At other times – and to some extent progressively throughout the collection of *airs*, the later ones being the most recently written – the poet breaks away from this strictly bipartite system. The placement of the two repeat signs in N° XXXV calls for repetition of the first two lines and of the last two, with the three intervening verses standing by themselves. The two stanzas bear identical markings in this case; N° XIV may be similar but the second stanza has the more traditional marking 2 :|| 4; see also *Chanson* N° XXII. The same structure is indicated for N° XXXX, but absence of a second stanza makes verification impossible, given the likelihood of inaccurate marking. Among the *chansons*, besides N° VII, the «Récit d'Orphée» (4 :||, 4, *ŷ.* 2), one *sarabande*, N° VIII, sandwiches a single line between the two repeated sections.

99 Racan, «Vie de M. de Malherbe,» in *Œuvres complètes de Malherbe*, éd. L. Lalanne (Grands Ecrivains de la France), Paris, 1862-1869, t. I, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxv.

Vos yeux adorables  
Ne sont pas coupables, :||  
S'ils peuvent blesser, ils peuvent guérir.  
*ŷ.* Qu'importe Sylvie,  
S'ils rendent la vie  
Qu'ils fassent mourir.

&

Si leur fière œillade  
Rend un cœur malade :||  
Un regard doux le peut secourir.  
*ŷ.* Qu'importe Sylvie... &c.

Such forms reveal the influence on the poet of the sometimes complicated patterns of dance music. Contrary to Racan's experience earlier in the century, not only are several of these pieces, particularly the *chansons*, in three parts, but in several instances each of the three seems to have been repeated. Thus, the first *chanson*, a *gavotte*, has 4 :||, *ŷ.* 2, *ŷ.* 2, a schema which recurs in N° XV, XVI, and XXI (*bourrée*). Forms of a given dance could vary. N° II, also a *gavotte*, does not repeat the middle section, and N° III, yet another, has no middle section. Even when following a specific dance form, the lyricist had much leeway.

o. 2, p. 2) Two *airs* for four voices, *Sur la Paix, en 1660*: «Sus, sus Guerriers» («*Pièces de concert*» *Œuvres de Poésie*, p. 223) and *Pour le retour du Roy, en 1660*: «Des fleurs! des fleurs!» (N° XIX, *Œuvres*, p. 224), repeat the opening lines at the end of the poem without marking a strophic division. In the *Œuvres de Poésie* of 1661, the indication *Rep.* (= *ŷ.*) coincides with the return of the opening lines. In the manuscript, the middle section is designated to be sung as a *récit*, with choral repetition of the opening section as a sort of refrain. The other called only «Air à 4, Concert pour chanter,» made no division of forces, and led directly back into the opening section, which, as in the other number, acted as a refrain, making the familiar *da capo* song form ABA.

It was this sort of form which Perrin referred to as a *rondeau*; he specifically so designated *Pièce de Concert* N° XXIII, «Ha! que de biens en mesme temps,» in the edition of 1661. This simple form has little to do with the technically demanding poem of the same name which was adopted for a time by the poetic wits of salon society. Vincent Voiture's famous improvisation offers at once an illustration and a definition of this form borrowed from the late Mediæval poets:

Ma foi, c'est fait de moi, car Isabeau  
M'a conjuré de lui faire un rondeau.  
Cela me met en une peine extrême.  
Quoi! treize vers; huit en *-eau*, cinq en *-ème*;  
Je lui ferois aussitôt un bateau.

En voilà cinq pourtant en un monceau.  
Faisons-en huit, en invoquant... Brodeau,  
Et puis mettons, par quelque stratagème:  
Ma foi, c'est fait.

Si je pouvois encor de mon cerveau  
Tirer cinq vers, l'ouvrage seroit beau,  
Mais cependant je suis dedans l'onzième,  
En voilà treize ajusté au niveau.  
Ma foi, c'est fait!<sup>100</sup>

The trick was to turn phrases in such a way as to return to the opening expression, in a new sense if possible, after the eighth line and again after the thirteenth. (Note that the two tags are not included in the line count.) The *rondeau* had enjoyed a certain vogue as a musical form early in the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth, it became a plaything of precious society to such an extent that one light poet, Isaac de Benserade, undertook the task, momentous in its inconsequence, of reducing all the stories of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* to individual *rondeaux*.

The lyricist takes the term *rondeau* in a much looser sense than do the wits of the *Chambre bleue*. To him, it implies only the return of an expression, a line or several lines at the end and perhaps within the body of the song. In the text from the *Œuvres de Poésie* (pp. 244-245), only the opening expression is repeated:

Belle bouche, silence;  
Je vois dans ses regards des sentiments plus doux;  
Taisez-vous, taisez-vous,  
Cruelle, à ses désirs vous faites violence.  
O vous qui parlez mieux,  
Parlez, parlez, beaux vœux,  
Belle bouche, silence.

Similarly, in *airs* N° XLIV, XLIX, and LIII, and *Chanson à boire* N° V, the opening line returns as the final line of the stanza, each time in a slightly new sense. An entire group of *airs*—from XIII to LIII, excluding XLIV but adding LVII—illustrates various *rondeau* forms. In most of these cases, the first lines simply return at the end. Since the words are not written out, there is room for uncertainty as to how much of the first part should be repeated. Perrin's statement is unclear. In a *rondeau*, he says, «since the words of the *rondeau* line return at the end as well as at the beginning of the verse, it is natural to repeat the rest, and the entire song is thus repeated....» (paragraph p. 2). In the case of a song-like *air* N° XLV, for instance,

100 Voiture, *Poésies*, éd. Henri Lafay (S. T. F. M.), Paris, 1971, pp. 123-124. The celebrated salon had doubtless adapted to his purposes a sonnet by his Spanish contemporary, Lope de Vega: «Un soneto me manda hazer Violante». Lope himself followed a long-established tradition.

Un cœur, amoureux et tendre  
Ne peut s'empêcher d'aymer, :|| a  
Il est aysé de surprendre  
Un cœur amoureux et tendre; b  
Il faut peu pour l'enflamer.  
f. Un cœur &c.,

we would suppose that only the first two lines are to be repeated, but it is not impossible that the entire poem should be sung straight through: *aab* / *ab*. Other texts follow the pattern of the more familiar musical rondo: *abaca* (see *airs* L, LI; *chanson* XXVI, whose form is *a* (2), *b* (4), *a*, *c* (4), *a*). Some *dialogues* are treated in a similar manner, with repeated sections and sometimes a line or more in the middle belonging to neither the first nor the final section.

q. 1) In salon poetry not necessarily destined for singing, the term *chanson* usually designated a light subject treated in one or more isometric strophes of regular lines.<sup>101</sup> Perrin uses the term, as we have seen, in a way different from musicians of an earlier day. It may, he says, be either serious or light (*chansonnette*), and its distinguishing characteristic is that it follows fixed musical measure, most frequently a dance time. Mersenne's list of «danceries» which could provide song tunes had included *passemesse*, *pavane*, *allemande*, *gaillarde*, *branle*, *volta*, *courante*, *sarabande*, *canarie*, and ballet music. Perrin's list is shorter and reflects some changes in taste. Older dances such as the *branle*, the processional *pavane*, and the once scandalous *volta* had been abandoned; others, the *gavotte*, the *gigue*, the *bourrée*, and the *minuet*, had taken their place. Among the most popular dances for singing at the time were the lively *sarabande* and the slower *courante*; the *gaillarde*, the *bourrée*, and the *gavotte* were also common.<sup>102</sup>

101 «On appelle *Chanson* un certain petit Ouvrage en Vers, tourné d'une maniere simple, aisée & naturele, que l'on chante sous differens airs, suivant le caractere des Vers, & dont chaque Stance s'appelle *Couplet*. Il y a six principales especes de *Chanson* 1. *Chanson ordinaire* ou galante. 2. *Chanson Bachique* ou à boire. 3. *Chanson Antibachique*. 4. *Chanson Anterotique*. 5. *Chanson par Antitheses*. 6. *Chanson des Bergers*,» wrote Phérotée de la Croix, *L'Art de la poésie*, pp. 290-291; and again: «On doit entendre par les *Chansons* une espece de Vers irreguliers, qui ne sont propres qu'à chanter, a cause qu'ils ont un nombre de silabes diferent de celui des Vers Reguliers; ou bien parceque souvent ils n'ont de la Poésie que le [sic] Rime» (p. 133).

102 Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, v. II, *Livre second Des Chants*, prop. xxiii, pp. 163-166, where he described a number of popular dances. *Vide* the modern discussion by Curt Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, New York, 1963 (orig. 1937), pp. 344-392.

Dance tunes were extremely popular, and it is not surprising that they often acquired lyrics. Lully, according to La Laurencie, set out «dès ses débuts, à réformer la danse, en introduisant vers 1663 des danses nouvelles, surtout des *bourrées* et des *menuets*, qui obtinrent très-vite une grande réputation» (*Lully*, p. 214).

Perrin speaks of having written songs that combined or juxtaposed two different dance movements. And in the «*Advis au lecteur*,» to his *Airs à boire* (1665), Cambert boasted: «Vous y trouverez quelques nouveutez singulières, et qui n'ont point esté pratiquées [par] ceux qui m'ont devancé, comme des dialogues pour les dames, et des chansons à trois, dont tous les couplets ont des airs différents»—(quoted in Pougin, *Les Vrais Créateurs*, pp. 48-49, my italics). The practice reflects the French dislike of long stretches of a single mood or style, the preference for constant and rapid variety. It had its counterpart in the hatred of heavy-handedness and the love of quick, witty repartee. Nothing could be further from the French temper than the slow, massive development of a great Bach choral work. Even the Italian concerto forms, even Italian arias, sometimes severely tried French patience (see Lecercq de la Viéville, *Comparaison*, tome I, pp. 29-37). The dance suite was more to the liking of the French audience, and here we find that format, borrowed from *ballet de cour*, serving vocal music as well.

The practice of writing new words to an already familiar melody or *timbre*, as Perrin did in a number of cases here (indicating: «Sur un air....») had long since acquired its *titres de noblesse*. One might with little difficulty trace it back to the very origins of French song, when secular lyrics were set to the extended melismata of florid Gregorian melodies. Its roots doubtless go as deep as those of song itself. It may be observed in the «secular» plays of Princess Marguerite de Navarre in the early years of the Renaissance, in the *vaux-de-vire* of Olivier Basselin, and in the later forms of the *vaudeville*.<sup>103</sup> In Molière's *Les Fâcheux*, the lover Eraste is preparing a «cadeau» for his beloved, «quelques vers sur un air où je la vois se plaire» (II, iii). Lully knew the backhanded honour of having many of his best *airs* parodied on the stages, in the fairs, and in the streets of Paris. Since, like Cambert, he borrowed heavily from the fund of well-known tunes, it was a fair exchange.<sup>104</sup>

Castil-Blaze cited with amused astonishment the efforts of Phérotée de la Croix, in *L'Art de la poésie*, (pp. 327-347), to expound the rules for writing words to all the popular dances. In fact, Phérotée had to concede that «aux Vers à chanter, que l'on compose souvent sur des airs faits, comme sont les Menuets, Bourrées, Ballets, &c, on n'est pas obligé absolument de suivre les Regles ordinaires: On s'attache pour lors entierement à l'air & on leur donne le nombre de silabes qu'ils doivent avoir, soit regulierement ou non» (p. 136).

<sup>103</sup> *Théâtre profane de Marguerite de Navarre*, éd. V.-L. Saulnier, Paris, 1963. Lébègue notes also that she selected «Sur le pont d'Avignon» as *timbre* for a *chanson spirituelle*, «Sur l'arbre» («Ronsard et la musique,» p. 113).

The term *vaudeville* is generally thought to be a corruption of the term *vaux-de-vire*, which designated the songs of Olivier Basselin, native of the town of Vire. These light, witty pieces, in praise of «le joly vin claret,» cider, and all good drink, had long slumbered in obscurity when, in 1811, A. Asselin brought out an edition from the surviving copy, printed *circa* 1670. The earliest editions dated from at least a century earlier.

<sup>104</sup> La Laurencie, *Lully*, pp. 183-184. Castil-Blaze was caustic but positive:

When one text was substituted for another to the same *timbre*, the new lyrics, which were known as parodies, were under no obligation to have satirical intent, although it frequently happened that they did. A given piece of music has the ability to accommodate a wide range of lyric moods. In his article «English Song and the Challenge of Italian Monody,» Vincent Duckles cites an example from England, where a setting in a «simple, almost primitive style» (Nicolas Lanier's «Bring away this sacred tree,» 1614), is «found in contemporary manuscript sources associated with another lyric of the utmost lugubriousness: 'Weep no more, my wearied eyes'». Duckles takes this as proof of «the indifference of English composers to the requirements of expression,» particularly in contrast with the contemporary Italian experiments in expressive monody which provide his point of comparison (in *Words to Music*, Los Angeles, 1967, pp. 7-8). It is equally indicative of the ambiguities of musical expression. A melody, even a complete setting, is a chameleon; it can take to a great extent the modality of whatever text it is matched with, just as two different melodies in turn may give a common text quite different colourings.

Most songs in the seventeenth century confined themselves to such a narrow range of emotions that they suited any music. The doctrine of the affections had little or no significance for lyricists of Perrin's time.<sup>105</sup> A greater degree of care was called for, on the other hand, as regards details of structure. We have seen Perrin's concern for matching syllables quantitatively «when composing for a given melody,» even though that preoccupation proves to be somewhat illusory in practice. The comparison of two versions of a *minuet* shows the lyricist to have taken great care also

«Presque tous les airs, les chœurs, les duos, que Lulli faisait chanter aux repos dans les fêtes et divertissements de ses opéras, presque tous ces placages en lubrique morale, étaient des parodies ajustées sur des mélodies que le musicien avait composées précédemment pour les ballets de Louis XIV. Ces airs de danse étaient mesurés, rythmés; en associant des paroles à cette musique déjà faite, il fallait nécessairement en suivre la cadence. Lulli forçait Quinault à se mettre au pas, à l'emboîter même; Piccini rendit plus tard le même service à Marmontel, et Salieri à Beaumarchais. Tenus en bride par les phrases notées, ces paroliers écrivaient leurs mots sous la dictée et l'éperon du musicien, s'écartaient peu de la bonne route. Quinault lui-même a fait parfois d'excellents vers, grâce au carcan musical dont Lulli prenait soin de le garrotter. Comme Protée, il le fallait terrasser, enchaîner, pour obtenir de lui quelques oracles». (*Molière musicien*, II, p. 123)

<sup>105</sup> Barnes, «Vocal Music,» p. 147; he notes that the most recent writer on Lesage, Marcello, believes that Bambert (1887) and all those who have followed—Font, Cucuel, La Laurencie, Cooper, and Grout included—«attached too much importance to the precise moods evoked by the different vaudevilles. The great variety of *timbres* listed would indicate that the authors weren't that preoccupied with this philosophical concept».

with placement of figures, matching of rhyme endings, and syllable count. This sort of care has not always been the rule. New lyrics sometimes followed strikingly different stress patterns from the *timbre*. Castil-Blaze cites a Rameau piece «sur un air composé» in which the music calls for feminine endings while the text consists of masculine rhymes (*Molière musicien*, tome I, p. 124).

q. 2) Early experiments in expressive monody carried the principle of strict correspondence between textual and musical rhythms to extremes. Throughout the seventeenth century, the relationship remained quite fluid.

It is with Lully that a narrow conception of the relationship again comes to the fore. We have seen that under Baïf verbal values could be arbitrarily imposed, either by the melody as it joined with the line, or by a pre-selected metrical scheme. Perrin profited from this leeway in developing his system of *chants pareils* (similar melodies, or matching tunes). Just what he meant by «the secret of composing matching songs which are appropriate to all dances,» is not clear. It would seem that he had worked out a formula by which one could compose ditties to dance forms—*minuet*, *sarabande*, *courante*, etc.—in such a way that they would correspond to the usual number of melodic lines in the dance, and long stressed syllables would fall on the compulsory stressed beats of the dance. Here again, the attempt to reduce the materials of the arts to simple, invariable formulæ would be quite in keeping with the spirit of the times. The results would be of doubtful value at best.

Even more troublesome is the other «interesting thing invented by [him]self» of which he boasts in this paragraph: «the way to compose words on a written-out melody on the notes themselves». One contemporary comment on the scheme shows that at least some saw this invention with a sceptical eye. It has not, I think, been noticed that Molière pokes fun at this idea using these very words, in *Le Malade imaginaire*, (II, iii). After an impromptu duet which has permitted young Cléante, posing as a singing teacher, to declare his love to Argan's daughter before the unperceiving eyes—and ears—of her father, that dupe begins to grow suspicious and asks to see the music. When he discovers that there are no words on the score from which his daughter has supposedly been sight-reading musical protestations of love, Cléante responds: «Est-ce que vous ne savez pas, Monsieur, qu'on a trouvé depuis peu l'invention d'écrire les paroles avec les notes mêmes?» Doubtless, this jibe brought a smile to the face of a monarch and conspiratory laughter from the courtiers who had been subjected to Perrin's repeated efforts to drum up enthusiasm for his efforts and projects.

Was this the far-fetched scheme of a man capable of convincing himself of the brilliance of any wild imagining that popped into his head, like the new system of musical notation (*Projet concernant de Nouveaux Signes pour la Musique*—1782) with which Jean-Jacques Rousseau expected to conquer Paris in 1742? Again, we may never know. The phrase suggest that the poet was experimenting with a technique of writing the syllable on the staff in place of the round note; to a limited extent such

a system would be practicable as long as the music was strictly syllabic and not complicated. Note values could be indicated in some way such as by type face. Melismata and fiorature would still pose a problem. Still, such a scheme would not be out of line with the tradition of experimentation and invention which was stronger, even in 1670, than the familiar image of the classical period would lead one to suspect. Mersenne has a system of melodic notation using the letter name of the note in place of note and staff (on the solfège principle). And two centuries later, Castil-Blaze, too, speaks of a system of notation on the words.<sup>106</sup> At any rate, it is highly unlikely that the idea had much practical value for serious musicians, and certain that it had no effect on the course of musical development.

r) «Cantata, au pluriel cantate.... C'est une grande pièce dont les paroles sont en italien [n. Egalement en français ou parfois en latin], variées de récitatifs, d'ariettes et de mouvements différents; pour ordinaire à voix seule et basse continue, souvent avec deux violons et plusieurs instruments» (Sébastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de musique*, Paris, 1703).

Perrin's two *grands récits*, both borrowed from Italian sources, mark the first attempt to acclimatize the Italian solo cantata in France. Entitled «Polyphème jaloux» and «La Mort de Tysbé,» they were set by Moulinié and Sablières respectively.<sup>107</sup> The author specifically claims here to have been the first to try this genre in France. To these two works should be added a sacred cantata, *Devotional Piece* N° V, «Dans ce bienheureux jour,» with its opening trio, its dialogues between Saints Marguerite and Mary Magdalen, its *récit* for bass and final chorus of Angels. These works antedate Marc-Antoine Charpentier's «Orphée descendant aux Enfers» (circa 1683) by some two decades, and the vogue of the genre by nearly four. Since Charpentier had no more success than Perrin in introducing the genre, these earlier pieces deserve at least a footnote in music history.

106 Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, v. II, *Livre sixième De l'Art de bien chanter*, pp. 342-347: «Seconde Proposition. Expliquer une autre méthode pour apprendre à chanter & à composer sans les notes ordinaires, par le moyen des seules lettres» (Castil-Blaze, *Molière musicien*, II, p. 78).

107 I have not attempted to identify the Italian sources of these texts. The effort would be complicated by the fact that the cantatas of that period are usually listed by incipit rather than by general title.

The two cantata texts by Perrin are somewhat less extensive than those of a generation later, but basically similar. Largely under the literary guidance of Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, who wrote «at least twenty-seven cantatas,» most of them during the first decade of the eighteenth century, the genre would settle into a formula: three airs—allegro, andante, and presto—with recitative introduction. Vide the discussion by Henry A. Grubbs, *Jean-Baptiste Rousseau: His Life and Works*, Princeton, 1941, pp. 243-255.

It serves little purpose to speak, as Prunières did, of Lully's ballet *Les Amours déguisés* (1664) as «une véritable petite cantate pour voix seule» (Lully, p. 166), when the work bears little formal resemblance to any other cantatas.

The *grand récit*, or cantata, as Perrin conceived it, develops from the *récit* of *ballet de cour*, and already assumes the form, and very nearly the tone as well, of the *cantate française* as it was to be practiced by Rameau, Campra, Boismortier, and their colleagues. It consists of «several related pieces,» airs and *récits*, dealing with a single subject, in which a single voice may speak both as narrator and character. The form permits the poet and the musician to give relatively free vent to their dramatic talents, without requiring the expensive trappings of a theatrical performance. The devotional piece noted above is an incipient oratorio. Thus, as J. S. Bach conclusively demonstrated, the form is ideally suited for the development of a short inner drama, or at least a situation and perhaps three different emotional responses to that situation, one in each air.

The strong Italian influence notwithstanding, Perrin's terminology reveals an indigenous French tradition among the sources of this genre. The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* (1697) defines *récit* in music as: «Ce qui est chanté par une voix seule, qui fait l'ouverture d'un balet, d'un opéra, ou d'un autre divertissement, et qui expose le sujet». Perrin uses the term in this broad sense in the *Dialogues et Pièces de concert* (N° XVII-XX, XXIV). As the definition indicates, the term also usually implied some expository intent, and an equivalent reduction in lyric character. The *grand récit* combined the two by alternating expository and lyric sections. It is surprising to find Perrin, who took such pains to avoid all prosaic, expository materials in the operatic libretto, adopting the narrator convention of cantata without a murmur.

Among the Chansons there is a «Récit d'Orphée» (VI) written for a ballet. In the two strophes of this sarabande, Orphée pleads his cause before Pluto. The first four lines of each strophe are expository, and could be declaimed in recitative-like style, while the rest lends itself to lyric development. Three separate pieces following the two cantatas appear under the heading of *récits*. The last, an occasional piece written for the queen in 1661, has a similar declamatory character. The other two, one of them modeled on Guarini's «Oimé se tanto amate,» belong, because of their affective style, among the airs.

The poet makes a distinction between *air* and *récit* similar to that which a later period would understand between Lied and aria, both meaning song, but the latter appertaining to the theatre and the former to the chamber. That is, in *récit* the singer played a rôle in a more literal sense than in song or Lied. Opening the drinking songs is a set of six pieces for as many different dance movements, collectively entitled «Récit à boire» (set by Sablières and Cambert). Among the serenades, N° V is labelled *récit* and consists of five parts of varying structure. This piece, set by Perdigal, should be added to the two *grands récits* as a prototype of the French cantata. From the *récit à boire* and the *récit en sérénade*, one might be tempted to conclude that Perrin uses the term to designate pieces in which several successive strophes take freely varied forms (thus necessitating a *durchkomponierte* music), were it not that the following piece, serenade N° VI, marked *autre récit*, is a *rondeau* with second strophe perfectly matched to the first, including repetition of the last five lines as refrain.

It would be helpful to learn how these texts were treated by the composers who set them. Did they sharply distinguish between recitative and aria sections, as would be done with such predictable regularity later on? Did they adopt the aria form, ABA, for free, lyric sections; or did they follow the traditional binary pattern? The two Italian style cantatas alternate narrative passages with sections in which the character himself sings. Thisbé's lament (ABAC) is introduced and followed by narration. In the *Polyphème*, too, the poet reveals his debt to ballet tradition, flanking the giant's hyperbole with explanatory passages.

s) Concerning choral or ensemble pieces, *Pièces de concert*, Perrin's principles combine the conservative and the rationalizing spirit. He criticizes the practice, carried over from the madrigal tradition, of allowing the small ensemble or the chorus to express sentiments which properly belong to individuals. From this time on, poets and composers were scrupulous about putting into the mouths of choruses only group or mass sentiments: general rejoicing, lamentations, praises of heroes and kings. Racine used the choruses in his two Old Testament tragedies to express the changing moods of the people, to comment—in a return to the tradition of Greek tragedy which he knew perhaps better than any of his contemporaries—as interested observers on the intense psychological situation in which the principals were caught up. Molière, for his last lyric work, *Le Malade imaginaire*, wrote a prologue which, except that it was literally in music rather than only figuratively «sung,» could have been drawn directly from the eglogues of Ronsard more than a century earlier. In that extensive pastoral prologue, a rustic feast culminates in a competition between two shepherds who try to outshine one another in singing the praises of LOUIS, while the others act as a chorus to cheer them on and express their approbation after each performance. Similarly, Perrin carefully kept the chorus in its place, allowed it to express only group sentiments in these *pièces de concert* which served him as a testing-ground for operatic techniques. The principle of never allowing the chorus to speak for itself had been expressed in Corneille's «Avertissement» to *Andromède* (1649-1650), and carefully followed in the play itself.

Not only was the chorus never allowed to speak as a single person, it was not even permitted to think for itself. Instead, it echoed the words fed to it by a solo singer. Perrin adhered carefully to this principle. Quinault's early choruses conform to the same restriction; they excel at endless repetition and extreme simplicity of statement:

Vivez, vivez, heureux époux!	( <i>Alceste</i> , I,vi),
Hélas! hélas! hélas!	( <i>Alceste</i> , III,ii).

The essential principle, as Corneille insisted, was that the chorus, since it would not likely be understood on first or even second hearing, make no statement necessary for understanding of the action. Lully, whether working with Molière or Quinault, did not take such a narrow view. Quinault's later choruses are occasionally allowed to react without prompting (as in

these lines, from *Alceste*, III,iii, which the chorus invents entirely on its own: «O trop heureux Admète! Que votre sort est beau!»). By and large, though, they conform to the established limitations, doggedly adhering to the prescribed subjects. In the following passage from the prologue to *Cadmus et Hermione*, the chorus calls for silence before the awesome arrival of the Sun's chariot, making enough noise to cover the operation of the machinery:

*Pan:* Le monstre est mort, l'orage cesse,  
Le Soleil est vainqueur.

*Chœur:* Le monstre est mort, l'orage cesse,  
Le Soleil est vainqueur.

*Palès:* Qu'on lui prépare  
De superbes Autels.

*Mélisse:* Que l'on les pare  
D'ornemens immortels.

*Chœur:* Conservons la mémoire  
De sa victoire.  
Par mille honneurs divers,  
Répondons le bruit de sa gloire  
Jusqu'au bout de l'univers.

*Palès:* Mais le Soleil s'avance,  
Il se découvre aux yeux de tous.

*Chœur:* Respectons sa présence  
Par un profond silence,  
Écoutons, taisons-nous.

t, u) Unlike the other genres, Serenades and Drinking songs were distinguished by their subject matter rather than their form. Each was quite popular, both descended from a long tradition, and each could be set in any of several different styles and forms. Because of the levity of their subject matter, they could have more strophes than the air. These two kinds of song seem to have contributed more than any other—outside the church—to the preservation of the part-song tradition. Two trio drinking songs furnish the entertainment in act IV of the *Bourgeois gentilhomme*. A trio serenade in the earlier comedy-ballet *Le Sicilien, ou l'amour peintre* (1667), takes dialogue form. Throughout the first half of the century, homophonic part-songs and solo airs with lute tablature were interchangeable, many songs appearing in both forms. Dassoucy's collection of airs in four parts, containing some of the choruses from *Andromède*, ap-

peared as late as 1653.<sup>108</sup> Yet in Scarron's *Roman comique* (1651: Part I, Chapter v; éd. E. Magne, Paris, 1955, p. 13) it is said of one of the itinerant players that he «chantait une méchante taille aux trios, du temps qu'on en chantait» («used to sing a pitiful tenor in trios in the days when part-songs were sung»).

Some sorts of singing were passing from amateurs into the exclusive control of professionals. The question remains: How long did even the professionals continue to compose and perform imitative or harmonic two-, three-, and four-part songs? Most of Perrin's part-songs date from the 1650's, and he later preferred dialogues or various forms of solo song to the exclusion of the outdated *pièce de concert*. Devotional pieces maintained this tradition, probably because of the convention just discussed: religious sentiment could be expressed by a group. The trend in secular song was toward solo expression. Aside from devotional lyrics, the proportion of part-songs decreases markedly between Perrin's collection of 1661 and the *Recueil* of 1667. Only one of the pieces among the *Paroles à boire*, and none of the serenades is specifically marked for parts («à deux dessus,» etc.), although it is possible that some «airs» originally composed in several homophonic parts are presented as though only the superius need be sung.

v) Despite—perhaps because of—his debt to the ballet, Perrin had little interest in ballet and masquerade for their own sake. He wanted to move on to opera. He did contribute once or twice to court ballets,<sup>109</sup> and he includes in this section a pastoral masquerade and two extensive ballet projects. The first consists of nothing but a musical dialogue between three Shepherds and two Shepherdesses, a sort of costumed madrigal, the second, the masquerade of the Marriage of King Guillemot, describes each of the four entrées and explains the motivations of the characters. Masquerade designated a loosely structured, usually short production with emphasis on outlandish costumes. In this case, the masquerade develops a simple plot and calls for miming. It makes mock of the old days to illustrate a

108 *Airs à quatre parties du sieur Dassoucy*, R. Ballard, Paris, 1653 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Dépt. de Musique, Rés. Vm<sup>7</sup> 275). The dedicatory epistle to M<sup>me</sup> la Duchesse de Savoie, indicates that most of the pieces had been appreciated by Louis XIII, who died in 1643: «ce n'estoit pas assez de faire pleurer à mes tristes *Airs* la mort de celui qui ne les avoit pas dédaignés durant sa vie, si pour satisfaire à ma douleur, je ne les condamnois à mourir». Their death sentence was commuted by their author, however; he revived them for this publication, along with more recently composed pieces, including some of the score to Corneille's *Andromède*, «Cieux écoutez, écoutez mers profonds,» and «Vivez, vivez, heureux amants».

109 *Recueil*, Chanson XX. «Air de ballet, sur le ballet des machines, en 1661,» and Dialogue XVI, «Sarabande en parties. pour Madame representant Diane»—if, in fact, these two pieces were written for specific events, and not after the fact, in anticipation of an order, or, in the second instance, simply in the allegorical style. *Vide* the three *écrits* from «un ballet du Roy,» the last of which is the *écrit* of Orphée included among the chansons.

moral saw: Even the old and ugly wife may give her husband horns. Catering to the youthful sense of a break with the past which those at Louis XIV's court both felt and desired, it turns representatives of the older generation into grotesques.

Ballet placed greater emphasis on choreography than on dumb-show, although it might develop its subjects in a similar way. The project for a *Ballet des faux Roys* calls for the full range of symbolic postures which the genre had learned to employ to characterize its types, but has none of the grandeur which Louis' court had come to expect from the royal productions. The manner of developing the subject is reminiscent of a time when not even the king's court, let alone the secondary princely court Perrin served, could find funds for sets and miraculous scene changes. Like those earlier productions, it depends almost exclusively on costumes for its visual effects.

Furthermore, in its grotesque humor, it continues the tradition of what one might have seen at Gaston's unbridled court in the fifth decade of the century. It follows the established pattern, dividing the subject into a series of parts, each of which then develops its individual subject in as many and varied ways as possible. The first part, for example, is devoted to imaginary kings, and brings on first those of ancient mythology, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, who represent sky, sea, and underworld. With their queens, these divine rulers dance the first entrée. Another ballet designer might have developed three separate entrées for the three couples, in order to represent the three regions and allow for dancing characteristic of each. He might have separated the mythological kings from their ladies, making two contrasting entrées. Or he might have done as Perrin does, opening with an impressive ensemble, followed by a series of solos, with chorus of followers. At any rate, Perrin proves to have little interest in the more serious aspects of his subject; he quickly dispatches the Greek gods and the Spanish Amadis, hero of an extremely popular chivalric novel, in order to indulge his inclination for popular legend and farcical comedy. King Grandnez, degraded to slavery, punishes his persecutors with death (but pardons one of the three); King Guillemot, still blowing his nose on his sleeve, again recalls the carefree and rough-hewn times of the Gargantuan «A boire»; in a separate entrée, his queen Gillette appears, a brutal caricature from the past, and no doubt an echo of the great success of the *Dowager of Billebahaut* (1626):<sup>110</sup> finally, the proverbial King Pétaut and his court «où chacun commande» bring a scene of madcap confusion.

110 *Ballet Royal du grand bal de la Douairière de Billebahaut... et de son fanfaron de sotte-ville*, February, 1626; vide McGowan, *L'Art du ballet de cour*, p. 292. Marolles commented in his *Mémoires* (t. II, p. 171) that «Nemours inventa le sujet pour les noces imaginaires de la douairière de Billebahaut, avec un personnage qu'il appelloit le fanfaron de Sotte-ville; car les noms même en ces chose-là doivent avoir quelque chose de plaisant, et il y a de l'art à les bien choisir».

The three sections that follow develop the theme of kingship: first, through fantasy, self-deception, illusion, and disguise; then, in six popular games, from le Roy dépouillé, a sort of strip-wrestling, to follow-the-leader, and chess. The *récit* of this section, pronounced by Le Jeu as a handsome young man, makes the association with love. Finally, come the festival kings, a popular tradition which survives on our university campuses in the occasional Ugly Man competition and the election of Homecoming Queen.

As form dictated, each section of the ballet opened with a *récit* sung by an allegorical figure: La Fable, La Folie, Le Jeu. The final *récit* makes a slight departure from the norm to take the form of a musical dialogue between Bacchus and Momus, deities who presided over all festivities. The first *récit* praised Louis XIV, a true monarch in contrast with all the false kings to follow. Perhaps to a greater extent than any other medium, ballet gave free rein to the century's love of contrast, antithesis, and paradox. It provided a refuge for the allegorical spirit as well. In the second *récit*, La Folie banishes «Raison importune» from the court. Molière would not disdain this idea, although he would take care to explain that he advocated suspension of rational faculties only as a release from hard work:

Quand pour s'amuser on s'assemble,  
Les plus sages, ce me semble,  
Sont ceux qui sont les plus fous. (L'Amour médecin, 1665)

The third, as already noted, develops another commonplace, repeated time and again in Benserade's ballets, as Le Jeu pointedly warns the «young beauties» in attendance that, if they do not yet know it, the sweetest game of all is love.

Lully was including ever more vocal music in the ballets he composed by this time, and it is noteworthy that Perrin, with his strong interest in song should have limited his verses to the four required *récits*. He could not compose the circumstantial «vers pour les personnages» until rehearsals were under way and it was known who would dance each rôle. There is no indication that this ballet was danced. If it had been, he could certainly not have proved a match for Benserade, who had found his calling in the gossipy and witty little pieces he composed for the dancers. To judge by style and subject matter, this project was probably written up early in the 1660's. It reveals the extent to which Perrin remained faithful to the aesthetics of his youth.

Although his interests lay elsewhere, he tried more than once to profit from the court's taste for ballet entertainments. His «tragedy» *La Mort d'Adonis*, concludes with the project of a ballet «drawn from the same subject,» *Ballet des Jeux d'Adonis*, «which will show the games that Venus had caused to be celebrated at the tomb of Adonis, since then performed every three years by the Greeks and Romans, namely dancers, wrestlers, fencers, charioteers, tennis players, &c., as they are described in the poem of Adonis by the Cavalier Marino». Molière and Lully

adopted a similar program for the «Jeux Pythiens» at the conclusion of *Les Amants magnifiques* (1668), and again, in a different vein, for the «Ballet des Nations,» to which *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* was originally merely the prologue. The French courtly public was slow to renounce its love of constant variety at the expense of unity. Ballet provided such variety, and audiences were quite willing to pass up the intellectual pleasure of linear plot for those of similar contrast by juxtaposition, and the school-taught habits of distinction and elaboration. Lullian opera added story line but retained the heterogenous character of ballet entertainment.

w, x.1, x.2, x.3) The operas have received separate treatment in Volume One.

y) The last two sections of the *Recueil* contain devotional lyrics of three different sorts. First, there are five pieces in French, the first two in the form of trio part-songs. The rest of the lyrics in that section consist of French paraphrases of Latin psalms. A heading promises versions of the seven Penitential Psalms, but only two are given, N° 6, «Domine ne in furore,» and N° 31, «Beati quorum remissae» (the ms. leaves a blank space for N° 37). The quartet of psalms opens with N° 18, «Cæli enarrant gloriam dei,» and closes with N° 44, «Eructavit cor meum». Perrin follows the Vulgate for text and numbering. The remainder of the twenty-nine pieces appear without indication of composer, we should recall that R. Ballard had recently published a one hundred-eleven page octavo volume of Perrin's cantiques, or motets, *Cantica pro Capella Regis* (1665), not to mention several short collections of *Paroles de Motet* (1661), *Cantica & Sacelli* (n.d.), *Leçons et psaumes* (1664), and lyrics for the Queen's chamber music (1667), all of which had been set and performed. The pieces given here were of more recent composition, and some of them had been set by the chapel composers Expilly and Dumont, whom the poet specifically mentions, and his faithful Sablières, whom he does not.<sup>111</sup>

Perrin has little to say about the French devotional lyrics, except that they are composed according to the same rules that have governed all the others. We may briefly note two or three points of interest. The first air follows strictly in the pattern of the secular air: a four-line strophe of irregular lines, the last two serving as refrain in the second, final verse. The next, a *Noël en air*, has eight lines—of which four are refrain—and

111 Through a careful analysis of the contents of the extant livrets of texts for the Chapelle Royale between 1666 and 1686, Professor Lionel Sawkins has been able to conclude that «the number of works set by Dumont to texts of Perrin is considerably greater than indicated in Perrin's own works». In fact, «no less than 27 such works can be traced, rather than the five which Perrin claimed in ms. fr. 2208». Having presented his conclusions before the American Musicological Society in Boston in November 1981, Professor Sawkins has graciously allowed me to consult the typescript under the working title, «Lully, Perrin and the *Sous-maîtres*—a Fresh Look at the Evolution of the *Grand Motet*,» prior to its publication in article form.

four stanzas. Thus, it is twice as long as the usual secular air. Standards were different for church music. Perrin states that the limit for Latin canticles is thirty lines, whereas few airs ran to more than eight or ten. N° III is another *Noël*, this time *en chanson*, «Célébrons ce beau jour,» discussed above as a new text to the minuet «Je croyois Janeton». Were it not that the light song style of the tune lends itself equally well to expressions of joy, as here, and mock despair—anything, almost, but a meditative, melancholic mood—one might find a contradiction in the joyful repeated cries of «Noël! Noël!» which replace the sighing «Hélas! Hélas!» of the original.

Ensemble pieces N° IV and V are reminders that part-singing found its final sanctuary in the Church. Perrin has a special name for these two pieces; he calls them ensemble *récits*. The texts suggest that the music was primarily homophonic rather than contrapuntal. Both pieces have dramatic aspects that reveal their origins in ballet. In the first, three sopranos take the parts of the three children in the fiery furnace. There is no indication of dialogue; the three speak as one. Of the four heterometric strophes, the first three open with expository materials, in the manner of the ballet *récit*, then lead into praises of God; the last is entirely prayer-like. N° V, also in four sections, is, as we have remarked, an incipient oratorio. It opens with a trio for alto, tenor, and bass, which in typical ballet style only prepares the subject, in this case the penitence of Mary Magdalen. After the *trio récit* comes a dialogue for two sopranos (Saint Marguerite and Saint Mary Magdalen), in the pattern of the secular dialogues and operas. There follows a *récit* for bass, truly recitative material which foreshadows use of narrators in the Bach Passions. In the later cantata tradition, such a *récit* would invariably introduce an air by the same singer. Here it concludes the action and leads up to the chorus of Angels. Their song of rejoicing relates the story to its circumstantial inspiration, the piece having been composed on the feast of Saint Mary Magdalen, in honor of the dowager whose name was Marguerite, and who was born on that feast day:

Pres la terre des Lys une autre Marguerite  
Plus brillante que le soleil  
Naistra bientôt à jour pareil.

The tradition of vernacular paraphrases of the psalms was a product of the confluence of the Reformation and the humanist spirit. Early in the sixteenth century, Clément Marot contributed versions of psalms to collections, of which some of the most important were those of the Huguenots, the French protestants. Desire to make these texts accessible to unlettered members of the congregation led to their being sung in the vernacular and was a principal force in the break away from polyphonic music. At the same time, some of the poets were scholars of sufficient learning to adjust their texts to the Hebrew originals rather than the Latin Vulgate.<sup>112</sup>

112 Vide Michel Jeanneret, *Poésie et tradition biblique au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, recherches*

Perrin's versions follow closely the Latin of the Vulgate, but betray a less than perfect grasp of the language. They contain very little elaboration of the subject; often they seem closer to rhymed translations than paraphrases. In 1670, Pierre Corneille would publish, under the title of *L'Office de la Sainte Vierge*, among other devotional texts, his prose and verse translations of the Seven Penitential Psalms and some two score others. Comparison does not reflect to Perrin's benefit, although it must be noted that Corneille's versions seem ill-suited to musical setting. Fidelity to the original is not necessarily a fault, particularly when dealing with sacred texts. Perrin's verses occupy a middle ground between the austere simplicity of statement of the psalmists and the assured, flexible elegance of the great dramatist's lines. When one finds a striking expression in the Perrin versions, it invariably appears in the Latin. Whereas Corneille is careful to make logical connections when the source offers none, Perrin blithely adopts obscurities, and even manages to add some of his own. Here, for instance, is the opening of Psalm XVIII, «Cæli enarrant gloriam Dei,» first in Corneille's literal prose translation (a), then in Perrin's rendering (b), and finally in Corneille's elaboration (c).

a) Les cieux racontent la gloire de Dieu, et le firmament annonce les ouvrages de ses mains.

Le jour en parle au jour suivant, et la nuit en montre la science à la nuit. Il n'est point de langages, ni de manières de s'exprimer, dont leurs voix ne soient entendues.

b) Seigneur les grands Palais des Cieux  
Content vostre magnificence  
Et font briller devant nos yeux  
Les rayons de vostre puissance.

&

Le jour en parle tout le jour;  
La nuit chaque nuit la publie,  
Et nous la monstrent tour à tour  
Dans leur inconstance établie.

&

En mille langages divers  
Ils la chantent à nos oreilles  
Et jusqu'au bout de l'univers  
Portent le bruit de vos merveilles.

*stylistiques sur les paraphrases des «Psaumes» de Marot à Malherbe*, Paris, 1969. André Verchaly's «Desportes et la musique,» in *Annales musicologiques*, II (1854), pp. 271-345, is a chronological listing of all the poems of that court poet which were set to music between 1569 and 1650, among them many Psalms.

c) Des célestes lambris la pompeuse étendue  
Fait l'éloge du Souverain,  
Et tout le firmament ne présente à la vue  
Que des ouvrages de sa main.

&

Le jour prend soin d'apprendre au jour qui lui succède  
Ce que sa parole a produit,  
Et la nuit qui l'a su de la nuit qui lui cède  
L'enseigne à celle qui la suit.

&

Aux quatre coins du monde ils parlent un langage  
Qu'entendent toutes nations,  
Et des plus noirs climats l'hôte le plus sauvage  
En comprend les instructions.

The psalmist says «the heavens»; the lyricist, «les grands Palais des Cieux»; and the dramatist opens with an elaborate periphrase suggesting both. Perrin falsifies the sense of the second verse. «Dies diei eructat verbum,» while Corneille carefully explains. A modern translation from the Hebrew shows the actual sense to lie between the two: «Le jour redit au jour le message. Et la nuit à la nuit en donne connaissance».<sup>113</sup> The phrase «leur inconstance établie» is a mindless filler. Thus, here again is Perrin, partly by conviction and partly, it seems clear, by natural inclination, reducing poetic expression to a minimal level in order to allow for musical setting, but unable to combine that laudable restraint with rigorous thought.

113 *Le Livre des Psaumes*, éd. Jean Calès, 5<sup>e</sup> éd., Paris, 1936, t. I, p. 234. Vide also Paulette Leblanc, *Les Paraphrases françaises des Psaumes à la fin de la période baroque (1610-1660)*, Paris, 1960.

In another instance, the second verse of Psalm XXXI, Calès reads: «Heureux l'homme à qui Iahvé / N'impute point d'iniquité / Et dont l'esprit est sans déguisement!» (p. 346); Corneille, «Bienheureux celui à qui Dieu n'a point imputé de péché, et dans l'esprit duquel il ne se trouve aucune fraude»:

Plus heureux l'homme encor dont l'innocente vie  
N'a rien que Dieu lui veuille imputer à forfait.  
L'homme en qui jamais fourbe et jamais calomnie  
N'infecte ce qu'il dit, n'empeste ce qu'il fait:

and Perrin:

Heureux celui qui peut de ses forfaits  
Avoir le pardon legitime,  
A qui les crimes qu'il a faits  
Ne sont pas imputez à crime.

Confer the versions of Baïf, also designed to be sung, *Jean-Antoine de Baïf: Le Psautier de 1587*. Texte inédit, édition critique par Yves Le Hir, Paris 1963.

Neither poet had the courage to respect the simplicity of the original. Both make extensive use of periphrases and grandiloquent modifiers. Such devices, the poetic chaff of the time, are present in the best and the worst poetry. In the best, winnowing can separate out the valuable grain; in the worst, it leaves nothing. Whatever the merits of Corneille's Psalms compared to Perrin's, the question of value is moot. Today as in the past, Voltaire's trenchant mot applies: «Sacrés ils sont, car personne n'y touche» (cited by R. Cretin, *Les Images dans l'œuvre de Corneille*, Paris, 1927, p. 24).

XIX. Celi enarrant gloriam Dei (pp. 75-76)

Les cieus de Dieu recontent la grandeur  
 Leur etanduë en toute resplendeur  
 De ses mains l'euure annonce,  
 Le jour au jour san fin en tient propos;  
 Aussi la nuit à la nuit sans repos  
 La science en denonce.  
 Ils n'ont ni voix ni parole: Nul son  
 D'eux ne s'entand. Mais leur belle façon  
 Court par la terre toute.  
 De bout en bout de l'abitable rond  
 Du monde bas leurs paroles courront,  
 Que tout le monde écoute.

XXXII. Beati quorum remissæ sunt (p. 98)

Il est heureux à qui sa faulte fête  
 Est relachée; à qui son peché fait  
 Est couuert et caché;  
 Il est heureux, sur qui Dieu ne rejette  
 La mauuaitié, luy contant son forfait,  
 Qui de dol n'est taché.

VI. Domine ne in furore tuo (p. 55)

O Seigneur, ne me vien conueindre en ta fureur;  
 En ton feu ne m'empoigne.  
 Aie pitié de moi: car je suis en langueur,  
 Guéri-moi et me soigne.

....  
 Mes os sont etonés; mon esprit etoné.  
 Toi jusques a quand, Sire?  
 Reuien; sauue mon âme; et m'ayant pardonné  
 De la mort me retire;  
 Puis qu'en la mort n'est point la memoire de toi.  
 Qui dira ta louange  
 Dans le tombeau la-bas? Donques regarde à moi,  
 Qu'un remors cruel mange.

z) Perrin's Latin lyrics follow essentially the same principles as his others. After many decades during which French poetry was discussed and evaluated in comparison to Latin and Greek models, he drew the inevitable conclusion that no real difference existed and, with a resolutely *moderniste* flourish, made French poetry the model for the Latin. He had indicated as much in the Letter to Monseigneur Della Rovera, and an earlier version of this outline of principles, the «Avant-propos» to the *Cantica pro Capella Regis*, 1665 considered Latin lyrics exclusively (reproduced here, Appendix). That foreword discusses the following topics, by paragraph:

1. Distinction between Chanson and Motet; innovativeness of this method.
2. Syllabic rather than quantitative versification.
3. Use of rhyme.
4. This style of hymn derived from the Hebrew.
5. Lyric style: the *art lyrique* awaits publication.
6. Use of rondeau form.
7. Character of the Latin; derived from French; simplicity.
8. French versions included.
9. Designed, like the *Æneid* translation, to follow word-for-word; similarity of the two versions.
10. Length of canticles.
11. Few men understand both music and Latin.
12. Possible subjects: Feasts, Saints, &c.; free form hymns modeled on Psalms.
13. Defense of the practice of setting and singing newly composed words for devotion.

There are in the *Recueil* songs and airs in various forms, although none which strictly conforms to the model of the air. There is one antiphonal chorus (XXI). The canticles are generally in single stanzas, but a good deal longer than any previously seen in the manuscript. Some have as many as thirty lines, and might «tenir un quart d'heure,» after which they would grow tiresome. There are dialogues, some in heterometric and some in isometric stanzas. In the latter, he does not, as for the courtly air, limit himself strictly to a second stanza, but composes four or five. In keeping with the subject, the tone and manner are somewhat different here from the earlier part of the collection. The vocabulary is no less abstract and symbolic, but it is drawn from a different lode: trumpets sound, nations lament. After centuries of Latin expression of devotion, the lyricist could have borrowed from a wide range of sources. Instead, he claims not to follow any previous tradition, particularly as far as forms are concerned.

The most striking aspect of these lyrics is the complete and conscious rejection of the tenets of classical Latin versification in favour of French practices. To anyone familiar with the Church tradition, with the mediaeval *carmina*, the rhymes may not shock, but the free variation in

length of lines may well do so. To the classical Latinist, the complete disregard of syllabic quantities seems barbaric. The complex and subtle interplay of accentual stresses and quantitative values which informs Vergil's or Horace's poetry meant nothing at all to the courtly public of 1668 and, in practical terms, except for a brief period a century earlier, had meant nothing for many centuries. «Nous autres,» wrote Lamy, «nous ne marquons en prononçant un mot Latin que la quantité de la pénultième voyelle de ce mot» (*La Rhétorique*, p. 211). Perrin's Latin was that of the seventeenth-century courtier, a Latin patterned upon French rather than vice-versa.

His attitude toward the once sacrosanct rule of versification reflects the change that had come about in the generation since 1637 when Mersenne had clung closely to ancient models and to authorities (see his respectful discussion in the *Harmonie universelle* of Saint Augustine's writings on Latin prosody). Perrin's unhesitating use for his sacred pieces of all the lyric forms that secular music could assume is symptomatic of the increased secularization of society, as well as the resulting confusion of the goals of art. Sacred music in the Baroque period lagged far behind its worldly sister. This attempt to produce sacred texts and music on the pattern of the secular songs leads, as Perrin's final comments imply, to consideration of church music as merely a second-rate kind of musical expression, step-child of the new music.

#### *Perrin and the Lyric*

In the lyrics that Perrin and his contemporaries composed, we have discerned the aspiration to condense, to distill the lyric essence from the light and often prosy verses of precious salon poetry. Perhaps they leave the reader with an impression of sameness, of banality, of endlessly repeated formulas, themes, subjects, figures, and vocabulary. Only if we ask just what the poets were trying to do do we discover that there are *trouvailles* even here, that creation is possible even with such unpromising materials as these. It may occur in the balance of a phrase, an idea wrought into a new combination or number of syllables, the avoidance of harsh sounds, a subtle new variation on a well worn metaphor. Even though the sentiments expressed fall short of the sublime, there is rigour in the refusal of prosaic elements, in the search for structural effect. Just as social convention dominates and masks the hidden motives of human conduct, the lyric mode deals in constant human impulses, to the exclusion of individualized detail. The sources of this poetry are not to be found deep in the human heart so much as in a tradition of light entertainment verse that reflected the sentimental habits of a certain society. If the resultant liqueur is not a particularly fine brandy, we should blame the social must as much as the distiller. Only in the musical union is the lyric bouquet released.

Like the other forms of literary expression in an age that favoured theatre and the social graces over the pleasures of solitude, this lyricism shunned overt personal expression. Its poets, speaking not for themselves

but for the broadest group within the society, vied in reworking a slim body of attitudes, sentiments, and phrases. Whenever possible, they further generalized their subject through the pastoral convention. Personæ remain as interchangeable as sentiments. In such songs, neither the «I» nor the «you» carried much conviction. The singer is not telling of his own life any more than he is really speaking to the individual listener. Rather than sharing vicariously in an experience more intense than any he has ever encountered, seen through the eyes of a poet whose perceptions are sharper and whose ability to express in words its essence surpasses that of other men, the listener to this sort of song enjoys it because he can find in it a symbolic reflection of sentimental situations that he has imagined or known. No specifics need be mentioned; distinguishing details, other than the most general and conventional, constitute a hindrance to the desired effect. The poem must maintain a high degree of abstraction in order to remain applicable to the broadest spectrum of individual experience. Hence, the «desperate monotony» of such lyrics, particularly when read without the melody that constituted their solid substance, their distinguishing characteristic. Hence, also, the extreme limitations of subject. A handful of sentiments, a few familiar allusions, and, usually, in each poem one striking trait, one new twist to pique the interest for a moment. The parallels with the modern pop song will not escape anyone who knows that field.

As a consequence of these limitations, there is more justification than one might at first suppose for the tendency of this sort of poem to become simply an exercise in manipulation of word-combinations through use of poetic and rhetorical figures, particularly the schemes of construction. In a sense, the affective force of music took the place of the analogical tropes, which were out of favor in all forms of poetic expression, having been much abused in the fantastic and grotesque imaginings of a few years earlier. Rhetorical *schemata*, figures of structure, provided a catalogue of devices for playing variations on a few simple ideas, and these the lyricist exploited with more or less delicacy and felicity according to his gifts. To the *ancien régime* poet, the idea of simple, clear, and harmonious form implied careful handling of rhyme and meter, as well as overall pattern and selective use of schemes. Poets and public, immersed in rhetorical tradition and more sensitive to the beauties of abstract forms than to the spice of individual «accidents,» had a finer sense of the formal verbal pattern than we. Chiasmus, antimetabole, anaphora, antithesis—such figures, appropriately placed, gave as much pleasure as, to a later generation, the affective power of accumulated metaphor. The reader who comes upon poem after poem expressing the same stereotyped ideas, using the same worn epithets to modify the same few general (and always plural) nouns, needs constantly to bear in mind the principle stated by Pascal: «Let it not be claimed that I have said nothing new: the arrangement of the materials is new; in the game of tennis both players use the same ball, but one places it better» (*Pensées*, ed. Brunschweig, N° 22). In the same tradition as the writers of maxims and *pensées*—those observations about human nature or the human condition expressed in lapi-

How

dary, aphoristic form—and playwrights such as Pierre Corneille who sprinkled their plays freely with *sententiae*, shaping and polishing them until they fit neatly within the confines of the alexandrine line, the lyricist circa 1660 came to see his art as involving almost exclusively the manipulation of patterns, the shuffling of syllables.

Pattern, as Northrop Frye reminds us, is the source of our sense of the beautiful. The problem of the lyric is that it is not an «autonomous verbal structure,» and thus susceptible to exclusively literary analysis, but rather an autonomous structure of words and tones which function as one. When the poet arranges words, he creates a complex structure of thoughts and feelings through the medium of patterns of sound, syntax, and suggestion. To a greater or lesser extent, he works within convention. Some of his patterns already exist when he begins—patterns of thought, patterns of feeling, patterns of speech—and to this extent the poem is, so to speak, prefabricated. The poet arranges his materials in such a way as to produce new perceptions. The musician does the same with his materials. He does not invent everything any more than the architect invents bricks, beams, concrete, and wall board every time he designs a house. But he seeks to combine them in new and effective ways. Thus, art imposes structures upon its raw materials. Music inevitably adds a new set of structures to the fabric of the text when the two arts are joined in song. We have seen that fine ears could distinguish not merely two vowel lengths in spoken French, but as many as seven. The humanistic game of arranging syllables in metrical patterns involving only two quantities, and calling upon the music to conform, falsified the language no less than it restricted the music. Yet I say falsified only in the sense in which all artistic endeavour is falsification, artifice, game-playing. The arbitrary restrictions of the Baïf Académie produced some beautiful compositions.

What, in the final analysis, can be said of Perrin's contribution to his chosen field? Perhaps, that his lyric was an effective vehicle for song. Is that so little? «No more than simple pretexts for music, the pieces written for music», Pougin concluded, «present.... certain real and remarkable good qualities» (*Les Vrais Créateurs*, pp. 33-34). In patient acceptance of all the substantive restrictions which he believed the genre demanded, he attached greater importance to structural, formal innovations than to content, to pat, conventional expression than to probing the recesses of the heart. Looking beyond strictly verbal expression, he created a poetry that left room for musical communication. Paradoxically, it was through extreme conservatism that he sought new paths. Decidedly a minor poet in his early, non-lyric works, as lyricist he made a virtue of his artistic timidity. In the face of a growing spirit of restraint in society, a mood of pedantic and literal-minded criticism of poetry, and the necessity of simplification which poetry for music imposed, he welcomed the restraints and took them for the whole game. We might say of him what Noske has written of Saint-Saëns: «Il s'intéresse plus à la versification qu'à la poésie. Dans les rapports entre paroles et chant, c'est surtout l'aspect technique qui le passionne» (*La Mélodie française*, p. 61). The late Boris Vian, in an essay on popular song called *En Avant la Zizique*, distinguished between

the *parolier* and the *poète de chanson*; the first, hack wordsmith; the other, devoted to expressing in words suited to music his vision of that condition that he shares with other men. Perrin belongs to the first category; he is more representative of his times than artist.

Part of the weakness in his verses results from the limitations of scope imposed by the pastoral mode to which lyric was believed to belong. Racine had the integrity to strengthen his *Idylle sur la Paix* and his tragic choruses with biblical and Greek materials, and he was criticized for it. Molière's pastoral lyrics have in themselves no more variety or significance than Perrin's, but he had the skill to set them in contrast with other elements of the plays. They thus became only a small part of a rich and varied composite entity. Perrin simply hasn't enough strings to his lyre. The deficiencies of his poetry are not explained away if we reject Boileau's uncompromising pronouncement that in poetry «il n'y a pas de degrés du mal au pire». It is not difficult to conceive of other lyrics, equally well suited to music and in conformity with the same tight restrictions, but denser and more substantial. Yet between Perrin's low triviality and Quinault's elegant triviality, there is kinship. Typical of the lyric production of the period, they illustrate two stages of an evolving norm.

It would be revealing to know whether any of Perrin's lyrics turn up in collections of songs in later decades. That knowledge would indicate whether his ditties had the power to catch the imagination sufficiently to have passed into the popular domain. The Lachèvre catalogue shows that such was in fact the case during and shortly after his lifetime. At present, his work is so little known that no editor of Molière's plays has attributed to him the little song which M. Jourdain sings. How then could any of his lyrics hope to be recognized, appearing anonymously in an early eighteenth-century collection of poetry? The theoretical statements he left, despite their brevity, help us to distinguish essence from accident in the lyric production of his time. They indicate where the emphasis lay. Comparison with the lyrics of other poets reveals that by and large he spoke for all as he codified the conventional and unassuming art of lyric verse.

For having made a living reality of the dream of opera in French, Perrin deserves more recognition than his poetic endeavours alone would win him. That, indeed, was the opinion of the earliest commentators, such as Titon du Tillet, author of the *Parnasse François* (1732):

«L'abbé Perrin est un poète médiocre, mais on ne peut lui refuser quelque place sur le Parnasse françois, comme à celui qui a imaginé le premier de donner des opéra françois et ayant composé des paroles des deux premières [pièces] qui ayent paru dans ce goût. .... On doit passer quelque chose à Perrin et lui pardonner les vers faibles qui se trouvent dans la plupart de ses ouvrages, comme au premier inventeur de la poésie dramatique chantant en France, que Quinault, peu de temps après lui, rendit si gracieuse et si parfaite.»

## APPENDIX

Epître dedicatoire &amp; Avant-Propos

*Cantica pro Capella Regis*

— 1665 —

*Cantica Pro Capella Regis*  
*Latine composita & Gallicis versibus reddita.*  
 Paris, Robert Ballard, 1665.

AU ROY,

Sire,

Ayant remarqué que Vostre Majesté, portée par l'inclination qu'elle a pour la Musique, qui est celle de toutes les ames grandes & heroïques comme la vostre, & par le desir qu'elle a de porter dans son Regne ce bel Art au point de son excellence, a rassemblé avec beaucoup de soin & succez les plus belles voix de son Royaume, & les meilleurs Symphonistes, pour en composer la Musique de la Chapelle, & l'a pourvue en suite d'excellens Maistres, qui la rendent assurément digne de vous; c'est à dire la plus belle musique de la terre, comme vous en estes le plus grand Roy: j'ay voulu contribuer de ma part ce qui seul y sembloit manquer; qui sont de l'or & des pierres brutes pour ces excellens Artistes, d'agreables objets pour servir de modele à ces Peintres inimitables; enfin, de belles paroles de musique pour ces incomparables Musiciens. Le succez que je me propose de mon travail, & que j'ose promettre à V. M. est que la Musique recevant par elle son dernier ornement, & charmant tout ensemble l'oreille, l'esprit & le cœur; l'oreille par de beaux sons; l'esprit par de belles paroles, & le cœur par l'image des passions qu'elles y representent, enlevera desormais l'homme tout entier, & justifiera ce que nous ont dit les Anciens de son pouvoir & de sa force, qui nous a paru si fabuleux & si incroyable, par le deffaut de ceux qui l'ont traitée. Nous retrouverons, SIRE, dans ce siecle heroïque la Musique charmante du siecle des Heros, qui rassembla les bestes sauvages & fit mouvoir les arbres des forests; au son de laquelle Arion attira son Dauphin, & Amphion bastit les murailles de Thebes. Nous ramenerons dans ce siecle de conquestes la Musique du siecle d'Alexandre, qui seule triompha de ce Conquerant, excitoit ou calmoit à son gré les passions dans son cœur. Nous rappellerons dans ce siecle de triomphe & de paix la Musique de Rome la triomphante, que ses Empereurs promenoient par tout l'Univers avec tant d'acclamations des peuples. Ou plutost dans ce siecle de Justice, de Sagesse & de Pieté, nous renouvellerons cette musique sainte & admirable, avec laquelle le Roy Psalmiste appaisoit la fureur de Saül, & calmoit les transports de sa manie, & que Salomon faisoit si glorieusement retentir dans le Temple de Hierusalem. Enfin, SIRE,

nous reverrons en la personne de V. M. un nouvel Hercule Gaulois, qui par les charmes de sa musique, comme l'autre par ceux de son éloquence, enchainera de chaisnes dorées nos cœurs & nos oreilles. Ces promesses, quoy que grandes, ne sembleront pas à V. M. du tout vaines & mal fondées, s'il luy plaist de se ressouvenir du succez qu'ont eu plusieurs de ces Cantiques, lors qu'ils ont esté chantez dans sa Chapelle; entr' autres celuy du Martyr que luy fit entendre le Sieur Expilly, lors de sa concurrence à la Maistrise, qui ravit toute vostre Cour, & fit dire à V. M. qu'il avoit combattu avec des armes avantageuses; & en suite ceux dont il l'a regalée pendant son quartier, de Sainte Anne & de la Vierge Martyre; celuy que luy fit entendre à Versailles le Sieur Lulli, qui commence, *O lacrimæ*, & ceux qu'a mis en musique Monsieur Gobert, pour V. M. & pour Monseigneur le Dauphin. Ce qui donne lieu d'esperer pour les autres, dont quelques-uns surpassent encor ces premiers en beauté & en variété d'entreprises, qu'ils ne luy donneront pas un moindre divertissement, s'il luy plaist d'en entendre la suite, & de les faire mettre en musique par ses Maistres. C'est le fruit que j'attends de mon ouvrage, & que V. M. soit persuadée par cet essay leger, que je veux desormais consacrer toute mon étude à l'avancement de sa gloire & de ses plaisirs, & m'appliquer uniquement à luy témoigner que je suis

SIRE

De V. M.

Le tres humble, tres-obeissant &  
tres-fidele sujet & serviteur

PERRIN

## Avant-Propos

1. Puisque je donne au public des pieces de Poësie d'une invention nouvelle & inconnuë aux anciens Grecs & Latins & à leur modernes imitateurs Italiens, Espagnols & François; il est bien juste que je m'explique à luy des raisons sur lesquelles je me suis fondé dans leur composition, & qui m'ont obligé de m'égarer des routes communes. Pour bien les concevoir il faut observer qu'il y a de deux sortes de pieces de musique, la Chanson & le Motet. La Chanson n'a qu'un mesme chant ou, une mesme musique, qui se reprend sur divers couplets répondans aux premiers; Et le Motet est une piece variée de plusieurs chants ou musiques liées, mais differentes. Ainsi les Phrases ou les Stances des paroles qui leur répondent peuvent estre variées en nombre & en longueur de vers, & mesme le doivent estre à la rigueur; car bien que sur des strophes égales on puisse faire des chants & des mouvemens differens, & faire chanter differentes parties; toutefois la variété de la piece sera encor plus grande & la composition plus facile pour le Musicien, quand il y aura une variété affectée dans les Stances & dans les versets, & qu'ils seront composez pour un changement continuel & des entreprises suivies & liées de chants, de parties, & de mouvements. C'est par cette raison qu'ayant à composer des paroles de motets pour la Messe de la Chapelle du Roy, j'ay suivy cette methode, & loin d'imiter j'ay évité les traces des anciennes & modernes Odes ou Chansons Grecques & Latines.

2. C'est aussi par cette mesme raison de variété, qu'au lieu de m'attacher à suivre, comme elles, dans les vers le nombre & la quantité des syllabes, qui assujettissent en quelque façon le Musicien, sinon à l'air, du moins à la mesure, & ne servent que d'embarras dans les compositions tant de Poësie que de Musique de cette nature, j'ay composé mes pieces de vers libres, non seulement pour le nombre & pour la longueur, mais mesme pour la quantité des syllabes; me contentant d'observer dans le nombre, que les vers ne passent pas celuy de dix ou onze syllabes, & pour la quantité qu'ils soient composez d'un beau mélange de longues & de brièves à discretion. Ainsi le Musicien qui travaille dessus a plus de liberté de s'égayer dans ses chants, & trouve les desseins de son motet marquez & plus qu'ébauchez.

3. J'ay composé mes Cantiques de vers leonins ou rimez, d'autant que j'ay observé que les rimes, qui sont vicieuses dans la prose Latine, & mesme dans les vers recitez, parce qu'elles rebattent l'oreille d'un mesme son, sont avantageuses dans les vers de musique, en ce qu'elles marquent agreablement les cadences ou les cheutes & les pauses de la voix, & les imitations & les relations de chant, qui en sont toute la beauté, par les imitations de son & de terminaison dans les paroles qui composent les rimes. C'est aussi par cette raison qu'ainsi que tous les Musiciens ont remarqué, les Poësies libres & rimées, Italiennes, Espagnoles, & Françaises, sont plus propres à la Musique que les vers Latins & Grecs, à moins qu'ils ne soient aussi rimez, comme le sont ceux-cy, & quelques-unes de nos hymnes & proses de l'Eglise.

4. Cette maniere de composer des hymnes a esté, comme nous avons dit, ignorée par les Grecs & par les Latins, mais non pas par les Hebreux, qui l'ont pratiquée devant nous; en sorte que les Cantiques & Pseaumes Hebreux de David & des autres sont à peu près composez sur le pied des nostres, de proses rimées ou non rimées, distinguées par versets ou phrases inégales, & bien mêlées seulement de syllabes longues & brièves. Aussi n'avons-nous pas appelé nos paroles de motet, hymnes, odes ou chansons, comme les Grecs & les Latins, mais Cantiques ou Pseaumes, comme les Hebreux, desquels nous avons reconnu les premiers & suivy les maximes.

5. Mais il ne suffit pas d'observer toutes ces regles dans la composition des Cantiques, il faut que la matiere, les entreprises, les styles, les phrases, les mots & les rimes en soient lyriques & propres à la musique. La maniere de les faire tels nous l'avons expliquée dans notre Art Lyrique, qui est un traité particulier, par regles & par exemples, de la façon de composer toute sorte de paroles de musique, Latines & Françaises; lequel le public verra quelque jour si je me détermine de le luy donner, & de reveler un art inconnu jusqu'icy, qui m'a cousté tant d'étude & d'application, duquel sont parties ces Pseaumes & plus de cinq cents pieces de Poësie Lyrique, qui ont couru & courent tous les jours la Cour & le monde, mises en musique par tous les illustres Musiciens du Royaume.

6. Vous observerez que bien que parmy ces Cantiques on n'en trouve pas de composez de strophes réglées à la maniere ancienne, il y en a pourtant quelques-uns commencez & finis, & mesme coupez de reprises & de rondeaux; car comme ces jeux & ces gentilleses réussissent asseurement bien dans la Musique, je n'ay pas jugé qu'il les fallût bannir de nos motets, mais seulement en user rarement & discrettement.

7. Pour la latinité, j'ay taché de la faire belle & bien construite, mais facile à concevoir; & pour cét effet je l'ay composée, autant que j'ay pû, de mots & de phrases répondantes à nos mots & à nos phrases Françaises; ainsi mesme elle imite en quelque façon la simplicité du style de l'Ecriture, comme il est ordonné par l'Eglise.

8. J'ay mis à costé de la page la version en vers François, pour soulager ceux qui ne sçavent que peu ou point le Latin; en sorte que les personnes les moins lettrées peuvent entendre aisément nos Cantiques Latins, par la comparaison des François. Il est vray que comme ces derniers ne sont destinez que pour servir d'interpretes aux Latins, ils ne sont pas si propres à estre mis en musique, & observent moins les regles de la composition lyrique. C'est ce que le lecteur observera en les lisant; comme au contraire il fera reflexion, en lisant les Cantiques Latins, qu'ils sont composez pour le chant, & non pas pour la recitation.

9. Pour la nature de la version, elle est à peu près pareille à celle de nostre Enéide, c'est à dire toujours phrase pour phrase, sans rien innover;

& mot pour mot, autant que le peuvent souffrir les regles de nostre langue & de nostre Poësie, sinon par les plus proches & plus beaux équivalens. Ce qui doit sembler à mon avis assez curieux & assez nouveau dans cét ouvrage, est que le mesme autheur ait exprimé en vers les mesmes pensées, en deux langues diverses, si naturellement & avec tant d'art & de fidelité, qu'on ne peut qu'à peine discerner quels vers sont les originaux; bien que les plus entendus connoissent assez par la hardiesse du trait que ce sont les Latins.

10. Pour la longueur des Cantiques, comme ils sont composez pour la Messe du Roy, où l'on en chante d'ordinaire trois: un grand, un petit pour l'élévation & un *Domine salvum fac Regem*: J'ay fait les grands de telle longueur, qu'ils peuvent tenir un quart d'heure, estans bien composez & sans trop de repetitions, & occuper depuis le commencement de la Messe jusqu'à l'élévation. Ceux d'élévation sont plus petits, & peuvent tenir jusqu'à la Post-communion, que commence le *Domine*.

11. Je sçay que peu de gens Sçavans entendent assez la musique pour penetrer dans mon esprit & dans mes desseins en leur composition, & que la meilleure partie des Musiciens sçavent aussi trop peu dans la langue Latine, pour les bien comprendre & les bien executer. Mais nous ne vivons pas toujours, en des siecles tenebreux, & l'inclination que nostre grand Monarque témoigne pour la Musique, nous donnera quelque jour des Amphions & des Orphées, qui feront bien encor d'autres découvertes dans ces terres inconnuës.

12. Il y en a pour les premieres festes de l'année & pour les Saints principaux; mais il en reste à composer, non seulement pour beaucoup de Saints, Apôtres, Martyrs, Vierges & Fondateurs d'Ordres; mais encor des Cantiques à fantaisie, petits & grands, sur toutes sortes de sujets pieux, que je me suis proposé de faire, qui tous ensemble pourront monter à cent cinquante, répondants aux cent cinquante Pseaumes Hebreux, lesquels expliqueront les mysteres de la loy & du culte nouveau du Christianisme, & traiteront la devotion moderne, comme ces derniers ont traité celle des Hebreux & de l'ancien Testament, éloignée bien souvent de l'usage & des mœurs de l'Eglise.

13. Dès que ces Cantiques parurent à la Cour, certains Critiques s'éleverent contre, avec beaucoup de chaleur, lesquels n'en sçavoient ny la raison ny l'usage; la raison qui veut que là où l'Eglise manque à nous donner des paroles & des hymnes pour ses solemnitez, comme nous voyons en beaucoup de festes principales de la Vierge & des Saints, nous suppléons à ce deffaut; cette bonne mere trouvant toujours fort raisonnable & conforme à la pieté Chrestienne, que les loüanges de Dieu & des Saints soient chantées, principalement sur ses paroles & sur celles de l'Ecriture, mais à ce deffaut sur des paroles pieuses & par elle approuvées, lesquelles, outre l'avantage commun qu'elles auront, d'estre conformes à son esprit & à son langage & à celui de l'Ecriture & des

peres, auront encore celuy d'estre propres & speciales pour la Musique, & composées sur les regles de l'art, sur lesquelles non seulement l'Ecriture ne fait point de reflexion, si ce n'est dans les Cantiques & les Pseaumes du vieil Testament, mais mesme que tous les Peres de l'Eglise, qui ont composé des hymnes, semblent avoir ignorées, comme il nous seroit aisé de justifier. Ce qui est si vray & si approuvé, que dans toute l'Italie, & à Rome principalement, qui est le Siege de l'Eglise, dans toute l'Espagne, & presque par toute la France, particulièrement en Languedoc & en Provence, où les peuples sont plus adonnez & plus entendus à la Musique, les Eglises ne retentissent que de ces sortes de motets, sur des paroles faites & ajustées à la Musique, soit en prose, soit en vers, quoy qu'imparfaites, en comparaison de ces Cantiques. Il est vray que devant nous, dans ces sortes de paroles que les Musiciens ont composées, le plus souvent ils se sont tenus si rigoureusement, non seulement à celles de l'Ecriture, mais à ses phrases toutes entieres que ces pieces n'ont esté pour la plupart que des phrases de l'Ecriture ramassées & mal cousuës ensemble, & appliquées à quelque sujet pieux ou à quelque solemnité, le plus souvent obscures, forcées, mal-sonantes à l'oreille & peu propres au chant. Je ne parle point de celles que l'Eglise a recuës, pour qui j'ay toute veneration. Je confesse qu'en cela j'ay esté moins scrupuleux, & que je me suis un peu éloigné de l'usage commun, mais je ne puis à mon avis estre blasmé de m'estre tiré d'une imitation de choses mauvaises, & d'ailleurs inutile & non commandée par l'Eglise, & d'avoir retranché les anciens abus, pour introduire un usage meilleur, avantageux pour la gloire des Saints, & pour porter la Musique au point de son excellence. C'est le sentiment des plus sensez & celuy de Monseigneur le Cardinal Antoine, grand Aumosnier; de Monseigneur l'Archevesque de Paris, de Monseigneur de Perigueux, Maistre de la Chapelle, de Monseigneur l'Evesque d'Acqs, & de beaucoup de personnes illustres, de qualité, de rang & de merite, qui ont leu de bout en bout cét ouvrage, & je puis dire avec estime & plaisir. Aussi voyons-nous que les Maistres de la Chapelle ne font plus désormais de difficulté là-dessus, & qu'ils composent tous les jours sur des paroles semblables, particulièrement leurs motets d'élevation.

TABLE A

A = Composer  
 B = Total  
 C = Airs  
 D = Chansons  
 E = Récits  
 F = Dialogues  
 G = Chansons à boire  
 H = Sérénades  
 J = Operas. Pastorales, Mascarades, Ballets  
 K = Devotional Pieces

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K
Sablères [D.S.]	40	15	11	1	7	—	—	—	6
Perdigal	30	22	2	—	5	—	—	—	1
Lambert	21	13	2	—	—	6	—	—	—
Cambert	16	—	2	—	4	8	—	2	—
Boisset	10	2	—	1	1	2	3	1	—
Blondel	7	1	—	—	—	3	3	—	—
Moulinié	7	2	2	1	—	1	—	—	1
Lulli	5	1	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dumont	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Bassily	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Expilly	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Martin	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
La Roche	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fournier	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Le Camus	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pinol (?)	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cam[b]efort	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Sine Nomine</i>	41	4	3	—	5	4	1	1	23
Total	193	66	27	4	22	24	7	4	39

TABLE B

The following table lists the contents of the *Diverses Paroles de Musique* in the *Œuvres de Poésie* of 1661, indicating noteworthy characteristics of individual pieces, the composer (X signifies no composer noted) the date and purpose, when they are known. This list shows that as early as 1661 the poet had composed sixty-two pieces for music excluding the *Pastorale*, which appears separately, and the other two libretti not included in this collection. An asterisk before the title indicates that it appears in the *Recueil de paroles de musique*.

Pierre Perrin's *Diverse Paroles de Musique* (*Œuvres de Poésie*, 1661)

Page	Title	Composer	Type	Dedication, Date
217-218	*Filles du Ciel	Cambert	Sarabande	Pour M. le Cardinal Antoine, 1657
218-219	Deux Soleils opposés	X	Récit à 4 (SATB)	Pour l'arrivée de la Reyne, 1660
220	*Reyne des Lys	Camefort [sic]	Récit	La Reyne
221	Charmante Iris	Molinier	Sarabande	M <sup>lle</sup> d'Orléans
222	Au milieu de ce lieu	Sieur D. S.	Air de Mouvement	Monsieur
223	*La voicy de retour....	Sieur D. S.	Air de Cour	Princesse d'Angleterre
223-224	*Sus, sus, Guerriers	Sieur D. S.	Air à 4	Concert.... sur la Paix
224	*Des fleurs, des fleurs	X	Air à 4	Le Roy
225	*Que vois-je dans ces lieux?	X	Dialogue (SSB)	La Reyne
226	*Amour en nous donnant la Paix	X	Récit	Monsieur
227	*Belle Princesse	X	Sarabande	Princesse d'Angleterre
<i>Paroles de Noël</i>				
228	Ne vous plaignez plus, Roy des Cieux	Molinier		pour Mademoiselle d'Orléans, 1655
228-229	Adorons à genoux	Perdigal	Autre Noël	

Table B

Page	Title	Composer	Type	Dedication, Date
<i>Motets</i>				
230-234	Dans un vaste Palais un bruit s'est fait entendre ( <i>Auditi sunt cantores psallentes</i> )	X	(with Latin, taken from Scriptures)	Pour le Mariage de Monsieur et d'Henriette d'Angleterre
234-235	O souverain des Cieux, Monarque tout puissant ( <i>O Rex summe Poli; Populi miserere gementis</i> )	X		(For the Elevation of the Host)
<i>Dialogues</i>				
236	*Que ferons nous?	Lambert	Dialogue à 3 (SSB)	
237	*Beaux yeux de mon Tyrsis	X	Dialogue à 2 (ST)	
238-239	*Ah! Tyrsis, il est temps, mon Tyrsis	Perdigal	Dialogue à 2 «Mort Amoureuse» (SB)	
240-241	*O destin malheureux!	Lambert	Dialogue à 2 (ST)	
241	*Voicy le Printemps	Perdigal	Récit à 2 (SS)	
241-242	*Adieu, parjure, adieu	Martin	Dialogue à 2 (ST or B)	
243	*Ah que de biens en mesme temps	Lambert	Rondeau	Pour chanter devant leurs majestez, en Avril 1661
<i>Airs de Cour et Chansons</i>				
244	*Dans le desespoir où je suis	Cambert	Air de Cour sur une absence	
244-245	Belle bouche, silence	Perdigal	Autre	
245	*Charmante voix, divins accents	la Roche	Autre	
245-246	Rossignols, petits cœurs jaloux	Perdigal	Autre	

Page	Title	Composer	Type	Dedication, Date
246	*Vox yeux adorables	D. S.	Imitation de l'Espagnol: <i>Tus ojos traviessos,</i> Sarabande	
247	Quoy! vous voulez bannir	X	Air de Cour	
247-248	La voix d'Iris a des attraits puissants	Molinier	Paroles sur une Sarabande	
248	O doux sommeil, que tes songes aymables	Molinier	Air de Cour, sur un songe	
248-249	*Pensez-vous de l'amour exprimer le martire	Perdigal	Autre	
249	*Le Ciel est beau, la terre est belle	Perdigal	Chanson	
250	*Après le plaisir de l'amour	Perdigal	Autre	
250-251	*A quoy pensiez-vous, Climene	Perdigal	Autre	
251-252	Petit mignon de ces plaines	Perdigal	Autre	
252	*J'ayme un brun depuis un jour	Perdigal	Autre	
253	Amour et la raison	Cambert	Autre	
254	*Voicy le temps	X	Autre	
254-255	*Que mille amants ont dessein de vous plaire	Perdigal	Vaudeville	
255	*Petits ruisseaux, confidants de ma plainte	X	Paroles sur une Sarabande	
255-256	*Vous qui voulez servir les belles ( <i>variante</i> )	Molinier	Paroles sur une Sarabande	
256	*De quoy murmurez-vous, agreable fontaine?	Perdigal	Chansonnette	
256-257	Qu'ay-je fait de mon cœur? Je le cherche en tous lieux.	X	Autre. (2nd verse by Perrin)	
257	Quand je presse ma Sylvie	Cambert	Autre	
257-258	J'ayme la noire et la blonde et la brune	Cambert	Paroles sur une Sarabande	

Page	Title	Composer	Type	Dedication, Date
258	*La voicy, la voyla	M. S.	Chansonnette. Portrait en Musique	
<i>Chansons à Boire</i>				
259-260	*O charmante bouteille	Cambert	Chanson à boire	
260	Qui peut choisir de l'amour ou du vin	Perdigal	Autre	
261	*Sus, sus, enfans, voicy le jour	Cambert	Autre	
261-262	Espagnols & François	Camfort	Autre	Pour le jour de la S. Martin
262	Amis, amis, le verre en main solemnisons la Paix	1st verse, le Sieur; 2nd verse, Perrin	Autre	Sur la Paix
263	Vous qui ronflez endormis sur les coupes	Cambert	Autre	
264	*Pauvre amoureux transy	Cambert	Autre	
265	Fy, fy, fy, fy, fy, de ce vilain jus	Cambert	Autre	
265	Sus, sus, pinte & fagot	Cambert	Autre	
266	*Que l'inventeur de la bouteille	Cambert	Autre	
267	*Faisons bonne chere	X	Sur une sarabande de Cambert (SS)	
268	Que Bacchus est charmant	D. S.	Dialogue à boire à 4 (SATB)	
269	*Je ne sçay pas comment je ne sçay pas pourquoy	Perdigal	Sarabande	(Pour l'aimable inconnue)
270	*Que de plaisirs attendent ces Amans!	Cambert	Epithalame	Pour un Mariage en avril 1661
271	*La Blonde, Nanette! *Pardon ma Nanette	Perdigal	Chansonnette sur le mesme air	

1 Nuittier & Thoinan (p. 66) ascribe this score to Boisset. (See Reference Foreword [b])

The following list indicates the number of times each of the composers appears:<sup>2</sup>

Cambert	14
Camfort [sic, for Cambefort]	2
Lambert	3
Martin	1
Molinier (Moulinier)	5
De la Roche	1
D. S. (Sablières)	5
Perdigal	17
M. S.	1
Anonymous, or not set	13
<i>TOTAL</i>	62

## WORKS OF PIERRE PERRIN

*MANUSCRIPTS*: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Salle des Manuscrits

*Ariane et Bacchus; La Mort d'Adonis*, fonds français, ff. 78-95. Bound with other mss., this copy of *Ariane*, from the La Vallière collection, is, according to Nuyttier & Thoinan, the one revised for performance in London.

*Cantiques ou Paroles de Motets pour la Chapelle du Roy, pour les principales Festes de l'année... avec les Elévations pour la Messe composées en Latin sur les preceptes de la Musique et renduës en vers françois*, Par M. Perrin. Présentées à Sa Majesté. In-8°, f. frç. 25460. This volume corresponds to the *Cantica pro Capella Regis* published by Robert Ballard.

*Recueil de Paroles de Musique de M. Perrin*, Conseiller du Roy, etc. contenant: Plusieurs Chansons, Dialogues, Récits, Pièces de concert, Paroles à boire, Sérénades, Paroles de Musique pour des Masca- rades et des Ballets, Comédies en Musique, Paroles françoises pour la dévotion, Cantiques et Chansons latines. Dedié A Mon- seigneur Colbert, In-4°, f. frç. 2208. Published here.

*Satyre en forme de virelay, contre Nicolas Boileau Des Prèaux, poète saty- rique. Par l'Abbé Perrin*. ds. *Recueil de Maurepas*, f. frç. 12618.

*PRINTS* (in order of publication)

1645 *Divers Insectes, pièces de poésie*, [later: *Jeux de Poësie*], Paris, Jean Duval, 1645, in-12°.

1647 *La Chartreuse, ou la Sainte Solitude*, imprimé aux despens de l'au- theur, à Paris, par P. Moreau, M<sup>e</sup> escrivain juré au dict lieu et seul imprimeur et graveur ordinaire du Roy, de la nouvelle im- primerie par luy faicte et inventée, demeurant vis-à-vis l'horloge du Palais. Avec privilège. 1647, in-folio.

1648 *L'Enéide de Virgile*, traduite en vers françois, première partie, contenant les six premiers livres: avec les remarques du traducteur aux marges, pour l'intelligence de la carthe et de l'Histoire an- cienne, véritable et fabuleuse. Dediée à Monseigneur l'éminen- tissime cardinal Mazarin. A Paris, ces caractères de P. Moreau, seul imprimeur et graveur ordinaire du Roy, de la nouvelle im- primerie par lui faicte et inventée. Et se vend chez sa vesve, vis-à- vis l'horloge du Palais. Avec privilège de Sa Majesté, 1648.

1655 *La Chartreuse, ou la Sainte Solitude*, par M. Perrin, 3<sup>e</sup> edition Paris, Jean Henault, 1655, in-12°.

1655 *Recueil de Poisies* [sic] de M. Perrin, Revuës par l'auteur. Paris, Jean Henault, 1655, in-12°. This in collection Thoinan (Biblio- thèque nationale, in-8°, 166 pp.).

1658 *L'Enéide de Virgile*, fidèlement traduite en vers, et les remarques à chaque livre pour l'intelligence de l'Histoire et de la Fable, En- richie de figures en taille-douce. Seconde partie. Contenant les six

<sup>2</sup> «Baptiste,» that is, Lully, does not figure in this collection, nor do several others who would be represented in the later collections.

- derniers livres. Par messire P. Perrin, conseiller du Roy en ses conseils, introducteur des ambassadeurs et princes étrangers près la personne de Son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le duc d'Orléans. Paris, chez Estienne Loyson, 1658, in-4°.
- 1659 *Première comédie française en musique représentée en France. Pastorale*, mise en musique par M. Camber, organiste à l'église collégiale de Saint-Honoré à Paris. Paris, R. Ballard, 1659.
- 1661 *Paroles de Motet* pour le baptême de Mgr. le Dauphin. Canticum in baptismo Delphini. s. l., 1661, in-folio, 2 pp.
- 1661 *Les Œuvres de Poésie* de M. Perrin, Contenant Les Jeux de Poésie, Diverses Poésies Galantes, Des Paroles de Musique, Airs de Cour, Airs à Boire, Chansons, Noël et Motets, Une Comédie en Musique, L'Entrée de la Reyne, Et la Chartreuse, Ou la Sainte Solitude. A Paris, Estienne Loyson, 1661, in-12°.
- 1662 *Nouvelles Poésies héroïques, gaillardes et amoureuses*. Ensemble un nouveau recueil des plus beaux airs de cour, à chanter, à danser, et à boire: mis en chant par les meilleurs Musiciens de ce temps. Paris, Estienne Loyson, 1662, in-12°. «Il n'y eut absolument que le titre de changé et une table ajoutée» (Nuittier & Thoinan, p. 72, footnote).
- 1664 *L'Enéide de Virgile* fidèlement traduite en vers héroïques avec le latin à côté et les Remarques à chaque livre pour l'intelligence de l'Histoire. Enrichie de figures en taille-douce. Par M. Perrin, conseiller du Roy, etc. Seconde édition, revue et corrigée par l'auteur. Paris, Estienne Loyson, 2 vol. in-12°. The copy in possession of the library of the Opéra (now Bibliothèque nationale, Département de Musique) proves a simultaneous edition without Latin text.
- 1664 *Les Leçons et les Psaumes* chantez aux Ténèbres du Roy, mis en vers français par M. Perrin, conseiller du Roy en ses conseils, introducteur des ambassadeurs près feu Mgr. le duc d'Orléans. Presentez à Sa Majesté. Paris, Estienne Loyson, 1664, in-12° (34 pp.).
- 1665 *Cantica pro Capella Regis*, latine composita et Gallicis versibus redita. Authore P. Perrin. Regi et secreteribus consiliis, et conductore Legatorum apud defunctum Ducem Aurelianensem. Parisiis. En officina Roberti Ballard et cum privilegio Regis, 1665, grand in-8° (111 pp.).
- ? *Cantica a sacelli regii* musicis in sacrificio missæ decantata. Motets chantez pendant la messe du Roy, par la musique de sa chapelle.... composez en latin et rendus en français par P. Perrin,.... (s. l. n. d.), in-folio (4 pp.).
- 1667 *Paroles de Musique* pour le concert de chambre de la Musique de la Reyne; pour des Airs, Dialogues, Récits, Pièces de Concert et Chansonnettes composées par M. Perrin, introducteur des ambassadeurs près feu Monsieur. Et mises en Musique par M. Boesset, Sur-Intendant et Maître de Musique du Roy et de la Reyne. Paris, 1667, in-4° (12 pp.).

- 1671 *Pomone*. Argument [lost] de la pastorale, avec avant-propos. The Avant-propos is preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale among a collection of pieces devoted to the theatre and music. Cat. Y5498A (Nuittier & Thoinan, p. 153).
- 1671 *Pomone. Opéra ou représentation en musique. Pastorale*. Composée par M. Perrin, conseiller du Roy en ses conseils,.... Mise en musique par Mons. Cambert, intendant de la musique de la feüe Reyne. Et représentée par l'Académie royale des opéra. A Paris, Robert Ballard, 1671, in-4° (56 pp.).

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The *Lytic Art* of Pierre Perrin,

Part 3:

*Recueil de Paroles de Musique* de M<sup>r</sup> Perrin

—  
Louis E. Auld

The *Lytic Art* of Pierre Perrin,  
Founder of French Opera

—

Part 3

*Recueil de Paroles de Musique* de M<sup>r</sup> Perrin

by

Louis E. Auld



Institute of Mediæval Music, Ltd.  
Institut de Musique Médiévale  
Institut für Mittelalterliche Musikforschung

—

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To Robert B. Auld and Louise B. Thériault Auld,

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THE COLLECTED WORDS FOR MUSIC OF M<sup>r</sup> PERRIN

*Advisor to the King in his Councils,*

*Attaché for the Presentation of Ambassadors to Monsieur*

*the late Duke of Orléans,*

and containing

Numerous Airs, Chansons, Récits, and Dialogues,

Ensemble Pieces, Drinking Songs, Serenades,

Lyrics for Mascarades and Ballets

Plays in Music

French Lyrics for Worship, Canticles, and Latin Songs

Dedicated to Monseigneur Colbert.

## The Manuscript

## Dating and Preparation of the Manuscript

Nothing in the manuscript of the «*Recueil de Paroles de musique*» indicates its specific date. The hope expressed in the *Avant-propos* (paragraph q) that the King might see fit to «decree the establishment of an Academy of Poetry and Music» sets the *terminus ad quem* sometime before 28th June 1669, when that hope became a reality through the «Privilège accordé au Sieur Perrin pour l'établissement d'une académie d'opéra en Musique et verbe François.... Lettres patentes du Roy...» An allusion to «the late» Queen-mother, Anne of Austria, whose death in January 1666 obliged the court to enter into a prolonged period of official mourning, makes that year a *terminus a quo*. The author refers to the recent publication of the book of *Cantiques pour la Chappelle royale* (1665) but fails to mention another short collection, the *Paroles de musique pour le concert de chambre de la Reyne*, set by Boësset, (Paris, 1667, 12 pp.). Words to neither set appear here. Henri Prunières opted for 1667, but indicated no reasons for his opinion, which may have been based on a listing in the catalogue of Louis de la Vallière, *Ballets, Opéra et autres Ouvrages lyriques....*, Paris, 1760, which credits to Perrin a manuscript entitled «Paroles de musique» in 1667 (p. 5). Cross checking, however, reveals that this is the short collection of works set by Boësset, just mentioned (La Vallière, p. 81).

Recent research by Lionel Sawkins suggests «a date no later than mid-1666». His examination of the livret *Motets et Elévations de M. Dumont* for the last quarter of 1666 includes, among eleven texts designated as by Perrin, six from the *Recueil de Paroles de Musique*, ~~but~~ only three of which are shown here to have been set by Dumont. Since they were included among the motets listed for the royal chapel in the last quarter of that year. Dumont's compositions to these texts could not have been written any later than September. Given the apparent care with which Perrin records settings of his lyrics and the unlikelihood that his texts would have been set without his knowledge, we recognize the strength of Professor Sawkins's conclusion—in which he follows Isherwood—that the manuscript for Colbert «must have been finished no later than July of 1666». Overall, his research has unearthed a total of twenty-seven Perrin texts set by the chapel composer Dumont, as opposed to the five claimed by the poet in this manuscript.

The dedicatory epistle expresses the hope that Colbert will see fit to order the performance of some of the longer works in the collection, those which his Majesty has not yet heard, and which in Perrin's opinion are the most beautiful of all, so that his Majesty may enjoy them, adding: «it is for this reason and in order to leave you the liberty to do so before this work has been printed and the words have been made public, that I offer them to you in manuscript.» The probable reason for the survival of this manuscript, then, was that it lay in the library of the first minister. It may have served its purpose in supporting Perrin's request for an operatic privilege.

The manuscript has never before been set into print. Several of the longer texts are available in other sources. Copies of *La Mort d'Adonis* and *Ariane* exist in Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript *fonds français* 12543. The *Pastorale* text has been compared with the version in the *Œuvres de Poësie* of 1661. Professor Carol Clemeau Esler graciously consented to correct the Latin texts and furnish the English version which accompanies the Latin devotional lyrics.

Preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (*fonds français* 2208), the manuscript is quarto bound in red leather. The sheets are numbered consecutively and consistently, even over blank pages, on the upper right corner of the right-hand page; the entire manuscript covers one hundred twenty-three double pages. Original pagination is indicated in the margins. I have reproduced the text with a minimum of changes and additions. In the second half of the manuscript, punctuation virtually disappears. I have added only those marks necessary for comprehension. Accents have been added to the preposition *à* and the subordinating conjunction *où*, rarely elsewhere. It is often difficult to distinguish the scribe's majuscules, which have the same form as the minuscules but are larger; capitals are used here consistently at the beginnings of lines and for proper names. Perrin's orthography presents no real problems to anyone familiar with seventeenth-century habits. I follow modern practice in distinguishing *u* and *v*, *i* and *j*. Other peculiarities have been retained: *q'un*; omission of apostrophe (*l'Amour, jay*); placement of the trema on the vowel preceding *e*, usually *u* (*veüe*). The ending *-ez* (*bois aimez*) = *-és*, and is the generally accepted spelling of the period for the plural past participle ending of *-er* verbs.

## RECUEIL

[1,1]

de PAROLES DE MUSIQUE

De M<sup>r</sup> Perrin*Con<sup>er</sup> du Roy en les Conseils, Introduceur des**Ambassadeurs près feu Monsig<sup>r</sup> le**Duc d'Orleans*

&amp;

Contenant

Plusieurs Airs, Chansons, Récits, Dialogues

Pieces de concert, Paroles à boire, Serenades,

Paroles de musique pour des Mascarades

Et des Ballets, Comédies en musiques,

Paroles françoises pour la devotion,

Cantiques et Chansons

Latines

Dedié A Monseigneur COLBERT

A [1,r] MONSEIGNEUR COLBERT

\*\*\*\*\*

*MONSEIGNEUR.*

Je vous presente en ce recueil un Parterre semé de toutes les fleurs du Parnasse Lyrique, depuis l'humble violette jusqu'à la Pesche savoureuse, depuis l'aigre Epine Vinette jusqu'à la figue douce: un Jardin composé de toutes les plantes, depuis le petit Hysope jusqu'au plus grand [2,1] Cedre. Peut-estre que dans une si grande varieté, vous trouverez de quoy satisfaire vostre esprit, et qu'en lisant ces pieces, il s'en trouvera dans le nombre qui auront l'avantage de le divertir. Elles contenteront peut-estre aussy vos oreilles, quand il luy plaira de les entendre, et si la curiosité, Monseigneur, vous prend en les lisant de sçavoir le succès de quelq'une d'elles dans la musique, comme elles ont esté toutes mises en musique par d'excellents Maistres, à mesure que je les ay composées, je puis vous les faire entendre sur le champ et sans preparation; mesme dans la pratique que j'ay depuis longues années de toutes les gens de Musique, ou Maistres, ou Chantres, j'ose vous repondre de leur bonne execution. Dans le nombre de ces derniers il y en a beaucoup qui ont diverty S. M. et ont esté chantées devant elle par sa musique ou de Chambre ou de Chappelle. Mais il y en a aussy quantité qui ne l'ont pas esté, et n'ont point eu d'execution, et quoy sont pourtant les plus belles à mon jugement et pourroient luy donner un divertissement tres nouveau et tres agreable. Entre lesquelles sont de grands Recits, des Pieces de Concert, des Mascarades et des Comedies en musique, dont la musique est toute composée et preste à executer. Comme je scay, Monseigneur, qu'en travaillant principalement pour la gloire et pour la grandeur de nostre Monarque, vous ne negligez pas ce qui peut contribuer à ces plaisirs, j'ay creu qu'en lisant ce Recueil vous pourriez peut-estre prendre le dessein de luy donner le divertissement d'entendre executer en musique [2,r] quelques unes de ces nouveautez, et c'est dans cette veüe et pour vous laisser la liberté de le fe', qu'avant que de faire imprimer cet ouvrage et d'entendre les paroles publiques, je vous les presente en manuscrit. En verité, Monseigneur, j'ose vous dire qu'il y va de la gloire du Roy et de la France de ne pas souffrir q'une Nation, par tout ailleurs victorieuse, soit vaincüe par les estrangers en la connaissance de ces deux Beaux Arts, La Poesie et la Musique; en laquelle il faut confesser qu'il y a quelques années que les Italiens nous surpassoient de bien loin. Pour moy, Monseigneur, je me sens touché d'une forte envie, non seulement de les imiter et de fe' voir que nostre langue et nostre Poesie sont capables des mesmes beautez que la leur et qu'elles ont les mesmes avantages pour la musique; mais de monstres mesme à toute l'Europe que nous pouvons encherir sur leurs connoissances et sur leurs inventions. C'est avec un plaisir extreme, quoy que fondé seulement sur la gloire de la nation, et sincerement sans nul rapport à moy mesme, qu'aprez les avoir imité dans leurs grands Recits et dans leurs Pieces de concert, je voy qu'à leur tour ils m'ont imité dans mes Cantiques, et qu'ils en ont fait à Rome depuis

peu sur le modele de ceux que j'ay donnez nouvellement à la [3,] Chapelle du Roy, et mesme que je puis dire que j'ay evité avec succez les defauts de leurs Comedies en musique qui les rendoient insupportables au goust françois, et que j'ay fait entendre à la France et à S. M. des modeles plus agreables de ces sortes de compositions. Je croy Monseigneur que vous qui avez tant à cœur l'establissement et le progres des Arts en ce Royaume, et qui y travaillez tous les jours avec tant de soins et de succes, vous n'aurez pas moins d'emulation pour l'avancement de ceux cy, qui composent toute la joye du monde, le plus grand des plaisirs de S. M. et l'ornement de sa Cour; et j'espere que vous ne me refuserez pas la grace de m'appuyer aupres de S. M. en de si glorieuses entreprises, et l'honneur que je vous demande de vostre protection: d'autant plus que j'ay toujours eu une veneration singuliere pour vostre merite, et un desir ardent de vous la temoigner par quelque present agreable et digne de vous. Je souhaite de tout mon cœur que celui-cy soit assez heureux pour vous plaire, et pour vous persuader avec combien de respect et de zele je suis

Monseigneur,

Vostre treshumble et tres  
obeysant serviteur

P. Perrin

a) Le seul titre de ce livre et le denombrement des piéces qu'il contient convaincront facilement le Lecteur de cette verité, que de tous les recueils de Poesie Lyrique anciens et modernes, aucun n'a fait voir au public ny tant de varieté ny tant de nouveautez. Les Hébreux n'ont pas passé le Cantique et le Pseaume, les Grecs et les Latins, l'Ode ou la Chanson, le Dialogue, et quelques musiques de Comedies recitées; Les Allemands, Flamans, Anglois, Espagnols, et François, les Airs, les Chansons, et les Dialogues; les Italiens ont renvié sur eux les grands Recits, les Piéces de concert et les Comedies en musique: Et cet ouvrage fait voir, non seulement un meslange de toutes ces piéces et introduit en France les grands Recits à l'Italienne, composez de plusieurs chants liez, les Piéces de concert, composées de musiques liées, et les Comedies en musique, mais encor des Cantiques et des chansons Latines pour l'Eglise, sur le pied des paroles françoises, en proses rimées, que jay nouvellement inventée. Tout s'y trouve, la musique sainte et profane, la grave et l'enjouée, la Latine et la Françoise, celle de Chambre, celle d'Eglise, et celle de Theatre, celle de jour et celle de nuit: et ce qu'il y a de plus singulier, c'est que toutes ces piéces sont éprouvées, et ont esté mises en musique, depuis huit ou dix ans que j'ai commencé à m'appliquer à ces sortes de compositions, par tous les Intendants et Maistres des Musiques Royales dont les noms sont écrits à la marge de chaque piéce, M<sup>ses</sup> Boesset et Baptiste Lulli, Surintendant de la musique de la Chambre du Roy, M<sup>r</sup> Lambert M<sup>e</sup> de la mesme musique, [4,] Sablieres, M<sup>e</sup> de la musique de Monsieur, Cambert, M<sup>e</sup> de celle de la feüe Reyne, Moulinié, M<sup>e</sup> de celle de feu Monsieur, Gobert, Robert, Dumont et Expilly, M<sup>es</sup> de la musique de Chapelle du Roy, et plusieurs autres illustres et excellents hommes; et que la pluspart ont esté entendües et chantées devant la Cour par les musiques Royales qu'ils commandent; et pour les Airs et les Chansons il est peu de gens qui ne se soient divertis à les chanter, de sorte que l'on peut dire de ces compositions, qu'elles ont epandu la musique et la joye par tout le Royaume. Il est vray que ces diverses piéces ont eu divers succez, ce que j'attribüe partie à l'inégalité de leur valeur, et à la justice que leur ont rendüe les ecoutants, partie aux caprices de ceux-cy, à leurs passions, à leur diverse capacité, et à leurs interests, et enfin à la bonne ou mauvaise fortune. Pour moy, suivant ma froideur ord<sup>re</sup>, j'ay tout entendu, sans m'elever pour les loüanges, ny sans me rebuter pour les mepris; dans la seule veüe de fe<sup>r</sup> mon profit des raisons alleguées ou pour l'approbation ou pour la censure, de me corriger de mes deffauts et d'entrer dans l'esprit et le goust du siecle. Je dy le bon goust, car si nous eussions voulu nous en tenir au sens vulgaire, nous n'aurions pas passé l'air et la chansonnette: mais comme en ces piéces j'ay bien eu la complaisance de vouloir contenter les Dames et les Cavaliers, qui scavent la musique Cavalierement, ils me pardonneront si j'ay osé travailler aussy pour les scavants et pour avancer la perfection de l'art, et introduit des piéces de musique plus grandes et plus serieuses; il me semble que ces premiers sont assez bien partagez pour ne rien envier aux derniers; et de ma part, je

je leur declare que je leur abandonne volontiers [4,r] Nanette pourveu qu'ils me laissent Adonis. Mais en verité [line missing in manuscript] chanter l'un à pleine teste et fronder l'autre au petit coucher, je ne scay ce qu'en diront ceux qui les verront maintenant au jour, et quel jugement ils feront de leur esprit et de leur Critique. Je leur demande encore en faveur de cette belle la permission d'entretenir ces derniers dans cet avant-propos le plus succinctement que je pourray de quelques observations que j'ay faites sur la composition des paroles de musique et des regles sur lesquelles j'ay travaillé, lesquelles sont entierement nec<sup>res</sup> à scavoir pour l'intelligence de cet ouvrage.

b) Et pour Commencer par la composition des paroles en general; j'ay creu que la fin du Poete Lyrique estoit de donner lieu à une musique parfaite et accomplie, qui, pour enlever l'homme tout entier, touchast en mesme temps l'oreille, l'esprit et le cœur: l'oreille par un beau son, resultant tant des paroles que de la musique, l'esprit par un beau discours et par une belle composition de musique bien entreprise et bien raisonnée, et le cœur en excitant en luy une emotion de tendresse.

c) Sur ce pied j'ay taché de fe<sup>r</sup> mon discours de musique beau, propre au chant et pathetique: et dans cette veüe j'en ay toujours choisy la matiere dans les passions tendres, qui touchent le cœur par sympathie d'une passion pareille, d'amour ou de hayne, de crainte ou de desir, de colere, de pitié, de merveille, &c. et j'en ay banny tous les raisonnements serieux et quy se font dans la froideur, et mesme les passions graves, causées par des sujets serieux, qui touchent le cœur sans l'attendrir. Ma raison est que toutes ces sortes de discours, qui partent d'un cœur froid et reposé, se doyvent prononcer dans la bienséance d'une voix assortie, c'est-à-dire egale et modérée, qui ne se haste, ny se [5,l] rallentit, ne s'elevé ny ne sabaisse que moderement et par des intervalles et des mouvements peu notables: ce qui ne peut s'accorder avec le chant, lequel flechit et change incessément la voix en des tons fort éloignez et des mouvements fort divers, au lieu que les impulsions et les emotions du cœur tendres ou enjouées s'expriment agreablement et naturellement par des voix emportées et inegales. Ainsy, pour les matieres Lyriques, je me suis borné au merveilleux, à l'amoureux et à l'enjoué.

d) Jay mesme observé que les personnages de musique que j'ay fait chanter fussent eux-mesmes admirateurs, amoureux ou enjoués, comme sont les Poetes, les musiciens, les amants, les Bergers, les Rustres, les Yvrognes, les Femmes, les Enfants, &c. et j'ay choisy dans la fable et dans l'histoire ceux qu'elles nous disent avoir dansé ou chanté volontiers, Apollon, Pan, Pallas, Orphée, les Amours, les Nymphes, les Bacchantes, &c. David, Salomon, les Trois enfants dans la fournaise &c. et j'ay fuy les personnages graves, en qui les emportements du chant sont impertinents co<sup>e</sup> les vieillards, les Magistrats; &c. J'en ay banny mesme les personnages allegoriques graves, comme les Vertus, l'Europe, la France, la Justice, la Raison, &c. non pas les amoureux ou les enjoués, comme la Poesie, la Musique, le Jeu, l'Enfance, l'Yvrognerie, l'Amour, la Folie, &c.

e) Pour la pensée je l'ay fait rouler sur les objects et sur les actions qui tombent naturellement et de proche en proche dans les sujets que j'ay voulu traitter. Dans les matieres qui doyvent exciter la joye ou l'admiration serieuse j'ay choisy les objects de la nature les plus beaux, les plus plaisants et les plus admirables, le Ciel, les Astres, la verdure, les fleurs, les ruisseaux, les oyseaux, les Zephirs, &c., et les actions de plaisir et de merveille, chanter, danser, dormir, faire l'amour, s'entretenir de choses agreables, combattre, voler, courir legerement, &c. Dans les matieres facetieuses j'ay employé de mesme les objects et les actions ridicules, les Pitauts, les filles de [5,r] village, les vieilles, les hommes difforme, & tout ce qui porte le caractère de la nature contrefaite; et pour les actions, jouër, tomber, rire, fouetter &c. Enfin dans les matieres qui doyvent exciter la tristesse ou la pitié, j'ay pris mon sujet sur les objects qui excitent cette nature des passions, les desert, les rochers, les cavernes, les prisons et toutes les choses qui portent dans les cœurs des images d'horreur ou de compassion. J'ay recherché aussy de fe<sup>r</sup> la pensée fine et delicate, mais j'ay evité celle qui est trop ingenieuse et trop profonde, parce qu'elle amuse trop l'esprit de l'ecoutant, et empeche l'application de l'oreille à la musique, qui doit estre la fin principale du Poete Lyrique.

f) Quand à l'expression comme la matiere du vers est toute pathetique, je lay faite aussy autant que j'ay peu toute passionnée, et toute composée des figures les plus fortes et les plus pathétiques, d'exclamations de joye, de douleur, et de merveille ridicules et serieuses; d'interrogations, de plaintes, de sentences pathetiques, d'oppositions, de repetitions de paroles, de conversions de Phrase, de prieres, d'invitations et d'invocations, d'Apostrophes aux choses insensibles, et de cheutes fines et surprenantes. J'ay tenu la phrase entierement dans sa construction naturelle, afin que l'esprit ne fut aucunement peyné à la comprendre, et pour cet effect j'ay fait repondre son ordre à l'ordre de la conception humaine et du discours ord<sup>re</sup> en sorte que les choses regissantes precedent toujours les choses regies, comme en la bonne prose vulgaire, et j'ay evité curieusement toutes les transpositions éloignées ou hors d'usage. Je lay rendüe autant que j'ay peu douce et biensonnante à l'oreille [6,l] en evitant avec soin jusqu'aux moindres rudesses, et bien plus exactement que les plus sensés ne font dans la poesie destinée pour la recitation. Je l'ay faite courte et coupée de sens, de cesures et de rimes, pour donner plus de repos et d'aysance à la voix, et afin de rendre la phrase capable des repetitions de paroles que demande la musique pour quadrer à ses repetitions et à ses imitations de chant. Jay evité les frequentes elisions, part<sup>ment</sup> dans les cesures, parce qu'elles derobent cette aysance et ce repos à la voix, et l'obligent à continuer le chant tout d'une haleine, et travaillent ainsy la poitrine et la voix. Je lay faite juste et exacte, fournie de tous les mots nec<sup>res</sup> et purgée de tous les superflus. Enfin j'ay taché de la rendre elevée et poetique, mais moderement et sans hyperboles trop enflées, sans allusions aux fables peu connües, et sans metaphores trop éloignées, ou hors d'usage.

g) Pour les styles, comme l'ame touchée de sentiments de douleur ou de joye s'emporte, languit ou ressent une emotion moderée; dans l'expression qu'elle en fait par les discours, j'ay fait et observé la difference de six sortes de styles; le joyeux emporté, le joyeux languissant et le joyeux moderé; et de mesme le douloureux emporté, le languissant et le moderé; et afin que le musicien pût bien varier la musique, tant pour les chants que pour les modes et les mouvements, j'ay taché de bien varier aussi mes styles, particulierement dans les longues pieces, et de passer souvent de l'un à l'autre, mais non pas brusquement du languissant à l'emporté, et de l'emporté au languissant, sans mesler entre [eux] deux le style moderé. Ainsy les expressions sont plus naturelles et plus agreables, et n'obligent pas le musicien de fe' des oppositions si brusques de chants et de mouvements [6,r] lesquelles estants trop proches sont aussy vitieuses dans la musique.

h) Pour la quantité des syllabes. Comme on doit observer necessairement dans les vers de musique les syllabes brieves et longues, parce qu'elles repondent à des notes de mesme longues et brieves, je l'ay exactement et regulierement observée dans toutes mes compositions Lyriques et bien qu'à raison des *e.* mols de nostre langue, cette quantité y soit peu marquée, et que les syllabes en soient presque toutes douteuses, et puissent quadrer ainsy à toutes sortes de notes; neantmoins j'ay observé les syllabes qui sont necessairement longues ou brieves, et quand j'ay travaillé pour une mesure libre, j'ay taché de fe' une belle varieté de syllabes longues et brieves, ou de syllabes douteuses: en sorte qu'il n'y en eut pas plus de trois ou quatre longues ou brieves de suite; et lors que j'ay composé pour un chant donné, j'ay fait quadrer les syllabes brieves ou douteuses aux notes brieves, les syllabes longues ou douteuses aux notes longues. Or, de cette quantité l'oreille est la balance, et la connoit ayement par l'usage.

i) Quant aux mots Lyriques. Je les ay choisis courts, en sorte qu'ils ne passent pas quatre syllabes, et bien meslez de syllabes longues et brieves, ou composez de syllabes douteuses. J'ay observé qu'ils fussent dans l'usage du monde galant, qu'ils fussent doux et biensonnants à l'oreille, doux et legers dans l'expression des choses [douces] et legeres, et doux et pesants dans celle des choses pesantes et tardives: et qu'ils expriment dans leurs sons ou dans leur prononciation, quelque image des objects, des actions, des passions, ou des sons qu'ils figurent. [7,l]

j) Pour les Rimes. J'ay toujours observé dans mes rimes feminines que la syllabe penultieme sur laquelle on fait ord<sup>m</sup> la cadence, qui demande une tenüe de voix et une note longue, soit aussy longue ou douteuse; mais le plus souvent longue et bien marquée: à quoy la plupart de ceux qui composent pour la musique ne font d'ord<sup>re</sup> point de reflexion.

k) Pour l'etendüe du vers Lyrique. Je lay tenüe depuis une jusqu'à treize syllabes à l'ord<sup>re</sup>, evitant toutesfois le vers masculin de neuf ou d'onze syllabes et le feminin de dix ou de douze, et couppant en ce cas plustost le vers en deux.

l) Quant au meslange des vers masculins ou feminins, il est veritablement agreable pour varier les cadences en masculines et en feminines, mais non pas tout à fait nec<sup>re</sup> comme dans la Poesie recitée; parce que la varieté du chant donne assez de varieté aux vers, et que les masculins dans les chansons sont plus frequents que les feminins, à cause qu'ils marquent mieux les battements de danse qui les composent. J'ay observé seulement qu'il n'y eut pas dans les compositions libres plus de trois vers de suite de mesme rime, si ce n'est dans les choses facetieuses et enjouées ou l'on affecte le ridicule et l'irregulier.

m) Pour les stances. Je n'ay pas passé le huitain et j'ay trouvé que les meilleurs sont les Distiques, les Quatrains, Cinquains et Sixains de petits vers, ou de vers irreguliers: parce que, comme nous avons dit, plus la phrase est courte et couppée, plus elle est propre pour la musique. Je lay composée de vers reguliers ou irreguliers à phantaisie, quand j'ay travaillé pour une mesure libre; mais le plus souvent d'irreguliers, parce qu'ils donnent lieu à plus de varieté dans les chants.

n) Voyla les regles à peu pres que j'ay observées dans la composition des paroles de musique en general. Pour ce qui regarde les pieces, elles repondent aux pieces de musiques pour lesquelles elles sont composées [7,r] qui sont ou des recits pour une voix seule, ou des pieces de concert pour plusieurs voix. Les Recits pour une voix seule comprennent l'Air, la Chanson et le grand Recit, et les Pieces de concert comprennent les Dialogues, Duos, Trios, Quatuor, et Pieces de chœurs, tant pour la chambre et pour la nuit, que pour l'Eglise et pour le Theatre. Or de chacune de ces pieces nous avons donné des exemples dans ce recüeil, sur lesquelles il est à propos de donner un mot d'eclaircissement.

o) L'Air marche à mesure et à mouvement libres et graves, et ainsy il est plus propre pour exprimer l'amour honneste, et les emotions tendres qu'il cause dans les cœurs, de douleur ou de Joye, par les divers rencontres et evenements de presence, d'eloignement, de retour, de poursuite, de desir, d'esperance, de crainte, de colere, de mepris, de jouissance &c. Il n'excede pas la valeur de six grands vers, ny ne se borne pas aussy à moins du grand Distique; Les meilleurs à mon avis sont les quatrains, cinquains ou sixains de vers irreguliers. Il peut estre composé de trois parties, mais il reussit mieux à deux, qui quadrant à deux reprises de chant. Il peut estre meslé de Rondeaux, au commencement, au milieu, à la fin, ou en quelque endroit que ce soit; et ces jeux mesmes ont beaucoup de grace dans la musique, parce qu'ils donnent lieu aux reprises et aux repetitions, imitations et relations de chant, sur lesquelles roule toute sa beauté. Or de ces Rondeaux et de ces reprises les cheutes et les liaisons doyvent estre fines et bien tournées et les significations le plus que l'on peut equivoques et differentes. L'Air aussy doit avoir comme eux generalement une Cheute ingenieuse, et doit estre proprement un Madrigal de musique: toutefois il suffit bien souvent du beau tour et de l'expression pathetique, mais quand l'un et l'autre [8,l] s'y rencontrent, l'ouvrage est de tout point achevé.

p) A raison de la brieveté et que les matieres serieuses ennuyent ayement, on ne luy donne qu'un second couplet ou une seconde stance, dont les regles sont, qu'elle doit estre exactement pareille à la premiere, non seulement quant à la liaison du sens au nombre et à la longueur des vers, à la quantité des syllabes et aux cesures et pauses ou appuis de voix; mais elle doit mesme conserver les figures principales du premier couplet, part<sup>ent</sup> quand elles sont fort marquees, comme sont celles de l'exclamation, de l'interrogation et de la plainte. Or dans ces seconds couplets on doit conserver autant qu'on peut, les reprises finales des premiers, mais on peut aussy les changer et en substituer d'autres en leur place, au cas du deffaut des rimes; comme vous verrez en quelques-uns de nos airs. Pour les Airs en Rondeaux, ils peuvent se passer de second couplet, parce que les paroles du Rondeau se retrouvants à la fin ainsy qu'au commencement du premier couplet, on en redit volontiers la suite, et l'on repete l'air entier qui tient lieu de second couplet: toutesfois on en peut f<sup>r</sup> aussy qui se lient aux paroles du Rondeau, comme vous verrez en quelques-uns des nostres; ou mesme de seconds couplets à phantaisie en conservant seulement la figure du Rondeau pour quadrer à ses reprises de chant.

q) La Chanson differe de l'air, en ce que l'Air suit comme nous avons dit une mesure libre, et la chanson un mouvement réglé, ou de danse ou autre; et cela ou en son tout ou en quelques-unes de ses parties. Les plus communes se font pour des chants ou sur des chants de danses, graves ou legeres. Les graves sont les Sarabandes, les Gavottes graves, et les Courantes, et demandent des paroles tendres et serieuses, pareilles à celles des Airs; et les Chansonnettes de danses legeres, comme Gavottes legeres, Menuets, Gygues, Passepieds, Bourrées, Canaris, Gaillardes, airs legers de ballet &c., quadrent mieux à des paroles enjouées ou champestres. [8,r] Vous en trouverez icy de composées sur des chants ou pour des chants pareils de toute sorte, mesme d'aucunes composées pour quadrer à des mouvements de danses diverses, et quy sont moitié Gavottes, et moitié Gygues, ou moitié Gygues et moitié Bourrées &c. Or, la maniere de composer des chansons pareilles qui quadrent à toutes les danses, qui est toute de mon invention et d'un succes merveilieux, je me reserve à l'enseigner au public, quand je luy donneray mon Art Lyrique, qui monstre la maniere de composer des paroles de musique et celle de les bien mettre en musique et de les bien chanter, dont cet avant propos est comme un raccourcy que je luy donne par avance. Là j'expliqueray les choses plus au long et je traiteray l'Art à la maniere des Arts, par regles et par exemples, et j'enseigneray plusieurs choses curieuses et par moy inventées, entre autres la maniere de composer des paroles sur un chant noté sur la note mesme. Il seroit à desirer que pour examiner et pour fixer les regles de cet Art si utiles pour l'avancement et pour la conciliation de la Poesie et de la Musique, Sa Majesté voulût establir une Académie de Poesie et de Musique, composée de Poetes et de Musiciens, ou s'il se pouvoit, de Poetes musiciens, qui s'appliquassent à ce travail, ce qui ne seroit pas d'un petit avantage au public ny peu glorieux à la nation.

r) Vous trouverez en suite dans cet ouvrage un recueil de grands recits composez pour plusieurs chants liez, premierement pratiquez par les Italiens, et que j'ay aussy le premier introduit en France; le premier qui y ayt esté chanté estant celuy que vous verrez icy de Polipheme Jaloux, que j'ay tiré d'un recit Italien sur un pareil sujet, et mis en musique par le S<sup>r</sup> Moulinié, et le second la mort de Tysbé mis en musique par M<sup>r</sup> de Sablieres, et tirée aussy de l'Italien. Le succes de ces recits, quoy que disent les ignorants, est merveilieux, pourveu qu'ils ne soyent pas trop longs et ne passent pas quatre au cinq [9,l] petites stances, part<sup>ent</sup> les serieux, car les folastres ennuyent moins; qu'ils soient bien variez de styles dans les paroles et dans les chants, et d'ailleurs bien chantez et par d'excellentes voix; à ces conditions il faut convenir qu'ils sont admirablement beaux et touchants.

s) Les pieces de concert à plusieurs voix ou parties doyvent estre composées en sorte que toutes les personnes qui les chantent les puissent chanter avec sens et ressentir la passion qu'elles expriment soit qu'ils chantent ensemble ou separement, qu'ils se divisent ou qu'ils se reunissent. En quoy les Musiciens se trompent, lors qu'ils mettent en parties les airs et les chansons, dont les paroles expriment la passion d'une personne singuliere, lesquelles ne sont propres que pour des chants de recit à une voix seule. Il y a dans ce recueil des paroles pour des Dialogues, Duos, Trios, Chœurs ou grands airs en parties, des Chansons en parties et des Pieces de concert meslées de chœurs et de recits. La regle generale que l'on doit observer dans la composition de ces pieces est de ne faire chanter les chœurs que dans les reprises, et fe<sup>r</sup> que les paroles soient auparavant recitées par des voix singulieres, une, deux ou trois tout au plus, pour n'en pas confondre la prononciation, qu'auparavant elles n'ayent esté distinctement entendües.

t) On voit en suite les paroles à boire, contenant plusieurs Airs, Chansons, Recits, Dialogues et pieces de concert, composez sur le pied de ces mesmes regles, sans autre observation particuliere, sinon que la matiere en estant toute enjouée, j'ay travaillé principalement ces paroles dans l'esprit de la chansonnette, et pour quadrer à des mouvements gays de danse ou autres.

u) Les Serendades suivent les paroles à boire et sont aussy des Airs, Chansons, Recits &c. composez pour des musiques nocturnes, dont l'unique regle singuliere est qu'elles ne s'esloignent point de [9,r] leur matiere, qui est le sommeil, le reveil, la nuit et les choses et les actions nocturnes, et qui accompagnent la lumiere tombante, defaillie, ou naissante.

v) Vous avez en suite des paroles de musique pour des Mascarades et des ballets; premierement, deux mascarades, l'une toute en musique, et l'autre composée de musiques et de danses: ensuite un Projet de grand Ballet aussy meslé de danses et de Musiques; et enfin des Recits, que j'ay composez pour des ballets du Roy, lesquels ont assez couru la cour et le monde.

w) Ce qui semblera le plus curieux sont, à mon jugement, trois Comédies en musique qui suivent, l'une sur le genre Pastoral, l'autre sur le Comique, et l'autre sur le Tragique: que j'ay composées expres pour justifier à la France, que de telles pieces peuvent reussir sur le Theatre François, dans tous les genres du dramatique, et plus avantageusement encor qu'elles ne font en Italie, où elles sont l'admiration et le passetemps le plus agreable de toutes les nations: pourveu qu'elles soyent discrettement conduites et faites sur les regles de l'art lesquelles nous traiterons à fond dans nostre Art Lyrique et dont les principales sont, de ne les fe' que de deux ou trois heures de representation, qui est le temps plus long de la plus excellente musique, et le terme de la patience Françoisse dans les spectacles publics; et de les composer toutes d'un bout à l'autre, comme sont celles cy, de pieces Lyriques et propres au chant, bien tissües et bien variées, Airs, chansons, recits, Dialogues et pieces de Concert.

x. 1) La premiere de ces Comédies est une Pastorale legere, [10,1] ou si vous voulez une Eglogue, qui fut mise en musique par M' Cambert M<sup>e</sup> de la Musique de la feüe Reyne et representée huit ou dix fois au village d'Issy pres Paris en 1659, par une troupe d'Illustres de l'un et de l'autre sexe qui s'en rejouyrent et le public: et qu'en suite leurs Ma<sup>tes</sup> et feüe S. E. desirerent voir et virent à Vincennes. Je ne parle point icy de son succez, et je m'en rapporte au jugement de plus de six mille personnes de qualité qui l'ont entendüe.

x. 2) La Seconde Comédie est celle d'Ariane, mise en musique par le mesme M' Cambert, mais non pas representée, laquelle j'avois composée lors de la Paix pour feüe S. E., et qui par sa mort est restée sans execution.

x. 3) La troisieme est la Tragedie de la mort d'Adonis, mise en musique par M' Boesset, dont S. M. a entendu quelques pieces detachées à son petit coucher, chantées par cette mesme musique avec beaucoup de temoignages de satisfaction de sa part, et dont elle a eu souvent la bonté de prendre la deffense contre toute la Cabale du petit coucher, qui tachoit de l'abismer par des motifs particuliers d'interet et de passion. Le public jugera maintenant de la composition des vers et bientost de celle de la musique, mon dessein estant de luy donner imprimée celle qu'a composée Cet Intendant sur les premiers Actes de cette piece; pour luy f' voir ce que peut la force de la Cabale de Cour pour abismer les choses excellentes, et comme on trompe en ce pays [les] oreilles les plus fines aussi bien que les yeux les plus eclairez; cette musique estant asseurement la plus scavante, la plus variée et la plus touchante qu'on ayt entendue, je ne dy pas en France, mais dans toute l'Europe depuis plusieurs siecles. C'est ce que je soutiens publiquement et je veux bien que le dementy m'en demeure si l'effect ne repond à mes paroles, au jugement du public et de la posterité desinteressée. [10,r]

y) Voyla ce qui regarde la musique profane; vous trouverez en suite des paroles de musique devote et sainte, tant françoises pour la chambre, que Latines pour l'Eglise: premierement des françoises, Airs, Chansons et Recits de concert, faites aussy sur le pied de nos regles: en suite des Paroles Latines, dans lesquelles, outre ces mesmes regles j'ay observé Premierement d'en faire la latinité elegante, mais claire et facile à entendre; la composant pour cet effect de mots et de phrases francisées, si l'on peut ainsy parler, et qui ont passé en nostre langue, et fuyant les mots et les phrases particulieres à la Latine. En second lieu, je lay composé sur le pied du vers Lyrique françois, non pas de vers et de strophes à la maniere des Grecs et des Latins (parce que j'ay trouvé que cette observation de brieves et de longues ne faisoit qu'embarrasser inutilement le Poete et le Musicien, et empeschoit mesme l'un et l'autre de varier les entreprises, en fournissant une egalité perpetuelle de paroles): mais bien de stances à nostre maniere, composées de vers irreguliers et d'une belle variété de syllabes longues et brieves; observant seulem' d'exprimer les choses lentes par des vers latins feminins à rime feminine et lente et par des syllabes longues, et les choses vifves et legeres par des vers masculins à rime legere et par des syllabes legeres.

z) Il y a dans ces paroles Latines deux sortes de pieces pour la musique, des Cantiques ou paroles pour des motets, et des paroles pour des chansons: dont la difference est, que les stances des Cantiques sont inegales et composées de vers irreguliers, parce que les motets, à quy elles doivent quadrer, sont des pieces de musique composées de chants [11,1] liez et variez; et que les chansons sont composées de stances egales et de couplets repondants l'un à l'autre, parce qu'ils doyyent tous quadrer et se rapporter à un mesme chant. Vous trouverez de grands et de petits Cantiques depuis quatre vers jusqu'à trente; passé cette longueur, le motet seroit ennuyeux. Il y en a qui commencent et finissent par des Rondeaux, d'autres qui sont coupeez de reprises, tous les jeux de musique pouvant reüssir aussy bien au Latin qu'au François, pourveu qu'ils soyent employez discrettement et qu'ils ne forcent pas trop la gravité du sujet. Il y a des recits pour une voix seule, des Airs, des Chansons et des Duos, trios et Dialogues pour plusieurs voix, sur le pied et sur le modele des pieces françoises, à la reserve des chansons sur le mouvement des danses legeres, Gygues, Bourrées, Menuets &c., qui ne peuvent que malayement compatir avec la gravité des matieres Saintes et devotes, lesquelles souffrent bien le tendre, mais difficilement l'enjoué, et part<sup>ent</sup> le facetieux, à quy de tels mouvements conviennent uniquement. Vous trouverez une plus grande quantité de ces pieces Latines dans le livre des Cantiques pour la Chappelle du Roy, que nous avons donné nouvellement à S. M. et au public. Ceux-cy sont composez depuis, et ont esté mis en musique pour la pluspart par Ms<sup>rs</sup> Expilly et Dumont, et chantez dans la chappelle du Roy, devant S. M.

## AIRS

[11,r]

## I

*Pour une Vertue*

J'ay pleuré, belle Iris, j'ay pleuré vos malheurs, Lambert  
 Mon cœur a resseny vos crüelles douleurs;  
 Plaignez à vostre tour,  
 Un malheureux, qui languit dans vos chaines: :||  
 j. J'ay partagé vos peynes,  
 Partagez mon amour.

&amp;

En voyant cet object de peyne et d'amitié,  
 Mon cœur s'est attendry d'amour et de pitié; :||  
 j. Plaignez &c.

## II

Beaux yeux, qui me charmez, Lambert  
 Declarez-vous, dites si vous m'aymez  
 Ou si pour moy vous n'avez rien de tendre. :||  
 j. Si vous m'aymez, je suis prest à me rendre,  
 Et prest encor d'adorer vos appas  
 Si vous ne m'aymez pas.

&amp;

Soyez crüels ou doux,  
 Ne craignez rien, beaux yeux, declarez-vous;  
 De vos attraits je ne puis me deffendre, :||  
 j. Si vous m'aymez &c.

## III

A ce retour de la Saison nouvelle,  
 Tout renouvelle,  
 Les prez, les bois, tout change icy,  
 Mais, o douleur crüelle Lambert  
 Mon iris change aussi; :||  
 j. Et je voy chaque jour  
 Naistre les fleurs, et mourir son amour.

[12,r]

&amp;

Le beau Printemps ramene en cet empire  
 Le doux Zephire,  
 Les Jeux, les Ris et les Amours:  
 Faut-il que je soupire  
 Et languisse toujours! :||  
 j. Faut-il voir chaque &c.

## IV

L'Ingrate Iris peut souffrir mon absence,  
 Sans former un desir,  
 Sans pousser un soupir:  
 Est-ce froideur? est-ce constance? :||  
 Je ne scay pas les secrets de son cœur,  
 f. Mais je scay que le mien va mourir de langueur.

Lambert

&amp;

Peut-estre aussi qu'elle souffre un martire,  
 Et des maux plus pressants  
 Que les maux que je sens;  
 Qu'elle gémit, qu'elle soupire, :||  
 f. Je ne scay pas &c.

## V

Vous laissez murmurer cette claire fontaine,  
 Vous laissez les ruisseaux sur les rives courir. :||  
 f. Helas! belle inhumaine,  
 Laissez un malheureux soupiner et mourir.

Lambert

&amp;

Vous laissez soupiner les Zephirs sur la plaine,  
 Vous laissez les oyseaux de l'amour discourir. :||  
 f. Helas! &c.

[12,r]

## VI

Ah! si vous connoissiez les plaisirs infinis,  
 Que ressentent deux cœurs, que l'amour tient unis,  
 Vous seriez, belle Iris, plus sensible et plus tendre. :||  
 f. Mais helas, q'un amant  
 souffrira de tourment,  
 Avant que vous l'appendre.

Boisset

&amp;

Ah! dans ces doux transports de plaisir et d'amour,  
 Dont deux cœurs amoureux sont flattez tout à tour,  
 On ressent des douceurs que l'on ne peut comprendre, :||  
 f. Mais helas. &c.

## VII

Nous murmurons, Philis, tous deux egalem<sup>ent</sup>:  
 J'accuse vos rigueurs; vous condamnez ma flame. :||  
 f. Mais, helas! qui de nous est plus digne de blâme,  
 Ou moy, d'aymer un object si charmant,  
 Ou vous, de n'aymer pas un si fidele amant?

Perdigal

&amp;

Je ne me lasse point d'aymer fidelement,  
 Et vous ne cessez point de tourmenter mon ame. :||  
 Mais helas. &c.

## VIII

[13,l]

Quand je me plains du mal que vous me faites,  
 Ce rocher en gemit et repond à mes cris. :||  
 f. Helas, helas! ingr<sup>ate</sup> Iris!  
 Il est moins cruel que vous n'estes.

Perdigal

&amp;

Ce confident de mes peynes secretes,  
 Sensible à mon tourment, se plaint de vos mepris.  
 f. Helas! &c.

## IX

Quand je vous dy les tourments de mon ame,  
 Vous rougissez, vos yeux sont tout en flame. :||  
 f. Ah! si c'est de courroux,  
 Pourquoi vous offencer d'une amour si fidele?  
 Si c'est d'amour, pourquoi rougissez-vous  
 D'une flame si belle?

Perdigal

&amp;

D'où naist en vous une ardeur si charmante?  
 Declarez nous le mal qui vous tourmente. :||  
 f. Ah! si c'est le courroux,  
 Pourquoi vous offencer d'un amour si fidele?  
 Si c'est l'amour &c.

## X

C'en est fait, je vous rends les armes,  
 Plaintes, soupirs, douce langueur,  
 Vous forcez ma rigueur  
 De ceder à vos charmes. :||  
 f. Je me plains, je languy, je soupire à mon tour,  
 Et je me sens mourir de tendresse et d'amour.

## &amp;

C'est en vain deguiser ma flame,  
 Mes cris, mes pleurs et mes soupirs  
 Font bien voir les desirs,  
 Qui brulent dans mon ame. :||  
 f. Je me plains &c.

## XI

Belle Philis, accordons nous;  
 Je veux que vous soyez aussi tendre que belle,  
 Et vous voulez estre cruelle. :||  
 f. Soyez tendre pour moy soyez cruelle à tous.

## &amp;

Que vostre cœur severe et doux  
 Partage à mes rivaux les maux et les Supplices,  
 A moy les biens et les delices. :||  
 f. Soyez &c.

## XII

L'image de Philis brille dans les ruisseaux,  
 Et conserve ses feux au milieu de ces eaux. :||  
 f. Mais hélas! de ces lieux elle passe en mon ame,  
 Et garde sa froideur au milieu de ma flame.

## &amp;

Elle a mille beautez dans ce charmant sejour;  
 On ne voit dans ses yeux que douceur et qu'amour. :||  
 f. Mais hélas. &c.

## XIII

Bien que l'Amour contente mes desirs,  
 Et que je sois aymé d'un objet adorable,  
 Mon cœur jaloux pousse mille soupirs. :||  
 f. Ah que mon sort est déplorable!  
 Je suis heureux et miserable,  
 Et je meurs de douleur au milieu des plaisirs.

## &amp;

Tout m'est suspect, les moindres souvenirs,  
 Un penser, un soupir, un regard favorable,  
 Je suis jaloux de l'Ombre et des Zephirs. :||  
 f. Ah! que mon sort &c.

## XIV

Pour bien chanter d'amour, il faut estre amoureux,  
 Ou satisfait ou malheureux. :||  
 Amour donne à nos chants je ne scay quoy de tendre;  
 f. Mais qui ne le sent pas  
 Ne peut le faire entendre.

## &amp;

L'aymable Rossignol le fait voir dans les bois,  
 Perdant l'amour il perd la voix. :||  
 f. Amour donne à ses chants &c.

## XV

Pensers doux et flatteurs des faveurs de Climene,  
 Loin de me soulager, vous causez mon trepas. :||  
 f. Ah! cruels! ne scavez vous pas,  
 Que plus le plaisir a d'appas,  
 Plus le souvenir a de peyne.

## &amp;

Hélas! en rappelant l'objet de mes delices,  
 Vous croyez vainement pouvoir me secourir. :||  
 f. Ah! cruels! laissez moy mourir;  
 Plus vous pensez à me guerir,  
 Plus vous redoublez mes supplices.

## XVI

Je veux bien vous aymer, adorable Sylvie      Martin  
 Le reste de ma vie. :||  
 f. Je consents à souffrir,  
 Sans espoir de guerir;  
 Mais lors que j'y consents, je consents à mourir.

&amp;

Je veux bien endurer cette langueur funeste,  
 Tout le temps qui me reste. :||  
 f. Je consents &c.

## XVII

Cessez de soupiner pour la cruelle Aminte,      Perdigal  
 Mon cœur, quittez les pleurs, abandonnez la plainte. :||  
 f. Ah! puis que vous perdez tout espoir de guerir,  
 Cessez de soupiner, commencez à mourir.

&amp;

Quittez, ô malheureux! une mourante vie,  
 D'ennuis, de desespoir, et de larmes suivie. :||  
 f. Ah! puis que &c.

## XVIII

Ah! Jaloux ennemis du bonheur de ma vie!      Perdigal  
 Que vous connoissez peu mon destin rigoureux!  
 f. Helas! Si vous scaviez les rigueurs de Sylvie,  
 Vous auriez pour un malheureux  
 Bien plus de pitié que d'envie.

&amp;

[15,l]

Ah! depuis qu'à ses loix mon ame est asservie,  
 Que mon cœur a poussé de soupirs amoureux!  
 f. Helas! &c.

## XIX

Quel moyen, belle Iris, de vous faire comprendre      Sablières  
 Le feu secret dont je me sents brûler? :||  
 f. Helas! vostre rigueur vous empeche d'entendre,  
 Et mon respect me deffend de parler.

&amp;

Mes regards enflammez pourroient bien vo<sup>s</sup> apprendre,  
 Ce que mon cœur n'ose vous reveler. :||  
 f. Mais quoy! vostre &c.

XX<sup>1</sup>

Pensez-vous de l'amour exprimer le martire,      Perdigal  
 Vous qui de son ardeur ignorez le pouvoir?  
 Et sans le bien sçavoir,  
 Croyez-vous le bien dire? :||  
 f. Aymez, Philis, souffrez, languissez, soupirez,  
 Vous direz bien ce que vous sentirez.

&amp;

Croyez vous en disant, je me meurs, je me pasme,  
 D'un air et d'un regard langoureux et charmant,  
 Exprimer un tourment,  
 Qui n'est point dans vostre ame? :||  
 f. Aymez, aymez, souffrez &c.

## XXI

Rien n'est si doux et si crüel que vous,  
 Si doux que vos beaux yeux, si crüel que vostre ame. :||  
 f. Il en est ainsy de ma flame,      [15,r]  
 Rien n'est si crüel et si doux.

&amp;

Aussi je meurs sans me plaindre de vous,  
 Et je dy seulement dans l'exces de mes peynes: :||  
 f. Rien n'est si crüel que vos chaisnes,  
 Rien n'est si charmant et si doux.

## XXII

Avant que d'estre aymé de la belle Climene,      Boisset  
 Je croyois que ce doux plaisir  
 Dût finir mon tourment et borner mon desir,  
 Mais depuis ce moment je sens crestre ma peyne. :||  
 f. Ah! quand il reste à desirer,  
 Il reste encor à soupiner!

&amp;

Il est vray qu'il est doux d'estre aymé quand on ayme,  
 Et que deux fideles amants,  
 Qui partagent tous deux leurs biens et leurs tourments,  
 Goustent dans ce plaisir une douceur extreme. :||  
 f. Mais, quand il reste &c.

## XXIII

Taisez vous, soupirs malheureux, Sablières  
 Vous avez trop de violence. :||  
 J. Le langage d'un amoureux  
 C'est le regard et le silence.

&amp;

En amour il est dangereux  
 D'expliquer trop nostre souffrance. :||  
 J. Le langage d'un &c.

## XXIV

[16,l]

Belles mains de Philis  
 Plus blanches que les Lys,  
 De vos charmes divers on ne peut se desfendre :||  
 J. Et le cœur le moins tendre  
 Ne scauroit tour à tour vous voir et vous entendre,  
 Sans mourir tour à tour  
 De plaisir et d'amour.

&amp;

[Space left for further verses]

## XXV

Qu'avez-vous resolu de mon sort malheureux? Perdigal  
 Je ne scay quel conseil, beaulx yeux, vous allez suivre. :||  
 J. Mais soyez doux ou soyez rigoureux,  
 Vous me verrez mourir et vivre,  
 Toujours fidele et toujours amoureux.

&amp;

Je sens bien que mon mal est un mal dangereux,  
 Qu'il faut mourir des coups que la douleur me livre. :||  
 J. Mais soyez doux &c.

XXVI<sup>1</sup>

Le ciel est beau, la terre est belle, Perdigal  
 Et tout seroit pour vostre amant  
 Doux et charmant,  
 Si vous n'etiez crüelle. :||  
 J. Ah! le beau jour! Ah! le beau jour!  
 Si vous vouliez faire l'amour.

&amp;

Ces bois n'ont plus rien de sauvage, u  
 L'on y voit cent petits oyseaux,  
 Au bruit des eaux,  
 Chanter sur le rivage. :||  
 J. Ah! le beau jour! &c.

XXVII<sup>1</sup>

Je ne scay pas comment, je ne scay pas pourquoi Perdigal  
 J'adore une inconnüe,  
 Que je n'ay jamais veüe. :||  
 J. Je ne scay pas comment, je ne scay pas pourquoi,<sup>2</sup>  
 Mais je scay seulement,  
 Que pour je ne scay qui je sens je ne scay quoy.

&amp;

Je ne scay pas comment, je ne scay pas pourquoi  
 Cette imprudente flame  
 S'allume dans mon ame. :||  
 J. Je ne scay pas comment &c.

## XXVIII

Rompez le silence des bois Perdigal  
 Petits oyseaux! voicy la belle Aminte:  
 Meslez vos douces voix  
 Aux accents de ma plainte. :||  
 J. Dites-nous vos amours, je diray ses rigueurs;  
 Dites-nous vos plaisirs, je diray mes langueurs.

&amp;

Zephir, qui vous rend si discret? [17,l]  
 Et vous aussy, Flore, sa belle amante;  
 Pourquoi faire un secret  
 D'une ardeur si charmante? :||  
 J. Dites nous &c.

## XXIX

Ne vous offencez pas, Climene, Moulinié  
 Des injustes soupçons d'un cœur trop amoureux. :||  
 [J.] Je suis jaloux, je suis donc malheureux,  
 Et je merite plus de pitié que de hayne.

&amp;

Helas! voyez quelle est ma peyne,  
 Et plaignez par pitié mon destin rigoureux. :||  
 J. Je suis jaloux &c.

1

Ed. 1661, p. 269: Sarabande.... Pour l'Aimable inconnue.

2

This line should be considered two, for the sake of the rhyme.

XXX<sup>1</sup>

Petits ruisseaux, confidants de ma plainte, :|| Perdigal  
 j. Roulez toujours,  
 Vous roulez moins que les amours  
 D'Aminte.

&amp;

Herbes et fleurs! dont cette rive est peinte! :||  
 j. Changez toujours,  
 Vous changez moins &c.

XXXI<sup>2</sup>

Charmante voix, divins accents, Cambert &  
 Delices de nos sens! La Roche  
 Que vos plaisirs en font de miserables! :||  
 j. Que vos soupirs font soupirer de cœurs!  
 Helas! que vos feintes langueurs  
 Caused de langueurs veritables!

&amp;

Que vos transports, que vos elans  
 Sont doux et violents!  
 Que vous avez de traits inimitables! :||  
 j. Que vos soupirs &c.

## XXXII

Rosignols! petits cœurs jaloux, Lambert  
 Qui ne pouvez souffrir qu'on chante mieux que vous,  
 Sans mourir de rage et d'envie! :||  
 j. Accourez, accourez;  
 Ecoutez ma Sylvie,  
 Ecoutez et mourez.

&amp;

Insolents! vous serez punis,  
 D'imiter de sa voix les charmes infinis;  
 Vous perdrez la voix et la vie. :||  
 j. Accourez &c.

1 Ed. 1661, p. 255: Sur une Sarabande.

2 Ed. 1661, p. 245: La Roche.

XXXIII<sup>1</sup>

Dans le desespoir ou je suis, Cambert &  
 Les plus noires forests, les plus profondes nuits Fournier  
 Ne sont pas assez sombres.  
 Pour plaire à ma douleur et flatter mes ennuis. ||  
 j. O mort! pour les finir, couvre moy de tes ombres.

&amp;

Jay tant soupiré, tant gemy,  
 Et depuis le moment que le ciel ennemy  
 M'a ravy ma Sylvie,  
 Je suis mort mille fois, sans mourir qu'à demy. [ :||] [18,||]  
 j. Helas! quand finiront ma douleur et ma vie?

## XXXIV

Vous demandez comment il est possible Lambert  
 Que vos yeux m'ayent charmé,  
 Et que par leurs regards mon cœur soit enflamé?: ||  
 j. Vos yeux sont doux et mon cœur est sensible.

&amp;

De ces beaux yeux la force est invincible,  
 Vous charmez aysement,  
 Et moy belle Philis j'aime facilement.:||  
 j. Vos yeux &c.

XXXV<sup>2</sup>

La voicy de retour la charmante Climene, Sablieres  
 Plus belle que jamais et bien moins inhumaine. :||  
 La voicy de retour  
 Qui ramene à la cour  
 Les Amours et les Graces.  
 j. Ah! que des yeux, animez par l'amour,  
 Ont d'attraits et de grâces.

&amp;

Mille charmes nouveaux brillent sur son visage,  
 Ses regards sont plus doux, son air et son langage. :||  
 Et l'on voit tour à tour  
 Briller tout alentour  
 Les Amours et les Graces.  
 j. Ah! que des yeux, &c.

1 Ed. 1661, p. 244: Air de Cour sur une absence, Par le sieur Cambert.

2 Ed. 1661, p. 223: Sur le retour [de la princesse d'Angleterre]. Air de Cour par [le Sieur D. S.]

XXXVI<sup>1</sup>

Après le plaisir de l'amour, Perdigal  
 Le plus doux de la vie  
 C'est le plaisir d'écouter ma Sylvie. :||  
 f. Heureux celui qui les a tour à tour, [18,r]  
 Et qui peut prendre  
 Le plaisir de l'entendre  
 Après le plaisir de l'amour.

&amp;

Helas! est il rien de si doux?  
 Posséder ma Sylvie,  
 Et dans ses bras contenter son envie. :||  
 f. Et puis chanter en depit des jaloux,  
 Sur la fougere,  
 Aupres de la Bergere  
 Helas! est il rien de si doux?

## XXXVII

Favoris du Printemps, Oyseaux, qui gasouillez, Sablières  
 Dans ces lieux emaillez  
 De fleurs et de verdure. :||  
 f. Que vous estes heureux! vous vivez en chantant,  
 Et je meurs en contant  
 Les peynes que j'endure.

&amp;

Petits chantres des pres, Grillons, qui dans nos champs  
 Faites durer vos chants,  
 Autant que la nuit dure. :||  
 f. Que vous estes &c.

## XXXVIII

Il n'est point de plaisir si doux, Sablières  
 Que celui d'aimer qui nous aime. :||  
 f. Mais aussy de tromper de mesme [19,l]  
 Un amant trompeur ou jaloux,  
 Il n'est point de plaisir si doux.

&amp;

Que l'on est vangé doucement  
 Quand on trahit un infidele. :||  
 f. Lors que par une amour nouvelle  
 L'on punit un ingrat Amant,  
 Que l'on est vangé doucement.

&amp;

On a le plaisir de changer  
 Et de faire un choix plus aymable. :||  
 f. Avec la douceur agreable,  
 De punir et de se vanger,  
 On a le plaisir de changer.

## XXXIX

Jay cru, sans m'enflamer, Sablières  
 Ecouter d'un Amant la passion extreme,  
 Et pouvoir l'engager, sans m'engager moy mesme. :||  
 f. Mais helas! je sens bien que souffrir qu'on nous ayme  
 C'est commencer d'aymer.

&amp;

[Space left for further verses]

## XXXX

Tu te plais<sup>m</sup> de l'amour qui te tient dans ses chaisnes, Sablières  
 Et tu dis que ses peynes  
 Te vont faire mourir. :||  
 Le remede est si doux, ne fay plus la mauvaise, [19,r]  
 Laisse toy secourir,  
 f. Pourquoi mourir d'un mal quand on en peut guerir?  
 Pourquoi mourir de mal quand on peut mourir d'ayse?

&amp;

[Space left for further verses]

## XXXXI

Volez, volez, charmants Zephirs! Sablières  
 Et par vostre amoureuse haleine,  
 Inspirez l'amour à Climene :||  
 f. Mais quoy! les amoureux soupirs  
 N'enflament point cette inhumaine;  
 Volez, volez, charmants Zephirs.

&amp;

Coulez, coulez, petits ruisseaux!  
 A mon secours je vous reclame,  
 Soulager l'ardeur de mon ame. :||  
 f. Mais quoy! ne le vent, ny les eaux  
 N'eteignent point de telle flame,  
 Coulez, coulez, petits ruisseaux.

## XLII

Vous avez trop d'appas  
O doux liens! aimables chaisnes!

Lambert

Je ne vous rompray pas,  
Vous avez trop d'appas :||

ſ. Il est beau de languir en de si douces peynes  
Il est beau de mourir d'un si charmant trepas.  
Vous avez &c.

## XLIII

Il n'est rien de si doux que l'innocente vie,  
Que menent en ces lieux Alcidor et Sylvie.  
La beauté du séjour et celle du Printemps  
Leur donnent mille passetemps,

[20,l]

ſ. Il n'est rien &c.

&amp;

[Space left for further verses]

## XLIV

Sur les aisles d'amour  
Alcidor est venu, pour revoir Climene. :||

Perdigal

Mais si l'inhumaine  
Ne finit sa peyne,

A beau jeu, beau retour,  
ſ. Alcidor s'en ira sur les aisles d'amour.

&amp;

[Space left for further verses]

## XLV

Un cœur amoureux et tendre  
Ne peut s'empêcher d'aymer. :||

Lambert &  
Bassilly

Il est aysé de surprendre  
Un cœur amoureux et tendre;  
Il faut peu pour l'enflamer.

ſ. In cœur &c.

&amp;

Il faut soupiner sans cesse,  
Quand on est si malheureux. :||  
Quand on a cette foiblesse,  
Il faut soupiner sans cesse,  
Et toujours vivre amoureux.

[20,r]  
Bassilly

ſ. Il faut &c.

## XLVI

Parlez, parlez, mon cœur;  
Dites vostre langueur  
A l'ingrate Climene. :||

Sablières

ſ. Parlez, parlez, mon cœur,  
Et du moins en mourant declarez vostre peyne.

&amp;

Allez, allez soupirs;  
Dites mes deplaisirs  
Et ma douleur mortelle. :||

Sablières

ſ. Allez, allez soupirs,  
Et mourez les premiers aux yeux de la cruelle.

## XLVII

Pensers! à quoy pensez vous,  
D'entretenir mon cœur des attraits de Climene? :||

ſ. Ah! vous redoublez ma peyne  
Par un souvenir si doux!  
Pensers! à quoy pensez vous?

&amp;

[Space left for further verses]

## XLVIII

[21,l]

Que faites vous, Sylvie,  
Dans ce charmant séjour?  
Vous passez sans amour  
Le plus beau de la vie. :||

Lambert

ſ. Vous perdez vos beaux jours et vos ans les plus doux;  
Que faites vous, Sylvie,  
Que faites vous?

&amp;

Que faites vous, Sylvie,  
Pendant ce beau Printemps?  
Prenez les passetemps  
Où l'amour vous convie. :||

ſ. Vous perdez &c.

## XLIX

Qui les scaura, mes secrettes amours? Baptiste Lulli  
 Je me ri des soupçons, je me ry des discours,  
 Quoy que l'on pense et que l'on cause,  
 Ce ne sera jamais que celle qui les cause  
 Qui les scaura, mes secrettes amours.

&amp;

*Reponse*

Je les connoy, je les voy dans tes yeux,  
 Tes secrettes amours se font voir en tous lieux;  
 Des que Philis vient à parestre,  
 Les flames de ton cœur se font trop reconnestre,  
 Je les connoy &c.

L

Il est vray qu'Amour a ses peynes Lambert &  
 Mais ses peynes sont des plaisirs. :|| Sablieres  
 f. L'Amant le plus heureux pousse mille soupirs, [21,r]  
 Et languit dans ses chaisnes.  
 f. Il est vray &c.

&amp;

f. Dans ses moments plus doux on a mille desirs,  
 Et mille craintes vaines. :||  
 f. Il est vray &c.

LI

f. Cruel Amour! que veux tu de mon cœur?  
 Je t'ay rendu les armes,  
 Je t'ay fait mon vainqueur,  
 Je t'ay donné des soupirs et des larmes  
 f. Cruel Amour! &c.

&amp;

J'ay souffert dans les chaisnes,  
 Tout ce que ta rigueur  
 Peut inventer de tourments et de peynes.  
 f. Cruel Amour! &c.

LII<sup>1</sup>

Dequoy murmurez vous, Perdigal  
 Charmants ruisseaux, qui coulez sur la plaine!  
 Vous voyez tous les jours l'aymable Celimene. :||  
 f. Vostre sort est si doux,  
 De quoy murmurez vous?

[&]<sup>2</sup>

Dequoy soupirez vous, Perdigal  
 Pere des fleurs, agreable Zephire?  
 Tous les jours dans ces bois elle est sous vostre empire. :||  
 [f.] Vostre sort est si doux,  
 De quoy soupirez vous?

## LIII

[22,1]

Le secret en amour Sablieres  
 C'est d'aymer et se taire. :||  
 f. Voyla tout le mystere,  
 Estre fidele et garder nuit et jour  
 Le secret en amour.

&amp;

Si l'amant est discret,  
 Qu'il ayme et persevere. :||  
 f. Il n'est cœur si severe,  
 Qui ne se rende, et qui n'ayme en secret,  
 Si l'amant est discret.

## LIV

Quand on n'est pas aymé, l'on souffre incessamment,  
 Et quand on est aymé, l'on craint le changement,  
 L'on soupçonne la feinte. :||  
 f. Ah! qu'en aymant on a peu de plaisir!  
 Quant on n'a pas on meurt de desir,  
 Et quand on a l'on meurt de crainte.

&amp;

De quoy mumurez-vous, agreable fontaine?  
 Vous voyez tous les jours l'aymable Celimene:  
 f. Dans un destin si doux  
 De quoy mumurez vous?

&amp;

De quoy soupirez-vous, doux & charmant Zephire,  
 Tous les jours dans ces bois elle est sous vostre empire:  
 f. Dans, &c.

1 Ed. 1661, p. 266: Var.  
 2 Ms. has LIII.

Ainsy l'on est toujours jaloux ou malheureux,  
 Et l'on n'entend jamais, dans l'empire amoureux,  
     Que soupirs et que plainte. :||  
 j. Ah! qu'en ayment on a peu de plaisir!

## LV

Q'un depit amoureux nous cause de tourment!  
 Au lieu de soulager un malheureux amant,  
     Il redouble sa peyne. :||  
 j. Et le cruel ajoute seulement,  
 Aux transports de l'amour, les fureurs de la hayne.

&amp;

Loin de rompre nos fers par son emportement, [22,r]  
 Helas! son vain effort etreint plus fortement  
     Le nœud qui nous enchaisne. :||  
 j. Et le cruel &c.

## LVI

Le plus charmant des plaisirs amoureux,  
 Quand l'object de nos feux repond à nostre envie, :||  
 C'est de voir à ses pieds un amant malheureux,  
 Mourir des mesmes traits qui nous donnent la vie.

&amp;

Il est bien doux, s'il n'est pas genereux,  
 De combler un jaloux de douleur et d'envie. :||  
 Et de voir en ayment un rival malheureux  
 Mourir &c.

LVII<sup>1</sup>

A quoy pensiez vous, Climene,      Le Camus &  
 A quoy pensiez vous d'aymer? :||      Perdigal  
 Ne scaviez vous pas la peyne  
 Que souffre un cœur qu'amour a pû charmer?  
 j. A quoy pensiez vous &c.

&amp;

Maintenant, belle inhumaine,  
 Qu'il a sceu vous enflamer, :||  
 Vostre resistance est vaine,  
 Il faut languir, il faut se consumer.  
 j. A quoy pensiez vous &c.

## LVIII

Petits ruisseaux      Perdigal  
 Dont les captives eaux  
     Sont à la chaisne      [23,l]  
 Et ne disent plus rien. :||  
 j. Vous estes moins glacez que le cœur de Climene,  
 Et moins enchaisnez que le mien.

&amp;

Jeunes buissons,  
 Qui malgré les glaçons,  
     Allez reprendre  
 Vos beaux feuillages verds. :||  
 j. Helas! ainsy que vous, je n'oserois pretendre  
 Un Printemps, apres tant d'hyvers.

[23,r; 24; 25,1 blank]

## CHANSONS

[25,r]

## I

*Gavotte*

Pour les Bergeres coquettes  
Je suis un Berger coquet: Bassilly  
Je leur dy mille sornettes,  
Et je n'ay q'un vain caquet. :||  
j. Mais je ne suis pas de mesme,  
Dans la fidele amitié;  
j. Et quand je sens que l'on m'ayme,  
Je suis toujours de moitié.

&amp;

Alors qu'au jeu d'amourette  
La Bergere veut piper,  
Ce n'est que rose et fleurette,  
Quand on la peut attrapper. :||  
j. Mais il n'en est pas de mesme,  
Dans la fidele amitié;  
j. Et toujours quand on nous ayme,  
Il faut estre de moitié.

&amp;

Ne croyez donc pas, Bergere,  
Que je puisse vous changer;  
Mon humeur est bien legere,  
Quand je trouve un cœur leger. :||  
j. Mais je ne suis pas de mesme,  
Dans la fidele amitié;  
j. Et quand je sens &c.

## II

[26,l]

*Gavotte*<sup>1</sup>

La voicy, la voyla, Sabliers  
Marotte la follette; :||  
Qui court, qui vient, qui va,  
Sautant deça, dela,  
Disant quelque sornette.  
j. La garde bien qui l'a,  
Car au jeu d'amourette,  
La voicy, la voyla.

&amp;

La voicy, la voyla,  
La gaillarde fillette: :||  
Qui dit toujours, ha ha,  
Fa la la la la la,  
Rions faisons goguette.  
j. La garde bien &c.

## III

*Gavotte*

Sautons, dansons, foulons l'herbette, Moulinié  
Baisons Margot, baisons Nanette: :||  
j. Jamais la danse ny l'amour  
N'ont gasté ny pré ny fillette,  
Et pour les retablir, il ne faut q'un beau jour.

&amp;

Retenez bien, belle brunette,  
Cette petite chansonnette. :||  
j. Jamais &c.

&amp;

Ne faites point tant la finette,  
Ne dites point je suis jeunette. :||  
j. Jamais &c.

[&amp;]

On na point veu de pucelette, [26,r]  
Mourir au doux jeu d'amourette. :||  
j. Jamais &c.

## IV

*Gavotte*<sup>1</sup>

La blonde Nanette Perdigal  
N'a plus mon amour,  
Et depuis un jour  
J'ayme une brunette. :||  
j. Brunette aux doux yeux  
Je vous ayme mieux;  
Brunette aux yeux doux  
Je n'ayme que vous.

&amp;

Pardon, ma Nanette,<sup>1</sup>  
 Mon cœur me dedit;  
 Tout ce que j'ay dit  
 N'est que chansonnette. :||  
 f. Belle aux blonds cheveux,  
 C'est vous que je veux:  
 Nanon, mes amours,  
 Aymons nous toujours.

V

*Gavotte*<sup>2</sup>

J'ayme un brun depuis un jour,  
 Plus beau que l'Amour mesme, :||  
 Et qui meurt pour moy d'amour,  
 Ne vous etonnez pas si j'ayme.

Perdigal

&amp;

Il est sage, il est discret,  
 Sa douceur est extreme, :||  
 Il garde bien le secret,  
 Ne vous etonnez pas &c.

[27,l]

VI

*Gaillarde*

Amour est un plaisant moqueur,  
 Il tire aux yeux et va frapper au cœur. :||  
 f. Encor voit on souvent, dans ses combats,  
 Que le coup porte un peu plus bas.

&amp;

Belle Iris, prenez garde à vous,  
 Cest à mon gré le plus grand des filoux. :||  
 f. Il pourroit bien vous attrapper un jour,  
 Et vous jouier un mauvais tour.

VII

*Sarabande**Recit d'Orphée, au ballet de 1665.*

Grand dieu des Enfers,  
 Ecoutez mes peynes:  
 Celle que je sers  
 Languit dans vos chaisnes. :||  
 Ah forcez du trepas  
 Les loix crüelles,  
 Et ne separez pas  
 Deux cœurs fideles:  
 f. Ou rompez ses liens,  
 Ou brisez les miens.

Baptiste

&amp;

Je viens sans horreur,  
 Dans vos Palais sombres,  
 Braver la terreur  
 La mort et les ombres. :||  
 Tous les maux qu'aux Enfers  
 Souffrent les ames,  
 Sont moindres que mes fers,  
 Et que mes flames;  
 f. Les plus crüels tourments  
 Sont ceux des amants.

[27,r]

VIII<sup>1</sup>*Sarabande*

Vos yeux adorables  
 Ne sont point coupables,  
 S'ils peuvent blesser, ils peuvent guérir. :||  
 f. Qu'importe Sylvie,  
 S'ils rendent la vie,  
 Qu'ils fassent mourir?

Lambert

&amp;

Si leur fiere œillade  
 Rend un cœur malade,  
 Un regard plus doux le peut secourir. :||  
 f. Qu'importe &c.

1 Ed. 1661: Sur le mesme air.

2 Ed. 1661, p. 252.

1 Ed. 1661, p. 246: SARABANDE: Par le Sieu D. S. [Sablieres] imitation de l'Espagnol. «Tu ojos traviessos».

IX<sup>1</sup>*Sarabande*

Voicy le temps  
Que les fleurs sont ecloses:  
Le beau Printemps  
Fait sortir toutes choses. :||  
f. Sortez, sortez, ô jeunes Lys!  
Sortez, petits boutons de roses!  
f. Sortez du sein de ma Philis.

Sablieres

&amp;

O belles fleurs!  
Serez vous toujours closes,  
Et de mes pleurs  
Les eternelles causes? :||  
f. Sortez, &c.

X<sup>2</sup>

[28,l]

*Sarabande*

Vous qui voulez servir les belles,  
Soyez discrets, soyez fideles. :||  
f. Un veritable amant,  
Qui persevere,  
Vaincra facilement  
La plus severe.

Moulinié

&amp;

Et les prûdes et les coquettes  
Peuvent tomber sous vos conquestes. :||  
f. Un veritable &c.

XI<sup>1</sup>*Pour Madame en 1661**Sarabande*

Belle Princesse,  
Doux charme des yeux,  
Belle maistresse  
D'un fils de nos dieux. :||  
Il faut se rendre,  
Pourquoy se deffendre  
D'un amant si doux,  
Qui brûle pour vous  
D'un amour si tendre?

Sablieres

&amp;

[Space left for further verses]

XII<sup>2</sup>*Pour Monseig<sup>r</sup> le Cardinal Antoine, en 1663.**Sarabande.*

Filles du ciel  
Et de nos veilles,  
Meres du miel,  
Douce abeilles!  
Dans vos climats les beaux jours sont faillis. :||  
f. Quittez, quittez vos collines Romaines;  
Venez, venez vivre parmy nos plaines,  
Venez mourir dans le sein de nos Lys.

Cambert

&amp;

Laissez vos sœurs,  
A la campagne,  
Gouster les fleurs  
Des champs d'Espagne,  
Et picorer les Roses de Calis. :||  
f. Quittez, &c.

1 Ed. 1661, p. 227: Pour la Princesse d'Angleterre. No composer.

2 Ed. 1661, pp. 217-218: Pour Monseigneur le CARDINAL ANTOINE [Barberini], à son retour en France en 1657.

1 Ed. 1661, p. 254. No composer.

2 Ed. 1661, pp. 255-256.

## XIII

*Sarabande*

Pour estre aymé  
Le secret est d'aymer.  
Pour enflamer  
Il faut estre enflamé. :||  
Ce n'est pas tout de plaire et de charmer,  
Pour estre aymé;  
Pour estre aymé,  
Le secret est d'aymer.

Lambert

&amp;

Qui veut tromper  
En amour est trompé.  
Tel croit dupper  
Qui se trouve duppé. :||  
Le plus souvent nous voyons attrappé  
Qui veut tromper;  
Qui veut tromper,  
En amour est trompé.

## XIV

*Menuet*

Je croyois Janeton  
Aussy douce que belle;  
Je croyois Janeton  
Plus douce q'un mouton. :||  
j. Helas! elle est cent fois,  
Mille fois plus crüelle,  
Que n'est le Tygre au bois.

Sablieres

&amp;

Elle dit chaque jour  
Qu'elle n'est point rebelle,  
Elle dit chaque jour  
Qu'elle est tendre à l'amour. :||  
j. Helas! &c.

&amp;

Ah! ne consultez pas  
Ce visage infidele,  
Ah! ne consultez pas  
Ces beaux yeux pleins d'appas. :||  
j. Helas! &c.

## XV

*Menuet*

Vien, mon aymable Bergere,  
Sur la fougere,  
Vien, mon aymable Bergere,  
Faire l'amour. :||  
j. C'est ce que font dans ce bocage  
Les petits oyseaux d'alentour.  
j. Ils font l'amour en leur langage  
Et sur les fleurs se baisent tour à tour.

Baptiste

[29,r]

&amp;

Allons dans cette campagne,  
Chere compagne,  
Allons dans cette campagne  
Cueillir des fleurs. :||  
[j.] Allons dans ces belles prairies,  
Peintes de cent mille couleurs,  
j. Entretenir nos reveries,  
Et raconter nos biens et nos douleurs.

&amp;

C'est ce que dit la Linotte,  
Dessus sa note;  
C'est ce que dit la Linotte,  
Et le Pinson. :||  
j. C'est dont parle cette fauvette,  
Sous les füeilles de ce buisson;  
j. C'est ce que chante ma musette,  
Et ce que dit ma petite chanson.

## XVI

*Menuet*

Tous les jours cent jeunes Bergeres,  
Dans ces bois et dans ces vergers,  
Sur les prez et sur les fougères,  
Font l'amour avec les Bergers. :||  
j. La beauté la plus rebelle  
N'a point de fierté  
Pour un amant fidele,  
j. Et plus la bergere est belle  
Moins son cœur a de crauté.

Baptiste

&amp;

Tous les bois sont pleins de fontaines. [30,l]  
 Tous les pres de fleurs embellis;  
 Le Jasmin y croist sur les plaines,  
 Le Muguet, la Rose et le Lys. :||  
 j. La beauté &c.

&amp;

L'on y voit danser les fillettes  
 Et bondir au son du hautbois;  
 L'on n'entend que douces musettes,  
 Que concerts de luts et de voix. :||  
 j. La beauté &c.

XVII

*Gygue*

Aymez, adorable brunette,  
 Si vous voulez qu'on vous aime à son tour;  
 Pourquoi faire tant la finette,  
 Et vous priver des plaisirs de l'amour? :||  
 Vous brûlez dans le cœur  
 D'en goûter la douceur,  
 Ma foy,  
 Je le voy  
 Dans vos yeux;  
 j. Et l'on voit dans ceux  
 De vostre amant,  
 Qu'il souffre le mesme tourment.

&amp;

[Space left for further verses]

XVIII

[30,r]

*Courante*

Vous m'accusez de trop de violence,  
 Et que trop librement  
 Mon cœur monstre en aymant  
 Tout ce qu'il pense. :||  
 j. Et vos beaux yeux n'ont pas veu seulement,  
 Le feu qui le devore;  
 Et vos beaux yeux n'ont pas veu seulement,  
 Qu'ils vous adore.

&amp;

A-t'il parlé de ses cruelles peynes?  
 S'est il plaint du tourment,  
 Qu'il souffre incessamment,  
 N'y de ses chaisnes? :||  
 j. Et vos beaux yeux &c.

XIX

*Courante*

Helas! quand je vous dy ma peyne, Pinol  
 Vous m'accusez de bruler pour Climene,  
 Et redoublez vostre severité. :||  
 j. Voyez l'effect de ce mensonge,  
 Belle Philis, mon crime n'est q'un songe,  
 Et mon supplice est une verité.

&amp;

L'amour qui regne dans mon ame  
 Est un enfant de lumiere et de flame,  
 Qu'autre que vous ne sçauroit animer. :||  
 j. Puisque vos beaux yeux l'ont fait naistre,  
 Au moins, Philis, daignez le reconnestre,  
 Si vostre cœur ne le veut pas aymer.

XX

[31,l]

*Air de Ballet**Sur le Ballet des machines, en 1661.*

Vive l'entrée des petites filles du ballet, Sablieres  
 Rien n'est si mignon, rien n'est si follet,  
 Non pas ces grands concerts de ces vieilles Laures  
 De Signoris;  
 Et ces *non sunt*, qui chantent des *libera*,  
 Pour la memoire de leurs *etcetera*.

&amp;



## XXIV

*Menuet et Sarabande*

Mon cœur est un oyseau sauvage,  
 Qui va de boccage en boccage,  
 Changeant d'objet et de sejour. :||  
 f. Ah! que je crains que ce volage  
 Ne soit pris au filé d'amour.

Sablieres

&amp;

Des qu'il entend sous le fûillage,  
 Un petit oyseau qui ramage,  
 Il chante avec lui tout à tour. :||  
 f. Ah! que je crains &c.

&amp;

Il est ennemy de la cage,  
 Je ne doute point qu'il n'enrage,  
 S'il se voit attrapper un jour. :||  
 f. Ah! que je crains &c.

&amp;

Tyrsis qui la guette au passage,  
 Se vante par tout le village,  
 De lui joïer un mauvais tour. :||  
 f. Ah! que &c.

## XXV

[32,r]

*Mouvement de Gigue.*

Il est vray qu'elle est belle  
 Mais je ne l'ayme pas.  
 Une beauté cruelle  
 Est pour moy sans appas:  
 Je dy bien qu'elle est belle,  
 Mais je ne l'ayme pas.

Cambert

&amp;

Que nous servent ses charmes  
 Qu'à nous faire mourir?  
 Ce sont de belles armes  
 Qui blessent sans guerir.  
 Que nous servent &c.

## XXVI

*Sarabande et Gygue*

Il faut aymer pour estre aymable,  
 Mais il ne faut pas trop aymer.  
 Un peu d'amour est agreable.  
 Il faut aymer pour estre aymable.  
 Trop d'amour est insupportable  
 Et desplaist au lieu de charmer.  
 Il faut aymer &c.  
 Amour aux siens est favorable.  
 Il faut aymer pour estre aymable  
 Mais il rend un cœur miserable  
 Qui se laisse trop enflammer,  
 Il faut aymer &c.

Sablieres

## XXVII

*Menuet pour une Virtue*

Le Printemps, aymable Sylvie,  
 Le Printemps ramene les fleurs:  
 Il est temps de gouter la vie,  
 Il est temps de finir vos pleurs. :||  
 f. C'est l'amour, qui fit vostre tourment,  
 Il doit soulager vostre peyne:  
 Ah! ah! soyez moins inhumaine,  
 Et vivez en aymant.

Baptiste  
[33,l]

&amp;

Quoy toujours repandre des flames,  
 Et jamais n'en estre allumé:  
 Tous les jours enflamer des ames,  
 Sans jamais parestre enflamé. :||  
 f. Resister a ses propres desirs.  
 Ne sentir jamais rien de tendre,  
 Ah! ah! ah! ce n'est pas entendre  
 Le secret des plaisirs.

&amp;

## XXVIII

*Gygue*

Allons dormir à l'ombrage des bois  
 Allons rouler sur l'herbette. :||  
 Nous danserons au chant de la musette,  
 Nous danserons au doux son du hautbois,  
 Nous unirons nos cœurs et nos voix,  
 Nous dirons la chansonnette,  
 Nous parlerons d'amourette.  
 Allons dormir &c.

Sablières

[blank 33,r; 34; 35,l]

## RECITS

[35,r]

## I

*Polypheme Jaloux*

L'Amant Geant, sur la rive écartée,  
 De loin vit assis  
 Le Berger Acis,  
 Et Galatée,  
 Qui tour à tour  
 Se faisoient l'amour

Moulinié

&amp;

Le fier Cyclope, indigné de l'affront.  
 D'une brutale audace,  
 Au ciel leve le front,  
 Et fait cette menace.

&amp;

O Ciel! ô Terre! ô Mer! et vous, Royaumes Sombres!  
 Ecoutez mon serment.  
 Si je ne fay perir ce temeraire amant,  
 Que la foudre du Ciel m'abisme dans les ombres.

&amp;

Je changeray ses ris en pleurs,  
 Sa voix en cris, ses plaisirs en douleurs,  
 Et ses delices  
 En Supplices:  
 Je le creveray,  
 Je le briseray,  
 Je succeray le sang  
 De son flanc,  
 Je mangeray sa chair et ses entrailles nûes.  
 Et pilera ses os comme cendres menües.

[36,l]

&amp;

Ainsy bruyant,  
 Ainsy criant,  
 Passe le fier Geant;  
 Et le Berger et la Bergere,  
 Cachez adrétement  
 Sous la fougere,  
 S'embrassent plus etroitement;  
 Ensemble unis par une double etreinte  
 Et d'Amour et de crainte.

## II

*La mort de Thysbé*

Lorsque Thysbé vit son Pirame,  
Percé d'une sanglante lame,  
Pasle et mourant sans couleur et sans voix,  
Expirer les derniers abois:  
La pauvre Amante  
Se jette auprez,  
Pleure, gemit, soupire et se lamente,  
Et fait ces cris et ces regrets.

&amp;

O Pirame! Pirame!  
Seul espoir de mon ame!  
O malheur!  
O douleur!  
O mort! ô sort! ô destin déplorable!  
O Thysbé miserable!

&amp;

O vaines esperances!  
Trompeuses apparences,  
Qui promettiez à mes desirs  
Tant de douceur et de plaisirs!  
Est-ce-là ce doux hymenée?  
Cette heureuse journée,  
Qui devoit nous unir le reste de nos jours,  
Et couronner nos fideles amours?

&amp;

O Pirame! &amp;c.

&amp;

Pleurez mes yeux, coulez mes larmes.  
Mais quoy! les pleurs,  
En ces malheurs,  
Sont de trop foibles armes:  
Coulez, mon sang,  
Frappez mon bras, et de la mesme lame  
Qui lui percea le flanc,  
Arrachez de mon cœur ma douleur et mon ame.

&amp;

A peyne elle eut parlé qu'on la vit tout à coup  
Tomber dessous le coup,  
Et sur le corps mourant, au gré de son envie,  
Repandre à gros boiüllons et le sang et la vie.

Sablières

[36,r]

## III

*Imitation de Guarini*

«Ohimé se tanto amate» &amp;c.

&amp;

Si vous ayez d'entendre  
Un soupir doux et tendre,  
Pourquoy me faites vous mourir?  
Ah! si je meurs, vous n'entendrez, Sylvie,  
Q'un seul et languissant soupir.  
Mais si vous me donnez la vie,  
Vous aurez chaque jour  
Mille soupirs de plaisir et d'amour.

Boisset

[37,l]

&amp;

## IV

Echo! repondez à mes tristes accents,  
Dois-je mourir,  
Dois-je guerir,  
Du mal que je sents?  
Mes vœux  
Amoureux  
Seront ils secondez?  
Echo! repondez,  
Vous, qui tous les jours dans ces bois l'entendez,  
Echo! repondez.

V<sup>1</sup>

*Pour la Reyne en 1660  
Chanté devant S. M.*

Reyne des Lys! que vos yeux ont de charmes!  
Au plus puissant des Roys ils font quitter les armes,  
Et de ses exploits glorieux  
Bornent le cours victorieux.  
Pour vous il renonce à la guerre,  
Et quand de l'univers il seroit le vainqueur,  
Il ayme mieux regner sur vostre cœur  
Que sur toute la terre.

Camifort. [sic,  
Cambefort]

&amp;

[blank 37,r; 38; 39,l]

## DIALOGUES ET PIÈCES DE CONCERT [39,r]

## I

*Dialogue**Pour une Taille et un Dessus*

SYLVIE, TYRSIS

*Sylvie*

Ah! fait il endurer les fureurs d'un Jaloux?  
Je brûle de Courroux.

Moulinié &  
Sablières

*Tyrsis*

Et je brûle d'amour, et je brûle d'envie.

*Sylvie*

Dans ce tourment faut-il passer ma vie?

*Tyrsis*

Le remede est si doux,  
Vengeons nous, ayons nous;

*Sylvie*

Ma colere le veut,

*Tyrsis*

Amour nous y convie.

*Ensemble*

Vengeons nous, ayons nous.

*Sylvie*

[ Ma colere le veut,

*Ensemble*

Amour nous y convie.

## II

[40,l]

*Autre**Pour les mesmes voix.**Sylvie*

/° Ah! je croyais Amour une peyne legere.

*Tyrsis*

Pour en guerir,  
Il faut mourir.

*Sylvie*

Mourons donc, mon Berger,

*Tyrsis*

Mourons donc, ma Bergere.

*Ensemble*

J. Mourons, et puis qu'Amour nous permet de choisir  
Mourons d'amour et de plaisir.

## III

*Autre**Pour les mesmes voix.*

TYRSIS, CLIMENE

*Tyrsis*

Helas!

*Climene*

Que veulent dire  
Ces soupirs amoureux?

*Tyrsis*

Climene!

*Climene*

Les soupirs sont pour les malheureux.

*Tyrsis*

Content et malheureux <sup>en amour</sup> on soupire. :||

*Climene*

[40,r]

He! bien! puis qu'en ayant on soupire toujours  
J. Ayons,

*Tyrsis*

Ayons,

*Climene*

et soupirons,

*Tyrsis*

et soupirons,

*Ensemble*

Ayons et soupirons le reste de nos jours.

## IV

*Autre*<sup>1</sup>*Pour les mesmes voix.**PHILIS, ALCIDOR**Ensemble*

Adieu, parjure, Adieu,  
Je sens un nouveau feu  
S'allumer dans mon ame.

*Philis*

Le beau Tyrsis,

*Alcidor*

La belle Iris,

*Ensemble*

Est l'object de ma flame. :||  
[ J. Ah! que pour se venger,  
Il est doux de changer!

*Alcidor*

Une ingrate Bergere!

*Philis*

Un perfide Berger!

*Ensemble*

Une ame si legere!  
Ah! que pour se venger,  
Il est doux de changer.

1 Ed. 1661, pp. 241-242: DIALOGUE A DEUX VOIX. Par le Sieur Martin.  
(Alcidor, Sylvie).

## V

*Autre**Pour les mesmes voix**IRIS, TYRSIS**Iris*

Sablieres

Beaux yeux de mon Tyrsis!

*Tyrsis*

Belle bouche d'Iris!

*Iris*

Beau sujet de ma flame!

*Tyrsis*

Sejour des Graces et des Ris!

*Iris*

Doux charmes de mes sens!

*Tyrsis*

Delices de mon ame!

*Iris*

Qu'il est beau!

*Tyrsis*

qu'il est doux!

*Iris*

De bruler,

*Tyrsis*

de languir,

*Ensemble*

Qu'il est beau, qu'il est doux,  
De bruler, de languir, et de mourir pour vous!

&amp;

*Second couplet*

[41,r]

*Iris*

Beaux saphirs animez!

*Tyrsis*

Beaux rubis enflamez!

*Iris*

Beaux astres que j'adore!

*Tyrsis*

Boutons de roses parfumez!

*Iris*

Plus brillants que le jour!

*Tyrsis*

plus vermeille que l'Aurore!

*Iris*

Qu'il est beau, &amp;c.

VI

*Autre Pour les mesmes voix.**Pour la Reyne en 1660**Taille*

Sablières

Que vois-je dans ces lieux?  
Quel object adorable  
Brille devant mes yeux?

*Dessus*

C'est nostre Reyne incomparable.

*Taille*

O qu'elle a de beauté!

*Dessus*

Qu'elle a de majesté!

*Taille*

Son teint,

*Dessus*

Ses yeux,

[42,l]

*Ensemble*

Son teint, ses yeux, sa bouche est admirable.

*Ensemble*

ſ. Ah! qu'il est doux de vivre sous ses loix,  
Et d'adorer des charmes,  
Qui font quitter les armes  
Au plus puissant des Roys!

VII

*Autre**A deux dessus. Pour deux Bergeres.*

SYLVIE, PHILIS

*Sylvie*

Ah! que l'amour est un plaisir charmant! Cambert

*Philis*

Ah! que l'amour est un cruel tourment!

*Sylvie*

Ah! que de biens!

*Philis*

ah! que de peynes!

*Sylvie*

Ah! que de douceurs!

*Philis*

que d'ennuis!

*Ensemble*

On trouve dans ses chaisnes.

*Sylvie*

Que de beaux jours!

*Philis*

que de facheuses nuits! :|| [42,r]

*Ensemble*

J. Ah! puis que le destin mesle ainsy nostre vie,  
 Que nos biens les plus doux causent mille soupirs,

*Sylvie*

Aymons, Philis,

*Philis*

aymons, Sylvie.

*Ensemble*

Souffrons les maux d'amour et goustons ses plaisirs.

VIII

*Autre**Pour les memes voix.**Pour un mouvement de Gygue.*

PHYLIS, SYLVIE

*Ensemble*Changeons, Bergere,  
Changeons de Berger.*Philis*

Le tien est jaloux,

*Sylvie*

le tien est leger,

*Philis*

Il faut le punir,

*Sylvie*

Il faut nous vanger,

*Philis*

Il faut le bannir,

*Sylvie*

Il faut le changer. :||

*Ensemble* [43,l]

ſ. Il faut le bannir,  
Il faut le changer,  
Il faut estre legere:  
Changeons, Bergere,  
Changeons de berger.

&

*Second couplet*

*Ensemble*

Perdons l'envie  
D'aymer constamment.

*Philis*

Ce n'est que douleur,

*Sylvie*

ce n'est que tourment,

Changeons chaque jour,

*Sylvie*

Et chaque moment,

*Philis*

Changeons nostre amour,

*Sylvie*

Changeons nostre amant. :||

*Ensemble*

ſ. Changeons nostre amour,  
Changeons nostre amant,  
Passons ainsy la vie.  
Perdons l'envie  
D'aymer constamment.

IX<sup>1</sup>

*Autre*

Lambert

*Pour les mesmes voix.*

*PHILIS, SYLVIE*

[43,r]

*Phylis [Sylvie]*

Que ferons nous?

*Sylvie [Philis, & Tyrsis]*

que devons nous choisir?

*Philis [Sylvie, & Tyrsis]*

D'aymer toujours?

*Sylvie [Tous Trois]*

ou de rompre nos chaisnes?

*Philis [Sylvie]*

Vivre en ayment c'est vivre dans les peynes,

*Sylvie [Philis, & Tyrsis]*

Et vivre sans amour c'est vivre sans plaisir. :||

*Ensemble [Tous Trois]*

Ah! puis qu'il faut souffrir et languir dans la vie,  
Que telle est du destin la cruelle rigueur,

*Sylvie [Sylvie, & Tyrsis]*

Aymons, Philis,

*Philis [Philis, & Tyrsis]*

aymons, Sylvie,

*Ensemble [Tous Trois]*

Et languissons au moins d'une douce langueur.

1 Ed. 1661, p. 236: DIALOGUE A TROIS. Pour deux bergeres & un Berger. Deux Dessus & une Basse.

X<sup>1</sup>*Autre**Pour une Taille et un dessus.*

ALCIDOR, SYLVIE

*Ensemble*O destin malheureux!  
O tourment rigoureux!

Lambert

[Blank 44,l]

XI

[44,r]

*Air a deux. Taille et dessus.**Pour un Berger et une Bergere.*

&amp;

Adieu, mon cœur, adieu,  
Pour la dernière fois je te dis en ce lieu.Adieu, mon cœur, adieu. :||  
Contre ce mal nos seules armes  
Sont les plaintes et les soupirs,  
f. Pleurons, et séparant nos biens et nos plaisirs.  
Meslons au moins nos soupirs et nos larmes.

&amp;

Je meurs! hélas! je meurs!  
Le cœur outré d'ennuis et percé de douleurs,  
Je meurs! hélas! je meurs!  
Contre ce mal &c.XII<sup>2</sup>*Air à deux dessus.**Pour deux Bergers.*

&amp;

Voicy le printemps,  
Voicy le beau temps  
Que toutes les fleurs sont écloses.  
Hélas! et nous restons  
Languissantes et closes. :||  
f. Amour, de tes boutons  
Quand feras tu des Roses?

Perdigal

&amp;

1 Ed. 1661, pp. 240-241: (Sylvie, Tyrsis).  
2 Ed. 1661, p. 241. RECIT A DEUX VOIX.Tout ayme en tous lieux,  
La terre et les cieux,  
Les bois, les vallons, et les plaines;  
D'amour et de plaisirs  
Les campagnes sont pleines :||  
f. Et nous, de ses desirs  
Nous n'avons que les peynes.

[45,r]

XIII

*Air a trois dessus.**Pour trois Bergeres.*

A ce beau temps

Du Printemps,

Tout rit, tout fleurit, dans ce parterre,  
Tout rit, tout fleurit, dans ce beau séjour. :||  
f. A ce beau temps, à ce beau jour,  
Cueillons les fleurs de la terre,  
Et les doux fruits de l'amour.

Lambert

&amp;

[Space left for further verses]

XIV

*Grand air en parties.**Bergers et Bergeres.*Adieu, trompeur, adieu, perfide Amour.  
Que maudit soit le jour,  
Que tes funestes flames  
Ont brûlé dans nos ames.  
Vivre dessous tes loix,  
Ingrat! ce n'est pas vivre,  
C'est mourir mille fois;

Perdigal

C'est trop longtemps te servir et te suivre.  
Enfin de ton pouvoir la raison nous délivre.  
Mais hélas! quel moyen de guerir de tes coups?  
Et de rompre des fers si charmants et si doux?  
Non, non, cruel Amour! il faut souffrir tes peynes,  
Et deussions-nous languir incessamment  
Et mourir dans tes chaisnes,  
Il faut languir et mourir en aymant.

[45,r]

XV

*Autre air en parties.**Pour la naissance de Monseig<sup>r</sup> Le Dauphin.*Paissez l'herbe et les fleurs de ces belles prairies,  
Douce Brebis! petits Aigreaux!

Sablieres

Bondissez à l'envy sur les plaines fleuries,  
Tandis que nous dirons dessus nos chalumeaux: :||

J. Ah! le beau jour!  
Un cher Dauphin, un jeune Maistre  
Nous vient de naistre,  
Un gage de paix et d'amour.  
Ah! le beau jour!

&amp;

De Roses et de Lys couronnez vostre teste,  
Jeunes Bergers, Nymphes des bois!  
Accourez accourez a cette grande feste,  
Et chantez avec nous d'une commune voix. :||  
J. Ah! le beau jour! &c.

XVI

*Sarabande en parties*

[46,l]

*Pour Madame representant Diane.*

Chantez, Bergers, chanter, Bergeres,  
Pres des buissons et des fougères. :||  
J. Diane a des attrait  
Incomparables  
Et tout cede a ses traits  
Inevitables.

&amp;

Rien n'est egal, dans ces campagnes,  
A la beauté de ses compagnes. :||  
J. Mais elle a des attrait  
Incomparables &c.

XVII

*Piece de Concert, Meslee de chœurs et de recits*

&amp;

*UN BERGER, TAILLE, LE CHŒUR**Le Berger*

Victoire! Amour!  
Iris est dans tes chaisnes.

Boisset

*Le Chœur*

Victoire! Amour! &amp;c.

*Le Berger*

La cruelle à son tour  
A resseny ton ardeur et mes peynes.  
Victoire! Amour! &c.

*Ensemble*

Victoire! Amour! &amp;c.

*Le Berger*

Celebrons ce beau jour,  
Qui l'a soumise à tes loix souveraines,  
Victoire! Amour! &c.

[46,r]

*Le Chœur*

Victoire! Amour! &amp;c.

XVIII<sup>1</sup>*Autre Piece de Concert.**Pour un mariage.**Le Chœur*

Que de plaisirs attendent ces amants!  
Que de beaux jours! de douces nuits! d'heureux moments!

Cambert

*Recit, dessus*

A l'aymable Alcidor Iris donne sa foy;  
Amour, ce doux tyran des ames,  
Enfin a rangé sous sa loy  
Ce cœur insensible à ses flammes.

*Le Chœur*

Que de plaisirs. &amp;c.

*Recit, Taille*

Pour eux le beau Printemps a chassé les hyvers,  
Pour eux naissent dessus la terre  
Les Roses et les Myrthes verds,  
Pour eux le Ciel finit la guerre.

*Le Chœur*

Que de plaisirs &amp;c.

1 Ed. 1661, p. 270: EPITHALAME ou PAROLES DE MUSIQUE Pour un Mariage en Avril 1661.

*Recit, Taille Basse*

Les Graces, les Amours, les Ris et les Appas,  
 Les passetemps et les Caresses,  
 Toujours les suivront pas à pas,  
 Les Regards, les douces Tendresses. [47,l]

*Le Chœur*

Que de plaisirs &c.

XIX<sup>1</sup>

*Autres.*

*Pour le Retour du Roy, en 1660.*

*Le Chœur*

Des fleurs! des fleurs, Sablières &  
 Plus de cris, ny de pleurs, Perdigal  
 Plus de peur ny d'allarmes,  
 Plus de guerre, plus d'armes,  
 Des fleurs, des fleurs.

*Recit, dessus*

Enfin le Ciel contente nostre envie,  
 Le voicy de retour,  
 Au milieu de sa cour.  
 Plein de gloire et de vie,  
 Plus beau, plus brillant que le jour;  
 Voicy le Roy le plus grand de la terre,  
 Qui vient chargé de couronnes de guerre,  
 Cueillir des couronnes d'amour.

*Le Chœur*

Des fleurs &c.

XX

*Autre*

*Recit, Taille*

La fortune vole des Cieux, Sablières  
 Je la voy qui vient en ces lieux, [47,r]  
 Où sera sa descente?  
 Qui l'aura? qui l'aura?  
 Et sur qui tombera  
 Cette belle inconstante?

*Le Chœur*

Qui l'aura, &c.

*Recit, La mesme voix*

Elle fait mille tours,  
 Et change d'heure en heure.  
 Elle roule toujours,  
 Et jamais ne demeure,  
 Elle suit qui la fuit,  
 Elle fuyt qui la suit,  
 Et toujours de nos cœurs elle trompe l'attente;  
 Qui l'aura? &c.

*Le Chœur*

Qui l'aura? &c.

*Recit, la mesme voix*

Ah! c'est moy qu'elle veut choisir;  
 La voyla qui s'en vient contenter mon desir,  
 Et qui porte en mes bras la charmante Climene.  
 O fortune d'amour! ô douceur! ô plaisir!  
 Mais où s'en va cette inhumaine?  
 La voyla qui s'enfuit, la voyla qui l'emmene;  
 Helas! le plus souvent &c.  
 Fortune, Amour, plaisir ce n'est rien que du vent.

*Le Chœur*

Helas! le plus souvent

XXI

[48,l]

*Autre Piece de Concert en parties.*

*Le Chœur*

Aux armes, Amour à l'assaut! aux armes!

*Recit*

Perce de tes coups, brule de tes feux,  
 Charge de tes fers, un cœur orgueilleux.  
 Qui rit de mes larmes.

*Le Chœur*

Aux armes &c.

XXII<sup>1</sup>*Autre**Sur la Paix, en 1660.*

Sus, sus, guerriers!  
 Quittez Palme et Lauriers,  
 Coronnez vous de myrthe et de Lierre.

Sablières

&amp;

Voicy le jour  
 Que le dieu de la guerre  
 Cede à Bacchus, cede à l'amour  
 L'Empire de la terre:  
 Voicy le temps  
 Des Jeux, des Passetemps.  
 Des doux plaisirs de l'amour et du verre.  
 Sus, sus, guerriers! &c.

XXIII<sup>2</sup>*Autre**Sur le mesme sujet.*

Ha! que de biens en mesme temps  
 Vont donner à la France  
 Amour, la Paix et le Printemps!  
 Ha! les doux fruits! ha! la Douce esperance!  
 La Paix nous donne enfin  
 Le calme et l'abondance.  
 Le renouveau des fleurs et l'Amour un Dauphin.  
 Ha! les doux fruits! ha! la douce esperance!  
 Ha! que de biens en mesme temps  
 Vont donner à la France  
 Amour, la Paix et le Printemps.

Lambert  
[48,r]

1 Ed. 1661, pp. 223-224: CONCERT POUR CHANTER devant la Cour, après la Paix & le Mariage, Air à quatre Parties.

2 Ed. 1661, p. 243. POUR CHANTER DEVANT LEURS MAJESTEZ en Avril 1661. RONDEAU.

XXIV

*Chanson en parties.**Recit, Dessus*

La Rose et l'amour  
 Ne durent q'un jour.

Cambert

*Le Chœur*

La Rose &amp;c.

*Recit, la mesme voix*

La Rose et l'amour ont mesme destin,  
 De naistre et fleurir,  
 Secher et mourir,  
 Du soir au matin.

*Le Chœur*

La Rose, &amp;c.

*Recit, Taille*

Passé le Printemps et la nouveauté  
 Adieu pour jamais,  
 Adieu ses attraits,  
 Adieu sa beauté.

*Le Chœur*

La Rose &amp;c.

*Recit, Taille Basse*

Pour les empecher tous deux de vieillir,  
 Pendant le beau temps  
 De nostre Printemps  
 Il faut les cueillir.

[49,l]

*Le Chœur*

La Rose &amp;c.



Nostre partage,  
Ce dit le sage!  
C'est de jouyr  
Des plaisirs de la vie;  
Et quand la soif ou l'amour nous convie,  
Faire l'amour, boire et se rejouyr.

&amp;

Sus donc, Camarades,  
Rejouyssons nous,  
Faisons mille rasades,  
Beuvons mille coups;  
Mangeons nos Souppes,  
Vuidons nos coupes  
Et donnons à nos sens  
Les plaisirs innocents.

II

*Air à boire*

Pleurons, freres, pleurons nostre nourisse est morte,  
Nous n'aurons plus de laict.  
Helas! quelle pitié! la voyla qu'on emporte  
Sur les bras d'un valet. :||  
j. Mais en voycy venir une toute nouvelle,  
Chantons, freres, chantons et tettons sa mammelle.

&amp;

Sonnez, cloches, sonnez, et d'un ton lamentable  
Ne cesser de tinter,  
Helas! nostre mamman vient de mourir à table,  
En donnant à tetter. :||  
j. Mais en voycy venir &c.

III

[52,r]

*Air à boire*

D'un penible Soucy je me sens tourmenter  
Je ne scay si je doy, pour chasser l'humeur noire,  
Ou chanter ou pinter. :||  
j. Nargue! c'est trop rever, il faut chanter et boire,  
Du vin, du vin, il faut boire et chanter.

Perdigal

&amp;

Sur ce doute important c'est assez consulter.  
Pour chasser les ennuis loin de nostre memoire,  
Et pour les enchanter. :||  
j. Amy, cest le Secret, il faut chanter &c.

IV

*Autre*

Quand je bois avec Amarante  
Du Rossolis à petits coups,  
Je dy d'une voix languissante,  
Ah! qu'il est doux. ah! qu'il est doux!  
j. Mais quand je boy du vin de Rheims ou de Tonnerre,  
Avec quelque bon gros garson,  
Je dy d'une voix de tonnerre  
Ah! qu'il est bon! Ah! qu'il est bon!

&amp;

Lors que je goute une bouteille  
De vin d'Espagne ou de Muscat,  
Je dy en baissant une oreille,  
Ah! qu'il est fin et delicat!  
j. Mais quand &c.

V

*Autre*

Qui de vous dois-je aymer le mieux  
Ou vous, belle Philis? ou vous, ô noble yvrogne?  
Amour est peint dans vos beaux yeux,  
Le vin est peint sur vostre trogne,  
Qui de vous dois-je aymer le mieux?

Perdigal  
[53,l]

&amp;

Ha! que je vous ayme tous deux!  
O beuveur sans pareil! ô beauté sans seconde!  
Tous deux vous monstrez à mes yeux  
Ce que j'ayme le plus au monde,  
Ha! que je vous ayme tous deux!

&amp;

Pour ne point faire de jaloux.  
Voicy comme il vous faut partager ce me semble.  
Je boiray le jour avec vous,  
Nous passerons la nuit ensemble,  
Pour ne point faire de jaloux.

VI<sup>1</sup>*Autre*

Pauvre amoureux transy, Cambert  
 La veille et le soucy  
 Te rendent pasle et jaune.  
 Jaune comme un soucy. :||

ſ. Moy qui n'ay point d'amour que pour le vin de Beaune,  
 Je suis gros, je suis gras, je suis frais et vermeil,  
 Et ne perdis jamais un moment de sommeil.

&amp;

Ton visage est plissé  
 Ton sourcil a baissé,  
 Ton nez est long d'une aune,  
 Ton œil est enfoncé. :||

ſ. Moy qui n'ay point d'amour &c.

VII<sup>2</sup>

[53,r]

*Autre*

Que l'inventeur de la bouteille Cambert  
 Fut un grand fat, :||  
 D'avoir mis<sup>3</sup> le jus de la treille  
 Dans un vaisseau si delicat! :||

ſ. Vive les flacons et les pots,  
 Bacchus y sommeille en repos.

&amp;

Quoy! mettre à la mercy du verre  
 Et de l'osier :||

Le plus noble jus de la terre,  
 Et les delices du gosier? :||

ſ. Vive &c.

&amp;

Alors que je frappe ma pinte  
 De mon grand broc :||  
 Au lieu de casser, elle tinte,  
 Et ne branle non plus q'un roc. :||

ſ. Vive &c.

&amp;

Au son personne ne rechigne,  
 L'on court au vin, :||  
 La bouteille est comme le Cygne,  
 Elle ne chante qu'à sa fin. :||

ſ. Vive &c.

VIII<sup>1</sup>*Autre*

*Pour le Jour de la Saint Martin.*

&amp;

Sus, sus, Enfants, voicy le jour Cambert  
 Du grand Patron de la vendange,  
 Chantons, et disons tour à tour  
 Ce beau Cantique à sa louïange, :|| [54,1]

ſ. O Saint, bon Saint Martin!  
 Chasse les frimats de nos terres,  
 Et verse dans nos verres  
 Un deluge de vin.

&amp;

Enyyrons-nous, enyyrons-nous,  
 Pour mieux solemniser sa feste,  
 Et prosternez à deux genoux,  
 Faisons luy cette humble requeste. :||  
 ſ. O Saint, &c.

&amp;

Pour contenter l'esprit malin,  
 Donne luy ton froc et ta cape,  
 Mais des griffes de ce vilain  
 Sauve le doux jus de la grappe. :||  
 ſ. O Saint, &c.

&amp;

Gresle dessus les Parpaillots,  
 Qui te refusent leur hommage,  
 Mais pour nous autres bons fillots  
 Qui prions devant ton image. :||  
 ſ. O Saint, &c.

IX<sup>2</sup>*Autre*

O charmante bouteille! Cambert  
 Pourquoi renfermes-tu  
 Dans un osier tortu  
 Ta liqueur sans pareille? :||  
 ſ. Pourquoi nous caches-tu sous tes sombres habits  
 Ton ambre et tes tubis?

1 Ed. 1661, pp. 260-261.

2 Ed. 1661, pp. 259-260.

1 Ed. 1661, pp. 263-264.

2 Ed. 1661, p. 266.

3 Var. 1661: d'enfermer.

&amp;

Pour contenter la veüe,  
Ainsy que le gosier,  
Depouïlle ton osier,  
Monstre toy toute nüe. :||

[54,r]

ſ. Et ne nous cache plus &c.

X

*Autre**Pour M. D. B.*

&amp;

A la santé de Roland,  
J'enten l'amoureux, j'entend le galand  
Qui nous regarde,  
Car du furieux dieu nous en garde. :||  
ſ. Garson, serve du vin, verse du vin au nostre,  
Qu'il ne meure de soif ainsy que mourut l'autre.

Cambert

&amp;

Si le Rival de Medor  
Eust eu ce Palais et ces Louys d'or,  
Son angelique  
Jamais à ce preux n'eust fait la nique. :||  
ſ. Garson &c.

XI

*Autre**Pour M. C.*

Quand nous beuvons, Philis, vostre aymable liqueur,  
Un feu secret s'allume dans notre ame:  
On ne scayt si cest vous qui nous charmez le cœur,  
Ou vostre jus qui l'eveille et l'enflame. :||  
ſ. Mais on le sent bruler, et languir tour à tour  
De plaisir et d'amour.

&amp;

[Space left for further verses]

XII

[55,l]

*Chansons à boire.**Bourrée*

Ah! le doux Echo que nous faisons,  
Ma bouteille et moy quand nous nous baisons. :||  
ſ. Ma bouteille fait glouglou, glouglou, glouglou, glouglou,  
Et mon gosier fait loulou, loulou, loulou, loulou.  
Ah! le doux Echo &c.

Ah! le doux Echo que nous faisons,  
Ma Philis et moy quand nous nous baisons. :||  
ſ. Je luy dy mon cœur, mon cher amour, mon cher amour,  
Elle me repond: mon cœur! m'amour! mon cœur! m'amour!  
Ah! le doux Echo &c.

XIII

*Sarabande*

Helas! bouteille miserable, Moulinié  
Qui t'a rompu par le goulet? :||  
Ha! cest toy maraut de valet,  
En l'apportant dessus la table. :||  
ſ. Que tu me fais pitié quand je te voy pisser,  
Et repandre du vin au lieu de le verser.

&amp;

Au lieu de vider dans mon verre  
Le pretieux jus du tonneau, :||  
Tu ne peux retenir ton eau,  
Et laisses tout tomber à terre. :||  
ſ. Que tu me fais pitié &c.

XIV

*Menuet*

Lors que j'ay beu cinq ou six coups,  
Je croy que le ciel bouleverse. :||  
Je voy tout dans dessus dessous,  
Lors que j'ay beu cinq ou six coups,  
ſ. Mais ce qui me semble plus doux,  
Je voy Philis à la renverse.

[55,r]

&amp;

Je trouve bons tous les ragousts,  
Et tout le vin que l'on me verse. :||  
Je prends les Navets pour des Choux,  
Je trouve bons tous les ragousts,  
ſ. Mais ce qui me &c.

## XV

*Gavotte et Gygue*

Dans un repas,  
Estant pres de Nanette,  
Ne pensez pas  
Luy parler d'amourette. :||  
Au premier doit,  
Elle chante, elle boit,  
Elle saute, elle fringue:  
j. Amour est au croq,  
Parlez luy du choc,  
De la tasse et du broc,  
De cric et croc,  
De Masse, tope et tingué.

Sablières

&amp;

Si vous voulez  
Avoir ses bonnes graces,  
Ne luy parlez  
Jamais de dire graces. :||  
Au premier doit &c.

## XVI

*Dialogue à boire, à deux dessus,**Pour deux dames**Premier dessus*

[56,l]

O dieu! que l'amour est charmant!

Cambert

*Second dessus*

O q'un festin est agreable!  
Boire à longs traits,

*Premier [dessus]*

capturer un amant,

*Ensemble*

Rien n'est si doux, rien n'est si delectable. :||  
j. Faisons, faisons incessamment  
Le saut de l'Allemand,  
De la table au lit et du lit à la table.

&amp;

[Space left for further verses]

XVII<sup>1</sup>*Air à deux dessus.**Pour deux dames.*

Faisons bonne chere,  
Et beuvons, ma chere,  
A la santé de nos amants. :||  
j. Passons nos jours dans les contentements,  
La melancolie  
N'est que folie,  
Trinquons tour à tour,  
Et faisons l'amour.

[56,r]

&amp;

Ma foy, l'Abstinence  
Et la continence  
Vaut aujourd'hui moins q'un Festu. :||  
j. Tous ces grands noms d'honneur et de vertu,  
Passent pour Chimeres  
De nos grandsmeres,  
Trinquons &c.

[Blank 57,l]



Flambeau des nuits! Reyne de l'ombre!  
 Dont la lumiere sombre  
 Roule et change toujours!  
 Charmante Lune!  
 Tu ressembles ma Brune,  
 Dont les Amours  
 Roulent et changent tous les jours.

&amp;

Helas! si dans ce changement  
 Je trouvois un heureux moment  
 Je serais satisfait de ma perseverance;  
 Et je bornerois mon desir,  
 Si j'obtenois en recompense,  
 Pour tant de maux, un moment de plaisir.

&amp;

Un moment de plaisir, s'écria la Bergere,  
 Qui se cachoit sous la fougere,  
 La recompense est trop legere, [59,l]  
 Non, non, Berger, assure toy  
 De ma constance et de ma foy;  
 Et croy que l'amour de Sylvie  
 Ne finira qu'à la fin de sa vie.

&amp;

Après ces doux propos je ne scay ce qu'ils firent,  
 L'ombre et les bois à mes yeux les couvrent.  
 Et je n'entendis plus que de tendres soupirs;  
 Pour moy je croy que c'estoient les Zephirs,  
 Qui baisoient Flore  
 Au lever de l'Aurore.

VI

*Autre Recit, en serenade.*

Dormez, dormez en paix, trop heureuse Sylvie! Perdigal  
 C'est à moy de veiller et de passer les nuits  
 Dans les tourments, les pleurs et les ennuis:  
 Vous qui vivez sans crainte et sans envie,  
 Goustez les charmes de la vie,  
 Et sans que mes soupirs vous troublent desormais,  
 Dormez, dormez en paix, trop heureuse Sylvie!  
 Dormez, dormez en paix.

&amp;

Dormez, dormez en paix, trop heureuse Sylvie! Perdigal  
 Laissez moy soupirer et languir nuit et jour  
 De desespoir, de douleur et d'amour.  
 Vous qui vivez &c.

VII

*Dialogue en serenade**PHILIS, TYRSIS**Philis* [59,r]

Il est nuit, mon Berger, allons, allons dormir.

*Tyrsis*

Allons, allons dormir.

*Ensemble*

C'est trop longtemps soupirer et gemir,  
 Allons, allons dormir.

Puis que la nuit en ce lieu nous assemble,  
 Allons, allons dormir,

*Tyrsis*

allons dormir ensemble.

*Ensemble*

Allons, allons dormir, allons dormir ensemble.

[Blank 59,r; 60; 61,l]

PAROLES DE MUSIQUE pour des [61,r]

MASCARADES ET DES BALLETS

*Mascarade en musique Eglogue ou Pastorale*

*Trois Bergers et deux Bergeres*

*Les Bergers*

Le Papillon vole de fleurette en fleurette  
Du lys au Muguet, du Muguet au Lys, :||  
f. Il faut l'imiter au jeu d'amourette,  
Et baiser Cloris, Philis et Nanette;  
Il faut l'imiter au jeu d'amourette,  
Et baiser Cloris, Nanette et Philis.

*Les Bergeres*

Imitez plutost la douce Tourterelle,  
Qui ne change point sa compagne fidele:  
Incessamment elle luy fait la cour,  
Elle la suit, au bois, à la campagne,  
Et si la mort luy ravit sa compagne,  
Elle gemit et se plaint nuit et jour,  
Et meurt enfin de douleur et d'amour.

*Les Bergers*

Amour est un Oyseau volage,  
Il se plaist à voler, il se plaist à courir, :||  
f. Si tost qu'il est pris et qu'il est en cage  
L'ennuy le devore et le fait mourir.

*Les Bergeres*

Quoy! lors que vous aimez une jeune Bergere,  
Voulez-vous qu'elle soit inconstante et legere? [62,l]  
Et Pouvez vous souffrir un pareil changement,  
Sans bruler de courroux et mourir de tourment?

*Les Bergers*

Plus d'amour et moins de constance!  
J'ayme mieux un ardent amour,  
Qui naisse et qui meure en un jour,  
Q'une froide perseverance.  
Plus d'amour et moins de constance.

*Les Bergeres*

Moins d'amour et plus de constance.  
J'ayme mieux un amour plus lent,  
Q'un feu leger et violent,  
Qui meure au jour de sa naissance.  
Moins d'amour et plus de constance.

*Ensemble*

Amour et constance  
Pour les vrays amants;  
Et pour les trompeurs, froideurs, changements,  
Douleur et souffrance. :||

&

C'est la loy qu'aux Bergers imposent les Bergeres,  
Dans ces bois et dans ces fougeres;  
C'est la loy qu'en ces lieux  
Veulent suivre à jamais les Nymphes et les Dieux.

II

*Autre Mascade,*

*Meslée de danses et de musiques*

*Le Mariage du Roy Guillemot*

*Premiere Entrée* [62,r]

*Danse*

*Le Roy Guillemot ayant ouy parler de la beauté et de la Gentillesse des dames de la cour, vient pour y chercher femme, suivy de Roger Bontemps et de Robert vinot ses fideles sujets, et fait une entrée de danse.*

*Le Roy Guillemot*

Pour choisir une femme en cette illustre cour,  
En vain j'ouvre les yeux et chausse mes lunettes:  
J'y voy mille beautez blondines et brunettes,  
Dont les charmants regards me donnent de l'amour:  
Mais toutes à mon gré paressent bien finettes.  
J'en admire les traits, la grace, l'enbonpoint,  
Je les trouve à mes yeux belles fraîches et blanches.  
Mais d'où vient, mes amis, que je n'en trouve point  
Qui se mouche dessus les manches?

*Roger Bontemps*

Hô! bon Roy Guillemot! en voicy la raison.  
 Cest que de nostre temps les mouchoirs estoient rares,  
 Et l'on leur enseignoit qu'il falloit estre avarés,  
 Pour faire une bonne maison;  
 C'estoit alors une prudence extreme,  
 Mais à present que l'on leve au marché  
 De la toile à si bon marché,  
 L'on ne se mouche pas de mesme.

*Robert Vinot*

Le bon temps qui estoit, quand au lieu de Levriers  
 On menoit les cochons en laisse, [63,l]  
 Lors que sur un poignet tout parsemé de graisse,  
 On portoit des Coqs d'Inde en guise d'Epreviens.  
 Lors on pouvait compter sur la foy des Donzelles,  
 Mais en ce temps de fourbe et de Grippe minauts,  
 Je croy qu'il est aussy peu de pucelles,  
 Que de Rogers Bontemps et de Robertsvinots.

*Deja le bonhomme Guillemot, charmé de la beauté des dames, se determinoit d'en choisir une de la troupe; lors que Cocuage s'apparoist à luy, armé de cornes de toute maniere, qui chante ce recit.*

*Second Entrée**Musique**Le Cocuage. Recit.*

Bien que je change l'homme en beste,  
 Et luy plante la corne au front,  
 Par tout on celebre ma feste; :||  
 f. Et ce qui passoit pour affront  
 N'est plus q'un ornement de teste.

&amp;

Aussy troubler sa phantaisie  
 De ce qu'on ne voit ny ne sent,  
 N'est ce pas une frenesie? :||  
 f. Mon mal est un mal innocent  
 S'il n'est suivy de jalousie.

*Le Roy Guillemot, épouvanté de la vision et du Recit, change son dessein d'épouser une jeune dame de la Cour pour celui de prendre la Reyne Gillette, qui estoit une bonne Dame du temps passé, dont il ne pourroit soupçonner la fidelité. En effect il l'envoye querir par Roger Bontemps, qui l'amene, suivie de Dame Alison et de Dame Perrette, ses fideles sujettes.* [63,r]

*Troisiesme Entrée**Danse*

*LA REYNE GILLETTE, DAME ALISON, DAME PERRETTE*

*La Reyne Gillette**Aux Dames.*

Vous vous moquez de mes vieux affiquets,  
 Et de ma grande vertugale;  
 Et vous dites dans vos caquets  
 Que je semble la Martingale.  
 Mais je l'emporte toutefois,  
 Et vous voyez, dans cette concurrence,  
 Que j'ay la preference,  
 Lors qu'entre vous et moy l'on balance du choix.  
 Ainsy le veut Amour, tandis que la fillette  
 S'amuse bien souvent à croquer le marmot,  
 Une Reyne Gillette  
 Trouve un Roy Guillemot.

&amp;

*Dame Alison*

Pour moy, je ne m'etonne pas  
 Si malgré nos deffauts nous faisons des conquestes.  
 Nous avons de certains appas  
 Qui valent bien la beauté des coquettes.  
 Le plus souvent elles ne valent rien,  
 Ou sont vaines et depensieres  
 Mais nous, nous sommes menageres,  
 Et mercy dieu femmes de bien.

*Dame Perrette*

Ma foy, Dame Alison, disons la verité: [64,l]  
 La plupart de ce que nous sommes  
 Alors que nous quittons les hommes,  
 Cest bien moins par vertu que par necessité.  
 Ou belle ou laide, on vieille ou jeune,  
 Cest à regret que l'on en jeusne,  
 Et si l'on n'a l'effect, on a la volonté.

*Le Roy Guillemot, ravy de voir la Reyne Gillette, luy touche dans la main et danse avec elle et sa troupe. Il branle des nopces lorsque Cocuage paroist pour la seconde fois, qui se meslant à la danse, plante subtilement des cornes au bonhomme, et fait voir qu'on est aussy bien trompé des vieilles et des laides que des jeunes et des belles.*

*Quatriesme Entrée**Musique**Le Cocuage**Recit.*

En vain pour m'éviter on evite les belles  
 Ce n'est pas la beauté qui fait les infideles. :||  
 C'est le destin qui fait tous mes sujets  
 Pour m'échaper on fait de vains projets  
 j. Et qui naist sous mon astre  
 Fuit en vain son desastre.

## III

*Ballet**Meslé de musiques**Ballet des faux Roys.*

*Ce ballet represente les Royautez fausses et supposées: il est divisé en quatre parties, chaque partie est de six Entrées, et devancée par un recit. La premiere partie represente les Roys de la fable, la seconde les Roys visionnaires, la troisieme les Roys des Jeux, la quatriesme les Roys des festes.* [64,r]

*La premiere partie dont la Fable fait l'ouverture represente premierement les Roys de la fable Ancienne, Juppiter, Neptune et Pluton, avec leurs epouses, Junon, Amphitrite et Proserpine, Roys et Reynes du Ciel, de la mer et des Enfers. Ensuite les Roys de la fable moderne, et premierement ceux de la fable Espagnole des Amadis, puis ceux de fiction populaire; le Roy grand-nez, qui est un Roy supposé dont l'on fait mille contes, le Roy Guillemot, dont le regne marque celui du bon temps et de la simplicité; La Reyne Gillette, qui represente la pauvreté orgueilleuse. Et le Roy malobey, ou le Roy Petaut, dont il est dit. Quand il commande personne ne bouge.*

*La seconde partie, dont la Folie fait l'ouverture, represente les Roys visionnaires; le celebre Don Quichot, Soy pretendant Roy d'une Isle de l'Amerique; le Roy d'Ethiopie pretendu, qui vint en France il y a quelques années; Trivelin, devenu Roy, tel qu'il est representé dans la Comedie Italienne, appelée TRIVELINO FATTO PRINCIPE, et trois sortes de visionnaires, qui se croyent Roys, un Nain, qui se croit devenu Roy des Pygmées, et veut combattre contre les Grées; Deux Astrologues, devenus fous, qui croyent estre Roys du Royaume de la Lune; et un Philosophe troublé, qui se dit Roys des espaces imaginaires.*

*La troisieme partie represente les Roys inventez par les Jeux et de celle-cy le Jeu fait l'ouverture. Entre ces Roys on choisit ceux des jeux les plus divertissants et les plus connus; Le Roy depouillé, le Roy qui commande, le Roy Artus, le Roy qui mene, les Roys et les Reynes des Cartes, et les Roys et les Reynes des Eschecs.* [65,1]

*La quatriesme, dont Bacchus et Mome font l'ouverture, l'un dieu de la debauche, et l'autre des Mommeries et des divertissements, represente les Roys des festes, que le peuple elit par divertissement a certains jours solempnels, le Roy des Roys, ou le Roy de la Fibue, élu la veille des Roys; le Roy et la Reyne de l'Echolle, qui promonent les Enfants dans les rues, le jour des S<sup>te</sup> Catherine; le Roy et la Reyne de la My-caresme, qui sont un Crocheteur et une Harengere, qu'elisent ce jour-là les crocheteurs et les harengeres de la halle; le Roy de la Feste, qui est un des principaux villageois que les autres elisent aux festes de village, pour Maistre de la danse, et le Roy du mois de May, ou le Celebre Roy de la Basoche, plantant le May du Palais. Enfin la Reyne de Pasques, qui est une petite fille que ses compagnes exposent à la porte, au festes de Pasques, parée et couronnée pour avoir des doubles des passants.*

## PREMIERE PARTIE

## LES ROYS DE LA FABLE

## LA FABLE

*La Fable portant un masque à la main, habillée sur le derriere à l'antique, et sur le devant à la moderne, fait ce recit.*

*Recit*

Des Roys que j'ay forgez, j'ay conté mille songes,  
 Mille rares vertus, mille exploits inouys; :||  
 j. Mais tout ce que ma voix en a dit de mensonges,  
 N'a jamais surpassé les grandeurs de Louis.

&amp;

Ce Roy juste et vaillant est le parfait modele  
 Des dieux et des heros par la Grece inventez. :||  
 j. Cest l'exemple vivant et le portrait fidele  
 De ces Roys fabuleux que l'Espagne a vantez.

*Premiere Entrée*

[65,r]

## LES ROYS DE LA FABLE ANCIENNE

JUPPITER et JUNON, NEPTUNE et AMPHITRITE,

PLUTON et PROSERPINE.

*Habits a la Grecque.*

## Seconde Entrée

## LES ROYS DE LA FABLE ESPAGNOLE ou LES AMADIS

*Amadis de Gaule, avec Oriane sa maistresse, et six des principaux Chevaliers de l'Amadis, armez en Chevaliers errants, avec leurs ecus et devises Espagnoles.*

## III Entrée

## LE ROY GRANDNEZ

*Cette entrée represente le conte du Roy grandnez et des trois chauderonniers de Beaumont, lesquels le trouvant seul et travesty dans la forest l'obligerent à porter leurs chauderons jusqu'à ce que le Roy ayant rencontré ses gens en fit pendre deux et pardonna au troisieme.*

## Entrée IV

## LE ROY GUILLEMOT

*Un vieux Roy, vestu à l'antique, suivy de six bonnes gens, vestus simplement, qui se mouchent à la manche et boyvent d'autant.*

## Entrée V

~~La Reyne Gillette~~ LA REYNE GILLETTE

*Une vieille Reyne, parée de vieux affiquets, suivie d'un malotru Page, qui luy porte la queüe, et quatre vieilles de sa façon, faisant les sottés et les orgueilleuses.*

## Entrée VI

## LE ROY PETAUT

*Un Roy qui se tüe de commander à des gens qui ne bougent, et font [66,1] tout le contraire de ses volontés. Habits à phantaisie.*

## SECONDE PARTIE.

## LES ROYS VISIONNAIRES.

## La Folie

*La Folie, extravagamment habillée, fait ce recit.*

## Recit

Je suis l'agreable Folie,  
Le charme de toute la Cour,  
La douce compagne d'amour,  
Et le tombeau de la melancolie. :||  
J. Vous qui semez par tout la peyne et le soucy,  
La crainte et l'infortune,  
O raison importune!  
Allez, fuyez, retirez vous d'icy.

## Entrée I

## DOM QUICHOT,

## ROY D'UNE ISLE DE L'AMERIQUE.

*Il est accompagné de Sancho Pansa, son ecuyer, et semble distribuer les provinces de son Royaume pretendu. Habits de phantaisie.*

## Entrée II

## LE ROY D'ETHIOPIE

*Un roy, More blanc, de haute taille, frais et vigoureux faisant quatorze caprioles de suite. Habits à la Moresque.*

## Entrée III

## TRIVELIN DEVENU ROY.

*Trivelin suivy de Ministres d'Estat, à qui il commande des choses impertinentes.* [66,r]

## Entrée IV

## LE ROY DES PYGMEES

*Un petit garçon deguisé en nain, avec un bouclier et une grande epée, qui semble combattre contre des grües qui volent en l'air.*

## Entrée V

## LES ROYS DE LA LUNE

*Deux Astrologues devenus fous, lesquels ayants cru voir par leurs lunettes, un nouveau monde dans la Lune, se sont imaginé d'en estre les Roys. Leurs habits sont semez de croissants d'argent.*

## Entrée VI

## LES ROYS DES ESPACES IMAGINAIRES

*Un Philosophe croyant des espaces imaginaires s'est figuré d'en estre le Roy. Habit de Pedant.*

## TROISIÈSME PARTIE.

## LES ROYS DES JEUX.

## LE JEU

*Un jeune homme masqué et habillé à la mode, fait ce recit.*

## Recit

Jeunes beautez, qui passez vostre vie  
 Dans les jeux innocents où l'age vous convie. :||  
 f. Si vous ne le scavez, vous le scaurez un jour,  
 Que le plus doux des Jeux est le jeu de l'amour.

&

Pour vous oster le goust de ses delices,  
 On vous l'a figuré le plus grand des supplices. :||  
 f. Mais si vous l'ignorez vous le scaurez &c.

## Entrée I

[67,l]

## LE ROY DEPOUILLE

*Six goinfres joüent au Roy depouïllé et s'entredépouïllent piece à piece, jusqu'à ce que l'un d'eux reste comme nu en caneçon de chamois, et celui-là est déclaré Roy et couronné. Habits legers et de peu de pieces.*

## Entrée II

## LE ROY QUI COMMANDE

*Une autre troupe joüit au Roy qui commande, le jeu est: celui qui fait le Roy commande des choses difficiles à ceux dont il a des gages touchez.*

## Entrée III

## LE ROY ARTUS

*En celui-cy la troupe salüe le Roy tour à tour, le flambeau dans la main. et luy fait mille niches, comme de le pincer, de le noircir, de le faire tomber. Habits à phantaisie.*

## Entrée IV

## LE ROY QUI MENE

*En celui-cy le Roy faisant une demarche, un saut, ou une posture, les autres sont obligés de le suivre et de l'imiter, habits à phantaisie.*

## Entrée V

## LE ROY DES CARTES

*Les quatre Roys et les quatre Reynes des Cartes, avec leurs quatre valets. Habits de carte peinte, pareils à ceux des Roys et des Reynes des cartes, avec des as à costé de la joüe.*

## Entrée VI

## LE ROY DES ESCHECS

*Deux Roys et deux Reynes de figure pareille à ceux des Escecs, les uns vestus de blanc, les autres de noir, avec leurs fous, Chevals, Tours et Pions, dansant chacun conformement à sa marche.*

## QUATRIÈSME PARTIE

[67,r]

## LES ROYS DES FESTES

## BACCHUS et MOME:

## Dialogue

## Bacchus

Roy des brocards et des bons mots!

## Mome

Grand dieu des verres et des pots!

## Bacchus

Que nous allons courroner en ces festes  
 De folles testes!

## Mome

Que nous allons faire danser de sots!

## Bacchus

Jamais les Menades  
 N'ont tant fait de jeux, de Pantalonnades,  
 De cris et de sauts.

*Ensemble*

Sus, sus Clairons! Tambours et Fifres!  
 D'un ton enjoué,  
 Touchez à ces Pifres  
 Un air enjoué;  
 Qui fasse crever le luth et la Lyre,  
 Qui fasse danser, sauter et rire,  
 Et trepigner des mains et des pieds  
 Les faunes, les Pans et les Chevrepieds.

*Entrée I**LE ROY DE LA FIBUE.*

*Six yvrognes, tenants chacun d'une main une part du gasteau, de l'autre une bouteille, conduisent leur Roy yvre et boyvent d'autant.* [68,l]

*Entrée II**LE ROY et LA REYNE DE L'ECHOLE.*

*Un petit garson et une petite fille, couronnez et parez de pierreries, accompagnez du maistre et de la maistresse d'Echole, et suivis de petits garsons et de petites filles.*

*Entrée III**LE ROY et LA REYNE DE LA MY CARESME*

*Un vieux Crocheteur et une vieille harangere, parez et couronnez; Trois Crocheteurs et trois hotteuses barboüillez et noircis, le verre a [sic, for et or ou] la bouteille à la main.*

*Entrée IV**LE ROY DE LA FESTE*

*Un gros villageois, Roy de la feste, du village, dansant avec des Paysans et des Paysanes, au son du hautbois.*

*Entrée V**LE ROY DU MOIS DE MAY, ou DE LA BASOCHE.*

*Un clerc de Palais, Roy de la Basoche, suivy de sa petite Cour, de son Chancelier, de son Griffier, de son Thresorier &c.*

*Entrée VI**LA REYNE DE PASQUES*

*Quinze petites filles, dont la plus petite est couronnée et parée de perles, les autres presentent des tasses aux passants.*

FIN

&amp;

IV

*RECIT POUR UN BALLET DU ROY*

*Chanté par Mad<sup>lle</sup> Hilaire, representant la Beauté.*

Si l'amour vous soumet à ses loix inhumaines,  
 Choisissez en ayment un object plein d'appas. :||  
 j. Portez au moins de belles chaisnes,  
 Et puis qu'il faut mourir, mourez d'un beau trepas.

[68,r]

&amp;

Si l'object de vos feux ne merite vos peynes,  
 Sous l'empire d'amour ne vous engagez pas. :||  
 j. Portez au moins &c.

V

*AUTRE SUR LE MESME SUJET.**Aux Dames.*

Pour m'adorer, il ne faut que me voir,  
 Rien ne peut resister à mon divin pouvoir. :||  
 Mais apprenez, cruelles,  
 Qu'il ne dure q'un jour,  
 Et qu'il n'appartient qu'à l'amour  
 D'allumer dans les cœurs des flames eternelles.

&amp;

J'ay des attraits et des charmes puissants,  
 Qui capturent les cœurs et ravissent les sens. :||  
 Mais apprenez, cruelles,  
 Qu'il ne dure q'un jour &c.

VI

*Chanté par<sup>la S<sup>m</sup></sup> la Grille, representant Orphée.*

Grand dieu des Enfers &c. cy—dessus page<sup>1</sup>

[Space left for further verses]

[Blank 69,l]

## COMEDIES EN MUSIQUE [69,r]

## I

*Pastorale en Musique*

*Représentée au village d'Issy  
pres Paris et à Vincennes  
devant Leurs Majestez  
en 1659*

Mise en musique par Mons. Cambert  
M. De la Musique de la feüe Reyne.

## Personnages

Philandre	}	Bergers	}	Hautecontre
Tyrsis				Taille
Alcidor				Basse
Diane	}	Bergeres		Trois Dessus
Phillis				
Sylvie				
Un satyre				Bassetaille

*[Chaque Acte s'ouvre & se ferme avec une grande Symphonie et les Entre-scenes sont distinguées dans les rencontres par des Ritournelles, ou de petites reprises de Symphonies. La Decoration est un païsage, avec un cabinet de verdure de chaque costé du Theatre.]*<sup>1</sup>

## ACTE PREMIER

## [SYMPHONIE:]

## SCENE [PREMIERE]

*Le Satyre*

Qu'il est fâcheux d'aymer quand on n'est point aymable!  
On languit sans espoir, jaloux & miserable.  
Et l'on voit tous les jours un moins fidele amant,  
Posseder à ses yeux l'object de son tourment.  
Esperons toutefois, au fort de nos disgraces,

<sup>1</sup> Variants from the edition of 1665, *Œuvres de Poësie de M<sup>r</sup> Perrin*, but not in the manuscript, are identified by square brackets.

Amour, comme il luy plaist, dispose de ses graces;  
Cet Enfant indiscret; ce Dieu capricieux  
Bien souvent dans ses choix est peu judicieux;  
Des sujets malheureux de son cruel empire  
Il quitte le meilleur & s'abandonne au pire:  
Le vice & la laideur ne le rebutent point,  
Et la Fortune & luy s'accordent en ce point.

[70,]

## [RITORNELLE.]

## SCENE [SECONDE:]

## PHILANDRE, ALCIDOR

*Philandre.*

J'adore une crüelle,  
Qui rit de mon tourment.

*Alcidor.*

Je sers une infidele,  
Qui change à tout moment.  
Le vent est moins leger.

*Philandre*

Et la roche est moin dure.

*Ensemble*

Est-il un mal pareil aux douleurs que j'endure?

*[Philandre*

Est-il un mal &c.

*Tous Deux*

Est-il un mal &c.]

## [RITORNELLE.]

## SCENE [TROISIÈSME:]

PHILANDRE SYLVIE ALCIDOR *cachez.*

SYLVIE [*sans apercevoir les Bergers.*]

Il faut aymer, & passer son envie  
De ce plaisir le plus doux de la vie.  
Il faut aymer, mais d'un amour  
Qui ne dure qu'un jour:  
Mais d'un amour, dont les flames legeres,  
Douce & passageres,  
Puissent facilement s'eteindre & s'allumer.  
C'est ainsi qu'ayment les Bergeres;  
Et c'est ainsi qu'il faut aymer.

[70,r]

PHILANDRE & ALCIDOR [*la surprenant.*]

Et c'est ainsi qu'il faut aymer Sylvie,  
D'un cœur leger,  
Toujours prest à changer.

*Sylvie*

Son exemple vous y convie.

*Philandre & Alcidor*

Manquer de foy?

*Sylvie*

Les faux sermens  
Sont permis aux Amans.

*Philandre & Alcidor*

Ah! le Ciel quelque jour punira ces injures,  
S'il est un Dieu pour les Amans parjures.

*Sylvie en se moquant.*

S'il est un Dieu &c.

*Sylvie en se moquant, Philandre & Alcidor serieusement.*

S'il est un Dieu &c.

## SCENE [QUATRIÈSME:]

DIANE ALCIDOR PHILANDRE SYLVIE

[*Diane*]

Fuyons Amour, ce tyran de nos ames,  
Fuyons ses traits, ses prisons & ses flâmes.  
Ses plus charmans plaisirs  
Causent mille soupirs;  
Plus il est favorable,  
Plus il est dangereux:  
Et le moins malheureux,  
Dans l'empire amoureux,  
Est toujours miserable.

[71,l]

*Sylvie*

Diane ton destin est bien contraire an mien,  
Pour moy j'ayme en tous lieux:

*Diane*

Et moy je n'ayme rien  
Tant que l'Astre du jour brillera dans le monde,

*Sylvie*

Tant que la Lune au Ciel fera sa course ronde,

*Diane*

Je seray sans amour,

*Sylvie*

Mon amour changera.

[*Elles s'en vont.*]

*Philandre*

Ah crüelle!

*Alcidor*

Ah, volage!

*Ensemble*

Amour nous vengera.

## SCENE [CINQUIESME.]

ALCIDOR.

O Loy de la Nature,  
 Impitoyable & dure,  
 Qui fais l'objet de nos desirs  
 Du sujet de nos deplaisirs!  
 Sexe leger, inconstant & volage,  
 Quel charme nous retient dans ton crüel servage!  
 Et quel destin nous a soumis  
 A la rigueur d'aymer nos ennemis?

Mais quoy? contre ses charmes [71,r]  
 En vain on prend les armes:  
 En vain la raison se deffend.  
 Il reste à la fin triomphant.  
 Tout fier qu'il est, inconstant & volage,  
 Il faut vivre & mourir dans son crüel servage  
 Et le destin nous a soumis  
 Au doux tourment d'aymer nos ennemis.

[SYMPHONIE]

## ACTE [SECONDE.]

[SYMPHONIE.]

## SCENE [PREMIERE.]

TYRSIS, DIANE cachée

Depuis que ma Philis a quitté ces beaux lieux,  
 Tout est changé, l'Onde & la Terre,  
 L'Air & les Cieux.  
 La Nature languit, les Lys de ce parterre  
 Flétrissent de douleurs:  
 Et si le Ciel qui l'a ravie,  
 Enfin n'a pitié de mes pleurs,  
 Loin du Soleil qui me donne la vie,  
 Je vais mourir comme ces fleurs.

*Il se couche & s'endort.*

[RITORNELLE.]

## SCENE [SECONDE.]

TYRSIS [endormy,] DIANE cachée, PHILIS [sans les apercevoir.]

Mon cœur, vous le sçavez, la douleur est extreme  
 De quitter ce qu'on ayme;  
 Mais quoy qu'un long sejour  
 Nous cause de souffrance,  
 Vous le sçavez, mon cœur, le plaisir du retour [72,l]  
 Est plus grand mille fois que le mal de l'absence.

[Dans le moment heureux de cette douce attente,  
 Tout rit, tout nous contente,  
 Et jusqu'au souvenir  
 Des soupirs & des larmes,  
 Quand on voit dans ses bras un Amant revenir,  
 Ce n'est plus qu'un objet de plaisir & de charmes.]

*Tyrsis se reveillant.*

Ah! ma Philis est de retour!

*Philis*

Ah! mon Tyrsis!

*Tyrsis*

Ah! mon amour!  
 Helas! hé qui t'a donc si long temps retenüe?

*Philis*

Un dur destin,  
 Mais enfin

*Ensemble*

Mais enfin Philis est revenüe.  
 Toûjours constante à me garder sa foy?

*Philis*

Toûjours égale à n'aymer rien que toy.  
 Et mon Berger?

*Tyrsis*

Et ton Berger brule de mesme flâme.

*Phyllis*

Allons, mon cœur.

*Tyrsis*

Allons mon ame.

*Ensemble*

Allons mon cœur, allons mon ame;  
Et puisqu'en ce bien-heureux jour  
Le Ciel pour jamais nous rassemble,  
Allons vivre & mourir ensemble  
Dans les delices de l'amour.

[RITORNELE.]

SCENE [TROISIEME.]

[72,r]

*DIANE, LE SATYRE*

*survient qui se cache [dans le boccage du costé droit.]*

*Diane*

Que de plaisirs, que de tourmens,  
Que de douleurs, que de contentemens,  
A celui qui respire  
Sous l'amoureux Empire!  
Que ferons nous, hélas! suivrons nous, fuyrons nous  
Un bien si cher, un mal si doux?  
Ah! je sens que mon cœur a peine à se deffendre;  
Qui combat en amour est bien pres de se rendre.

*Le Satyre la surprenant.*

Rends toy donc, inhumaine,  
Abandonne ton cœur  
Aux traits de ce vainqueur.<sup>1</sup>

*Diane*

Ah monstre! qui t'amene?

*Le Satyre*

Et soulage ma peine.

*Diane [en le repoussant]*

Va, Laisse moy.

*[Diane en repoussant Le Satyre en priant]*

Laisse moy.

*Diane*

Monstre, va caresser les Tygres des rivages.

*Elle part.*

*Le Satyre*

Va, cruelle, ils sont moins sauvages  
Moins fiers & moins Tygres que toy.

[SYMPHONIE]

ACTE [TROISIEME.]

[73,l]

[SYMPHONIE.]

SCENE [PREMIERE.]

*ALCIDOR, PHILANDRE, TYRSIS, LE SATYRE caché.*

*Alcidor & Philandre [ensemble]*

Ecoutez, ruisseaux; écoutez, Zephirs,  
Ecoutez les soupirs  
De deux Amans fideles,  
Que font languir deux Bergeres crüelles;  
Nous n'esperons de guerison  
Ny d'elles, ny du temps, ny de nostre raison;  
Nos maux sont des maux incurables;  
Mais a la mort nous pouvons recourir,  
Le refuge des miserables,  
Et c'est assés pouvoir que de pouvoir mourir.

*Tyrsis*

Souffrez, Bergers, souffrez avec constance,  
Amour est un Dieu tout puissant,  
Et pour les siens toujours reconnoissant:  
Il recompense  
Lors que moins on y pense.

[*Alcidor & Philandre s'en vont.*]

SCENE SECONDE

[*LE SATYRE se decouvrant à TYRSIS.*]

Et moy? quand finiront ma peine & mon martyre?

*Tyrsis*

Pauvre Satyre,  
Lors que tu n'auras plus de cornes sur le front.

*Le Satyre*

O le sensible affront!  
Cornes avoir, dans le siecle où nous sommes  
C'est le destin des hommes:  
C'est la commune loy  
De l'homme & de la beste,  
Et tel en rit qui les a sur la reste  
Bien plus grandes que moy.

[73,r]

[*RITORNELE*]

SCENE TROISIEME<sup>1</sup>

*DIANE, PHILIS, SYLVIE*

*Diane & Philis, à Sylvie*

He quoy? Sylvie  
Toute sa vie  
En amour changera!

*Sylvie*

J'aymeray constamment quand Diane aymera.

*Diane*

Diane ayme Philandre.

*Sylvie*

Quoy? ce cœur de rocher  
Amour l'a sceu toucher?<sup>2</sup>

*Diane & Philis*

Amour la sceu toucher.<sup>2</sup>  
Il est prest de se rendre.

*Sylvie en se moquant.*

Il est pres de se rendre.

<sup>1</sup>  
*Sylvie en se moquant, Diane, & Philis serieusement.*

Il est pres de se rendre!

*Diane & Philis*

Estre crüelle à son Amant  
C'est estre crüelle à soy mesme,  
Et se priver du bien le plus charmant.

[74,l]

*Sylvie*

Hé bien aymons.

*Toutes Trois*

Aymons ce qui nous ayme.

*Philis*

Aymons

*Diane*

Aymons

*Sylvie*

Aymons

*Philis à Diane et à Sylvie*

Mais d'un amour extreme.

*Diane & Sylvie*

Mais d'un amour extreme?

*Philis à Diane*

Ardemment?

*Diane*

Ardemment.

*Philis à Diane*

Et fidelement?

*Diane*

Et fidelement.

*Toutes Trois*

[Aymons, aymons ce qui nous ayme,]  
 Aymons, mais d'un amour extreme,  
 Ardement & fidellement.

[SYMPHONIE]

ACTE QUATRIESME.

[SYMPHONIE]

SCENE [PREMIERE]

ALCIDOR, SYLVIE, LE SATYRE *caché*

[Alcidor

Victoire, Amour,

*Sylvie*

Victoire, Amour,]

*Alcidor et Sylvie*

[74,r]

Victoire, Amour, victoire,

[Alcidor]

Enfin ce cœur leger ayme fidelement.

*Sylvie*Alcidor a la gloire  
D'un pareil changement.*Alcidor*

O Dieu! le puis-je croire!

[Sylvie]

Crois-le, Berger, & chante asseurement,  
Victoire, Amour, [victoire.]

[Alcidor

Victoire, Amour, victoire.

*Sylvie*

Enfin ce cœur leger ayme fidelement.]

*Ensemble*Victoire, Amour, victoire.  
Enfin ce cœur &c.

[RITORNELLE]

SCENE [SECONDE.]

ALCIDOR, SYLVIE, PHILIS, TYRSIS, LE SATYRE *caché**Philis et Tyrsis*

On verra tout changer,

*Tyrsis*

Le jour

*Philis*

En nuit,

*Tyrsis*

Et la nuit

*Ensemble*

Et la nuit en lumiere.]  
Le jour en la nuit et la nuit en lumiere.

*Philis*

Lors que Philis quittera son Berger,

*Tyrsis*

Lors que Tyrsis quittera sa Bergere.

*Ensemble*

Ce ruisseau finira de courir à la Mer,

*[Philis*

Quand Philis

*Tyrsis*

Et Tyrsis

*[Tous Deux]*

Quand Philis &amp; Tyrsis finiront de s'aymer.

*[RITORNELE]*

## SCENE TROISIEME

*DIANE, PHILANDRE, LE SATYRE caché*

[75,1]

Au moins toujours Philandre m'aymera?

*Philandre*

Autant que ta beauté mon amour durera.

*Diane*

Ah Berger!

*Philandre*

Ah Bergere!

*Diane*

Ah! la beauté, c'est une fleur legere,  
Qu'on voit comme les fleurs, croistre & s'epanouyr,  
Et puis s'evanouyr.

*Philandre*

Il en est d'Immortelles,  
Nos amours le seront,

*Diane*

Il en est de mortelles,  
Nos amours passeront.

*Philandre*

Il en est d'Immortelles,

*Diane*

Il en est de mortelles.

*Philandre*

Il en est d'Immortelles.

*Ensemble*

Il en est d'Immortelles,  
Nos amours le seront.

*[RITORNELE]*

## SCENE QUATRIESME

*Le Satyre [se decouvrant]*

Va languir, malheureux, au milieu des tourments,  
 Va, va mourir de douleur & d'envie,  
 Tandis que ces Amans  
 Vont goûter à longs traits les douceurs de la vie.  
 O trop heureux rival. [75,r]  
 O rage! ô desespoir! ô tourment sans égal!  
 Quelle forest, quelle caverne sombre,  
 Quelle obscurité d'ombre  
 Pourra cacher au jour  
 Ma honte & mon amour?

[SYMPHONIE]

## ACTE [CINQUIESME]

[SYMPHONIE]

## SCENE UNIQUE

LES [TROIS] BERGERS, LES [TROIS] BERGERES.

*Les [Trois] Bergeres*

Volez, petits Amours, sur vos plumes legeres,  
 Et venez couronner nos Amants fortunez.

*Les [Trois] Bergers*

Vous, meres des Amours, venez, Graces, venez.  
 Venez parer de fleurs nos aymables Bergeres.

*Les [Trois] Bergeres*

Menez icy les Jeux, les Ris & les Caresses.  
 Les Dances, les Festins, les Divertissemens.

*Les Bergers*

Les Regards, les Baisers, & les Embrassements,  
 Les Soupirs amoureux, & les douces Tendresses.

*Les Bergeres*

Donnez nous des beautez & des graces nouvelles.

*Les Bergers*

Conservez pour jamais le Printemps de nos jours.

*Tous Ensemble*

Et faites par vos soins que nous trouvions toujours.

*Les Bergeres*

Nos Bergers plus galands,

*Les Bergers*

Nos Bergeres plus belles,

[Tous] Ensemble

[76,1]

Enfin que nos plaisirs surpassent nos envies.  
 Et qu'ils ne soyent troublez de soins ny d'ennuis,  
 Terminez nos beaux jours par de plus belles nuits,  
 Et par un doux trépas nos bienheureuses vies.

[RITORNELE]

*Le Chœur à discretion*

[DIANE, ALCIDOR]

Faites qu'enfin la Paix ramene sur la terre  
 Le Repos, les Plaisirs & les Felicitez.

[Phillis, Philandre]

Et chassez loin de nous & loin de nos citez,  
 Aux Climats ennemis, les fureurs de la guerre.

&amp;

[Tyrasis]

Rendez le Siecle d'or à ces belles campagnes,

[Sylvie]

Que le laict & le miel courent dans nos ruisseaux.

[Diane]

Que l'Ambre & le Nectar coulent des arbrisseaux,

[*Les Trois Bergers*]

Que les torrens de vin roulent de nos montagnes!

[*Philis*]

Que la terre en tous lieux produise toutes choses,

[*Tyrsis*]

Qu'elle étale à nos yeux mille nouveaux appas.

[*Diane & Sylvie*]

Que Zephire & Cloris sement devant nos pas

[*Les Trois Bergeres*]

Le Lys & le Jasmin,

[*Les Trois Bergers*]

Les Œillets & les Roses.

[*Tous Ensemble*]

Enfin que nos plaisirs &c.

[*SYMPHONIE*]

*La piece ayant esté representée à Vincennes devant leurs Majestez, une Bergere<sup>1</sup> se détacha de la troupe et finit ce recit au Roy.*

*Diane au Roy*

GRAND ROY, secondez nos desirs;

Suivez l'Amour, quittez les armes,

Vous trouverez dans ses plaisirs

ſ. Autant d'honneur & plus de charmes: :|| [76,r]

Vous pouvez sans doute acquerir

Beaucoup de gloire par la guerre;

Mais donner la paix à la terre

C'est plus que de la conquérir.

&

Par tout où marchent vos guerriers

La victoire les accompagne:

Déjà des moissons de Lauriers

Vous attendent à la campagne,

ſ. Vous allez sans doute &c. :||

[Blank 77,l]

ARIANE

[77,r]

ou

LE MARIAGE DE BACCHUS

COMEDIE EN MUSIQUE

*Mise en musique par M<sup>r</sup> Cambert Maître de la Musique de la feu Reyne*

PERSONNAGES

Bacchus, ..... Basse  
 Venus, ..... Dessus  
 Ariane *filie de Minos Roy de Crete*  
*enlevée et delaissee par Theseé, ..... Dessus*  
 Silene *nourrissier de Bacchus, ..... Bassetaille*  
 Mome *bouffon des Dieux, ..... Taille*  
 Cloris *Bergere de Naxos, ..... Dessus*  
 Deux Amours, ..... Dessus  
 Chœur de *Corybantes suivants et Sacrificateurs de Bacchus*

*La scene est à Naxos, Isle de Grece dans l'Archipel consacré à Bacchus, et son sejour le plus ord<sup>re</sup>.*

PROLOGUE

*Mome au Roy*

*Récit*

Monarque des François, ah! que les dieux sont fous  
 D'avoir fait naistre un si grand Roy que vous, [78,l]  
 Et d'avoir fait la terre si petite!

Déjà vostre merite

Et vos exploits divers

Dans la fleur de vos ans ont rempli l'univers

Vous estes jeune, beau, riche, vaillant et sage,

Et le Censeur des dieux pour qui tout est malfait

Qui pût blasmer leur plus parfait ouvrage

Vous trouve tout parfait.

&

Aussy reduit par vous au bout de sa critique,  
 Pour vostre pasetemps il amene en ces lieux

Une troupe de Dieux

Amoureuse et Bacchique:

Pour vous avec plaisir ils ont quitté les Cieux

Et croiront desormais leur gloire sans seconde

S'ils ont l'honneur de plaire au plus grand Roy du monde.

## ACTE PREMIER

*Decoration: Bassecour du Palais de Bacchus. L'ouverture se fait par un concert de trompettes et de fifres lequel commence la symphonie d'instruments à cordes qui accompagne les voix.*

## SCENE I

## LES CORYBANTES

*menants un bouc par les cornes*

*Un des Corybantes*

Le voicy de retour le vainqueur de la terre,  
 Le dieu des verres et des pots,  
 Qui vient lassé des travaux de la guerre  
 Gouster la Paix et le repos [78,r]  
 Peuples couronnez-vous d'Olive et de Lierre,  
 Sautez, dansez autour de ses autels,  
 Et luy chantez des hymnes immortels.

*Le Chœur*

Sautez dansez &c.

*Un Autre Corybante*

Sortez de vos maisons toutes echeveleés  
 Bacchantes, courez dans ces bois;  
 Faites gemir ces profondes valleés  
 De vos epouvantables voix,  
 Les Piques à la main de pampre entortilleés  
 Sautez, dansez &c.

*Le Chœur*

Sautez dansez &c.

## SCENE 2

## LES CORYBANTES, SILENE

*Silene estant derriere le theatre siffle avec un sifflet de chauderonnier et puis crie:*

Jach jach....

*Les Corybantes*

Jach jach....

*Silene*

Evan....

*Les Corybantes*

Evan....

*Les Corybantes*

*Silene*

Yo....

*Les Corybantes*

Yo....

*Silene*

Eû ô hé.

*Les Corybantes*

[79,l]

Eû ô hé.

*Silene parait monté sur un asne, un sifflet de Chauderonnier pendu à l'un des costez, à l'autre une bouteille, et crie:*

Que ce grand dieu soit à jamais loué!

*Silene et Les Corybantes*

Jach jach Evan Yo Eû ô hé.

*Silene descendu de son asne*

Sus, vidons la bouteille,  
 Et tous le verre en main  
 Chantons jusqu'à demain  
 Vive le grand dieu de la treille.

*Tous*

Vive &c.

*Silene*

Beuvons à sa santé  
 Du jus qu'il a planté.

*Tous*

Beuvons &c.

&

*Silene*

Tout le thresor des Indes  
Dont il est le vainqueur  
Ne vaut pas sa liqueur,  
Trinquons et faisons mille brindes.

*Le Chœur*

Trinquons &c.

*Silene*

Beuvons &c.<sup>1</sup>

*Le Chœur*

Beuvons &c.

SCENE 3

[79,r]

*BACCHUS, VENUS, MOME, DEUX AMOURS,  
SILENE, LES CORYBANTES*

*Bacchus de retour de la conquête des Indes paroît sur un char doré traîné par deux Lions, deux Tygres et deux loups cerviers dont les freins sont voilés de pampre et guidés par Mome son cocher. Venus, sa sœur, arrivée à sa rencontre est assise à ses costez et les deux Amours à leurs pieds.*

*Bacchus sur son char*

Descend des Cieux  
En ces bas lieux,  
O Paix! ô douce Paix si longtemps désirée  
Et que rien desormais ne trouble ta durée!

&

Qu'à nos autels  
Tous les mortels  
Viennent pour ce bienfait immoler des victimes  
Et rendre à nos bontez des honneurs legitimes.

*Mome*

Hé, quoy! Bacchus ne fera plus la Cour  
Au grand dieu de la guerre?

*Venus et les Amours*

Il trouve plus de charmes  
Aux douceurs de l'amour.

*Silene et les Corybantes*

Il veut quitter les armes  
Pour boire tour à tour.

*Mome*

Il meprise la gloire.

*Venus et les Amours*

Dans nos plaisirs il trouve son bonheur. [80,l]

*Mome*

Il renonce à l'honneur.

*Silene et les Corybantes*

Est-il d'honneur plus grand que l'honneur de bien boire?

*Bacchus*

Heureux est le guerrier  
Qui chargé de Laurier  
Et content de sa gloire  
Termine ses projets  
Au bien de ses sujets  
Et goute en sa maison les fruits de sa victoire.

&

Encore plus heureux  
Si les Soins amoureux  
Ne troublent point sa vie,  
Et si dans ce loisir  
Un moins cruel plaisir  
Peut remplir ses desirs et borner son envie.

&amp;

Aussy je me promets  
De vivre desormais  
Exempt de cette flame  
Du monde et de mon cœur  
Egalement vainqueur,  
Maistre de l'univers et maistre de mon ame.

## SCENE 4

*SILENE, LES CORYBANTES, MOME, VENUS, LES AMOURS*

*Venus et les Amours*

Quoy! l'orgueilleux à nos autels  
Refusera l'obeissance?  
Et seul entre les immortels [80,r]  
Il bravera nostre puissance?  
Non! non! Amour triomphera  
Enfin de cette ame rebelle,  
Et malgré ses desseins bien tost il aymera  
Une beauté mortelle.

## SCENE 5

*Mome, Silene, les Corybantes*

Ha Ha Ha Ha! il aymera,  
Il aymera, mais la bouteille;  
Et sa liqueur vermeille  
Toujours le charmera  
Il aymera, mais le jus de la treille.

*Mome*

Quoy! ce monarque triomphant  
Vivra sous les loix d'un Enfant?

*Un Corybante*

Il brulera des mesmes flames  
Dont sa liqueur deffend les ames.

*Un autre Corybante*

Quoy! le dieu de la liberté  
Sera dans la captivité?  
Et l'on verra dans les supplices,  
L'autheur de toutes nos delices?

*Tous*

Ha Ha Ha Ha! Il aymera, &c. *co° dessus.*

## ENTRACTE I

*Chaque Entracte est composé de deux entrées de ballet.*

## SUJET DE L'ENTRACTE

*La magnificence du retour victorieux de Bacchus continue, et le General de son armée suivy de six soldats conduit quatre Roys Indiens Esclaves. [81,l]*

## ENTREE I

*LE GENERAL DE BACCHUS et SIX SOLDATS*

## ENTREE II

*LE MESME GENERAL ET QUATRE ROYS INDIENS ESCLAVES*

## ACTE SECOND

*Decoration: rivage de la mer Musettes*

## SCENE I

*Cloris*

*Peschant à la ligne sur le rivage*

Venez, venez, petits poissons,  
Venez mordre à nos hameçons;  
Et satisfaites vostre envie.  
Vous y trouverez des appas  
Mais s'il vous en couste la vie,  
Au moins ne m'en accusez pas.

&

Mon Berger fut ainsy duppé;  
Il fut comme vous atrappé  
Par une trompeuse apparence.  
En croyant me prendre il fut pris,  
Et n'eut de moy pour recompense  
Que des rigueurs et des mepris.

## SCENE 2

ARIANE, CLORIS, BACCHUS, MOME, LES CORYBANTES

*Ariane*

Il s'en va le crüel, le traistre m'abandonne;  
 Il me laisse, l'ingrat, en ce funeste lieu,  
 Sans pitié, sans soucy du tourment qu'il me donne.  
 Helas! sans m'avoir dit seulement un adieu, [81,r]  
 Il me laisse, l'ingrat, seule sur un rivage,  
 Sans consolation, sans biens et sans secours  
 Dans ces bois écartez, dans ce desert sauvage.  
 Helas! où sera mon recours?

*Silene à l'écart montrant sa bouteille*

A la liqueur incomparable  
 Qui charme les plus grands ennuis,  
 Et qui fait au plus miserable  
 Souvent passer de douces nuits.

*Ariane sans les apercevoir*

A vous, injustes Dieux qui souffrez cette injure  
 Sans armer contre luy les flots et les ecüeils,  
 Sans que vostre vengeance abisme ce parjure,  
 Et dans le fonds des eaux luy creuse des cercueils:  
 Venez, tygres, venez au secours de mes peynes.  
 C'est de vous que j'attends la fin de mes malheurs;  
 Arrachez moy le cœur et tirez de mes veynes  
 Mon sang, mon ame et mes douleurs.

*Mome à l'écart*

Ah! vostre cœur, belle heroine,  
 Merite un traitement plus doux,  
 Et n'est pas si bien, je devine,  
 Morceau de tygres ny de Loups.

*Ariane*

Mais pourquoy recourir dans le mal qui m'outrage  
 A des monstres crüels, à des Dieux impuissants?  
 Non, non, pour m'étouffer c'est assez de ma rage;  
 C'est assez pour mourir des transports que je sens.  
 Deja, deja le Ciel contente mon envie:  
 Je souffre de la mort les dernieres langueurs [82,l]  
 Un soupir seulement et c'est fait de ma vie;  
 Je vais mourir helas! je meurs.

*Mome accourant*

Ah! le desespoir la transporte.

*Un Corybante*

Elle est preste à s'évanouir.

*Un autre*

Helas!

*Un autre*

Elle meurt....

*Un Autre*

elle est morte.

*Silene luy presentant sa bouteille*

Çà, du vin pour la rejouyr.

*Ariane revenant à soy sans les apercevoir*

Mais je revoy le jour; je reconnoy ces plaines,  
 Ces montagnes, ces bois, ces flots et ces rochers;  
 Et je voy sur les eaux courir à voyles pleines  
 Ce Corsaire inhumain et ses traistres nochers.  
 Il faut souffrir encor cet object execrable;  
 Il faut voir à mes yeux ce spectacle d'horreur,  
 Ce lache, cet ingrat, ce monstre abominable.  
 O douleur! ô rage! ô fureur!

*Elle va toute forcenée s'enfoncer dans le bois.*

## SCENE 3

BACCHUS, SILENE, LES CORYBANTES, MOME, CLORIS

*Bacchus*

Ah! que les soupirs et les larmes  
 Ont de puissance sur les cœurs!  
 Et q'une beauté toute en pleurs  
 A d'attraits et de charmes!  
 Pauvre Ariane, helas! ta fidele amitié  
 Me donne un sentiment que je ne puis comprendre, [82,r]  
 Et je sens pour tes maux je ne sçay quoy de tendre,  
 Qui passe la pitié.

## SCENE 4

*MOME, SILENE, CLORIS**Mome et Silene à Cloris*

Que dit la Bergere  
De cette douleur?

*Cloris*

Que qui croit à la legere  
Est sujette à ce malheur.

*Mome et Silene*

Qui peut se desfendre  
Des traits de l'amour?

*Cloris*

Qui n'a pas le cœur si tendre  
Ou bien qui n'ayme q'un jour.

*Mome et Silene*

Vostre cœur la belle  
Est-il fait ainsy?

*Cloris*

Il n'est pas du tout rebelle,  
Il n'est pas facile aussy.

*Mome et Silene*

Que faudroit-il faire  
Pour le conquerir?

*Cloris*

Qui ne scayt pas cette affaire  
Ne doit pas s'en enquerir.

ENTRACTE 2

[83,l]

*Les nymphes et les Bergers de l'Isle accourus aux cris d'Ariane detestent l'infidélité de Thesée.*

## ENTREE I

*SIX NYMPHES DE L'ISLE*

## ENTREE II

*LES MESMES et SIX BERGERS*

## ACTE III

*Decoration: Rochers deserts precipices, symphonie d'instruments à corde*

## SCENE 1

*BACCHUS, SILENE, LES CORYBANTES**Bacchus cherchant Ariane*

Mon cœur, quelle est vostre pensée?  
Que cherchez vous en ces lieux pleins d'horreur?  
Qu'attendez vous d'une insensée  
Que des sentiments de fureur?

&amp;

Non, non, vostre esperance est vaine;  
Vous ne pouvez dans un mesme sejour  
Avec les glaçons de la hayne  
Unir les flames de l'amour.

## SCENE 2

*ARIANE, BACCHUS, SILENE, LES CORYBANTES,  
VENUS, LES AMOURS**Ariane*

Transports d'une hayne enragée,  
Enfin laissez moy respirer.

*Bacchus*

Ah! c'est assez, belle affligée,  
C'est assez et trop soupirer  
Pour un crüel,

[83,r]

*Ariane*

pour un barbare,

*Bacchus*

Pour un traistre,

*Ariane*

pour un voleur.

*Bacchus*

Le Ciel justement t'en separe.

*Ariane*

Helas!

*Bacchus*

Appaise ta douleur.

*Ariane*

Après avoir rompu ses chaisnes,  
 Trahy parents, pays, honneur,  
 Souffert tant d'ennuis tant de peines...

*Bacchus*

Quitte, quitte ce suborneur.

*Ariane*

Ciel, que fais tu de ton tonnerre?

*Bacchus*

N'ayme, n'ayme plus que les dieux.

*Ariane*

Il n'est plus de foy sur la terre.

*Bacchus*

Il faut la chercher dans les Cieux.

*Ariane*

Ah! si jamais l'amour m'engage,  
 Puisse....

*Bacchus*

Tout beau: n'en jure pas.

*Ariane*

La terre....

*Bacchus*

Change de langage.

*Ariane*

[84,1]

La terre fondre sous mes pas.

*Bacchus*

Change!

*Ariane*

non, non!

*Bacchus*

change d'envie.

*[Ariane]*

Mon desespoir ne peut guerir.

*Bacchus*

Tu veux pleurer toute ta vie.

*Ariane*

Pleurer, soupirer et mourir.

SCENE 3

*BACCHUS, SILENE, LES CORYBANTES, VENUS, LES AMOURS**Venus*

Enfin le voila qui soupire  
 Dessous les amoureuses loix,  
 Et le vainqueur de mille Roys  
 Vient faire hommage à nostre empire.

*Un Amour*

L'invincible est vaincu;

*L'Autre*

le rebelle est soumis.

*Tous Trois*

A la mercy de ses doux ennemis.

*Venus et les Amours*

Sus, sus! qu'on le charge de chaisnes;  
L'orgueilleux l'a bien merit ,  
Et que de sa temerit   
Il endure les justes peynes!  
Que par tout l'univers on aprenne en ce jour  
Que tout succombe au pouvoir de l'amour!

*Bacchus*

[84,r]

Ah! je confesse ma deffaite.  
Il est vray, je suis dans vos fers;  
Mais la victoire est imparfaite,  
Si vous ne triomphez de celle que je sers.

*Venus*

Bientost nous aurons cette gloire;  
Elle ressentira nos traits victorieux.

*Bacchus*

Que pouvez vous sur un c ur furieux?

*Venus et les Amours*

Amour sur la douleur a toujours la victoire,  
Et celle q'une fois nous avons pu charmer  
Jamais ne se tiendra d'aymer.

## SCENE 4

*SILENE et LES CORYBANTES*

*Silene les larmes aux yeux*

Helas! mon pauvre nourisson,  
Mon cher, mon aymable garson,  
L'Enfant de la bonne Denise  
Ne fera jamais plus la cour  
A la douce liqueur de Nise,  
Et quitte le vin pour l'amour.

*Ensemble*

Ha! que deviendrez-vous, helas!  
Pates, saulcissons, cervelas.  
Et toy, pretieuse bouteille?  
Qui voudra te faire la cour,  
Puis que le grand dieu de la treille  
A quitt  le vin pour l'amour?

## ENTRACTE 3

*Les satires et les Bacchantes de la suite de Bacchus continuent et representent les larmes et la desolation de Silene et des Corybantes sur les nouvelles amours de leur dieu.*

[85,l]

## PREMIERE ENTREE

*QUATRE SATYRES EPLOREZ*

## ENTREE II

*LES MESMES et QUATRE BACCHANTES*

## ACTE IV

*Concert de hautbois*

## SCENE 1

*CLORIS & MOME**Cloris*

Pour un plaisir mille douleurs:  
Bergere qui s'engage,  
Et qui croit le langage  
De tous ces cajolleurs,  
N'a que peyne et que honte,  
Et trouve, en fin de compte,  
Pour un plaisir mille douleurs.

*Mome*

Pour une douleur cent plaisirs:  
La bergere discrete,  
Qui dans une amourette  
Scayt regler ses desirs,  
N'a ny peyne, ny honte,  
Et trouve, enfin de compte,  
Pour une douleur cent plaisirs.

*Ensemble*

Douleurs, plaisirs, douceurs et peynes  
Sont le partage de l'amour,  
Et qui tombera dans ses chaisnes,  
Il eprouvera, tour à tour,  
Douleurs, plaisirs, douceurs et peynes.

SCENE 2

[85,r]

*Une toile s'ouvre qui fait voir le Cabinet de Venus et dans iceluy Ariane et Venus.*

*CLORIS, MOME, VENUS, ARIANE*

*Venus presentant son echarpe à Ariane*

Reçoy ce merueilleux present,  
Des mains de ta deesse;  
Il peut charmer l'ennuy le plus cuisant,  
Et porte dans les cœurs l'amour et l'allegresse.

*Ariane*

L'amour dont le crüel tourment  
Vient d'accabler mon ame!

*Venus*

Ah! ne crain rien de ton nouvel amant;  
Ce dieu brule pour toy d'une sincere flame.

*Ariane*

Helas! hé qui peut m'asseurer  
Que ses feux soyent fideles?

*Venus*

La foy d'hymen qu'il est prest à jurer,  
Et d'un serment sacré les chaisnes eternelles.

*Ariane ceinte de l'echarpe*

O dieu! quel changement soudain!  
Je ne me connoy plus, je ne suis plus moy-mesme.  
Un doux transport succede à mon dedain,  
Une ardeur, un plaisir; ah! je pense que j'ayme.

&

Ah! plus je songe à ce grand dieu,  
Plus je me sents toucher de son amour extreme.  
Mais le voicy qui paroît en ce lieu  
Je tremble, je rougis; ah! je pense que j'ayme.

SCENE 3

*BACCHUS, ARIANE, VENUS, LES AMOURS, MOME,  
CLORIS, SILENE, LES CORYBANTES;*

*Bacchus*

[86,l]

Vous aymez! qu'aymez-vous? un ingrat.

*Ariane*

Je l'abhorre,  
Le traistre, l'inconstant....

*Bacchus*

Et vous aymez pourtant!

*Ariane*

J'ayme, c'est peu; j'adore.

*Bacchus*

Quel est donc cet heureux amant?

*Ariane*

De tous les dieux le plus charmant.

*Bacchus*

Ah! farouche,  
Vous confessez  
Qu'enfin ma passion vous touche.

*Ariane*

Mes soupirs le disent assez.

*Bacchus*

Quel bonheur!

*Ariane*

quel honneur!

*Bacchus*

q'un object adorable  
Soit propice à mes vœux!

*Ariane*

Que le plus grand des Dieux  
Ayme une miserable!

*Bacchus*

O l'admirable changement!

*Ariane*

O le parfait contentement!

*Ensemble*

[86,r]

O l'admirable changement!  
O le parfait contentement!

*Bacchus*

Dois-je croire....

*Ariane*

dois-je esperer....

*Bacchus*

Que je possede tant de gloire?

*Ariane*

Que ce bien me puisse durer?

*Ensemble*

Dois-je croire  
Dois-je esperer  
Que je possede tant de gloire,  
Que ce bien me puisse durer?

*Venus et les Amours*

Heureux couple d'amants vivez unis ensemble  
Sous les loix de l'amour  
Jusques à ce beau jour  
Que l'hymen vous assemble.

SCENE 4

*SILENE, LES CORYBANTES, VENUS,  
LES AMOURS, MOME, CLORIS*

*Silene*

Helas! helas!

*Venus*

Qu'as-tu, mon pere?  
Faut-il pleurer de la façon?

*Silene*

Ha!

*Venus*

Quel ennuy te desespere?

*Silene*

Ren moy, ren moy mon nourrisson.

*Venus aux Amours*

[87,l]

Petits Amours, je vous conjure,  
Donnez-luy ce contentement.

*Les Amours*

Mamman, est-ce luy faire injure?  
Nous le traittons si doucement.

*Silene*

Peut-il caresser la bouteille  
Tant qu'il aura l'amour au cœur?

*Les Amours*

Son feu s'enflame et se reveille  
Par le secours de sa liqueur.

*Venus*

Accordons nous, Pere Silene,  
Qu'il brule de mon feu divin....

*Silene*

Pourveu qu'il boyve à tasse pleine  
Et qu'il ayme toujours le vin.

*Tous*

Ainsy nous aurons tous la gloire  
De le posseder tour à tour

*Silene et Les Corybantes*

Il passera le jour à boire,

*Venus et Les Amours*

Et la nuit à faire l'amour.

*Tous*

Il passera le jour à boire,  
Et la nuit à faire l'amour.

#### ENTRACTE 4

*Les yvrognes et les amants confirment l'accord fait entre Venus et Silene.*

#### ENTREE I

#### CINQ YVROGNES

#### ENTREE II

#### LES MESMES et CINQ AMANTS

ACTE V

[87,r]

*Decoration: Throne de Bacchus. Les Acteurs sont tous parez de livrées des nouveaux mariez blanc et couleur de feu. Grande symphonie de violons.*

SCENE 1

*MOME, SILENE, LES CORYBANTES yvres*

*Mome et Silene ont chacun un poislon et une baguette à la main. Les Corybantes ont des Tymbales et des Tambours de Basque. Silene donne par fois de son sifflet de Chauderonnier.*

*Tous*

*En battant sur les poislons, les Tymbales et les Tambours*

Charivary, charivary.

*Mome*

Or venez tous voir l'Epousée  
La mignonne de nostre Dieu.  
Benist soit le brave Thesée  
Qui nous l'a conduite en ce lieu  
Et l'a si bien apprivoisée!

*Tous*

Charivary &c. *co° dessus*

*Les Corybantes*

Les voyla qui troussent leur male  
Pour aller vivre entre les Dieux.  
Que toute la noble Cabale  
Les accompagne dans les Cieux  
Avec le son de la Tymbale!

*Tous*

Charivary *co° dessus*

*Silene*

Quils aillent gouster l'Ambroisie  
Et le Nectar à plein godet.  
Je le verray sans jalousie,  
S'ils me conservent mon baudet  
Et cent tonneaux de malvoisie.

[88,l]

*Tous*

Charivary &c.

SCENE 2

*BACCHUS, ARIANE, SILENE, MOME, LES CORYBANTES*

*Bacchus et Ariane*

*Montez et assis sur le throne*

O douceur, ô plaisir, ô changement heureux  
De transports de fureur en transports amoureux,  
De soupirs de douleur, de larmes de tristesse  
En soupirs de plaisirs, en larmes d'allegresse!

*Ariane*

Mon epoux!

*Bacchus*

Ma deesse!

*Ariane*

Au moins, jamais tu n'aymeras que moy?

*Bacchus*

Reçoy ma main pour gage de ma flame.

*Ariane*

Reçoy ma main pour gage de ma foy.

*Ensemble*

Reçoy mon cœur, reçoy mon ame.

SCENE 3

*BACCHUS, ARIANE, SILENE, MOME,  
LES CORYBANTES, CLORIS*

*Cloris*

*Tenant un bouquet de fleurs*

Cueillez, Nymphes, cueillez des Roses,  
Donnez des lys à pleines mains.  
Et parsemez tous les chemins  
De fleurs nouvellement ecloses.  
Celebrez ce bienheureux jour  
De paix, d'allegresse et d'amour.

[88,r]

*Cloris, Silene et les Corybantes*

Sortez de vos antres sauvages,  
Faunes, Satyres et Sylvains,  
Et venez de vos chants divins  
Remplir les bois et les rivages.  
Venez à ces Cieux tout puissants  
Offrir la victime et l'Encens.

*Cloris*

Pour moy, je leur donne en offrande  
Ce bouquet tissu de ma main  
De fleurs d'orenge et de Jasmin  
Et tout ce que je leur demande,  
C'est que bientost le beau Soleil  
Me fasse luire un jour pareil.

*Cloris presente son bouquet à la nouvelle mariée*

SCENE DERNIERE

*BACCHUS, ARIANE, SILENE, MOME, VENUS,  
LES AMOURS, LES CORYBANTES, CLORIS*

*Venus*

*Presentant aux nouveaux mariez une couronne de pierreries portée par les Amours*

Enfin Bacchus nous rend les armes!  
Une beauté pleine de charmes  
En triomphe par mon Secours.  
Couronnez-la, petits Amours.

*Venus et les Amours montent sur le throne; les Amours posent la couronne sur la teste d'Ariane où elle demeure suspendüe à demy pied de hauteur et Venus se place au costé gauche de Bacchus.*

*Les Amours couronnants Ariane*

Vive, vive à jamais la nouvelle deesse!

[89,l]

*Cloris, Les Corybantes, Silene*

Vive notre aymable Princesse!

*Venus et les Amours*

Qu'elle goute à longs traits au sein de son Epoux  
Nos plaisirs les plus doux!

*Les Amours se mettent aux pieds de Bacchus. Mome se couche à leurs pieds.*

*Cloris, Silene, les Corybantes*

Qu'en sa faveur les troubles de la guerre  
Finissent desormais!

*Tous*

Et qu'enfin cet hymen ramene sur la terre  
Les Plaisirs et la Paix!

*Cloris, Silene, Mome, les Corybantes*

Que l'eclat des brillants de sa belle couronne  
A jamais l'environne!

*Bacchus, Venus, les Amours*

Qu'en étoiles changez ils restent dans les Cieux  
De ce jour pretieux  
Les glorieuses marques.

*Les sept pierreries de la couronne d'Ariane s'enflament et se changent en autant d'étoiles.*

*Tous*

Et q'un jour à venir  
Dans les Climats françoys le plus grand des Monarques  
En celebre le souvenir!

*FIN*

LA MORT D'ADONIS

[89,r]

TRAGEDIE EN MUSIQUE

*Mise en musique par Mons. Boisset,  
Intendant de la musique de la Chambre*

PERSONNAGES

VENUS

ADONIS *Berger fils du Roy d'Arabie amant et favory de Venus*

MARS

AMOUR

LES TROIS GRACES

MERCURE

BELLONE *sœur de Mars deesse de la Guerre*

FALSIRENE *fée que preside aux thresors*

CHŒUR DE FURIES

CHŒUR DE SOLDATS

CHŒUR DE BERGERS

ACTE I [SCENE 1]

*Decoration: Rivage de la mer avec un Palais dans le lointain.*

*Falsirene*

Sors de mon cœur,  
Folle fureur,  
Aveugle frenesie,  
Peste des cœurs, dont le poysou  
Detruit l'amour et la raison,  
Maudite Jalousie;  
Sors de mon cœur et de ma phantaisie,  
Ou donne à ma douleur quelque soulagement:  
Trouble cette union fatale,  
Et fay perir aux yeux de ma rivale  
Mon infidele amant.

[90,l]

SCENE 2

*FALSIRENE, MARS*

*Mars*

Couronnez-moy de Myrthe et de laurier,  
Heureux Amant, invincible guerrier.  
J'ay rangé sous mes loix la deesse des charmes,  
Et soumis l'univers au pouvoir de mes armes.  
Couronnez-moy de Myrthe &c.

*Falsirene*

Couronnez-le des plumes  
Dont il a couronné le maistre des Enclumes.  
Celle qu'il pensoit engager  
Languit dans les bras d'un Berger.

*Dont il ...* Couronnez-le des plumes *... enclumes*

*Mars*

He! quoy! pour un simple Berger  
Elle auroit peu changer  
Le grand dieu de la guerre.  
Et les amours du Ciel aux amours de la terre?

*Falsirene*

Qui trompa son Epoux trompera son amant.

*Mars*

Un Amant tel que moy se quitte rarement.

*Falsirene*

Un cœur comme le sien change facilement. [90,r]

*Mars*

Elle est du sang des Dieux, elle a trop de courage.

*Falsirene*

Elle est fille de l'onde inconstante et volage....

*Mars*

Qui porroit la porter à de nouveaux desirs.

*Falsirene*

Le plaisir de changer, le plus doux des plaisirs....

*Mars*

Je ne croiroy jamais de lachetez pareilles.

*Falsirene*

Ose donc dementir tes yeux et tes oreilles.

*Elle frappe la terre de sa baguette et par la vertu de ses charmes fait voir à Mars ce qui se passoit alors dans le Palais d'Amour: scavoit, Adonis dans le jardin du Palais couché sur les fleurs proche de Venus environnez d'Amour, de Mercure et des Graces qui chantent un hymne à la loüange d'Amour.*

SCENE [3]

*FALSIRENE, MARS, VENUS, ADONIS,  
AMOUR, MERCURE, LES GRACES*

*Amour*

Mortels! qui refusez d'adorer ma puissance  
Voyez la recompense  
Des maux que l'on souffre en aymant.  
Que l'on a de bonheur et de gloire à me suivre,  
Et qu'il est doux de vivre  
Sous les loix d'un dieu si charmant!  
Ayez, ayez et passez vostre envie  
De ce plaisir le plus doux de la vie.

*Amour, Mercure et les Graces*

*Ayez &c. co° dessus*

*La Premiere Grace*

[91,l]

Cueillez les fleurs dans la Saison:  
Voicy le temps des Jeux, des plaisirs et des festes.  
Bientost viendra l'âge grison  
Qui va couvrir vos testes  
D'une blanche toyson  
Et les priver d'amour ensemble et de raison.

*Amour, Mercure, les Graces*

*Ayez &c.*

*Mercure*

Moquez, moquez-vous de ces foux,  
De ces vieillards froids et Jaloux,  
Qui disent qu'aymer est un crime:  
Tout ce qui plaist est legitime,  
Il est permis puis qu'il est doux.

*Amour, Mercure, les Graces*

Aymez &c.

Qui n'est pas amoureux  
Est fol ou malheureux:  
Insensé, s'il a le cœur tendre,  
De vouloir se deffendre  
Et resister à d'innocents desirs;  
Malheureux, si d'amour il n'est pas susceptible,  
D'estre insensible  
Au plus grand des plaisirs.

*Amour, Mercure, les Graces*

Aymez &c.

*La Troisieme Grace*

Pourquoy vivre dans le tourment  
Et s'obstiner à l'impossible  
Puisque la mort est infaillible  
Et doit frapper egalemment  
L'Amant et l'insensible,  
L'insensible et l'Amant?

[91,r]

*Amour, Mercure, les Graces*

Aymez &c.

SCENE 4

*MARS et FALSIRENE*

*Mars*

O ciel! ô foudre!  
Que ton courroux est lent!  
Frappe, mon bras, et mets en poudre  
Cet insolent!  
Venge cette injure mortelle!  
Puny, puny cette infidele,  
Romps ses temples et ses autels,  
Lave de tout son sang cette mortelle offence,  
Et porte la fureur, la mort et la vengeance  
Sur le throne des immortels!

*Falsirene*

Couronnez-le des plumes  
Dont il a couronné le maistre des enclumes.

ACTE II

SCENE 1

*ADONIS, VENUS, MERCURE*

*Adonis*

Plustost mourir que vous abandonner,  
Plustost mourir que m'eloigner  
Du divin sujet de ma flame;  
Aussi bien je mourrois separé de mon ame.

*Venus*

Helas! s'il vous faisoit perir,  
Dans les transports de ma douleur cruelle,  
Moy qui suis de race immortelle,  
Je mourrois mille fois de ne pouvoir mourir.

[92,l]

*Ensemble*

O douleur!

*Venus*

M'aymez vous?

*Adonis*

Helas! si je vous ayme!

*Venus*

Conservez donc en vous la moitié de moy-mesme:  
Fuyez.

*Adonis*

Moy vous quitter?

*Venus*

Il le faut.

*Adonis*

Je ne puis.

*Ensemble*

O dure violence!  
Cruel depart, cruelle absence,  
Que tu nous vas causer de tourments et d'ennuis,  
De tristes jours et de mortelles nuits!

*Mercur*

Consolez-vous!

*Adonis et Venus*

Helas!

*Mercur*

Esperez en mon ayde.

*Adonis et Venus*

A des malheurs pareils il n'est point de remede.

SCENE 2

*FALSIRENE, MARS, MERCURE*

*Falsirene*

Qu'il meure, qu'il meure, l'indigne rival!

*Mercur*

O le foible courroux!

*Falsirene*

ô la cruelle offence!

*Mercur*

O lâche sentiment!

*Falsirene*

ô lache trahison!

O fureur

*Mercur*

ô raison!

*Falsirene*

Vengeance!

*Mercur*

Pardon!

*Mercur frappant de son Caducée*

Venez, Graces, venez appaisons la manie  
Du plus puissant des dieux  
Par la douceur d'un son melodieux,  
Et faisons voir ce que peut l'harmonie  
Sur un cœur furieux.

SCENE [3]

*LES GRACES, MARS, MERCURE, FALSIRENE*

*Flutes douces*

*Les Graces*

C'est la loy de l'amour d'aymer ce qui nous ayme,  
Mais quand un cœur leger  
Se porte à nous changer,  
C'est la loy de l'amour de changer tout de mesme.

&

Lors que sous d'autres loix l'infidele se range,  
Au lieu de nous vanger  
Il faut nous degager,  
Pardonner, mepriser, et changer qui nous change.

[93,1]

*Falsirene*

Qu'il meure, qu'il meure, l'indigne rival!  
Qui peut souffrir merite son mal.  
Qu'il meure, &c.

*Mercuré et les Graces*

O le foible courroux!

*Falsirene*

ô la cruelle offence!

*Mercuré et les Graces*

O lâche sentiment!

*Falsirene*

ô lache trahison!

O fureur!

*Mercuré et les Graces*

ô raison!

*Falsirene*

Vengeance!

*Mercuré et les Graces*

Pardon!

*Falsirene*

Vengeance!

*Mercuré et les Graces*

Pardon!

*Mars*

Pardon!

C'est ainsy q'un grand Dieu se vange:  
Pardonnons, meprisons et changeons qui nous change.

*Mars, Mercuré et les Graces*

Pardonnons, &c. *Mars laisse tomber son javelot*

*Falsirene*

O dieux! il s'attendrit, il a quitté les armes;

Recourons à nos charmes.

A mon secours,

Mon fidele recours,

Noires furies,

Meres des barbaries;

Rompez vos fers

Et sortez des Enfers,

Enflamez son courage

D'une nouvelle rage.

[93,r]

SCENE 4

*LES FURIES, FALSIRENE, MARS, MERCURE, LES GRACES*

*Symphonie lugubre*

*Les Furies*

Qu'il meure, qu'il meure, l'indigne rival!

Qui peut souffrir merite son mal.

Qu'il meure &c.

*Les Furies et Falsirene*

Qu'il meure &c.

Que le Ciel et la terre

Perdent cet insolent de qui l'orgueil fatal

Ose affronter le grand dieu de la guerre!

Qu'il meure &c.

*Mercuré et les Graces*

O le foible courroux!

*Falsirene et les Furies*

ô la cruelle offence!

*Mercuré et les Graces*

O lâche sentiment!

*Falsirene et les Furies*

ô lache trahison!

O fureur!

*Mercure et les Graces*

ô raison!

*Falsirene et les Furies*

[94,1]

Vengeance!

*Mercure et les Graces*

Pardon!

*Mars*

Vengeance, vengeance!

*Mercure frappant de son caducée*

Bellone, paraissez, et changeant la fureur  
De ce genereux frere  
Inspirez à son cœur  
Une flame guerriere.

SCENE 5

*BELLONE, MARS, FALSIRENE, MERCURE,  
LES FURIES, LES GRACES, CHŒUR DE SOLDATS*

*Symphonie; Musique de geurre, trompettes, Tambours*

*Bellone sur son char*

Sonne la charge, sonne, sonne!  
Allarme, allarme, donne, donne!

*Chœur de Soldats*

Allarme, allarme, donne, donne!

*Bellone*

Courage, amis, nous les tenons,  
Ils sont à nous, donnons, donnons!

*Soldats*

Donnons, donnons!

*Bellone*

Courons, suivons, donnons en queüe!

*Soldats*

Courons, &c.

*Bellone*

[94,r]

Enfonce, perce, frappe, tüe!

*Bellone à Mars et aux Furies*

A moy, mon frere, à moy cruelles sœurs!  
Secondez nos fureurs!  
A la guerre, à la guerre!

*Bellone, Soldats, Furies*

A la guerre, &c.

*Bellone*

Courons, suivons, donnons en flanc!

*Bellone, Soldats, Furies*

Courons, &c.

*Bellone*

Couvrons, couvrons la terre  
D'horreurs, de morts, de carnage et de sang.

*Bellone, Soldats, Furies*

[Couvrons &c.]

*Mars*

Lache ressentiment indigne de ma gloire  
Mon bras, que pretents tu? sont-ce là les employs  
Du dieu de la victoire?  
Sont-ce là tes exploits?  
A la guerre, à la guerre!

*Mars, Bellone, Soldats, Furies*

A la guerre, &c.

*Mars*

Courons, suivons, donnons en flanc!

*Mars, [Bellone, Soldats, Furies]*

Couvrons, &amp;c.

*Mars*Couvrons, couvrons la terre  
D'horreur, de morts, de carnage et de sang!*Mars, Bellone, Soldats, Furies*

Couvrons, &amp;c.

*Mars monte sur le char de Bellone et s'en va avec elle suivy des soldats et des furies.* [95,l]

## SCENE 6

*Falsirene*Quoy! malheureuse Falsirene,  
Ton art et ta puissance est vaine?  
O rage, ô desespoir! mais pourquoy recourir  
A la force des charmes?  
Il suffit de mon bras pour le faire perir,  
Il suffit de ces armes.*Elle tire et monstre un poignard.*

## ACTE III

## SCENE 1

*Une toile s'ouvre qui fait voir Adonis sur un lit de gazon endormy par une Musique de Bergers et de Graces.**ADONIS, LES GRACES, CHŒUR DE BERGERS**Les Graces et les Bergers*Paisible enfant des nuits,  
Doux charme des ennuis,  
Thresor inestimable,  
Riche present des dieux,  
Sommeil, descends des Cieux,  
Et d'un Berger aymable  
Vien fermer les beaux yeux.

&amp;

Enfin ce dieu jaloux  
A calmé son courroux,  
Et cet Amant fidele,  
Assuré desormais,  
Peut gouter à jamais  
Dans les bras de sa belle  
Le Plaisir et la Paix.  
Paisible Enfant, &c. *co<sup>e</sup> dessus*

[95,r]

## SCENE 2

*ADONIS, FALSIRENE**Falsirene le poignard à la main*Acheve, ma fureur, acheve ton dessein,  
Et luy perce le sein.  
D'une atteinte mortelle  
Venge-toy de cet infidele;  
Porte aux yeux de Venus ce spectacle d'horreur.  
Acheve, acheve ma fureur!

&amp;

Mais, hélas! quelle est ton erreur?  
Tu te venges contre moy-mesme,  
Et tu me perds en perdant ce que j'ayme.  
Arreste, arreste, ma fureur!  
Non, non, beaux yeux, je me rends à vos charmes:  
Une seconde fois je vous quitte les armes.

&amp;

*Elle laisse tomber le poignard.*Silence, Zephirs, silence, ruisseaux.  
De vos soupirs et de vos eaux  
Calmez la violence.  
Silence, silence,  
Petits Oyseaux.  
Ne troublez pas mon Berger qui sommeille;  
Et vous, ô jeunes fleurs,  
Œillets, Jasmins, Rose vermeille,  
Parfumez ce beau sein de vos douces odeurs.

&amp;

*Elle parseme le Berger de fleurs; il se reveille; elle poursuit.*

Quoy! volage Berger, tu changes tes amours? [96,l]

*Adonis*

Je sers une beauté des belles la plus belle.

*Falsirene*

Tu sers une infidele  
Qui change tous les jours.

*Adonis*

Un moment aupres d'elle  
Vaut une eternité  
D'ayse et de volupté.

*Falsirene*

Ah! cœur ingrat, ah! cœur farouche!  
Amour!

*Adonis*

Amour!

*Falsirene*

pitié!

*Adonis*

pitié!

*Ensemble*

Amour, pitié, rien ne le touche.

*Falsirene*

L'offre de mes tresors....

*Adonis*

En est il sous les Cieux  
De plus beau qu'elle et de plus pretieux?

*Falsirene*

Les perles

*Adonis*

Les perles

*Falsirene*

le corail

*Adonis*

Les Perles, le Corail se trouvent en sa bouche.

*Falsirene*

[96,r]

Et l'or....

*Adonis*

Et l'or à ses cheveux.

*Falsirene*

L'yvoire....

*Adonis*

L'yvoire est sur son sein.

*Falsirene*

Le Christal....

*Adonis*

Le Christal dans ses yeux,

*Falsirene*

L'Ambre....

*Adonis*

L'Ambre parfume son haleine.

*Falsirene*

Crains tu pas ma fureur?

*Adonis*

Je ne crains que sa hayne.

*Falsirene*

Un seul de mes regards te peut faire perir.

*Adonis*

En la servant il est doux de mourir.

SCENE 3

*FALSIRENE* ~~*Falsirene*~~ frappant de sa baguette

A moy, Megere, à moy fille de l'ombre!  
Sors de nouveau, sors du Royaume sombre,  
Venge l'injure  
De ce parjure.  
Quand il viendra pour chasser en ces lieux,  
Prend la figure  
D'un sanglier furieux,  
Perce son flanc,  
Dechire ses entrailles,  
Et de son sang,  
Fay rougir les brossailles.

[97,l]

*Megere se monstre, reçoit le commandement et disparoit.*

ACTE IV

SCENE 1

*ADONIS, VENUS, AMOUR*

*Adonis paroît en equippage de chasse, l'epieu dans la main suivy d'une meute de chiens.*

*Adonis*

Je souffriray sans me vanger  
D'un sanglier furieux le ravage effroyable?

*Venus*

Je souffriray que mon Berger  
S'expose à la fureur d'un monstre impitoyable?

*Adonis*

Sus, sus, mon bras, lance les traits

*Ensemble*

lance les traits

*Venus*

lance les traits  
De tes yeux pleins d'attraits.

*Adonis*

Poursuy-le dans la plaine;  
Ten les filets

*Ensemble*

Ten les filets

*Venus*

Ten les filets d'amour; la prise est plus certaine.

*Adonis*

Perce son flanc.

*[Venus]*

Ouvre plutost le mien.

*Adonis*

Verse son sang.

*Venus*

Sauve le tien.

*Adonis*

Il y va de ma gloire  
D'en rester le vainqueur.

[97,r]

*Venus*

Veux-tu d'autre victoire  
Que celle de mon cœur?

*Musique de cors, de cris et de Chiens, au bruit de laquelle Adonis, emporté de l'ardeur de la chasse, quitte Venus et suit les Chasseurs.*

SCENE 2

*Venus*

Cruel! tu m'abandonnes  
A la mercy de mes douleurs  
Sans soucy de mes cris, sans pitié de mes pleurs,  
Ny du tourment que tu me donnes.  
Helas! tu m'abandonnes.

*Amour*

Sechez vos pleurs,  
O deesse des charmes.

*Venus*

C'est toy, Tyran des cœurs  
Qui me causes ces larmes.

*Amour*

Quoy! l'auteur des plaisirs  
Le seroit des supplices?

*Venus*

Helas! que tes delices  
Nous causent de soupirs!

*Amour*

Non, non, le trait d'amour guerit tout ce qu'il blesse.  
Qui n'en scayt pas user  
Ne doit pas m'accuser  
Mais sa propre foiblesse.  
Non, non, le trait d'amour guerit tout ce qu'il blesse.

[98,l]

&

Les plaisirs les plus doux ne valent pas mes peynes.  
Le moins heureux Amant  
Adore son tourment  
Et chante dans ses chaisnes.  
Les plaisirs les plus doux ne valent pas mes peynes.

SCENE 3

*VENUS, AMOUR, ADONIS, CHŒUR DE BERGERS*  
*En equipage de Chasse*

*Les Bergers*

*Rapportants Adonis blessé par le sanglier crient derriere le Theatre*

O malheur! ô douleur! ô cruauté du sort!  
Au secours, il se meurt, il expire, il est mort.

*Venus*

Qu'entends je? quel cry lamentable,  
Quel bruit epouvantable?  
O d'un cruel destin  
Presage trop certain  
Qui troublois ma pensée.  
Tu ne m'abusois pas d'une peur insensée.  
Adonis, Adonis, ah! mon cher Adonis!  
Par un coup malheureux tes beaux jours sont finis;  
Ta pretieuse vie  
Dans sa jeune saison par la mort t'est ravie.

&

Ah! mon cher Adonis pour la derniere fois  
Enten ma triste voix  
Et voy couler les pleurs de ta fidele Amante.  
Ouvre encor tes beaux yeux et ta levre charmante  
Que je recueille au moins en ce funeste lieu  
Et ton dernier soupir et ton dernier adieu.

[98,r]

*Adonis*

Console-toy, belle Deesse,  
Et croy que le coup qui me blesse  
Me blesse moins que ta douleur.  
Voy dans mon flanc ouvert jusqu'au fonds de mon cœur  
Les restes de ma flame  
Qui vont s'eteindre avec mon ame;  
Voy-les mourir ensemble en ce funeste lieu.  
Adieu, je n'en puis plus; adieu, mon cœur, adieu.

*Ensemble*

Adieu, mon cœur, adieu.

*Venus*

Adonis, Adonis, ah! son ame s'envole.  
 Il ne m'ecoute plus,  
 Mes cris sont superflus,  
 Et ma plainte est frivole.  
 O mort cruelle et sans pitié  
 Qui me ravis ma plus chere moitié.  
 Barbare, ou ren l'un ou pren l'autre.

&

Mais, ô cruelle mort, le ciel pour me punir  
 A tes loix m'a ravie;  
 Et ta rigueur m'empeche de finir  
 Ma douleur et ma vie [99,l]  
 O destin malheureux!  
 O tourment rigoureux!  
 Je ne puis ny mourir ny vivre,  
 Ny l'abandonner, ny le suivre.

&

Vous, cheveux arraches, temoings de mes douleurs,  
 Qui tombez sur les fleurs,  
 Changez vous en herbe menüe,  
 Et conservez au moins aux Siecles à venir  
 De cette disgrace avenüe  
 Et d'un mortel ennuy l'immortel souvenir.

*Les cheveux arrachés de Venus se changent en l'herbe que de leur nom on appelle CAPILLI VENERIS.*

## ACTE V

*Tous les Acteurs sont parez de düeil; un tombeau paroît sur lequel est cloué le cœur d'Adonis.*

### SCENE 1

*VENUS, AMOUR, LES GRACES, MERCURE*

*Venus*

Pleurez, rochers, et vous fondez en eaux;  
 Pleurez, Arbres; pleurez, Ruisseaux;  
 Pleurez, ô montagnes, ô plaines;  
 Pleurez, Rivieres, et fontaines;  
 Pleurez mon Adonis.  
 Pleurez le sort qui nous a desunis,  
 Pleurez sa mort, pleurez mes peynes.

&

Le charmant Adonis n'est plus q'un peu de cendre  
 La mort a fait descendre  
 Sous le marbre de ce tombeau [99,r]  
 L'ouvrage du Ciel le plus beau.  
 Pleurez, Amour; pleurez, ô Graces;  
 Pleurez mon Adonis.  
 Pleurez le sort qui nous a desunis,  
 Pleurez sa mort et mes disgraces.

*Amour*

O toy de qui les charmes  
 Ont fait regner Amour  
 Jusques sur la beauté qui luy donna le jour,  
 Je consacre à tes pieds mon carquois et mes armes,  
 Mon arc et mon flambeau,  
 Et je tiens mon flambeau  
 Au pied de ce tombeau.

*Il fait ce qu'il dit.*

*Les Graces*

Et nous, dans ces campagnes  
 Ses fideles compagnes,  
 Les yeux baignez de pleurs,  
 Nous le couvrons de Myrthes et de fleurs.

*Elles parsement le tombeau de fleurs.*

*Mercur*

Adieu, bel Adonis, adieu.  
 Repose en paix dans les Royaumes sombres;  
 Ainsy le commande le dieu  
 Qui commande dessus les ombres.

*Il frappe le tombeau de son Caducée.*

### SCENE 2

*VENUS, AMOUR, MERCURE,  
 LES GRACES, CHŒUR DE BERGERS*

*Les Bergers* [100,l]

Quittez, Bergers des bois et des ormeaux,  
 Le sejour delectable;  
 Touchez vos chalumeaux  
 Sur un son lamentable.  
 Le favory d'amour,  
 Le charmant Adonis, vient de perdre le jour.

&amp;

Le charmant Adonis vient de perdre le jour.  
 O beau Palais, divin sejour,  
 Bois, fontaines, rivages,  
 Jardins, bocages verts,  
 Vous n'estes plus que des antres sauvages  
 Et de tristes deserts.

*Venus*

*Prenant le cœur d'Adonis et l'arrouasant de Nectar le change en Anemone.*

O cœur, moins son cœur que le mien;  
 O cœur plus mon cœur que le sien,  
 Pour recompense,  
 Cœur amoureux et bien aymé,  
 Sur toy la mort n'aura plus de puissance,  
 Mais par ce nectar ranimé,  
 Et malgré le sort et l'envie,  
 En Anemone transformé,  
 Tu vivras desormais d'une immortelle vie.

*Tous*

Allegresse, allegresse,  
 Nostre belle deesse  
 A vaincu la rigueur du sort!  
 Adonis n'est plus mort  
 Allegresse, allegresse!

*Violons**Hymne*

[100,r]

*a la loüange de l'Anemone chantée par tout le Chœur*

*Le Chœur à discretion*

O belle fille de l'Aurore,  
 Belle messagere de Flore,  
 Qui d'elle et du Printemps annonces le retour,  
 O belle couronne animée,  
 O fleur des Graces bien aymée,  
 O fleur favorite d'amour,  
 O fleur entre les fleurs elüe,  
 Pour honorer ce triste jour,  
 O belle fleur, je te salüe.

&amp;

O fleur l'ornement d'un parterre,  
 Les plus belles fleurs de la terre  
 Aupres de toy nous seront à mepris,  
 Et tu pourras ouverte et close  
 Avec l'Œillet, la Tulippe et la Rose,  
 Disputer l'honneur et le prix.

&amp;

Malgre l'hyver et la froidure  
 Tu garderas toujours ta fueille et ta verdure,  
 Ta fraischeur et ta nouveauté;  
 Toujours les belles Anemones  
 Seront la gloire et la beauté  
 Des guirlandes et des courronnes.

FIN

*La Tragedie pourra estre suivie d'un Ballet tiré du Sujet en cette maniere:  
 Venus, Amour, Mercure, Les Graces et les Bergers resteront assis sur le  
 Theatre et en leur presence l'on dansera:* [100,l]

#### LE BALLET DES JEUX D'ADONIS

*Qui representera les Jeux que Venus fit celebrer au tombeau d'Adonis, depuis  
 representez tous les trois ans par les Grecs et par les Romains: Scavoir des  
 danseurs, lutteurs, escrimeurs, coureurs de char, joüeurs de paume &c. tels  
 qu'ils sont dans le poeme d'Adonis du Cavalier Marin.*



## IV

## PIECE DE CONCERT à trois Dessus

*Les TROIS ENFANTS DANS LA FOURNAISE*

Du fonds d'une cave brulante  
 Où nous a mis  
 La rage insolente  
 De tes ennemis,  
 Nous te rendons d'immortelles graces  
 Et publions, Seigneur, tes bontez et tes graces.

&amp;

Couchez sur les charbons comme dessus les fleurs,  
 Sans crainte et sans douleurs,  
 Nous ne sentons point d'autres flames  
 Dans cet ardent sejour  
 Que les flames de ton amour  
 Qui brulent dans nos ames.

&amp;

Ce feu qui sans nous etouffer  
 Nous environne de lumiere  
 Et nous fait deja triompher  
 Avant la fin de la carriere  
 Nous forme des crayons  
 De cet estat de gloire  
 Où, couronnez de tes divins rayons,  
 Nous chanterons au Ciel des hymnes de victoire.

&amp;

O seigneur, ecoute nos vœux!  
 C'est assez monstret ta puissance  
 Et que tout est soumis à ton obeysance. [103,l]  
 Laisse agir desormais les tourments et les feux,  
 Laisse dissoudre  
 Nos corps en poudre,  
 Laisse-les enflamer,  
 Laisse-nous consumer,  
 Et donne enfin à nos ames fideles  
 Des palmes immortelles.

## V

## AUTRE PIECE DE CONCERT

*Pour Mad<sup>e</sup> la Douairiere au Jour de S<sup>te</sup> Madeleine.  
 Mad<sup>e</sup> se nomme Marguerite et naquit le jour de S<sup>te</sup> Madeleine*

*HAUTECONTRE, TAILLE et BASSE*

Dans ce bienheureux jour Moulinié  
 D'allegresse et d'amour  
 Où l'on faisoit au Ciel la feste triomphante  
 D'une admirable Penitente  
 Qui recet la faveur  
 D'arroser de ses pleurs les pieds de mon Sauveur,  
 L'on entendit parmy le chœur des Anges,  
 Marguerite à l'envy celebrer ses loüanges,  
 Et la Sainte en ces mots  
 Repondre à ses propos:

&amp;

## DIALOGUE à deux dessus

*S<sup>te</sup> MARGUERITE & S<sup>te</sup> MADELEINE**Marguerite*

Sainte, des saintes la modele,

*Madeleine*

Vierge, des vierges la plus belle,

*Marguerite*

Pour ton divin Epoux que ton amour fut grand!

*Madeleine*

[103,r]

Que le tien fut ardent,

*Ensemble*

Qu'il fut tendre et fidele!

*Marguerite*

Tu vecus dans sa loy.

*Madeleine*

Tu mourus pour sa foy.  
Pour toy la mort,

*Ensemble*

pour toy la douleur eut des charmes.

*Madeleine*

Tu luy donnas ton sang,

*Marguerite*

tu luy donnas tes larmes.

*Madeleine*

Tu souffris, tu languis, tu mourus pour sa Croix  
Avec tant de constance!

*Marguerite*

Tu souffris, tu languis, tu mourus, mille fois  
Dedans ta penitance.

*Ensemble*

Meslons, meslons nos voix  
Et chantons à sa gloire  
Des chants d'amour et de victoire.

&amp;

## RECIT DE BASSE

Ainsy chantoient ces Esprits bienheureux  
Les Anges qui les entendirent  
A la voix repondirent,  
Et dirent tour à tour ce Cantique amoureux!

*Chœur d'Anges toute la musique*

O saintes, rejouissez vous  
Des nouvelles faveurs de ce divin Epoux,  
Pres la terre des Lys une autre Marguerite  
Plus brillante que le soleil  
Naistra bientôt à jour pareil  
Qui vous ressemblera de nom et de merite,  
Et qui viendra chanter un jour  
Avec nous dans la gloire  
Des chants d'amour et de victoire,  
Des chants de victoire et d'amour.

[104,l]

## VI

## PARAPHRASE DU PSAUME 18

*Cœli enarrant gloriam dei*

Perdigal

## AIR

Cœli enarrant gloriam  
dei et opera  
manuum eius annuntiat  
firmamentum.

Seigneur les grands Palais des Cieux  
Content vostre magnificence  
Et font briller devant nos yeux  
Les rayons de vostre puissance.

&amp;

Dies diei eructat  
verbum et  
nox nocti  
indicat Scientiam.

Le jour en parle tout le jour;  
La nuit chaque nuit la publie,  
Et nous la monstrent tour à tour  
Dans leur inconstance établie.

&amp;

Non sunt loquelæ neque  
sermone quorum non audiantur  
voces eorum. In omnem terram  
exivit Sonus eorum et in  
fines orbis terræ verba eorum.

En mille langages divers  
Ils la chantent à nos oreilles,  
Et jusqu'au bout de l'univers  
Portent le bruit de vos merveilles.

&amp;

In sole  
posuit  
tabernaculum  
suum,

L'Astre du jour et des splendeurs  
Est vostre Palais ordinaire,  
Et nous connoissons vos grandeurs  
Au cours de ce grand Luminaire.

&amp;

Et ipse  
tanquam Sponsus  
procedens  
de thalamo suo,

Nous voyons ce brillant flambeau [104,r]  
Qui se leve du Sein de l'onde  
Comme un Epoux charmant et beau  
Qui sort de sa couche feconde.

&amp;

Exultavit ut Gygas  
ad currendam viam,  
a summo cœlo  
egressio eius,

Il s'avance à pas de Geant  
Dans sa vaste et longue carriere,  
Et des portes de l'Orient  
Il repand sa douce lumiere.

&amp;

Et occursum eius  
usque ad summum eius,  
nec est qui se  
abscondat a calore eius.

De là jusqu'au sommet des Cieux  
Il porte ses routes sublimes,  
Et de la chaleur de ses feux  
Remplit jusqu'au fonds des abismes.

&amp;

Lex domini immaculata,  
convertens animas; testi-  
monium Domini fidele, sapien-  
tiam præstans parvulis.

Vos loix sont comme ses rayons  
Toutes pures et toutes belles;  
Ils en sont comme les crayons  
Et les peintures plus fideles.

&amp;

Iustitiæ domini rectæ,  
lætificantes corda; præ-  
ceptum domini lucidum,  
illuminans oculos.

Vos preceptes pleins d'équités  
Et d'une admirable sagesse  
Remplissent les yeux de clarté  
Les Cœurs d'amour et d'allegresse.

&amp;

Timor domini  
sanctus, permanens  
in sæculum  
sæculi;

Par tout on les voit triomphants  
De l'erreur et de l'ignorance;  
Ils eclairent jusqu'aux enfants  
Et leur inspirent la prudence.

&amp;

iudicia domini  
vera, iustifi-  
cata in  
semetipsa.

Ils sont fideles et constants,  
Ils sont fermes et veritables,  
Et malgré la course des temps  
Demeurent toujours immuables.

&amp;

Desiderabilia super  
aurum et lapidem  
pretiosum multum, et  
dulciora super mel et favum.

Ils sont plus beaux, plus pretieux [105,l]  
Que l'or et les pierres brillantes,  
Plus que le miel delitieux,  
Plus doux que les ruches coulantes.

&amp;

Et enim servus  
tuus custodit ea,  
in custodiendis illis  
retributio multa.

Mon ame de les observer  
Jamais aussy ne se dispense,  
Et ne manque pas d'y trouver  
Son plaisir et sa recompense.

&amp;

Delicta  
quis  
intel-  
ligit?

Il est vray que j'ay des pechez  
Dont je n'ay pas de connoissance,  
Mais qui voit les crimes cachez  
Dans le fonds d'une conscience?

&amp;

Ab occultis meis  
munda me; et  
ab alienis  
parce servo tuo.

Seigneurs de nos cœurs indiscrets  
Excusez les fautes legeres;  
Pardonez mes crimes secrets  
Et mes offenses etrangeres.

&amp;

Si mei non fuerint  
dominanti, tunc im-  
maculatus ero et emun-  
dabor a delicto maximo.

Ah! si leur mouvement vainqueur  
Ne dominoit sur mes puissances,  
Je serois innocent de cœur  
Et lavé de toutes offenses.

&amp;

Et erunt ut complacent  
eloquia oris mei et  
meditatio cordis mei in  
conspectu tuo semper.

Alors, ô mon divin Sauveur,  
Mes vœux vous seroient agreables,  
Et tous les pensers de mon cœur  
Plairoient à vos yeux adorables.

&amp;

## PARAPHRASE DES SEPT PSAUMES PENITENTIAUX

## PSAUME 6

[105,r]

Domine ne in furore  
tuo arguas me,  
neque in ira tua  
corripias me.

D'un œil de colere et de flame  
Ne regardez pas mes erreurs,  
Et n'abandonnez pas mon ame  
A vos effroyables fureurs.

&amp;

Miserere mei, domine,  
quoniam infirmus sum;  
Sana me, domine, quoniam  
conturbata sunt ossa mea.

Seigneur, excusez ma foiblesse:  
Prenez pitié de ma langueur;  
Guerissez le mal qui me blesse;  
Calmez le trouble de mon cœur.

&amp;

Et anima mea  
turbata est valde.  
Sed tu, domine,  
usque quo?

Ah! de la douleur qui m'afflige  
Ne finirez-vous point le cours?  
Helas! Seigneur, qui vous oblige  
A differer vostre secours?

&amp;

Convertere, domine, et  
eripe animam meam;  
Salvum me fac propter  
misericordiam tuam.

Mon dieu! venez à ma deffence;  
Detournez l'arrest de mon sort,  
Et par vostre Sainte clemence  
Sauvez moy des mains de la mort.

&amp;

Quoniam non est in  
morte qui memor sit  
tui; in inferno autem  
quis confitebitur tibi?

Car enfin vostre nom s'oublie  
Dès qu'elle eteint nostre flambeau.  
Quel est le mort qui la publie  
Sous la terre et dans le tombeau?

&amp;

Laboravi in gemitu meo,  
lavabo per singulas noctes  
lectum meum, lachrymis meis  
stratum meum rigabo.

Je suis toujours dans les allarmes,  
Je passe les nuits sans dormir,  
J'arrose mon lit de mes larmes, [106,l]  
Et ne fais que plaindre et gemir.

&amp;

Turbatus est a furore  
oculus meus;  
inveteravi inter omnes  
inimicos meos.

Dans la forte et longue detresse  
Où m'ont réduit mes ennemis  
Mes yeux sont rongez de tristesse  
Et sechez de pleurs et d'ennuis.

&amp;

Discedite a me, omnes  
qui operamini iniquitatem,  
quoniam exaudivit dominus  
vocem fletus mei.

C'en est fait, ô races meurtrieres,  
Mechants! qui causez mes douleurs;  
Le Ciel exauce mes prieres,  
Il entend la voix de mes pleurs.

&amp;

Exaudivit dominus  
deprecationem meam;  
dominus orationem  
meam suscepit

Le Seigneur ecoute mes plaintes  
Et recoit mes vœux innocents,  
Il dissipe toutes mes craintes  
Et tout le trouble de mes sens.

&amp;

Erubescant et conturbentur  
vehementer omnes  
inimici mei; erubescant et  
conturbentur valde velociter.

Allez, fuyez, troupe ennemie,  
Le trouble et la peur sur le front,  
Retirez-vous pleins d'infamie  
Et couverts de honte et d'affront.

## PSAUME 31

Beati quorum remissæ  
sunt iniquitates  
quorum tecta  
sunt peccata.

Heureux celui qui sent de ses pechez  
Une sincere repentance  
Et dont les crimes sont cachez  
Du voyle de la penitence.

&amp;

Beatus vir cui non  
imputavit dominus  
peccatum nec est in  
Spiritu eius dolus.

Heureux celui qui peut de ses forfaits  
Avoir le pardon legitime,  
A qui les crimes qu'il a faits [106,r]  
Ne sont pas imputez à crime.

&amp;

Quoniam tacui  
inveteraverunt ossa  
mea, dum clamarem  
tota die.

Bien que le mien jour et nuit sans repos  
M'ayt tourmenté la conscience,  
Bien qu'il ayt vieilly dans mes os,  
J'ay demeuré dans le Silence.

&amp;

Quoniam die ac nocte gravata  
est super me manus tua,  
converses sum in ærumna  
mea dum configitur Spina.

Aussy, sur moy jour et nuit j'ay senty  
Le fardeau de vos mains divines.  
Enfin je me suis converty  
Sous la pointe de vos epines.

&amp;

Delictum meum  
cognitum tibi feci  
et iniustitiam  
meam non abscondi.

J'ay fait l'aveu de mon iniquité,  
Je m'en suis imputé le blasme,  
Et devant vostre majesté  
Je n'ay pas deguisé mon ame.

&amp;

Dixi, confitebor adversum  
me iniustitiam meam Do-  
mino, et tu remisisti im-  
pietatem peccati mei.

J'ay confessé les maux que j'ay commis  
Contre vos loix et vos deffenses,  
Seigneur, et vous m'avez remis  
La malice de mes offenses.

&amp;

Pro hac orabit  
ad te omnis  
sanctus in  
tempore opportuno.

Pour obtenir mesme grace de vous  
Les ames fideles et saintes,  
Quand vous n'aurez plus de courroux,  
Vous feront des vœux et des plaintes.

&amp;

Verumtamen in  
diluvio aquarum  
multarum ad eum  
non approximabunt.

Mais dans le temps où l'on voit inonder  
Le torrent de vostre vengeance  
On n'oseroit vous aborder [107,l]  
Ny soutenir vostre presence.

&amp;

Tu es refugium meum a  
tribulatione quæ circum-  
dedit me; exultatio mea, erue  
me a circumdantibus me.

Vous estes seul ma force et mon recours  
Dans les malheurs qui m'environnent.  
Sauvez moy par vostre secours  
Des ennemis qui me talonnent.

&amp;

Intellectum  
tibi dabo  
Et instruam  
te in via

Ce sont les vœux mon dieu que je vous fis  
Pendant mes disgraces dernieres.  
Ne crain rien, dites vous, mon fils,  
Je te donneray mes lumieres.

&amp;

hac qua gradieris;  
firmabo  
super te  
oculos meos.

Je veux t'ouvrir la route et le chemin;  
Je veux moy mesme t'en instruire.  
Je te guideray par la main,  
Et j'auray l'œil à te conduire;

&amp;

Nolite fieri sicut  
equus et mulus  
quibus non est  
intellectus.

Suy seulement sans crainte d'aucun mal,  
Plein de zele et d'obeysance;  
Ne ressemble pas l'animal  
Qui n'a ny sens ny connoissance.

&amp;

In chamo et fræno  
maxillas eorum  
constringe, qui non  
approximant ad te.

Pour empecher l'approche et les efforts  
De ces ames laches et noires,  
T'impose leur et frein et mors  
Et leur en serre les machoires.

&amp;

Multa flagella pec-  
catoris; sperantem autem  
in domino miseri-  
cordia circumdabit.

De mille fleaux je frappe les pervers,  
Je leur suis crüel et severe; [107,r]  
Mais de mille plaisirs divers  
Je comble un cœur qui me revere.

&amp;

Lætamini in domino  
et exultate iusti  
et gloriamini  
omnes recti corde.

Chantez des chants d'allegresse et d'honneur,  
Vous, ames justes et fideles,  
Et pour l'exces de ce bonheur  
Rendez-luy graces immortelles.

PSAUME 37

[Blank]

[108,1 blank]

PSAUME 44

[108,r]

Eructavit cor meum  
verbum bonum;  
dico ego opera  
mea Regi. Lingua  
mea calamus scribæ  
velociter scribentis.

Mon cœur, emu du beau feu qui le touche,  
A la gloire du Roy va dire par ma bouche  
Un cantique divin,  
Et dans le transport qui me presse  
Ma langue aura plus de vistesse  
Que la plume de l'Ecrivain.

&amp;

Speciosus forma præ  
filiis hominum, diffusa  
est gratia in labiis  
tuis: propterea  
benedixit te deus  
in æternum.

O Roy puissant, vostre beauté surpasse  
L'eclat, la majesté, la douceur et la grace  
Du reste des humains;  
Aussy le Ciel qui vous regarde  
Veille toujours à vostre garde,  
Et benit l'œuvre de ses mains.

&amp;

Accingere gladio tuo  
super femur tuum,  
potentissime. Specie tua  
et pulchritudine tua  
intende, prospere  
procede et regna,

Armez vos flames, ô monarque invincible,  
Mettez à vos costez cette lame terrible  
Qu'en guerre vous ceignez;  
Et plein de gloire et de puissance,  
De beauté, de magnificence,  
Paroissez, marchez et regnez.

&amp;

propter veritatem  
et mansuetudinem  
et iustitiam;  
et deducet te  
mirabiliter  
dextera tua.

Vous estes bon, vous estes equitable,  
Vous estes juste et droit, fidele et veritable,  
Ferme dans vos conseils:  
Aussy vostre main glorieuse,  
De tous costez victorieuse,  
Fait cent prodiges sans pareils.

&amp;

Sagittæ tuæ  
acutæ, populi  
sub te  
cadent  
in corda  
inimicorum Regis.

Incessamment la pointe de vos armes [109,l]  
Perce jusques au cœur ou de corps ou d'allarmes  
 Vos plus fiers ennemis,  
Et sous leurs atteintes mortelles  
Tous les jours cent Peuples rebelles  
Tombent abbatus ou soumis.

&amp;

Sedes tua  
deus in  
sæculum sæculi;  
virga directionis  
virga  
regni tui.

Dieu, ce grand estre eternel immuable,  
Est de vostre grandeur le trone inébranlable  
Et le solide appuy,  
Comme luy vostre empire auguste,  
Equitable, fidele et juste  
Demeure ferme, comme luy.

&amp;

Dilexisti iustitiam  
et odisti iniqui-  
tatem, propterea unxit  
te deus, deus tuus  
oleo lætitiæ præ  
consortibus tuis.

Vous chérissiez, vous rendez la justice;  
Vous estes l'ennemy de l'orgueil et du vice  
Et le soutien des loix.  
Aussy la divine sagesse  
Vous comble d'ayse et de richesse  
Par dessus tous les autres Roys.

&amp;

Myrrha gutta et casia  
a vestimentis tuis,  
a domibus eburneis,  
ex quibus delecta-  
verunt te filiæ  
regum in honore tuo.

Vos cabinets, vostre superbe chambre  
Sont pleins de *[licts dorez, d'habits parfumez d'Ambre,]* *[rom.]*  
De meubles pretieux;  
Et l'on voit cent filles Royales  
Orner vos magnifiques sales  
Et vos Palais delitieux.

&amp;

Astitit regina  
a dextris  
tuis in  
vestitu deaureato,  
circumdata  
varietate.

Aupres de vous est une grande Reyne,  
De ce puissant Estat la dame souveraine,  
Mais bien plus de nos cœurs *[109,r]*  
D'or et de perles couronnée,  
Et d'une veste environnée  
Brillant d'azur et de fleurs.

&amp;

Audi filia, et vide  
et inclina aurem  
tuam et obliviscere  
populum tuum  
et domum  
patris tui.

Ecoutez nous, ô charmante Princesse,  
Ecoutez et voyez d'un œil plein d'allegresse  
Vostre felicité,  
Et dans cet abisme de gloire  
Effacez de vostre memoire  
Vos parents et vostre cité.

&amp;

Et concupiscet  
Rex decorem  
tuum, quoniam  
ipse est dominus  
deus tuus, et  
adorabunt eum.

Ce Roy puissant qui se fait reconnoistre  
En cent climats divers pour Seigneur et po<sup>r</sup>. maistre,  
Ce Roy l'honneur des Roys,  
Ce Roy plus craint que la tonnerre  
Que suit et qu'adore la terre  
Est soumis à vos douces loix.

&amp;

Et filiæ Tyri  
in muneribus  
vultum tuum  
deprecabuntur,  
omnes divites  
plebis.

De tous costez les dames les plus grandes  
Vous offrants humblement leurs vœux et leurs offrandes  
Se courbent devant vous,  
Et tous les Seigneurs et les Princes  
Accourus du fonds des Provinces  
Rendent hommage à vos genoux.

&amp;

Omnis gloria eius  
filiæ Regis  
abuntas in fimbriis  
aureis  
circumamicta  
varietatibus.

Bien qu'au dedans vous soyez honorée  
Par les grandes vertus dont vostre ame est parée,  
Plus que par vos habits  
Vous eclatez de broderies,  
De perles, d'or, de pierreries  
De Diamants et de rubis.

&amp;

Adducentur Regi virgines  
post eam, proximæ  
eius afferentur tibi.  
Afferentur in lætitia et  
exultatione, adducentur  
in templum Regis.

La noble cour de vos belles parentes, *[110,l]*  
De vos dames d'honneur, de vos filles charmantes,  
Marche à costé de vous,  
Et parmy les cris d'allegresse  
Vous suit au milieu de la presse  
Au Palais du Roy vostre Epoux.

&amp;

Pro patribus tuis  
nati sunt  
tibi filii;  
constitues eos  
principes super  
omnem terram.

De ce grand Roy, de cet illustre Pere,  
Au lieu de vos parents, au lieu de vostre Mere,  
Vous avez des Enfants  
Qu'n jour sa valeur sans seconde  
Establira sur tout le monde  
Roys et Monarques triomphants.

&amp;

Memores erunt nominis  
tui in omni generatione  
et generationem. Propterea  
populi confitebuntur  
tibi in æternum et  
in sæculum sæculi.

De race en race au temple de memoire,  
O Reyne! ils porteront vostre nom plein de gloire  
Et vostre souvenir;  
Et sur la Tage et sur le Gange  
Feront chanter vostre loüange  
A tous les Peuples à venir.

## CANTIQUES ET CHANSONS LATINES POUR L'EGLISE [111,r]

## I

## CANTICUM

*Angelo Custodi*

&amp;

O fortissime  
 Defensor animæ  
 Angele custos  
 Suscipe choros inter beatos  
 Te deprecantis  
 Vota Clientis.

&amp;

Me semper audi  
 Fove custodi  
 Et sempiterna  
 Lege gubernata.

&amp;

Sana languentem  
 Sustine fessum  
 Firma labentem  
 Erige lapsum.

&amp;

Caput infesto  
 Tunde draconi  
 Et ora vasto  
 Rumpe Leoni.

&amp;

Da ventum facilem commissæ navy  
 Fac ut Zephiro volet suavy;  
 Et post humanæ cursum miseræ  
 Requiescat in poru gloriæ.

[112,l]

## II

## CANTICUM JUDICII

O tremendum Judicium

Dumont

In quo citabitur  
 Et Judicabitur  
 Terra viventium;  
 Tunc orientur  
 In cælo turbines  
 Et quatientur  
 Mundi cardines.

Stella cadent, sol obscurabitur,  
 Flamma diluvio terra vastabitur;  
 Veniet Judex in nube sedens  
 Fulmine cinctus fulgure splendens;  
 Tunc Angelii tuba sonabit,  
 Et vox horrenda terræ clamabit;  
 Surgite mortui sepulchra rumpite.

Ad thronum pergite.  
 Heu! quis tremor  
 Qualis fremor,  
 Cum cadentes in Infernum  
 Audient Damnati;  
 Ite maledicti  
 In ignem æternum  
 Sed quæ justis lætitia  
 Quam suavis sententia.

Venite dilecti  
 Patris benedicti  
 Et æternum  
 Possidete regnum.

[112,r]

## III

## AB [sic] ALIUD

Lugete gentes et lamentamini:

Christus patitur,  
 Christus moritur,

Lugete gentes et lamentamini:

Plorate mortem domini.

Sed o stupenda cœli miracula!

Ecce dirumpit mortis vincula,

Ecce tumulti claustra confringit,

Ecce resurgit.

Stupete gentes et admiramini

Virtutem domini;

Ecce resurgit et fulgens nubibus  
 In cælos ascendit.  
 Ecce mortalibus  
 Sydera pandit;  
 Plaudite lætamini  
 Cantate laudem domini.

## IV

## ALIUD

Quid times anima quid conturbaris;      Expilly  
 O misera, quid contristaris?  
 Lætare semper et plena fide  
 Spera confide.  
 Contra te surgant et irascantur  
 Mundi potestates:  
 Tonent fulminent et tempestates,  
 Tibi minentur.      [113,l]  
 Si vivent superi,  
 Quid valent Inferi,  
 Dum cæli gratia  
 Præstet solatia;  
 Hostes humanos  
 Frustra timebis,  
 Frustra dolebis.  
 Pone dolores metusque vanos:  
 Si deus pro nobis,  
 Quis contra nos?

## V

## IN FESTO Sancti NORBERTI

*Canicorum Præmonstratensium fundatoris*

Salve fidei tuba Catholicæ  
 Salve Norberte vir Apostolice  
 Præsul Eremita.  
 Ore simul prædicans et vita  
 Angele Pacis.  
 Olim terrarum monstra propugnans,  
 Et in excelsis  
 Oliva cinctus hodie regnans.  
 Sub te pugnat  
 Fides et veritas;  
 Per te regnat  
 Pax et Caritas;

Per te vincit Ecclesia  
 Triumphat Eucharistia.  
 Tu sancti fundator ordinis  
 Magni filius Augustini,  
 Nunc creatoris æterni      [113,r]  
 Cum patre laudem concinis;  
 Tu cymbæ Petri nauta fortissimus  
 Et Sacramenti miles acerrimus;  
 Sponso Sponsæque fidelis  
 Nunc a sponso coronatus  
 Et a Sponsa celebratus  
 Fulgore duplici coruscas in cælis.

## VI

## IN FESTO Sancti BENEDICTI

Plaudite plaudite  
 Et Benedicto benedicite.

## &amp;

Resonant hodie, resonant cœli  
 Triumpho nobili.  
 O quæ corona Sanctorum,  
 Quæ Virginum quæ Pastorum,  
 Quanta martyrum millia  
 Fundunt palmas et lilia.  
 O quantis radiant trophæa donis  
 Hic micant Purpuræ  
 Mithræ Thiaræ.  
 Hic Reges positis fulgent coronis;  
 Vos, ô cælo prædilecti,  
 Qui Patronum colitis,  
 Et sub lege Benedicti  
 Viam cœli curritis.  
 Solvite mæsto  
 Lumina planctu,  
 Rumpite læto  
 Sydera cantu.  
 Plaudite, plaudite      [114,l]  
 Et Benedicto benedicite!

## VII

## VIRGINI

Salve Maria cœli delitium,

Expilly

Tremor inferni, terræ solatium.  
 Tu, pia mater dei tonantis,  
   Dextræ minantis  
   Fulmina contines.  
 Tu, columna mundi labentis,  
   Cæli ruentis  
   Pondera sustines,  
   Tu stella maris,  
   Et Spes nautarum;  
   Tu, fons amoris,  
   Et gratiarum;  
   O sanctissima!  
   O dulcissima!  
   Te celebramus,  
   Et invocamus;  
   Et voce pia  
   Tibi cantamus;  
   Salve, Maria.

## VIII

## IN DIE VICTORIÆ

Victoria! victoria!  
 Osanna potentissimo,  
 Laus et decus Altissimo  
 Honor, virtus et gloria:  
 Victoria! victoria!

&amp;

Dispersi sunt et confusi  
 Sacro rebelles numini. [114,r]  
 Attriti sunt et contusi  
 Justo furore domini  
 Victoria &c. *ut supra*

&amp;

Vicit Princeps fortissimus  
 Vicit Christianissimus  
   Cælo fidelia  
   Triumphant Lilia:  
 Victoria! &c.

&amp;

Cingite frondibus!  
 Cingite tempora!  
 Rumpite cantibus!  
 Rumpite pectora!  
 Victoria! &c.

## IX

O Summa charitas  
 Immensa bonitas!

Dumont

&amp;

O tu quis es et quid sum, domine,  
 Tu cæli conditor,  
 Inferni domitor,  
 Armatus fulmine:  
 Ego terræ vermis,  
 Nudus et inermis  
 Tu sempiternus incommutabilis,  
 Omnipotens ineffabilis.  
 Omnia formas, omnia contines,  
 Omnia firmas, omnia sustines;  
 Ego terræ fimus,  
 Orbis opprobrium,  
 Pulvis umbra fumus [115,l]  
 Venti ludibrium.  
 Sed quamvis fragilem,  
 Et miserabilem,  
 Me tamen diligis  
 Servas et protegis.  
 O Summa bonitas!  
 Immensa charitas!  
 Sed pro me nasceris,  
 Et pro me moreris.  
 O summa charitas!  
 Immensa bonitas!

## X

In Cymbalis et Organo  
 Cantemus hymnum domino

&amp;

Parcite lachrymis,  
 Parcite planctibus,  
 Rumpite maximis  
 Æthera cantibus!  
 In cymbalis &c.

&amp;

Circum iuvenis,  
 Circum puella

Voce tenella  
Responset hymnis  
In cymbalis &c.

&amp;

Volent iubila  
Super nubila,  
Et super cælos  
Suave melos  
In cymbalis &c.

&amp;

Psallite Patri,  
Psallite nato,  
Et Spiritui  
Psallite Sancto.  
Psallite trino  
Cæli domino  
In cymbalis &c.

[115,r]

XI

## RECITATIVUM

Usquequo, domine,  
Languabit anima  
In hac valle lachrymarum,  
Et orba lumine  
Sordebit in ima  
Caligine tenebrarum.  
Ad te misera tandiu clamavit,  
Ad te gemuit et suspiravit:  
Dissolve corporis, dirumpe vincula;  
Fac, ut mortalibus exuta velis,  
Te videat, te laudet in cælis,  
Et te gaudeat in sæcula.

XII

## PRO REGE

Serva, Christe, Serva Christum tuum;  
Vivat, vivat in perpetuum.  
Tecum pugnet,  
Tecum regnet  
Semper invictus,

Semper Augustus,  
Semper hosti terribilis,  
Et populo semper amabilis.  
Serva, Christe, serva Christum tuum;  
Tecum pugnet,  
Tecum regnet,  
Tecum vivat in perpetuum.

[116,l]

XIII

## RECITATIVUM VOCE SOLA

## VIRGINI

Pulchra gratiosa,  
Potens generosa,  
Sancta Mater dei,  
Virgo gloriosa  
Miserere mei.  
Succurre languenti  
Et propitium  
Te veneranti  
Redde filium.

XIV

## SPONSA superius, voce sola

Ferte, date lauream,  
Date myrthum floream.  
Ungite pretiosis  
Crines aromatibus;  
Coronate me rosis,  
Ornate me floribus!  
Ecce venit sponsus,  
Ecce me visitat  
Parvis et immensus  
In tectis habitat;  
Ungite pretiosis  
Crines aromatibus;  
Coronate me rosis,  
Ornate me floribus;  
Ferte, date lauream,  
Date Myrthum floream.

[116,r]

## XV

## DIALOGUS

*SPONSUS SPONSA**Sponsus*

O Sponsa! quam suavia  
Tua sunt labia.

*Sponsa*

O dilecte! quam blanduli  
Tui sunt oculi.

*Sponsus*

Dulciora  
Favo mellis,

*Sponsa*

Clariora  
Cæli stellis!

*Sponsus*

Ostro micant et purpura,

*Sponsa*

Vibrant ignes et fulgura.

*Simul*

Sedes sunt decoris  
Et thronus amoris.

## XVI

## ALIUS

*SPONSA VIRGINES*

Dumont

*Sponsa*

Errate per valles

O charæ sodales;  
Et sicut tenellæ  
Montium cappellæ;  
Saltate per colles  
Errate per valles,  
Sylvas percurrite  
Et Sponsum quærite!

[117,l]

*Virgines*

Quid suspiras, Virgo Sion?  
Unde tanti causa luctus?  
Quis est iste prædilectus  
Cordis tui delictum?

*Sponsa*

Dilectus meus candidus  
Et rubicundus,  
Electus inter millia  
Pascit oves inter lilia.

*Simul*

Veni, sponse, quid moraris  
Quid tamdiu retardaris;  
Ecce Sponsa queritur,  
Ecce gemit, ecce plorat,  
Ecce languet et suspirat,  
Et dolore moritur.  
Veni mæstam  
Confortare  
Et afflictam  
Consolare.

## XVII

## ALIUS PRO VIRGINE

*PRIMÆ ET SECUNDÆ VOCES*

Dumont

*Primæ*

O gloriosa  
Mariæ viscera!

*Secundæ*

O pretiosa  
Virginis ubera!

[117,r]

*Primæ*

Ubi Christus de cælo descendit,

*Secundæ*

Ubi terræ salus pependit.

*Primæ*

Ubi creatus est mundi Creator,

*Secundæ*

Ubi lactatus est mundi Salvator.

*Simul*

Vos in æternum laudamus  
Et canticis invocamus.

*Primæ*

O salutis et vitæ fontes,

*Secundæ*

O favi mellerorantes!

*Simul*

O gloriosa  
Mariæ viscera,  
O pretiosa  
Virginis ubera!

## XVIII

## ALIUS

*BASSUS TENOR**Bassus*

Te timeo, Judex terribilis,

*Tenor*

Te diligo, Pater amabilis!

*Bassus*

Tu iustus es et tremendus,

[118,1]

*Tenor*

Tu bonus es et amandus;

*Simul*

Tu iustus es et tremendus,  
Tu bonus es et amandus;  
Te timeo, Judex terribilis,  
Te diligo, Pater amabilis.

## XIX

## ALIUS

*TENOR, CONTRATENOR, BASSUS**Bassus*

In te, domine, credimus;

*Contratenor*

In te, domine, speramus,

*Tenor*

Et te solum diligimus.

*Bassus*

Te credimus Creatorem,

*Contratenor*

Te speramus Salvatorem,

*Tenor*

Te diligimus benefactorem,

*Simul*

Serva nos! Salva nos!

Et quamvis indignos  
 Et plenos crimine;  
 Ama nos, domine!  
 Ama nos!

XX

[118,r]

## ALIIUS PRO CRUCE

*MAIOR ET MINOR CHORUS**Major*

O lignum mortis Crux amarissima!

*Minor*

O lignum vitæ Crux suavissima!

*Major*

In te patitur  
 Mundi Creator.

*Minor*

Per te vincitur  
 Mundi prædator.

*Major*

Tu iusti fundis sanguinem!

*Minor*

Tu reum salvas hominem!

*Major*

In te Christus immolatur,

*Minor*

In te Christus coronatur.

*Simul*

Tu scala Jacob Arca Nôé

Tu thronus Salomon, tu currus Heliæ,  
 Tu fax mundi lux alma piis  
 Et flamma reis!  
 O crux horrenda, crux amabilis,  
 Quam tremenda nocentibus,  
 Quam iucunda fidelibus,  
 Quam dulcis es et quam terribilis.

XXI

ALIIUS

*CERTAMEN ANGELORUM I**Chorus*

[119,l]

Qualis murmur, qualis fragor,  
 Quis horrendus, tubæ clangor;  
 Ecce pugnant Superi  
 Cælum fremit  
 Terra tremit  
 Et panduntur Inferi;  
 Ecce volat Raphael,  
 Ecce vincit Michael,  
 Et triumphant Angeli,  
 Ecce cadunt Diaboli!

*DIALOGUS MAJOR ET MINOR CHORUS**Major*

Ecce clamant in Abyssis,

*Minor*

Ecce cantant in excelsis!

*Major*

O dolor! o rabies!

*Minor*

O gaudium! o requies!

*Major*

Lætantur et cruciamur,

*Minor*

Cruciantur et lætamur.

*Major*

Heu! torremur in Inferno.

*Minor*

Nos in cælo iubilemus,  
Et in æternum cantamus:  
Osanna domino,

*Chorus*

Osanna domino.

XXII

[119,r]

ALIUS

*JESU MORIENTIS ET MATRIS LACHRYMÆ**Chorus*

Languebat in cruce moriens filius;  
Dolebat sub cruce mater desolata  
Corpore filius mater crudelius  
Corde vulnerata;  
Languebant, dolebant et amarissimas  
Fundebant lachrymas.

*DIALOGUS VIRGO CHRISTUS**Virgo*

Fili!

*Christus*

Mater!

*Virgo*

heu! moreris;

*Christus*

Sic cælo placuit,  
Sic Christum decuit.

*Virgo*

Ut quid chare fili me solam deseris,

*Christus*

Hic labor hic dolor mater charissima.

*Simul*

O tormenta sævissima!  
O pæna morte durior!  
Hac una crucior,  
Hac sola morior.

*Chorus*

Sic dolebat moriens filius,  
Sic gemebat mater desolata  
Corpore filius mater crudelius  
Corde vulnerata.  
Dolebant, gemebant et amarissimas  
Fundebant lachrymas.

[120,l]

XXIII

ALIUS

*PRO Sanctissimo SACRAMENTO**PRIMÆ ET SECUNDÆ VOCES**Simul*

Salve, sancte panis!  
Salve, care Sanguis!

*Primæ*

Salve, sancte panis,  
Cæli nutrimentum!

*Secundæ*

Salve, chare Sanguis,  
Piscina languentum!

*Primæ*

Salve, manna Sacrum,

*Secundæ*

Cælesti lavacrum!

*Primæ*

Cibus Angelorum,

*Secundæ*

Salus infirmorum,

*Primæ*

Tu mundi victima,

*Secundæ*

Tu mundi pretium,

*Simul*

Tu spes fidissima,  
Tu vita gentium!  
Salve, Sancte Panis,  
Salve, care Sanguis!

[120,r]

## XXIV

## CANTILENA SPIRITUI SANCTO

Spira, sancte Spiritus,  
Verbi Sacer halitus!  
Sancta mitte flamina,  
Spira &c.  
Et effunde cælitus  
Gratiarum flumina,  
Spira &c.  
Da virtutum semina

Sablières

Et avelle funditus  
Vitiorum germina.  
Spira, Sancte Spiritus!

## XXV

## ALIA CANTILENA GRATIÆ

Descende cælitus, descende Gratia,  
In te miserorum Spes et fiducia!  
Descende &c.  
Infunde virtutes, expelle vitia  
Descende &c.  
Flecte rumpe velle,  
Da posse, da velle;  
Te manet Authoris omnipotentia,  
Descende cælitus, descende Gratia!

Sablières

## XXVI

## ALIA

Velut unda  
Vagabunda,  
Quæ ventis impellitur.  
Vita brevis,  
Hora levis  
Sine fine labitur.

Expilly et  
Sablières

[121,l]

&amp;

Quasi Rosa  
Speciosa,  
Quæ momento floruit,  
Et sequenti  
Sub instanti  
Inter spinas aruit.

&amp;

Transit honor,  
Forma decor;  
Transeunt delitiæ  
Et immundi  
Dona mundi,  
Honor et divitiæ.

&amp;

Quin et magna  
 Cadunt regna,  
 Urbes et Imperia;  
 Quasi ventus  
 Violentus  
 Mundi fugit gloria.

&amp;

Deus unus  
 Est Æternus  
 Et incommutabilis,  
 Semper magnus,  
 Semper bonus  
 Et semper amabilis.

XXVII

ALIA

[121,r]

Dum sanctorum Symphoniam  
 Velut grandes Lusciniam,  
 Caelos implent musica;  
 Nos magali sub angusto,  
 Quasi Pulli sub arbusto,  
 Imitamur Cantica.

&amp;

Sed quam differt melodia  
 Quam diversa sunt gaudia,  
 Et dispar lætitia.  
 Cantus plangore miscentur  
 Et iubila comitantur  
 Luctus et tristitia.

&amp;

O vos fœlices Animæ  
 O cælo dilectissimæ,  
 Quibus parta requies  
 Nos in brevi cursu vitæ  
 Curæ manent infinitæ  
 Et longa miseris.

&amp;

Vos æterna fœlicitas,  
 Vos immensa fœlicitas,

Et perenne gaudium  
 At nos æterni ferros;  
 Pænæ manent et labores  
 Et dolor et tædium.

XXVIII

[122,l]

ALIA

Ecce sol illuminat  
 Ardua convallium;  
 Ecce Rosa germinat,  
 Ecce floret Lilium,  
 Ecce montes,  
 Ecce fontes  
 Dulcis implet musica.  
 Et suavos  
 Cantat avis  
 Læta cælo cantica.  
 Surgite lætamini,  
 Cantate nomen domini!

Expilly,  
 du Mont et  
 Sablières

XXIX

ALIA IN FESTO Sancti FRANCISCI DE SALES

Gaudia cælo, gaudia terris,  
 Ecce triumphat Doctor amoris.

Sablières

&amp;

Ferte coronas, spargite flores,  
 Fundite puros Thuris odores.  
 Gaudia &c.

&amp;

Gallia cantu plaude secundo  
 Et nova pande cantica mundo.  
 Gaudia &c.

&amp;

Tuque sonorum turba sacrata  
 Sancta Patroni concine festa!  
 Gaudia cælo &c.

[122,r blank]

[FIN]

## CANTICLES AND LATIN SONGS FOR THE CHURCH

*English Version by Dr. Carol Clemeau Esler*

## I

## HYMN TO THE GUARDIAN ANGEL

O most mighty defender of the soul, guardian angel,  
 Receive among the choirs of the blessed  
 The prayers of your follower who prays to you.

Hear me always, cherish, guard,  
 And guide me, according to the eternal law.

Hear [me] in sickness, sustain [me] when exhausted,  
 Strengthen [me] when I falter, raise [me] up when I fall.

Strike the head of the terrible serpent,  
 Smash the face of the monstrous Lion.

Give a favouring wind to the vessel entrusted [to you],  
 Make it fly before a gentle zephyr,

And at the end of the course of human misery,  
 Let it rest in the haven of glory.

## II

## HYMN ON THE JUDGMENT

O terrible judgment, in which the world of the living  
 will be aroused and judged;  
 Then will arise whirlwinds in the heavens, and the  
 foundations of the universe will be shaken.  
 Stars will fall, the sun will be obscured,  
 The earth will be devastated with fire and flood.  
 The judge will come, seated on a cloud,  
 Girt with lightning, resplendent with light.  
 Then the trumpet of the Angel will sound,  
 And a terrible voice will cry unto the earth:  
 Arise, ye dead, burst open your sepulchers,  
 Hasten to the throne.

Alas, what a shudder, what a groaning,  
 When the Damned, falling into the Inferno, will hear  
 «Go, accursed, into eternal fire!»

But what a joy for the just, how sweet a sentence:  
 «Come, beloved, blessed of the Father,  
 and possess the eternal kingdom!»

## III

## ANOTHER

Mourn, ye nations, and lament:

Christ is suffering, Christ is dying.

Mourn, ye nations, and lament:

Weep for the death of the Lord.

But—O stupendous miracle of Heaven—

Lo, he bursts the bonds of death,

Lo, he shatters the doors of the tomb,

Lo, he rises again.

Marvel, ye nations, and admire the might of the Lord:

Lo, he rises again and, resplendent with clouds,

Ascends to the heavens.

Lo, he opens the stars to mortals.

Applaud, rejoice, sing the praises of the Lord.

## IV

## ANOTHER

What do you fear, my soul, why are you perturbed?

O wretched [soul], why do you sorrow?

Rejoice always and with unalloyed faith

Hope and be confident.

Let the powers of the world rise against you in wrath,

Let them thunder and threaten you with lightning and tempests;

If the powers above live, what avails those below?

So long as heaven's grace offers solace

You will have no need to fear human enemies, no need to grieve.

Put aside your griefs, your vain fears:

If God is for us, who can be against us?

## V

ON THE FESTIVAL OF ST. NORBERT,  
FOUNDER OF THE PREMONSTRENSIAN CANONS

Hail, o trumpet of the Catholic faith,

Hail, Norbert, apostolic hero, hermit bishop,

Preaching both by word and by example, angel of peace,

Once you attacked the monsters of the earth

And now you reign on high, olive-crowned.

At your side fight Faith and Truth;

Through you rule Peace and Charity,

Through you the Church is victorious, the Eucharist triumphs,

You, the founder of a holy order,

Son of the great Augustine.  
 Now with the father you sing the praises of the everlasting creator,  
 You the bravest sailor of Peter's ship  
 And boldest soldier of the Sacrament.  
 Faithful to both Bridegroom and Bride,  
 Now crowned by the Bridegroom and honoured by the Bride,  
 With twofold glory you are resplendent in heaven.

## VI

## ON THE FESTIVAL OF ST. BENEDICT

Applaud, applaud and bless Benedict!

The heavens resound today, resound with noble triumph.  
 Oh what a throng of saints, of virgins, and of priests!  
 How many thousands of martyrs are strewing palm branches and lilies,  
 O with how many gifts are the trophies shining.  
 Here glow purple [robes], mitres, tiaras;  
 Here are kings resplendent, their crowns laid aside.  
 O ye beloved of heaven who worship the Father  
 And under the rule of Benedict hasten along the path to heaven,  
 Free your eyes from mournful weeping,  
 Shatter the stars with joyful song.

Applaud, applaud and bless Benedict!

## VII

## TO THE VIRGIN

Hail, Mary, beloved of heaven,  
 Terror of Hell, solace of earth,  
 Thou loving mother of the thundering God  
 Who restrain the thunderbolts of his threatening hand.  
 Thou, pillar of a tottering world,  
 Uphold the weight of the toppling heavens.  
 Thou star of the sea and hope of sailors,  
 Thou fount of love and grace,  
 O most holy, o most sweet,  
 Thee we celebrate and invoke  
 And with pious voice we sing to thee:  
 Hail Mary.

## VIII

## ON THE DAY OF VICTORY

Victory, victory!

Hosanna to the Most Mighty,  
 Praise and honour to the Most High,  
 Honour, virtue, and glory.  
 Victory, victory.

Scattered and confounded  
 Are those who rebelled against the sacred power,  
 Trampled and crushed by the righteous wrath of the Lord.  
 Victory, &c. *as above.*

He has conquered, the Prince most mighty,  
 The most Christian has conquered.  
 Faithful to heaven, the lilies are triumphant.  
 Victory, &c.

Bind your temples, bind them with fronds,  
 Burst your lungs, burst them with song.  
 Victory, &c.

## IX

O highest charity, boundless goodness!

O who art Thou and what am I, Lord?  
 Thou creator of heaven, conqueror of hell,  
 Armed with lightning;  
 I, a worm of the earth, naked and unarmed.  
 Thou eternal, immutable, omnipotent, ineffable;  
 Thou formest all things, containest all things,  
 Strengthenest all things, upholdest all things.  
 I, the slime of the earth, contempt of the world,  
 Dust, shadow, smoke, plaything of the wind.  
 But although fragile and wretched,  
 Still Thou lovest me, guardest and protectest me.  
 O highest goodness, boundless charity!  
 But You will be born for me,  
 And for me You will die.

O highest charity, boundless goodness!

## X

With cymbals and organ let us sing a hymn to the Lord.

Spare your tears, spare your laments,  
 Shatter the air with mighty songs:  
 With cymbals, &c.

Let the youths and let the maidens round about  
With tender voice reply to the hymns.  
With cymbals, &c.

Let the jubilation fly above the clouds  
And above the heavens the sweet melody.  
With cymbals, &c.

Hymn to the Father, hymn to the Son,  
And to the Holy Ghost hymn,  
Hymn to the the triune Lord of heaven.  
With cymbals, &c.

## XI

## RECITATIVE

How long, o Lord, will [my] soul languish  
In this vale of tears,  
And deprived of light, wallow  
In the deepest gloom of darkness?  
So long she has cried unto you,  
Groaned and sighed unto you.  
Loosen, burst the chains of the body,  
Cause her, stripped of her mortal garments,  
To look upon you [and] praise you in heaven,  
And rejoice [in] you forever.

## XII

## FOR THE KING

Preserve, o Christ, preserve your Christian,  
Let him live, let him live forever.  
Let him fight with you,  
Let him reign with you,  
Ever invincible,  
Ever august,  
Ever terrible to his foe,  
And ever beloved of his people.  
Preserve, o Christ, reserve your Christian,

Let him fight with you,  
Let him reign with you,  
Let him live with you forever.

## XIII

## SOLO RECITATIVE—To the Virgin

Beautiful, gracious, mighty, and generous,  
Holy Mother of God, glorious Virgin.  
Have pity upon me, succor me as I languish,  
And make your Son propitious  
To one who adores you.

## XIV

*The BRIDE, Soprano—Solo*

Bring [and] give [me] laurel, give [me] flowering myrtle  
Anoint my hair with precious perfumes,  
Crown me with roses, adorn me with flowers.  
Lo, the Bridegroom is coming, lo, he visits me,  
And immense [though he is] he dwells in a tiny house.  
Anoint my hair with precious perfumes,  
Crown me with roses, adorn me with flowers.  
Bring and give me laurel,  
Give me flowering myrtle.

## XV

DIALOGUE: *BRIDEGROOM and BRIDE**Bridegroom*

O Bride, how sweet are your lips!

*Bride*

O beloved, how bright are your eyes!

*Bridegroom*

Sweeter than a honeycomb.

*Bride*

Brighter than the stars of the sky.

*Bridegroom*

They gleam with scarlet and purple.

*Bride*

They flash with fire and lightning.

*Both*

They are the seat of beauty  
And the throne of love.

XVI

ANOTHER [DIALOGUE]: *BRIDE and VIRGINS**Bride*

Wander through the valleys, o beloved companions,  
And like the tender goats of the mountains  
Leap upon the hills, wander through the valleys,  
Run through the forests, and seek the Bridegroom.

*Virgins*

Why do you sigh, o virgin Sion?  
What is the cause of such grief?  
Who is this beloved of yours,  
The delight of your heart?

*Bride*

My beloved is white and red,  
Chosen among thousands.  
He feeds his sheep among the lilies.

*All*

Come, o Bridegroom, why do you tarry,  
Why do you linger so long?  
Lo, the bride is lamenting,  
Lo, she groans, lo, she weeps,  
Lo, she languishes and sighs,  
And she is dying of grief.  
Come and comfort her in her sorrow  
And console her in her affliction.

XVII

ANOTHER [DIALOGUE]—for the Virgins  
*FIRST and SECOND VOICES**First Voices*

O glorious womb of Mary!

*Second Voices*

O precious breasts of the Virgin!

*First Voices*

Where Christ descended from heaven.

*Second Voices*

Where the earth's salvation hung.

*First Voices*

Where the world's Creator was created.

*Second Voices*

Where the world's Saviour was suckled.

*Both*

We praise you eternally  
And invoke you with hymns.

*First Voices*

O founts of salvation and life!

*Second Voices*

O honeycomb!

*Both*

O glorious womb of Mary!  
O precious breasts of the virgin!

## XVIII

ANOTHER [DIALOGUE] — *BASS and TENOR**Bass*

I fear Thee, terrible Judge.

*Tenor*

I love Thee, beloved Father.

*Bass*

Thou art just and terrible.

*Tenor*

Thou art kind and lovable.

*Both*

Thou art just and terrible,  
 Thou art kind and lovable.  
 I fear Thee, terrible Judge,  
 I love Thee, beloved Father.

## XIX

ANOTHER — *TENOR, COUNTERTENOR, BASS**Bass*

In Thee, Lord, we believe.

*Countertenor*

In Thee, Lord, we trust.

*Tenor*

And Thee alone we love.

*Bass*

We believe in Thee as our Creator.

*Countertenor*

We trust in Thee as our Saviour.

*Tenor*

We love Thee as our benefactor.

*All*

Preserve us, save us,  
 And though unworthy and full of sin  
 Love us, Lord, love us.

## XX

ANOTHER — FOR THE CROSS  
*MAJOR and MINOR CHORUS**Major Chorus*

O tree of death, most bitter Cross!

*Minor Chorus*

O tree of life, Cross most sweet!

*Major Chorus*

On Thee suffers the Creator of the world.

*Minor Chorus*

Through Thee is conquered the destroyer of the world.

*Major Chorus*

Thou sheddest the blood of a righteous man.

*Minor Chorus*

Thou savest a guilty man.

*Major Chorus*

On Thee Christ is sacrificed.

*Minor Chorus*

On Thee Christ is crowned.

*Both*

Thou ladder of Jacob, ark of Noah,  
 Thou throne of Solomon, thou chariot of Elijah,  
 Thou torch of the world, sweet light to the pious,  
     And flame to the sinful,  
 O horrible cross, lovable cross,  
 How terrible to the guilty.  
 How pleasant to the faithful,  
 How sweet thou art and how terrible!

## XXI

## ANOTHER—STRIFE OF THE ANGELS

*Chorus*

What a sound, what an uproar,  
 What a terrible clashing of trumpets!  
 Lo, the gods are warring,  
 The heavens shudder,  
 The earth trembles,  
 And Hell gapes wide.  
 Lo, Raphael flies; lo, Michael is victorious,  
 And the angels are triumphant.  
 Lo, the devils are fallen.

## DIALOGUE: MAJOR and MINOR CHORUS

*Major Chorus*

Lo, they are crying in the abyss.

*Minor Chorus*

Lo, they are singing on high.

*Major Chorus*

O grief! o madness!

*Minor Chorus*

O joy! o peace!

*Major Chorus*

They rejoice and we are in torment.

*Minor Chorus*

They are in torment and we rejoice.

*Major Chorus*

Alas! we are burning in Hell!

*Minor Chorus*

We are exulting in Heaven  
 And singing forever:  
 Hosanna to the Lord.

*Chorus*

Hosanna to the Lord.

## XXII

## ANOTHER—TEARS OF THE DYING JESUS AND HIS MOTHER.

*Chorus*

The son was languishing on the cross, dying.  
 The desolate mother was grieving at the foot of the Cross.  
 The son's body wounded, the mother's heart still more cruelly wounded,  
 They were languishing; they were grieving and shedding most bitter tears.

## Dialogue: VIRGIN and CHRIST

*Virgin*

Son!

*Christ*

Mother!

*Virgin*

Alas, you are dying!

*Christ*

Thus has it pleased heaven.  
Thus does it befit the Christ.

*Virgin*

Why, dear son, do you leave me all alone?

*Christ*

This is [my] suffering, this [my] grief, dearest mother.

*Both*

O most cruel torments,  
O punishment harsher than death,  
By this one [punishment] I am tortured,  
By this alone I am dying.

*Chorus*

Thus lamented the son, dying,  
Thus groaned the desolate mother.  
The son's body wounded, the mother's heart still more cruelly wounded,  
They were grieving, they were groaning and shedding most bitter tears.

XXIII

ANOTHER—FOR THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT

*FIRST and SECOND VOICES**Both*

Hail, holy bread; hail, beloved blood.

*First Voices*

Hail, holy bread, heaven's nourishment.

*Second Voices*

Hail holy blood, font of the languishing.

*First Voices*

Hail, holy manna,

*Second Voices*

Heavenly laver,

*First Voices*

Food of the angels.

*Second Voices*

Salvation of the weak.

*First Voices*

Thou the world's sacrifice!

*Second Voices*

Thou the world's reward!

*Both*

Thou most reliable hope,  
Thou life of the nations!  
Hail, holy bread,  
Hail, beloved blood!

XXIV

SONG TO THE HOLY GHOST

Breathe, Holy Ghost, sacred breath of the Word,  
Send your holy breath.

*Breathe, &c.*

And pour down from heaven rivers of grace.

*Breathe, &c.*

Give [us] the seeds of virtue,

And uproot utterly the germs of vice!

*Breathe, Holy Ghost!*

XXV

ANOTHER SONG—TO GRACE

Descend from heaven, descend, o Grace!  
In Thee is the hope and faith of the wretched.

*Descend, &c.*

Fill [us] with virtue, drive out vice!

*Descend, &c.*

Turn it away, break it, tear it out!

Give [us] the power, give [us] the will;

In Thee abides the Creator's omnipotence.

Descend from heaven, descend, o Grace!

## XXVI

## ANOTHER

Like a wandering wave  
 Which is driven by the winds,  
 [Our] brief life, a slight hour,  
 Endlessly slips past.  
 Like a lovely rose  
 Which flourished for a moment,  
 And the next instant  
 Withered among its thorns,  
 Honour passes, beauty and comeliness,  
 Delights pass away  
 And the gifts of the filthy world,  
 Honour and riches.  
 And even mighty kingdoms fall,  
 Cities and empires.  
 Like a violent wind,  
 The world's glory flies.  
 The one God is eternal and immutable,  
 Ever mighty, ever good, and ever lovable.

## XXVII

## ANOTHER

While the choirs of the Saints  
 Like the mighty nightingales  
 Fill the heavens with music,  
 We in our narrow huts,  
 Like chickens under a bush,  
 Imitate their songs.

But how different is our melody,  
 How different our joys and unequal our delight:  
 Our songs are mingled with lamenting,  
 And grief and sorrow accompany our rejoicing.

O you happy souls, O most beloved of heaven,  
 Whose lot is peace,  
 For us in the course of our brief life  
 Wait infinite anxieties and long misery.

For you eternal felicity waits,  
 For you boundless happiness and perennial joy.  
 But for us eternal terrors [wait],  
 Punishments and sufferings, grief and tedium.

## XXVIII

## ANOTHER

Lo, the sun illuminates the slopes of the valleys,  
 Lo, the rose is budding,  
 Lo, the lily is flowering,  
 Lo, the mountains, lo, the fountains  
 Are filled with sweet music,  
 And the sweet bird sings  
 Joyfully her song to heaven.  
 Arise, rejoice, sing the name of the Lord.

## XXIX

## ANOTHER—ON THE FESTIVAL OF St. FRANCIS DE SALES

Joy in heaven, joy on earth,  
 Lo, the Doctor of Love is triumphant.

Bring [him] crowns, scatter flowers,  
 Pour out the pure fragrance of incense.  
 Joy, &c.

O Gaul, applaud [him] with a welcoming song  
 And reveal a new song to the world.  
 Joy, &c.

And thou sacred band of sisters  
 Sing the Patron's holy festival!  
 Joy in heaven, &c.

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