

PIERRE BEAUCHAMPS, CHOREOGRAPHER TO MOLIÈRE'S TROUPE DU ROY

By JOHN S. POWELL

THE CAREER of Pierre Beauchamps, the most famous dancer and dancing-master of the seventeenth century, lasted for most of the long reign of Louis XIV. During this time, Beauchamps performed in ballets and operas at court, served as the principal choreographer for Lully's Académie Royale de Musique, composed ballets for Jesuit colleges in Paris, and invented a method of dance notation (the so-called Feuillet notation). These various activities have been the subject of a number of scholarly studies.¹ Yet his twelve-year association with Molière's public theatre in Paris has remained a largely neglected aspect of Beauchamps's long and distinguished career.

Pierre Beauchamps was born into a family of Parisian violinists and dancing-masters who for generations had supplied both town and court orchestras with able musicians.² His grandfather, Christophe de Beauchamps, belonged as early as 1560 to the famous musicians' guild, the Confrérie de St Julien-des-Ménétriers, and was later one of the 'violons ordinaires de la chambre du roi' in Louis XIII's *grand bande*.³ Pierre Beauchamps's uncle, Pierre de Beauchamps (1564–1627), also belonged to this orchestra in 1593,⁴ and Praetorius numbered him among the best French composers and violinists of his day.⁵ Uncle Pierre signed over his position in the *grande bande* (soon known as the 'Vingt-quatre Violons du Roy') in 1622 to his brother, Louis de Beauchamps, who was also a dancer and choreographer.⁶ Louis's

I wish to thank Rebecca Harris-Warrick and Steve Fleck for their careful reading of, and thoughtful comments on, earlier drafts of this article.

¹ Philip J. S. Richardson, 'The Beauchamp Mystery: Some Fresh Light on an Old Problem', *Dancing Times*, xxxvii (1946), 299–302, xxxviii (1947), 351–7; Régine Kunzle, 'Pierre Beauchamp: the Illustrious Unknown Choreographer', *Dance Scope*, viii/2 (1974), 32–45, and ix/1, 31–44 (1975); and Régine Astier (= Kunzle), 'Pierre Beauchamps and the Ballets de Collège', *Dance Chronicle*, vi/2 (1983), 138–63.

² Much of the biographical information on Pierre Beauchamps and his family summarized here is found in the above-mentioned articles by Régine (Kunzle) Astier. Part of the Beauchamps family tree appears in Madeleine Jurgens, *Documents du Minutier Central concernant l'histoire de la musique (1600–1650)*, Paris, 1974, i, 37–38.

³ For archival references to Christophe de Beauchamps, see François Lesure, 'Les Orchestres populaires à Paris vers la fin du XVI^e siècle', *Revue de musicologie*, xxxvi (1954), 39–54; Yolande de Brossard, *Musiciens de Paris 1535–1792: actes d'état civil d'après le Fichier Laborde de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1965, p. 24; and Jurgens, *Documents du Minutier Central*, ii, 183, 489.

⁴ See Brossard, *Musiciens de Paris*, p. 25. Pierre de Beauchamps's dates are given in *Cent ans de recherches sur Molière, sur la famille, et sur les comédiens de sa troupe*, ed. Madeleine Jurgens & Elizabeth Maxfield-Miller, Paris, 1963, p. 464; however, this source incorrectly states that he was the grandfather of our Pierre Beauchamps.

⁵ Preface to *Terpsichore* (Hamburg, 1612), reproduced in the *Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke von Michael Praetorius*, ed. Friedrich Blume, Wolfenbüttel & Berlin, 1928–41, xv, p. xi; see also François Lesure, 'Die "Terpsichore" von M. Praetorius und die französische Instrumentalmusik unter Heinrich IV', *Die Musikforschung*, v (1952), 7–17.

⁶ Jurgens, *Documents du Minutier Central*, i, 128. Yolande de Brossard ('La vie musicale en France d'après Loret et ses continuateurs (1650–1688)', *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, x (1970), 117–93, at p. 174) gives Louis Beauchamps's dates as 1597–c.1627; this is disproved by the *Fichier Laborde* (Brossard, *Musiciens de Paris*, pp. 24–25), which reports the baptism between 1629 and 1654 of fifteen children fathered by Louis Beauchamps. La Grange's register for Molière's troupe suggests that Louis may have assisted his son Pierre with the preparations for the 1671

son, Pierre Beauchamps, was born probably in 1631 and was destined to become the most acclaimed *baladin* of his day.⁷

Pierre Beauchamps's name first appears in the *livret* for the *Ballet du dérèglement des passions*, performed at the Palais Cardinal on 23 January 1648: he danced the roles of a statue brought to life by Prometheus' magic fire, of a sailor and of a nymph. Within two years he became dancing teacher to the young Louis XIV. According to Pierre Rameau, the king took daily lessons from Beauchamps for 20–22 years,⁸ for which Beauchamps received an annual pension of 2,000 *livres*. In 1653, Beauchamps danced alongside his royal pupil in the *Ballet de la nuit*, a work that also marked the court début of Jean-Baptiste Lully, a rising star with whom Beauchamps's future career would be closely linked. The names of Lully and Beauchamps appear in *livrets* for the following ballets of 1654: the *Ballet des proverbes*, *Ballet du temps* and the *entrées* intercalated in Carlo Caproli's opera *Le nozze di Peleo e di Teti* (see Plate I). The next year, Beauchamps danced in the *Ballet des bienvenus* performed in celebration of the marriage of one of Cardinal Mazarin's nieces to Alfonso d'Este, son of the Duke of Modena. Beauchamps's reputation as a virtuoso dancer quickly grew. For his agile movements, precision and high, bold leaps in the *Ballet des plaisirs troublés*, Beauchamps was judged to be the best dancer in France.⁹ In the Benserade–Lully *Ballet d'Alcidiane* of the following year, 'he surpassed all the other dancers'.¹⁰ Beauchamps maintained his legendary dancing skills throughout his

performances of *Psyché* (see n. 79, below). According to the *Fichier Laborde* (p. 207, s.v. 'Pierre Marchand'), Louis Beauchamps was deceased at the time of the baptism of his granddaughter Louise in 1678.

⁷ According to Brossard (*Musiciens de Paris*, p. 24), Beauchamps was baptized at the church of St Germain-l'Auxerrois on 30 October 1631. Modern scholars occasionally still confuse Pierre Beauchamps with the fictitious choreographer Charles-Louis Beauchamps. Kunzle ('Pierre Beauchamp: the Illustrious Unknown Choreographer, Part 1', p. 32) traces the source of this confusion to a nineteenth-century portrait in the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris. Seventeenth-century sources show no consistent spelling of Pierre Beauchamps's surname: 'Beauchamps', 'Beauchamp', 'Bauchamp' and 'Beauchant' are the most common variants. Both Louis and his son Pierre spelt their surname 'Beauchamps', as can be verified by Louis's autograph reproduced in Jurgens, *Documents du Minutier Central*, i. 125, and by Pierre's autograph reproduced in Kunzle, 'Pierre Beauchamp: the Illustrious Unknown Choreographer, Part 1', p. 35, and in Wendy Hilton, *Dances of Court & Theater: the French Noble Style 1690–1725*, Princeton, 1977, p. 29. Furthermore, Pierre appears to have adopted the particle of nobility ('de Beauchamps') used by both his uncle Pierre and his father Louis in legal documents; Loret's *La Muze historique* and the theatre registers of the Troupe du Roy often refer to Pierre Beauchamps as 'M. de Beauchamps', beginning in the early 1660s. Compounding the confusion with regard to Beauchamps's dates, Meredith Ellis Little's article in *The New Grove*, ii. 323, gives 1636–1705; Hilton (*Dances of Court & Theater*, p. 22) gives 1631–c.1619; Kunzle ('Pierre Beauchamp: the Illustrious Unknown Choreographer, Part 2', p. 44) suggests 1631–1719 but then later revises them to 1631–1705 ('Pierre Beauchamps and the Ballets de Collège', p. 139); Spire Pitou (*The Paris Opéra: an Encyclopedia of Operas, Ballets, Composers, and Performers*, Westport, Connecticut, & London, 1983, pp. 176–7) gives 1639–1705; and Sylvie Chevalley ('Le "Registre d'Hubert" 1672–1673: étude critique', *Revue d'histoire du théâtre*, xxv (1973), 12–67, 147–95, at p. 187) gives 1630–95. Nathalie Lecomte discovered that the Marquis de Sourches states in his memoirs that Beauchamps 'died without children and somewhat forgotten at the beginning of February 1705'; see *Dictionnaire de la musique en France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Paris, 1992, pp. 61–62.

⁸ In *Le Maître à danser* (Paris, 1725), Rameau remarks of the king (p. 111): 'Il . . . dansoit [la courante] mieux que personne de la Cour, et il lui donnoit une grace infinie. Mais ce qui prouve encore plus l'attachement et la prédilection que Sa Majesté avoit pour la danse, c'est que malgré les pénibles travaux qui occuperont continuellement ce grand Conquerant, il n'a pas laissé de s'en dérober quelques heures, pendant plus de vingt à vingt-deux ans que Monsieur de Beauchamp a eu l'honneur de le conduire dans ce noble exercice.' Astier ('Pierre Beauchamps and the Ballets de Collège', p. 145) points out that, contrary to what Rameau wrote, this was an unofficial position; in fact, Henri Prevost, and later Jean Renaud, held the official title of Royal Dancing Master.

⁹ See Loret, *La Muze historique*, ed. Charles-Louis Livet, Paris, 1877, ii. 301 (letter of 17 February 1657): 'Enfin, ce Balet est un champ / où l'incomparable Beauchamp / par des merueilleuzes souplesses, / élévations et justesses, / si hautement capriola, / qu'il fut proclamé ce jour-là / par toute la noble Assistance, / pour le meilleur Danseur de France'.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ii. 445 (letter of 16 February 1658): ' . . . Poléxandre, quand il dansa, / tous les autres Danseurs passa; / et pour le croire, il doit sufire / que c'étoit Beauchamp, c'est tout dire'.

PLATE I



Pierre Beauchamps as La Chirurgie, one of the seven 'Arts mécaniques' depicted in the final *entrée* of *Le nozze di Peleo e di Teti* (1654); Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, MS 1005, Pl. 60 (photo Bulloz). However, according to the *livret* printed by Ballard (Paris, 1654, p. 40) d'Olivet danced the role of La Chirurgie and Beauchamps that of La Peinture.

later life: La Bruyère was amazed by his ability to perform high leaps after the age of 60.¹¹

Beauchamps's career as a ballet choreographer began about 1656;¹² according to Jean Loret's *La Muze historique*, Beauchamps created the dances for an unnamed

¹¹ Jean de La Bruyère, *Les Caractères de Théophraste, traduits du grec, avec Les Caractères ou les moeurs de ce siècle*, Paris, 1692, iii. 33.

¹² For the purposes of this article, the term 'choreographer' is used in the modern sense to mean a person who designs or arranges the movements of a ballet. Strictly speaking, 'choreography' refers to the notation of dance ('choreia' = 'dance'; 'graphein' = 'to describe') and 'choreographer' to someone who writes down ballet steps in the dance notation. In seventeenth-century terms, Beauchamps was a 'maitre de danse' who engaged in the 'composition des ballets'.

mascarade by Lully given in the Louvre in Mazarin's apartments on 3 February 1656.¹³ Later that month, he assisted Lully with the dances for *La Galanterie du temps*, a ballet that followed an unnamed comedy by the Troupe Royale of the Hôtel de Bourgogne,¹⁴ and in 1657 he choreographed the *Ballet des plaisirs troublés*, given for the court at the Louvre.¹⁵ As his reputation grew, he was called upon to choreograph and perform in ballets given for important state occasions. In 1659, the diplomat Hugues de Lionne engaged him to compose the dances for *Chacun fait le métier d'autrui*, a ballet presented for the queen on 18 May 1659 at the Château de Berny to celebrate the conclusion of the secret peace negotiations with Philip IV of Spain and the marriage of Louis XIV with the Spanish infanta, Maria Theresa. Loret informs us that Beauchamps's ballet, which was accompanied by the '24 violons du Roi', followed an alfresco performance of Boyer's *Clotilde* by the Troupe Royale of the Hôtel de Bourgogne.¹⁶ In 1660, Beauchamps danced in Lully's ballet *entrées* for Cavalli's opera *Xerse*, performed in honour of the royal wedding itself.¹⁷

Soon afterwards, Beauchamps was granted a court appointment as Intendant des Ballets du Roy.¹⁸ In this capacity, Beauchamps (sometimes together with the ballet masters d'Olivet and Vertpré) choreographed many of the major court ballets of the 1660s.¹⁹ While Beauchamps was not among the founding members of the Académie Royale de Danse, in 1680 the king appointed him head of the Académie and successor to its first director, François Galand du Désert.²⁰ According to Pierre Rameau, Beauchamps 'was learned and refined in his [ballet] composition, and he had need of skilled dancers to perform what he invented'.²¹ The French theatre historians Claude and François Parfaict recount the famous story of Beauchamps looking to his pet pigeons for choreographic inspiration:

¹³ See Loret's letter of 5 February 1656 in *La Muze historique*, ed. Livet, ii. 157, which offers the first mention of Beauchamps's activities as a ballet 'author': 'Six Trivelains, tous à la fois, / armés de coûtelas de bois, / par leurs naïves singeries, / souplesses et plaizanteries, / excitèrent, certainement, / un rizible contentement; / et l'Inventeur, le Sieur Baptiste, / se montra si parfait copiste / de Trivelin et de ses tours, / qu'on tint de luy cent beaux discours. / Ensuite, les feints Scaramouches / furent loüez de bien des bouches; / ils avoient, pour Auteur, Beauchamp, / et s'ils eussent eu plus de champ / pour mieux compasser leurs figures, / leurs grimaces et leurs postures, / ils eussent, foy de Caporal, / enchéry sur l'Original.'

¹⁴ Mentioned in Loret's letter of 19 February 1656 (*La Muze historique*, ed. Livet, ii. 160). See also Henry Prunières, *L'Opéra italien en France avant Lulli*, Paris, 1913 (repr. 1975), 195. Charles I. Silin (*Benserade and his Ballets de cour*, Baltimore, 1940, p. 258) suggests that Beauchamps was also in charge of the choreography for the *Ballet de Psyché* danced at the Louvre on 17 January 1656.

¹⁵ Marie-Françoise Christout, *Le Ballet de cour de Louis XIV 1643–1672*, Paris, 1967, p. 262.

¹⁶ See Loret's letter of 24 May 1659 (*La Muze historique*, ed. Livet, iii. 57–59): 'Or, après ce beau Festin-là / et qu'à Dieu, l'on eut rendu grace, / toute la Cour ayant pris place, / un Balet, certes, fort prized / par Beauchamp, dit-on, composé, / moitié grave, moitié folâtre / fut dansé sur un vert Théâtre, / suivant les acors et les sons / des vingt-et-quatre Violons'. Modern scholars tend to assume that the music (now lost) for *Chacun fait le métier d'autrui* was by Lully.

¹⁷ See Prunières, *L'Opéra italien en France avant Lulli*, pp. 252–8. According to Margaret M. McGowan ('The Origins of French Opera', *The New Oxford History of Music*, v (London, 1975), 169–205, at p. 192), the ballets for Cavalli's *Ercole amante*, performed in Paris at the Théâtre des Tuileries on 7 February 1662, 'were devised and composed by Beauchamps and Lully'.

¹⁸ About the year 1661, according to Astier ('Pierre Beauchamps and the Ballets de Collège', p. 144).

¹⁹ In addition to the above-mentioned ballets, Christout (*Le Ballet de cour de Louis XIV*, pp. 257–68; eadem, *Le Ballet de cour au XVII^e siècle*, Geneva, 1987, pp. 197–201) lists Beauchamps as choreographer for the *Ballet de l'impatience* (along with d'Olivet, 1661), *Ballet des arts* (along with Vertpré and d'Olivet, 1663), *Ballet des amours déguisés* (along with d'Olivet and Vertpré, 1664), *Ballet de la naissance de Vénus* (1665), *Ballet des Muses* (1665–66), *Ballet de Flore* (1669) and *Les Fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus* (1672), along with numerous *comédies-ballets* by Lully and Molière.

²⁰ Kunzle ('Pierre Beauchamp: the Illustrious Unknown Choreographer, Part 2', p. 33) suggests that 'it was Beauchamps's young age and not his competence which excluded him from the venerable company who called themselves "les anciens" (the Elders)'. The royal *lettres patentes* that established the Académie Royale de Danse are reproduced in Norman Demuth, *French Opera: its Development to the Revolution*, Brighton, 1963, pp. 270–72.

²¹ *Le Maître à danser*, p. 111.

Beauchamps said to some people, who complimented him on the variety of his *entrées*, that he had learnt to compose the patterns of his ballets by [observing] the pigeons he had in his garret. He would take some grain to them and scatter it about. These pigeons would run to the grain, and the different patterns that they formed would give him ideas for his dances.²²

Beauchamps is often credited with composing the dances for the court premières of the Molière–Lully *comédies-ballets*. Without citing supporting documentation, Marie-Françoise Christout lists Beauchamps as the choreographer for *Les Fâcheux*, the *Ballet des Muses* (which contained *La Pastorale comique*, then, later, *Le Sicilien*), *Les Amants magnifiques* (together with d'Olivet), *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* and *Psyché*.²³ Louis Auld assigns to him a slightly different list—*Les Fâcheux*, *Le Mariage forcé*, *L'Amour médecin*, *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*, *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* and the public première of *Psyché*;²⁴ while a recently published music dictionary of the *ancien régime* lists him as the choreographer for *Les Fâcheux*, *Le Mariage forcé*, *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* and *Le Malade imaginaire* in one entry, and for *Le Mariage forcé*, *L'Amour médecin*, *George Dandin* and *Les Amants magnifiques* in another.²⁵ It would seem reasonable to assume that Beauchamps, as Intendant des Ballets du Roy, was primarily responsible for the choreography for court productions, and yet, except for royal payments made to him for unspecified services in the première of *Psyché* (see below), there would appear to be little evidence of his participation at court other than as a dancer. Furthermore, five of the professional *baladins* whose names appear in *livrets* for the *comédies-ballets*—Hilaire d'Olivet, Jean Raynal, Nicolas de Lorge, François Galand du Désert and Florent Galand du Désert (the last two known as the 'Des-Airs' brothers)—were members of the Académie Royale de Danse and were choreographers in their own right. We might speculate on their creative input as well, particularly for the dance *entrées* in which they themselves performed. And lastly, it would be reasonable to assume that Lully had in mind specific choreography for the dances and dance-pantomimes for which he composed the music, and that he conveyed his ideas to his dancers either directly or through his *maître de ballet*.

Be that as it may, we know that Beauchamps danced in the premières of nine of the Molière–Lully *comédies-ballets*, and his name often heads the list of professional *baladins* in the *livrets*. Louis XIV and his courtiers frequently danced in these court performances, and Beauchamps appeared alongside his royal pupil in *Le Mariage forcé* (1664), *Le Sicilien* (1667) and *Les Amants magnifiques* (1670). Beauchamps danced the role of Roger (Ruggiero) in the *Ballet d'Alcine* that concluded the third day of *Les Plaisirs de l'île enchantée* (1664), thereby standing in for the king, who had portrayed the Christian knight during earlier episodes of the fête. In the Molière–Lully

²² 'Histoire de l'Académie Royale de Musique', Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 1741, nouv. acq. fr. 6532, pp. 9–10: 'Beauchamps disoit [in the margin: 'a des personnes, qui lui faisoit compliment sur la variété de ses entrées'] qu'il avoit appris à composer les figures de ses Ballets par des Pigeons qu'il avoit dans son grénier. Il alloit luy même leur porter du grain, & le leur jettoit. Ces Pigeons courroient à ce grain, & les différentes formes que composoient ces Pigeons, luy donnoient les idées de ses danses.'

²³ *Le Ballet de cour de Louis XIV*, pp. 264–7. Christout gives no source for this information; nor does she explain why she omits *L'Amour médecin*, *George Dandin*, *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* and *Le Malade imaginaire* from her list.

²⁴ Louis E. Auld, *The Unity of Molière's Comedy-Ballets: a Study of their Structure, Meanings, and Values* (unpublished dissertation), Bryn Mawr College, 1968, pp. 187–209.

²⁵ *Dictionnaire de la musique en France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, pp. 61–62 ('Beauchamps, Pierre', by Nathalie Lecomte) and p. 166 ('Comédie-ballet', by Françoise Dartois-Lapeyre).

TABLE I
Character-Roles Danced by Beauchamps in Court Premières of
Molière–Lully *comédies-ballets*

Comédie-ballet	Date of court première	Roles
Le Mariage forcé	29 Jan. 1664	plaisant ou goguenard; magicien; galant
Les Plaisirs de l'île enchantée	8–10 May 1664	Roger
La Princesse d'Elide*	rev. 25 Aug. 1669	valet de chien; valet de feste; luteur
La Pastorale comique	5 Jan. 1667	Egyptien jouant de la guitare (along with Lully)
Le Sicilien	14 Feb. 1667	Maure nu
George Dandin	8 July 1668	berger; suivant de Bacchus
Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	6 Oct. 1669	page; matassin; procureur; Biscayen
Les Amants magnifiques	4 Feb. 1670	dieu marin; pantomime; faune; jeune gen
Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme	14 Oct. 1670	Turc; Espagnol; Scaramouche
Psyché (tragédie-ballet)	17 Jan. 1671	fleuve; cyclope; furie; berger galant; enseigne

* Beauchamps evidently did not dance in the première of *La Princesse d'Elide* when it was given on 9 May 1664, the second day of *Les Plaisirs de l'île enchantée*; however, his name is listed in the *livret* printed for the four court performances at Saint Germain-en-Laye in 1669.

comédies-ballets, Beauchamps portrayed a variety of colourful characters (see Table I), ranging from the elegant (a 'galant') to the comic (a buffoon, a jester, a dogkeeper, a solicitor, a pantomime and Scaramouche), from deities and mythological figures (a sea-god, a cyclops and a fury) to pastoral characters (a shepherd, a faun and one of Bacchus' followers), along with several exotic roles (a gypsy, a Moor, a native of Biscay, a Turk and a Spaniard).

Beauchamps's professional association with Molière and his troupe was strengthened through family ties. For generations, orchestras of the town and of the court were made up of musicians from two related families: the Beauchamps' (Christophe, Denis, Louis, Nicolas, Vincent and Pierre) and the Mazuels (Adrian, Guillaume, Jehan, Jehan II, Jean, Michel and Pierre). Guillaume Mazuel, who played in Louis XIII's *grande bande* along with Pierre and Louis Beauchamps, was our Pierre Beauchamps's great-uncle and Molière's great-grandfather.²⁶ No doubt Beauchamps's

²⁶ See Kunzle, 'Pierre Beauchamp: the Illustrious Unknown Choreographer, Part 1', p. 36. For more information on the Mazuel family, see Brossard, *Musiciens de Paris*, pp. 210–13. The Mazuel family tree is given in Elizabeth Maxfield-Miller, 'Louis de Mollier, musicien et son homonyme Molière', *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, iii (1963), 25–38, at p. 35, and in *Cent ans de recherches sur Molière*, ed Jurgens & Maxfield-Miller, pp. 732–3.

career profited from his relation to the soon-to-be-famous actor–playwright.²⁷ Their first collaboration was *Les Fâcheux*, Molière’s first *comédie-ballet*, commissioned for a fête given in 1661 by Nicolas Fouquet, then Minister of Finance. Molière and his company, known as the Troupe de Monsieur,²⁸ had presented the playwright’s comedy *L’Ecole des maris* for Fouquet the previous month, and in August, Fouquet called them back to his palatial estate of Vaux-le-Vicomte to perform for a royal visit: Fouquet wished to entertain Louis XIV with a *ballet à entrées*, the king’s favourite form of entertainment. In this type of ballet, each dance *entrée* was related thematically to the chosen subject: the one selected for Fouquet’s ballet was the various species of ‘nuisances’ (*fâcheux*) that plagued the court and annoyed the king.

Like other professional acting companies of the time, the Troupe de Monsieur was no stranger to the *ballet de cour* and its conventions. At the time of its establishment in the mid 1640s, Molière’s company (then called the ‘Illustre Théâtre’) engaged four ‘maîtres joueurs d’instruments’ and a professional dancer to perform ‘tant en comédie que ballets’.²⁹ A decade later, the company (under the sponsorship of the Prince de Conti) performed a *ballet à entrées* for which Molière probably furnished lyrics for the sung *récits* along with the non-spoken *vers pour les personnages* printed in the *livret*.³⁰ For the Vaux performances of *Les Fâcheux*, Molière replaced the *récits* which traditionally introduced each ballet *entrée* with comic episodes that presented still more varieties of *fâcheux*. The dramatic continuity provided by Molière’s play transformed the *ballet à entrées* into what he enthusiastically announced (in the *Avertissement*) to be ‘un mélange qui est nouveau pour nos théâtres’. Jean de La Fontaine attended the alfresco performance of *Les Fâcheux* in Fouquet’s gardens and gave high praise to both Molière’s play and Beauchamps’s ballet:

. . . the subject [of the comedy] is that of a man stopped by all kinds of people while *en route* to an amorous assignation . . . the ballet was fitted to the comedy as well as possible, and all the dancers portrayed nuisances of several varieties: and . . . they did not appear as such nuisances to us, on the contrary, they were found to be very entertaining, and they withdrew much too soon for the liking of the audience. As soon as this diversion had ended, we hurried off to the diversion of the fire[works].³¹

Having but two weeks to write the play and rehearse his actors,³² Molière left other aspects of the production to his colleagues. Fouquet’s secretary, the poet Paul Pellisson, wrote the verse prologue; Beauchamps composed the ballet and its

²⁷ Julien Tiersot (*La Musique dans la comédie de Molière*, Paris, 1922, pp. 116–17) suggests that Beauchamps was an opportunist who ‘depuis *Les Fâcheux*, avait attaché sa fortune musicale et chorégraphique à celle de Molière’.

²⁸ At this time, Molière’s company was under the protection of Philippe, Duke of Orleans (younger brother to the king), who was known at court as ‘Monsieur’.

²⁹ See *Cent ans de recherches sur Molière*, ed. Jurgens & Maxfield-Miller, pp. 232–4 (‘Engagement de Claude Godart, Michel Tisse, Adrien Lefebvre et Laurent Gaburet, joueurs d’instruments, pour servir les comédiens de l’Illustre Théâtre pendant trois ans’, 31 October 1643) and pp. 241–2 (‘Engagement de Daniel Mallet, danseur, avec les comédiens de l’Illustre Théâtre’, 28 June 1644).

³⁰ The sole copy of this *livret* (BALLET / DES INCOMPATIBLES, / Danse a Montpellier, deuant / Monseigneur le Prince, & / Madame le Princesse / de Conty. / A MONTPELIER, / Par DANIEL PECH, Imprimeur du Roy, / & de la Ville / M.DC.LV.) is in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Yf 1378. Paul Lacroix, who first published it in a modern edition (in Vol. 6 of *Ballets et mascarades de cour, de Henri III à Louis XIV 1581–1652*, Geneva, 1868–70), attributed the entire ballet to Molière.

³¹ *Lettre à Maucroix* (‘Relation d’une fête donnée à Vaux’), given in *Oeuvres diverses de La Fontaine*, ed. Pierre Clarac, Paris, 1958, pp. 522–7.

³² Loret’s letter of 20 August 1661 (*La Muze historique*, ed. Livet, iii. 392) tells us that Molière’s actors were required to learn their parts for *Les Fâcheux* in three days.

music;³³ Charles Le Brun painted the scenic embellishments; and Giacomo Torelli designed the sets and stage machines.³⁴ Even Lully, whom the king had appointed *Surintendant de la musique et compositeur de la musique de la chambre* the previous May, furnished a sung courante for the entertainment.³⁵

One wonders why Fouquet (or rather, Pellisson) selected Beauchamps rather than Lully to compose the ballet music. It seems doubtful that the Molière family connection came into play here as Astier suggests, for according to Claude Abraham, Molière was a late addition to the team of artists chosen for this project.³⁶ On the other hand, Lully would have been the natural choice, since he already had several ballet scores to his credit and, moreover, was close to Louis XIV, whom Fouquet wished to flatter. With historical hindsight, Henry Prunières suggests that Lully had good reasons for refusing this commission: Fouquet was a powerful and dangerous nobleman who posed the single most important threat to Louis XIV's rule, and the king had been secretly planning his downfall long before the 1661 fête at Vaux-le-Vicomte—perhaps Colbert warned Lully not to associate with the doomed Minister of Finance, who was soon to be arrested for corruption and treason.³⁷ But still, Molière's play hints that Lully may well have had a hand in the ballet after all. When in Act I scene 3 the dancing nuisance departs to show 'Baptiste le très cher' his courante and to entreat him to compose the parts ('d'y faire des parties'), perhaps Molière is slyly letting us in on a secret: that Lully similarly helped Beauchamps with the orchestral scoring of his ballet.

What, then, was the extent of Beauchamps's participation in the Vaux-le-Vicomte première of *Les Fâcheux*? A marginal inscription at the beginning of the Philidor

³³ Loret's letter of 20 August 1661 mentions that the ballet was composed by Beauchamps (*La Muze historique*, ed. Livet, iii. 392): '... un Balet entendu des mieux, / qui par intervalles succède, / sert à la Pièce, d'Intermède, / lequell Balet fut composé / par Beauchamp, Danseur fort prizé, / et dansé de la belle sorte / par les Messieurs de son Escorte; / et, mesme, où le sieur d'Olivet, / digne d'avoir quelque Brévet, / et fameux en cette Contrée, / a fait mainte agréable Entrée'. As we shall see, in this instance Beauchamps composed both the music and the choreography. His score has been published in modern edition in '*Le Ballet des fâcheux*': *Beauchamp's Music for Molière's Comedy*, ed. George Houle, Bloomington & Indianapolis, 1991.

³⁴ A water-colour of a set design reproduced in Per Bjurström, *Giacomo Torelli and Baroque Stage Design*, Stockholm, 1961, p. 183, is possibly the one designed by Torelli for *Les Fâcheux*.

³⁵ This courante belongs in Act I scene 3, where the dancing nuisance Lysandre confronts Eraste, the young lover; see '*Le Ballet des fâcheux*', ed. Houle, p. 56. We know from the *Registre de La Grange* that La Grange played the part of Eraste in the Paris performances until mid November, when illness forced him to relinquish the role to M. du Croisy (see the facsimile edition of *Le Registre de La Grange, 1659–1685*, ed. Bert Edward Young & Grace Philpott Young, Paris, 1947, i. 40), and it is commonly thought that Molière performed the role of Lysandre, and La Grange that of Eraste, for the Vaux première. However, an inscription written at the head of Lully's courante in the Philidor manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. F. 530 (Collection Philidor, Vol. 44)) credits La Grange with singing this number ('Cette Courante a esté fait par Mr. de Lully et chantée au fâcheux par Mr. de la Grange Comedien'). La Grange was a singing actor whose range was high baritone/low tenor (he was the first Cléante in *Le Malade imaginaire*, in which he sang up to *f#* in the 'petit opéra impromptu' of Act II scene 5). Molière also sang on the stage when his part required it (e.g. when he played Moron in *La Princesse d'Elide*, Lycas in *La Pastorale comique*, Dom Pèdre in *Le Sicilien*, Sganarelle in *Le Médecin malgré lui*, and Monsieur Jourdain in *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*), but he was a *farceur*, not a *chanteur*, and his music was usually written in a lower, baritone range. Lully's courante, with its tessitura extending to *f#* and *g'*, would have suited La Grange's voice better than Molière's; this supports my hypothesis that La Grange, not Molière, played the singing role of the dancing nuisance in the Vaux-le-Vicomte première of *Les Fâcheux*.

³⁶ Kunzle (= Astier), 'Pierre Beauchamp: the Illustrious Unknown Choreographer, Part I', p. 36; Claude Abraham, *On the Structure of Molière's comedies-ballets* ('Biblio 17', xix), Seattle, 1984, pp. 18–20. Abraham says that there is much evidence that librettists were regularly the last to be added to a team preparing a *ballet de cour*; this gives added credence to Molière's statement in the preface to *Les Fâcheux*.

³⁷ Prunières, *L'Opéra italien en France avant Lulli*, p. 269. As François Bluche has shown (*Louis XIV*, New York, 1990, pp. 95–104), Colbert had been preparing Fouquet's downfall for nearly two years, and the king had already sealed his fate by May 1661. Yet Le Brun, Le Notre and, of course, Molière had also been employed by Fouquet, and none of their careers seems to have suffered by this association.

manuscript states that ‘Ce ballet a esté fait, les airs et la danse, par M. Beauchant’.³⁸ From this, it seems that Beauchamps composed the music and the dance numbers. We might further speculate that he took on some of the traditional duties of the ‘organizer of ballets’ as described in Monsieur de Saint-Hubert’s ballet treatise, including staging all *entrées*, overseeing the rehearsals of the dancers, selecting masks and accessories for the different *entrées*, guiding the entrances and exits of the dancers, directing the strings when to start and stop playing, marking the dancers’ positions on the stage floor, and indicating when the *entrées* should start.³⁹ Certainly, Beauchamps had his hands full with his duties, and he appears to have had help with some of the choreography: according to Loret, Hilaire d’Olivet ‘made several pleasant *entrées*’. Loret’s use of the verb ‘faire’ (‘a fait mainte agréable Entrée’) does not tell us explicitly whether d’Olivet danced (‘a dansé’) or designed (‘a composé’) some *entrées*; perhaps he did both, by dancing choreography of his own invention.⁴⁰

On 25 and 27 August, Louis XIV invited Molière and his troupe to Fontainebleau to repeat *Les Fâcheux* twice more together with *L’Ecole des maris*, for which the king paid the princely sum of 15,428 *livres* for ‘décorations, baladins, danseurs, nourriture et récompense des comédiens’.⁴¹ It also seems reasonable to assume that Molière used Beauchamps’s music and choreography when he presented *Les Fâcheux* at the Théâtre du Palais Royal in Paris for a highly acclaimed run of 44 performances beginning in November 1661.⁴² Loret wrote of the novelty of seeing such an unusual work that combined comedy, music and dance on the public stage:

Les Fâcheux, this new play
which, by its fine courtliness
so greatly charmed these past days
those most perceptive at court,
is now playing in Paris:
and certainly, everyone admits
that among the current plays
one sees nothing more pleasing;

In addition to being lovely, it is good,
for to its admirers it offers
(beyond its natural attractions)
neither feasts nor banquets,
but ballet, violins and music,
so as to make a greater effect;
and to urge still more people
to come quickly to see it

³⁸ See the reproduction of the title-page given in ‘*Le Ballet des fâcheux*’, ed. Houle, p. 28.

³⁹ See *La Manière de composer et faire réussir les ballets*, Paris, 1641 (repr. Geneva, 1993); trans. Marie-Françoise Christout, ‘How to Compose a Successful Ballet’, *Dance Perspectives*, No. 20 (1964), 26–37. Perhaps Beauchamps also conducted the orchestra, as he did for the 1671 production of *Psyché* at the Théâtre du Palais Royal; see n. 61, below.

⁴⁰ Hilaire d’Olivet was a ‘maître de danse particulier’ and one of the original thirteen members of the Académie Royale de Danse. Beauchamps and d’Olivet had jointly choreographed the *Ballet de l’impatience* earlier that February (Christout, *Le Ballet de cour au XVII^e siècle*, p. 200). According to Jean-Baptiste Dubos (see n. 89, below), Lully later used d’Olivet to create dramatic ballet-pantomimes for his operas.

⁴¹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Mélanges Colbert 264, f. 11, given in Georges Mongrédien, *Recueil des textes et des documents du XVII^e siècle relatifs à Molière*, Paris, 1965, i. 152.

⁴² Molière’s reasons for postponing the Paris première of *Les Fâcheux* for more than two months remain unknown; undoubtedly it would have been prudent for him to distance himself from the fateful Vaux-le-Vicomte fête and to find a suitable royal occasion to celebrate. Since the queen had not attended Fouquet’s fête owing to her pregnancy, Molière did not have long to wait. The Grand Dauphin was born on 1 November; the company cancelled performances for that day to prepare *Les Fâcheux*, and the public première took place on 4 November.

(as it is fine among the fine),
it also uses stage machines.

His comrades the actors,
playing comical characters,
there do justice to their roles;
and the ladies as well, for
when the lovely nymph Béjart
emerges from her ornate sea shell,
she plays a young girl admirably.
Mlle de Brie has conquering charms
that greatly please many hearts.
Mlle du Parc, this beautiful actress,
with her imperial bearing,
be it in reciting or in dancing,
does everything delightfully.

Finally, to cut this matter short,
this rather singular play
with a very jovial air
can be seen at the Palais Royal,
not by the Troupe Royale
but by the Jovial Troupe
of Monsieur le Duc d'Orléans,
who has established them there.⁴³

Molière's next *comédie-ballet*, *Le Mariage forcé* (1664), was written on royal command for performance in the Louvre apartments of the queen mother. Lully, in his capacity as *Surintendant de la musique*, composed the dance airs and the vocal numbers for the court première. Some of the dances were designed for professional dancers (d'Olivet, Saint-André, Des Brosses, de Lorge, Le Chantre, Beauchamps, the Des-Airs brothers, Raynal, Noblet, La Pierre, d'Heureux, Le Mercier), and others featured the king and his courtiers (the Comte d'Armagnac, Marquis de Villeroy, Marquis de Rassin and Messieurs de Tartas, de La Lanne, Du Pille and Le Duc). The professionals danced ballet-pantomimes for Jealousy, Chagrins and Suspicions (*Première entrée*), for the magician and his four demons (*Quatrième entrée*), and for the *maître à danser* (*Cinquième entrée*), while the noble amateurs joined them in dances for four 'jokers' (*Deuxième entrée*), gypsies (*Troisième entrée*), Spanish ladies and gentlemen (*Sixième entrée*) and four 'galants' (*Dernière entrée*).⁴⁴

⁴³ Letter of 19 November 1661 (*La Muze historique*, ed. Livet, iii. 431): 'Les Fâcheux, ce nouveau Poème, / qui par sa gentillesse extrême / charma si fort, ces jours passez, / à la Cour tous les mieux sensez, / dans Paris, maintenant se joue: / et, certes, tout le monde avoüe / qu'entre les Pièces d'à-préant, / on ne void rien de si plaizant; / . . . Outre qu'elle est belle, elle est bonne, / car à ses Amans elle donne / (oultre ses naturels apas), / non collations, ny repas, / mais Balet, Violons, Muzique, / afin d'avoir grand pratique; / et pour rendre encor plus de Gens / à la viziter diligens, / comme elle est fine entre les fines, / elle fait jouer des machines. / . . . Ses Camarades, les Acteurs, / ayans des Personnages drôles, / y font, des mieux, valoir leurs Roles, / et les femmes mesmement, car / l'agréable Nymphé Béjar / quitant sa pompeuze Coquille, / y joue en admirable Fille. / La Brie a des charmes vainqueurs / qui plaizent à très-bien des coeurs. / La Du-Parc, cette belle Actrice, / avec son port d'Impératrice, / soit en récitant, ou dansant, / N'a rien qui ne soit ravissant; / . . . Enfin, pour abréger matière, / cette Pièce assez singulière, / et d'un air assez / jovial, se fait voir au Palais Royal, / non pas par la Troupe Royale / mais par la Troupe Joviale / de Monsieur le Duc d'Orléans / qui les a colloquez léans.' The 'Troupe Royale' was the rival acting company of the Hôtel de Bourgogne which, as we have seen, was from time to time called upon to provide a comedy along with ballet performances.

⁴⁴ This distribution of dancing roles appears in the printed *livret*: LE MARIAGE / FORCE! / BALLET / DV ROY. / Dansé par sa Majesté, le 29 jour / de lanuier 1664. / A PARIS / Par ROBERT BALLARD, seul Imprimeur / du Roy pour la Musique / M.DC.LXIV. / Avec Priuilege de sa Majesté.

Molière performed *Le Mariage forcé* for the public at the Théâtre du Palais Royal beginning on 15 February 1664. His company performed it there twelve times ‘avec le ballet et les ornemens’ before mounting production costs forced them to cut short the first run of performances. For this production, Molière’s company hired nine professional dancers; while their names remain unknown, we might speculate that some of them were drawn from among the thirteen professionals listed above who danced in the court performances. The troupe’s register records that Beauchamps received a payment of 550 *livres* ‘for composing the ballet’;⁴⁵ this citation presumably refers to the choreography, since, as far as we know, Lully permitted Molière to use his music in commercial performances of the *comédies-ballets*. This substantial payment also suggests that Beauchamps might well again have taken on several of the duties of Saint-Hubert’s ‘organizer of ballets’.

Lully composed the music for Molière’s next nine *comédies-ballets* and for *Psyché* (a ‘tragicomédie et ballet’). After giving the premières of these works at court, Molière capitalized on his success by presenting most of them before the public at the Théâtre du Palais Royal. The daily registers of theatrical seasons from 1665–6 to 1670–71 have not survived,⁴⁶ and so the extent to which Beauchamps may have assisted Molière in adapting *comédies-ballets* for the public stage during these years can only be a matter of speculation. However, Molière evidently engaged a new choreographer for *La Princesse d’Elide*, which played at the Palais Royal from 9 November 1664 until 4 January 1665. According to the *Second registre de La Thorillière*, the company’s daily register for the 1664–5 season, 220 *livres* were paid on 9 and 11 November to ‘M’ des Brosses’. This must be the ballet master Anthoine Des Brosses, who had danced the role of ‘un Chagrin’ in the *Premier intermède* of *Le Mariage forcé* at court. In the three-day fête at Versailles (*Les Plaisirs de l’île enchantée*) during which *La Princesse d’Elide* was first given, Des Brosses danced as one of the signs of the zodiac, as a monster and as a knight. Thereafter Molière would appear to have hired Des Brosses as ballet master for his Paris production of *La Princesse d’Elide*, even if in the following year Des Brosses was in the service of the rival Théâtre du Marais, where he evidently served as *maître de danse* for its production of Claude Boyer’s machine-play *Les Amours de Jupiter et de Sémélé* in January 1666.⁴⁷

While there is no record of Beauchamps’s association with the Troupe du Roy between 1664 and 1671, he and Molière may have collaborated on a ballet some time in 1667 or 1668. An ‘Air de Ballet de M. de Beauchamp’, the poetry of which is ascribed to ‘M. Molière’, appears in a *Recueil des plus beaux vers qui ont été mis en chant* published in June 1668.⁴⁸ According to Georges Couton, Molière’s verses appear to be addressed to the Marquise Thérèse de Gorla, dite Mlle du Parc, one of the

⁴⁵ In his *Registre* (ed. Young & Young, i. 65), La Grange listed a daily expense of 109 *livres* for music and dance (in excess of the ordinary daily operating expenses of about 53 *livres*), and a payment of 550 *livres* ‘donné à Mr. de Beauchamps p[our] faire le ballet’. Payments recorded in the register kept by the actor La Thorillière for the 1664–5 season (the ‘Second registre’ of La Thorillière, in Paris, Archives de la Comédie-Française) specify that the troupe employed twelve string players, nine dancers, a singer, two oboists and two *tambours de basque* for the *intermèdes*.

⁴⁶ The *Registre de La Grange*, which is a summary register derived in part from the company’s daily registers, does not list Beauchamps’s name for any production during these years.

⁴⁷ See S. Wilma Deierkauf-Holsboer, *Le Théâtre du Marais*, Paris, 1954, ii. 159.

⁴⁸ Given in Mongrédien, *Recueil des textes et des documents du XVII^e siècle relatifs à Molière*, i. 310, and in *Oeuvres complètes de Molière*, ed. Georges Couton, Paris, 1971, ii. 1183–4: ‘D’une brillante grâce / vos traits sont embellis, / et votre teint efface / les roses et les lys / de nos jeunes Philis; / L’esprit, l’air agréable, / et la taille admirable / en vous se trouvent joints: / après cela, Marquise, / ne soyez point surprise / si je vous rends des soins, / l’on en rendrait à moins’.

leading actresses of the troupe who was often praised for her singing and dancing.⁴⁹ Loret singled out her performance in *Les Fâcheux* for acclaim, while a later author recalled, with more than a hint of fetishism, that she used to perform ‘certain remarkable cabrioles—for one could see her legs and part of her thighs through the slit in her skirt, as well as her silk hose attached to her tights’.⁵⁰ In *Le Mariage forcé*, she played the flirtatious Dorimène, who dances with four ‘galants’ at her wedding.⁵¹ The height of her recognition at court came in 1664, when she performed the role of Alcina, the enchantress of *Les Plaisirs de l’île enchantée*. In the finale of the *Ballet du palais d’Alcine* that concluded the three-day *divertissement*, she danced opposite Pierre Beauchamps. Her charms were admired by many—including Pierre Corneille, Thomas Corneille and Racine—and Molière and Beauchamps paid special homage to her in their ‘Air de Ballet’.⁵²

It appears that Beauchamps did not work again for the Théâtre du Palais Royal until the 1671–2 season. But before this season began, he became involved in *Pomone*, the inaugural production of Perrin’s Académies d’Opéra that opened on 3 March 1671 in a rented theatre on the Left Bank (the Jeu de Paume de la Bouteille). According to Durey de Noinville, Beauchamps and other veteran *baladins* of court ballets, including Saint-André, Favier and La Pierre, performed the dances, and Tralage also credits Beauchamps with the choreography.⁵³ However, a document of c.1672 clarifies Beauchamps’s involvement:

And as for the opera *Les Peines et les plaisirs d’amour*, it is established that all of the music was ready before *Pomone* closed, since M. de Beauchamps, who danced for about two months in *Pomone*, heard the rehearsal of the aforesaid second opera the first day that he joined the opera, and that M. Des Brosses had all the dance airs of the second opera before he relinquished his position to the aforesaid Beauchamps.⁵⁴

This reveals that Des Brosses initially served as ballet master for Perrin’s Académies d’Opéra, and that Beauchamps took over Des Brosses’s position for the last two months of the seven- or eight-month run of *Pomone*. The question remains: did Beauchamps introduce new dances of his own design into *Pomone* at that time, or did he simply supervise the execution of the dances originally choreographed by Des Brosses? Moreover, Beauchamps was hired by Perrin’s Académies d’Opéra towards

⁴⁹ *Oeuvres complètes de Molière*, ed. Couton, ii. 1521. She was married to the actor Du Parc (whose real name was René Berthelot).

⁵⁰ From a ‘Lettre sur les comédiens’ in the *Mercur de France*, May 1740, given in Frédéric Hillemaier, *Galerie historique des portraits des comédiens de la troupe de Molière*, Lyons, 1869, pp. 44–45: ‘Elle faisoit certains caprioies remarquables; car on voyoit ses jambes & partie de ses cuisses par le moyen de sa juppe fenduë des deux costez, avec des bas de soye attachéz au haut d’une petite culotte’.

⁵¹ Loret (letter of 2 February 1664) also commented on her feminine allure and on her dancing (*La Muze historique*, ed. Livet, iii. 159): ‘De la du Parc rien je ne dis, / qui rendoit les gens ébaudis / par ses appas, par sa prestance, / et par ses beaux pas et sa danse.’

⁵² Six months after these verses were published, Mlle du Parc died under mysterious circumstances. For an engaging account of her life and death, see H. Carrington Lancaster, ‘An Actress: La Du Parc’, in idem, *Adventures of a Literary Historian*, Baltimore, 1942, pp. 79–96.

⁵³ Jacques-Bernard Durey de Noinville, *Histoire du théâtre de l’Académie Royale de Musique en France*, 2nd edn., Paris, 1757 (reprinted Geneva, 1972), ii. 26, 74; ‘Recueil de Tralage’ (c.1697), Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 6544, IV, f. 223^v (= 243^v).

⁵⁴ In an unnumbered manuscript in the Archives de la Comédie-Française: ‘Et pour l’opera des peines et des plaisirs d’Amour il [est] constant que toute la musique estoit preste auparavant que Pomone cessat puisque M^r de beauchamps qui a dansé enuiron deux mois a Pomone a entendu la repetition dudit second opera le premier jour qu’il entra [‘dans’ crossed out] a l’opera et que M^r des brosses auoit tous les airs [‘auparau’ crossed out] des ballets de ce second opera auparavant qu’il cedat sa place audit beauchamps’. Des Brosses evidently left Perrin’s Académie to serve as choreographer for the elaborate production of Donneau de Visé’s musical machine-play *Le Mariage de Bacchus et d’Ariane*, given at the Théâtre du Marais during the winter of 1671–2.

the end of the series of 146 performances of *Pomone*, when he attended a rehearsal of the forthcoming production of Gilbert's *Les Peines et les plaisirs de l'amour* (1672). This would place Beauchamps in Perrin's theatre from July or August 1671, where he would have been dancing in *Pomone* an average of four or five times per week. With these heavy performing obligations, it would seem impossible for Beauchamps to have taken on additional responsibilities at a rival theatre. Yet the registers for the Troupe du Roy show that while *Pomone* was in full production, Beauchamps was also employed as choreographer and conductor for *Psyché* at the Palais Royal on Tuesdays, Fridays and Sundays.⁵⁵

Psyché had its court première on 17 January 1671 in the 'Grand Salle des Machines', the theatre contained within the Tuileries palace. This theatre had not been used since Cavalli's *Ercole amante* (1662), and it still housed the sets and stage machines which had been designed to be re-used in future productions such as *Psyché*. In addition to 'dances ordinaires', Lully's ballets for *Psyché* included a variety of colourful dance-pantomimes for dryads, silvan deities, gods of the streams and naiads (*Prologue*), for afflicted men wandering in the desert (*Premier intermède*), for fairies and cyclops who forge silver vases (*Second intermède*), for cupids and zephyrs (*Troisième intermède*), for furies and leaping goblins (*Quatrième intermède*), and for the attendants of Apollo (gallant shepherds), of Bacchus (maenads and gypsies), of Momus (Punchinellos and buffoons) and of Mars (ensign-, spear-, mace- and shield-bearers) in the final *intermède*.⁵⁶ From the royal accounts, we know that Beauchamps received a payment of 300 *livres* 'pour ses peines et recompenses d'avoir servy audit ballet'. So large a sum suggests that he not only danced but also served as choreographer for this production, assisted by other dancing-masters (de Lorge and Des Brosses) who were paid lesser amounts.⁵⁷

Before Molière could produce *Psyché* at the Théâtre du Palais Royal, he had to remodel the stage to accommodate the necessary scene changes and the elaborate machine effects. According to La Grange's *Registre*, the Troupe du Roy took this opportunity to renovate the auditorium as well. By the beginning of the 1671–2 season, work was completed, and on 15 April 1671 they started preparing 'the machines, decorations, music, ballet and generally all of the ornaments necessary for this grand spectacle'.⁵⁸ Beauchamps had at his disposal twelve dancers and four *petits danseurs*; two graces and six cupids and zephyrs to perform spectacular aerial flights; and two acrobats—these forces were smaller than those used in the première.⁵⁹ We do not know the names of the dancers who appeared in the public

⁵⁵ These two rival theatres were located some distance apart on opposite sides of the Seine, the Théâtre du Palais Royal on the Right Bank, up from the Louvre and the Tuileries palace, and the Jeu de Paume de la Bouteille on the Left Bank, rue des Fossés-de-Nesles (now rue Mazarine). Assuming that it was indeed possible for Beauchamps to work in both theatres concurrently, it is amusing to think of him dashing through the streets of Paris over the bridges (probably the Pont Neuf) *en route* to his many rehearsals and performances.

⁵⁶ The names of 82 dancers who danced at the court première are cited in a commemorative *livret*: PSICHE / TRAGI-COMEDIE, / ET BALLE. / Dansé devant sa Majeste au mois de Janvier 1671. / A PARIS, / Par ROBERT BALLARD, seul Impri- / meur du Roy pour la Musique, ruë S. Iean / de Beauvais, au Mont-Parnasse. / M.DC.LXXI. / AVEC PRIVILEGE DE SA MAIESTE'. This *livret* also lists two 'leaping satyrs' who danced to the vocal trio 'Voulez-vous des douceurs parfaites?' in the final *intermède*.

⁵⁷ See the 'Etat officiel de la dépense faite pour représenter Psyché au théâtre des Tuileries en 1671', dated 23 November 1671, reproduced in *Cent ans de recherches sur Molière*, ed Jurgens & Maxfield-Miller, p. 501.

⁵⁸ *Registre de la Grange*, ed. Young & Young, i. 124–6: 'Le d' jour Mercredy 15 Auril, aprez vne delliberation de la Compagnie de représenter Psyché qui auoit esté faite pour le Roy, l'hyuer dernier, et représentée sur le grand Theatre du pallais des Tuilleries, on commancea faire trauailler tant aux machines, decorations, musique, ballait, et généralement tous les ornemens necessaires pour ce grand spectacle'.

⁵⁹ A comparison of the 1671 *livret* and the 1682 edition of the play (which no doubt reflects the public performances) shows how the numbers were scaled down to accommodate the stage of the Palais Royal, with

performances, although there were probably some professional dancers who had appeared at court.⁶⁰

Performances of *Psyché* began on 24 July 1671 and lasted up to October of that year. It is clear that Beauchamps served as the orchestral conductor for this production: according to La Grange's *Registre*, Beauchamps received 1,100 *livres* 'for having [choreographed] the ballet and conducted the music', together with a payment of 11 *livres* per performance 'for beating time to the music as well as for directing the ballets'.⁶¹ After an interval of two and a half months, performances of *Psyché* resumed during the last two weeks of January 1672, with two performances in February and three more in March.

Meanwhile, Perrin's Académies d'Opéra fell into financial trouble. Despite the success of *Pomone*, Perrin's theatre was closed by royal decree on 1 April 1672, whereupon Lully stepped in to take over and obtained a new *privilege* for opera from the king.⁶² At about the same time, Lully and Molière fell out, probably over this same *privilege*. In his fictional *Lettre de Clément Marot à Monsieur de * * **, written against Lully and published shortly after his death, Baudron de Sénécé indicates that Molière and Lully once considered joint control of the new *privilege* but that Lully outmanoeuvred him by going alone to the king two days before their agreed date.⁶³ An early draft of Lully's *privilege* contained a clause, aimed primarily at Molière, prohibiting theatre companies from performing works 'with more than two airs and two instruments'; Molière then petitioned the king to have these restrictions removed from the final version.⁶⁴

Molière, possibly in retaliation, began supplying the non-musical comedies (*L'Avare*, *L'École des maris*, *Le Cocu imaginaire*, *L'Etourdi*, *Amphitryon*, *Les Femmes savantes* and *Le Misanthrope*) with orchestral music for performances during the spring and summer of 1672. The company's financial registers also show that

dancers doubling in multiple roles. The 1682 edition also reveals minor differences between its text and that of the première in the Tuileries. In the following listing, characters in the 1682 edition are given in parentheses. *Prologue*: 4 dryads, 4 silvan deities, 4 gods of the streams, 4 naiads (2 dryads, 4 silvan deities, 2 gods of the streams, 2 naiads). *Premier intermède*: 2 afflicted men wandering in the desert (8 afflicted people wandering in the desert). *Second intermède*: 8 fairies, 8 cyclops (4 fairies, 6 cyclops). *Troisième intermède*: 8 cupids, 8 zephyrs (4 cupids, 4 zephyrs), *Quatrième intermède*: 12 furies, 4 leaping goblins (unspecified number of furies, 1 leaping goblin). *Dernier intermède*: 8 gallant shepherds, 6 maenads, 6 gypsies, 6 Punchinellos, 6 buffoons, 4 ensign-bearers, 4 spear-bearers, 2 mace-bearers, 2 shield-bearers (unspecified number of attendants of Apollo, 2 maenads, 2 gypsies, 4 Punchinellos, 2 buffoons, an unspecified number of attendants of Mars).

⁶⁰ Excluding those hired by Perrin for his production of *Pomone*. Robinet (*Lettres en vers à Monsieur*, 26 November 1672, given in Brossard, 'La vie musicale en France d'après Loret et ses continuateurs', p. 136) singled out Beauchamps's choreography for *Psyché* for punning praise: 'Qu'encor les diverses entrées, / qui sont là, si bien incérées, / où l'incomparable Beauchamp, / à le louer, donne un beau Champ . . .'

⁶¹ *Registre de la Grange*, ed. Young & Young, i. 126: 'Dans le cours de la piece Monsr. de Beauchamps a receu de recompanse pour avoir fait les ballet et conduire la musique onze cent liuvres cy 1100 [*livres*] non compris les 11 [*livres*] par jour que la troupe luy a donne tant pour battre la mesure a la musique que pour entretenir les ballets'. On the basis of this passage, we might re-evaluate Beauchamps's duties for other productions at the Palais Royal to include that of musical director.

⁶² The 'Etablissement d'Académie Royale de musique en faveur du Sieur de Lully' is readily available in secondary sources, including Marcelle Benoit, *Musiques de cour: Chapelle, Chambre, Ecurie, 1661-1733*, Paris, 1971, pp. 37-38.

⁶³ *Lettre de Clément Marot à Monsieur de * * **, Cologne, 1688, pp. 54-57. Georges Mongrédién ('Molière et Lulli', *XVII^e siècle*, Nos. 98-99 (1973), 3-16, at p. 10) points out that Sénécé had lived at court and had written a short opera himself, so he was likely to be well informed about the early developments of opera.

⁶⁴ The 'Plainte de Molière et des comédiens contre Lully' (dated 29 March 1672) is reproduced in *Cent ans de recherches sur Molière*, ed. Jurgens & Maxfield-Miller, pp. 509-10. This story is related independently by Guichard & Sablières, and by Sourdéac & Champeron; see Nutter & Thoinan (pseudonyms for Charles Louis Etienne Truinet and Antoine Ernest Roquet), *Les Origines de l'opéra français*, Paris, 1886 (repr. Geneva, 1972), 234-6.

Beauchamps assisted Molière with the revival of several of the *comédies-ballets*.⁶⁵ The first of these, *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, was revived on 24 May 1672 for a run of ten performances featuring ‘strings, dancers and vocal music’, for which Beauchamps received 11 *livres* per performance.⁶⁶ Next, Molière revived *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* for five performances beginning on 7 June; this *comédie-ballet* seems to have been given only with ballet interludes, since Hubert’s *Registre* lists ‘violons et danseurs’ but omits any mention of ‘musique’ (i.e., vocal music).⁶⁷

On 8 July, the company began a run of fourteen performances of *Le Mariage forcé*, which was given in a double bill with Molière’s comedy *La Comtesse d’Escarbagnas* of 1671 (this was its Paris première).⁶⁸ La Grange documented this production in his *Registre*:

Note that *Le Mariage forcé*, which was played with *La Comtesse d’Escarbagnas*, was accompanied with ornaments, for which Monsieur Charpentier composed the music, Monsieur de Beauchamps [choreographed] the ballets, M. de Baraillon [designed] the costumes, and M. de Villiers was employed [i.e., sang] in the interludes.⁶⁹

Beauchamps designed choreography to music newly composed by Marc-Antoine Charpentier for the *intermèdes*.⁷⁰ These dances included a minuet, a gavotte, three dance-pantomimes (entitled in Charpentier’s manuscript score ‘Les Maris’, ‘Le Songe’, and ‘Les Grotesques’) and a sung sarabande (‘Les Boemiennes’): Molière’s company evidently presented *Le Mariage forcé* as a *comédie-ballet* given for the entertainment of the characters of *La Comtesse d’Escarbagnas*.⁷¹ With the exception of the ‘Ouverture de La Comtesse d’Escarbagnas’ and possibly the character-dance entitled ‘Les Maris’ (‘The Husbands’), most of Charpentier’s music seems to fit the action of *Le Mariage forcé*.

Later that autumn (on 7 and 9 October), Molière replaced *Le Mariage forcé* with his *comédie-ballet* *L’Amour médecin* (1665) and performed it (together with *La Comtesse d’Escarbagnas*) with ‘vocal music, dance and symphony’.⁷² The collaboration of Molière, Charpentier and Beauchamps continued with a late-summer revival of

⁶⁵ These performances are documented in André Hubert’s *Registre* (see Chevalley, ‘Le “Registre d’Hubert”’). This register also lists payments made to a *baigneur* among the expenses for performances that featured ballet during the warm summer months (i.e., from 7 June until 4 October). William Leonard Schwartz (‘Molière’s Theater in 1672–1673: Light from *Le Registre d’Hubert*’, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, lvi (1941), 395–427, at p. 405) suggests that ‘the luxury of baths was enjoyed by some members of the Palais Royal troupe whose expenses at the bath house were paid by the treasurer’.

⁶⁶ Performances took place on 24, 27, 29 May, 14, 16, 19, 21 August, 30 September and 2 October.

⁶⁷ Performances took place on 7, 10, 12 June and 9, 11 September. Beauchamps received 11 *livres* daily for his participation as ballet master (and possibly as conductor). In its original form, *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* includes many vocal ensembles: the prologue begins with a delightful vocal trio; Act I scene 10 contains a comic duo of Italian doctors; Act II features two singing lawyers; and Act III concludes with a chorus of singing gypsies.

⁶⁸ According to Hubert’s *Registre* (see Chevalley, ‘Le “Registre d’Hubert”’, p. 30 *et passim*), these performances featured ‘dancers, singers and strings’. Performances were given on 8, 10, 12, 15, 17, 19, 22, 24, 26, 29, 31 July and 2, 5, 7 August.

⁶⁹ *Registre de la Grange*, ed Young & Young, i. 137: ‘N^a Encores que le mariage forcé qui a esté joué avec la Comtesse d’Escarbagnas a esté accompagné d’ornemens dont Mons^r Charpentier a faict la Musique et Mons^r de Beauchamps les ballets, M^r Baraillon les habits et M^r de Villiers auoit employ dans la musique des Intermedes’.

⁷⁰ Hubert’s *Registre* (in Chevalley, ‘Le “Registre d’Hubert”’, p. 31) records that ‘Mrs De B. et C^{er}’ (i.e., Beauchamps and Charpentier) together received 269 *livres* ‘pour reconnaissance’.

⁷¹ The music in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Vm¹ 259, XVI, ff. 38–48 is edited in *Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Music for Molière’s Comedies*, ed. John S. Powell (‘Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era’, lxiii), Madison, 1990. My preface (pp. viii–xiii) discusses the manner in which the *comédie-ballet* might have been performed within the context of the spoken comedy.

⁷² See Chevalley, ‘Le “Registre d’Hubert”’, pp. 66–67; again, Beauchamps received 11 *livres* daily, the amount he received ‘tant pour battre la mesure a la musique que pour entretenir les ballets’ for *Psyché*. No doubt *L’Amour médecin* (which Hubert refers to as ‘Les médecins’) was similarly presented as a *comédie-ballet* within the play.

Molière's first *comédie-ballet*, *Les Fâcheux*: according to Hubert, Charpentier was not brought in until the third performance, at which time he and Beauchamps each received 11 *livres* daily.⁷³ Given that Hubert's *Registre* lists expenses for 'dance, symphony and vocal music' (again 'musique' designates vocal music), it is possible that Molière called upon Charpentier to replace Lully's sung courante for the dancing nuisance *Lysandre*.⁷⁴

Even if by the summer of 1672 it must have become increasingly apparent that Beauchamps's continued association with Molière would put him at odds with Lully, he still signed a contract (now lost) in July committing his services to Molière and the Troupe du Roy.⁷⁵ A few weeks later, the August issue of the *Mercure galant* announced a revival of *Psyché* for the winter of 1672, and a 'pièce de spectacle nouvelle, toute comique' for Carnival 1673 that would once more feature ballets by Beauchamps.⁷⁶ On 15 November 1672, Lully inaugurated his Académie Royale de Musique with an opera-pastiche, *Les Fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus*: Edouard Thierry feels that it is unclear whether Beauchamps stayed on initially with Molière by choice, or whether it was because Lully had already engaged Anthoine Des Brosses as his ballet master.⁷⁷ Whatever the case, a new ordinance dated 12 August 1672 prohibited theatres from hiring either singers and instrumentalists retained by Lully without his permission, or dancers currently on the royal payroll: this forced Molière to replace all the professional singers and court dancers who had performed in the first run of *Psyché* at the Palais Royal, and it also deprived Beauchamps of the best dancers available.⁷⁸ But in spite of this setback, the second production of *Psyché* began on 11 November 1672 (four days before the opening of Lully's Académie Royale de Musique) and ran until 22 January 1673, two weeks before the première of *Le Malade imaginaire*.

Le Malade imaginaire marked Beauchamps's final collaboration with Molière and the Troupe du Roy. According to the *Registre de La Grange*, this was a lavish and expensive production 'filled with dances, vocal music and stage properties'.⁷⁹

⁷³ Performances were given on 30 August, 2, 4 September and 4 October. For the performance on 30 August, Hubert records 'frais extra à Mr de B', and on 4 October, 'à M^{rs} De B et C^{her}, 22 [*livres*]' (see Chevalley, 'Le "Registre d'Hubert"', pp. 50, 65). Charpentier's name (abbreviated 'C') is crossed out in the entry for 30 August.

⁷⁴ According to H. Wiley Hitchcock (*Les Oeuvres de Marc-Antoine Charpentier: catalogue raisonné*, Paris, 1982, p. 365), no music by Charpentier for *Les Fâcheux* has been found among his autograph manuscripts.

⁷⁵ According to Chevalley ('Le "Registre d'Hubert"', p. 188), this contract may have pertained to the 1672 revival of *Le Mariage forcé* and the forthcoming première of *Le Malade imaginaire*.

⁷⁶ *Mercure galant*, 6 August 1672, given in Mongrédien, *Recueil des textes et des documents du XVII^e siècle relatifs à Molière*, ii. 420: 'On verra au commencement de l'hiver le grand spectacle de Psyché triompher encore sur le théâtre du Palais-Royal et, dans le carnaval, on représentera une pièce de spectacle nouvelle, toute comique et comme cette pièce sera du fameux Molière, et que les ballets en seront faits par M. de Beauchamp, on n'en doit rien attendre que de beau'.

⁷⁷ Edouard Thierry, *Documents sur le "Malade imaginaire": état de la recette et des dépenses faite par ordre de la compagnie*, Paris, 1880, p. 31. However, one can understand Beauchamps's decision (if it was), since he had the golden opportunity to work directly with Molière on *Le Malade imaginaire*, which promised to surpass all earlier attempts at *comédie-ballet*. Lecercf de la Viéville (*Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française*, [Paris, 1704 (repr. Geneva, 1972), ii. 228) makes it clear that Lully choreographed some of the dances and Des Brosses others: 'Une partie du Ballet des fêtes de l'Amour & de Bacchus avoit été composée par lui [Lully], l'autre par Desbrosses. Et Lully eût presque autant de part aux Ballets des Opera suivans, que Beauchamp.'

⁷⁸ The 'Ordonnance portant deffenses à toutes les troupes de comedians françois et estrangers le louer la salle qui a servy aux representations des ouvrages de theatre en musique' is reproduced in Benoit, *Musiques de cour*, pp. 38–39. La Grange's entry for 11 November (*Registre de La Grange*, ed. Young & Young, i. 139) includes the note: 'Les frais extraordinaires se sont montez à cent louis d'or pour remettre toutes choses en estat et remettre des musiciens, musiciennes et danseurs à la place de ceux qui avoit pris party ailleurs'.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, i. 144: 'Les frais de la pièce du Malade Imaginaire ont esté grands à cause du prologue et des intermedes remplis de danses, musique et vtencilles, et se sont montés à deux mil quarte cent liures: 2400 [*livres*]. Les frais journaliers ont esté grands à cause de douze violons à 3 [*livres*], douze danseurs à 5 [*livres*] 10s, 3 symphonistes à 3

General preparations began on 22 November 1672,⁸⁰ while an account kept by Jean Crosnier, the company's *décorateur* and general factotum, indicates that dance rehearsals began on 19 December 1672, were scheduled nearly every day of the week, and lasted for several hours into the early afternoon.⁸¹ Altogether, there were a total of eighteen rehearsals for the actors, which started on Monday 16 January 1672.⁸² After 33 dance rehearsals, the ballet was combined with the comedy on 23 January for the 'Grandes répétitions'. In all, there were 53 rehearsals for the ballet, fifteen of them with the comedy. Even after *Le Malade imaginaire* opened on 10 February 1673, the dance rehearsals continued.

The extraordinary amount of attention devoted to the ballets might well testify to the complexity and elaborateness of Beauchamps's choreography, but it could also suggest the inexperience of the dancers with whom Beauchamps had to work. Since Lully had appropriated the best dancers for his Académie Royale de Musique, Beauchamps's *corps de ballet* was made up largely of actors and supernumeraries who required additional training and attention.⁸³ Moreover, until 22 January performances of *Psyché* continued on Tuesday, Friday and Sunday afternoons following the morning rehearsals; no doubt some of the dancers who were busy preparing *Le Malade imaginaire* also appeared in *Psyché*. And during these months, Beauchamps was charged not only with directing the daily ballet rehearsals for *Le Malade imaginaire* but also with conducting *Psyché* three days per week. From 24 January to 5 February, the Troupe du Roy performed Donneau de Visé's *Les Maris infidèles* and Molière's *Les Femmes savantes* 'pour laisser reposer les danseurs et les chanteurs fatigués par les répétitions' according to Thierry.⁸⁴ On Tuesday 7 February, the theatre was closed for the final dress rehearsal of *Le Malade imaginaire*.

Molière's sudden and tragic death after the fourth performance on 17 February 1673 brought a temporary halt to performances. During this critical period, Beauchamps stayed on to assist with the production: Hubert's *Registre* reports that on 5 March he was reimbursed for money he had advanced the troupe for flowers.⁸⁵

[*livres*], 7 musiciens ou musiciennes, dont il y en a deux à 11 [*livres*], les autres à 5 [*livres*] 10s. Recompanses à M^{rs} Beauchamps pour les ballets, à M^r Charpentier pour la musique. Vne part à M^r Baraillon pour les habitz. Ainsy les dites frais se sont montez par jour à 250 [*livres*]. Lors qu'on cessa les representations à Pasques la Troupe deuoit encor plus de 1000 [*livres*] des dites frais extraordinaires.' Based on the plural designation ('M^{rs} Beauchamps'), Bert Edward Young and Grace Philpott Young (*ibid.*, i. 367) suggest that both Pierre and his father, Louis de Beauchamps, collaborated in designing the dances.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, i. 140 (next to an entry dated 22 November 1672): 'On a icy commancé la preparation du malade Imaginaire'. This probably consisted of planning the set designs, stage machines and costumes, since musical rehearsals and dramatic rehearsals did not begin until mid December and mid January respectively.

⁸¹ 'Mémoire pour les danseur [*sic*] du palais Royal', transcribed in Thierry, *Documents sur le 'Malade imaginaire'*, pp. 159–61. Crosnier's initial entry reads: 'Premièrem', du lundy 19^e décembre 1672, du [*sic*] depuis 8 heure du matin Jusqu'à deux heure a près mydi, du feu pour la respétition. Plus du mardy 20^e la mesme chose.' However, Thierry (*ibid.*, p. 164) points out that a dance rehearsal probably did not in fact last six hours, since the hall would have been heated an hour in advance. The only days that the dancers did not rehearse were 25 December 1672 and 5, 27 January 1673, plus the day of the première.

⁸² The bill submitted by the candlemaker Jeanne Magoulet shows that she furnished candles for eighteen rehearsals. At first, rehearsals were held on days when there were no performances at the Palais Royal, but daily rehearsals were scheduled, beginning on 3 February. These rehearsals took place in dim light (two pounds of candles) except for the dress rehearsals (32 pounds of candles) and performances (53 pounds). See Thierry, *Documents sur le 'Malade Imaginaire'*, pp. 145–58.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 164–5. Thierry suggests that Molière had it in mind to establish an 'académie de chant et danse' to prepare the way for future musical productions at the Théâtre du Palais Royal. The two months of rehearsals for *Le Malade imaginaire* had served to train a new generation of singers and dancers; as we have seen, dance classes continued under the direction of Beauchamps after the production was under way.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁸⁵ Chevalley, 'Le "Registre de Hubert"', p. 124. According to the 'Mémoire d'Angélique Bourdon' (Thierry, *Documents sur le 'Malade imaginaire'*, p. 243), the troupe purchased an additional 'seize grosses et demy de fleurs' for

Perhaps family loyalty influenced his decision to remain temporarily with the Troupe du Roy, for Molière's widow, the actress Armande Béjart Molière, assumed direction of the company jointly with La Grange. But this situation would not last for long, for one month after Molière's death the king granted Lully exclusive use of Molière's former playhouse. Rather than leave with the evicted company, Beauchamps remained at the Théâtre du Palais Royal—now home to Lully's Académie Royale du Musique—and became Lully's principal choreographer.⁸⁶ By 1674, Beauchamps's former position as choreographer and conductor to the Troupe du Roy (now relocated to the Hôtel de Guénégaud) had been taken over by the dancer–violinist Pierre de La Montagne, who was employed by the troupe until 1689.⁸⁷

During the 1670s and '80s, Beauchamps danced in many premières of Lully's operas, for which, together with Des Brosses and d'Olivet, he also helped choreograph the ballets.⁸⁸ Jean-Baptiste Dubos tells us that Lully gave Beauchamps and Des Brosses the responsibility of composing the 'ballets ordinaires', and drew upon the special talents of d'Olivet for ballet-pantomime:

Lully paid such great attention to the ballets mentioned here that he engaged for their choreography a 'maître de danse particulier' named d'Olivet. It was he, and not Des Brosses or Beauchamps (whom Lully engaged for the 'ballets ordinaires'), who composed the ballets of the infernal scenes of *Psyché* and *Alceste*. It was also d'Olivet who composed the ballet of the old men in *Thésée*, of the baneful dreams in *Atys*, and of the tremblers in *Isis*. This last [dance] was composed solely of pantomimic gestures by men seized with cold, and he did not introduce a single usual dance step into it.⁸⁹

Raguenet, however, gave high praise to the Beauchamps–Lully collaborations: 'They have carried these pieces to a higher degree of perfection than anyone, be it in

49 livres, 10 sous—possibly with this money lent by Beauchamps—which were probably used to refresh those flowers used in the silvan décor of the pastoral prologue.

⁸⁶ André Levinson, 'Notes sur le ballet du XVII^e siècle: les danseurs de Lully', *La Revue musicale*, vi/5 (1925), 44–55, at pp. 51–52. According to the Parfaict brothers ('Histoire de l'Académie Royale de Musique', p. 14 n.), 'it was only beginning with the opera *Cadmus* that Lully put him [Beauchamps] in charge of the Ballets for his Academy' ('ce ne fut qu'à l'Opera de Cadmus que Lully le chargea du soin des Ballets de son Académie').

⁸⁷ La Montagne's name appears sporadically in the registers of the Troupe de Guénégaud and the Comédiens du Roy (later known as the Comédie-Française), where he is listed as violinist, conductor, dancer and choreographer for the following productions: *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, 1 May 1674 ('pour la conduite'); *Le Malade imaginaire*, 4 May 1674 ('assistant'); *Circé*, 19 May 1675; *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*, 4 June 1677; *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, 17 September 1677; *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*, 20 May 1678; *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, 12 August 1678; *Le Malade imaginaire*, 13(?) March 1680; *Le Malade imaginaire*, at Versailles, 11 January 1686; *Le Malade imaginaire*, 25 November 1688; *Le Malade imaginaire*, 22 May 1689 ('fait et entretient le ballet des Intermedes'); *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, 1 July 1689. La Montagne was also a 'danseur ordinaire de l'opéra' and later choreographed the dances for a performance of *Le Malade imaginaire* at Versailles on 5 January 1707; see Benoit, *Musiques de cour*, pp. 115, 211. Rebecca Harris-Warrick has brought to my attention a solo dance for Harlequin choreographed by La Montagne and set to Lully's chaconne from *Le Ballet des nations*; for more information, see Meredith Ellis Little & Carol G. Marsh, *La Danse noble: an Inventory of Dances and Sources*, New York, 1992.

⁸⁸ According to the opera *livrets* cited in François Parfaict (with Claude Parfaict), *Dictionnaire des théâtres de Paris* (Paris, 1756), Beauchamps appeared in the following operas by Lully: *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673), *Alceste* (1674), *Thésée* (1675), *Atys* (1676), *Isis* (1677), *Bellerophon* (1679) and *Amadis* (1684). Maureen Needham Costonis (*The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie, London, 1992, i. 364) states that Beauchamps also choreographed dances for the premières of *Les Fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus* (1672), *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673), *Thésée* (1675), *Atys* (1676) and *Le Triomphe de l'Amour* (1681).

⁸⁹ *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture*, Paris, 1719 (repr. Geneva, 1967), 357: 'Lulli faisoit une si grande attention sur les ballets dont il s'agit ici, qu'il se servoit pour les composer, d'un maître de danse particulier, nommé d'Olivet. Ce fut lui, & non pas des Brosses ou Beauchamps, dont Lulli se servoit pour les ballets ordinaires, qui composa les ballets de la pompe funébre de Psyché & de celle d'Alceste. Ce fut encore d'Olivet qui fit le ballet des vieillards de Thésée, des songes funestes d'Atys & des Trembleurs d'Isis. Ce dernier étoit composé uniquement des gestes & des démonstrations de gens que le froid saisit. Il n'y entroit point un seul pas de notre danse ordinaire.'

Italy or in any other place in the world, has ever attained or will ever attain'.⁹⁰ In her memoirs, Monsieur's wife (known as Madame, or the Duchesse d'Orléans) wrote: 'When I came to France, I saw a gathering of men of talent as will not be seen again in many centuries. It was Lully for music; Beauchamps for ballets; Corneille and Racine for tragedy; Molière for comedy'.⁹¹ Beauchamps retired as choreographer from the Académie Royale du Musique upon Lully's death in 1687 and was succeeded by his pupil Guillaume-Louis Pécour. Thereafter, he remained in demand by nobles and state officials to organize private ballet entertainments;⁹² he heads the list of private dancing teachers in du Pradel's *Livre commode contenant les adresses de la ville de Paris* (1692), where he is described as 'le premier homme de l'Europe pour la composition [de ballets]';⁹³ and during this time he also enjoyed a kind of second career as a composer and choreographer for numerous ballet productions presented at the Jesuit colleges in Paris.⁹⁴

Until now, little attention has been paid to Beauchamps's career in the decade preceding his appointment as principal choreographer to Lully's Académie Royale de Musique, or to his associations with Molière, Perrin and Lully during this turbulent period in the history of French musical theatre. Yet the gazettes and chronicles of the time, together with documents pertaining to Molière's Troupe du Roy, provide tantalizing glimpses of Beauchamps's activities as a composer and choreographer of ballets and as an orchestral conductor. From careful study of the existing archival sources, we may reconstruct the multifaceted activities of this famous seventeenth-century *maître de danse* in the public theatre.

⁹⁰ *Parallèle des italiens et des françois, en ce qui regarde la musique et les opéra*, Paris, 1702, p. 20: 'Ils ont porté ces pièces à un si haut degré de perfection que personne, ny en Italie, ny en aucun autre endroit du monde n'y a sceu atteindre depuis, et n'y atteindra jamais'. Lecerf de la Viéville (*Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française*, i. 11) conceded that Beauchamps 'étoit plein de vigueur & de feu, personne n'a mieux dansé en tourbillon, et personne n'a mieux su que lui faire danser'; however, true to form, Lecerf adds 'Mais je ne puis souffrir qu'on le mette au Niveau de Lulli'.

⁹¹ Given in Mongrédien, *Recueil des textes et des documents du XVII^e siècle relatifs à Molière*, i. 401: 'Quand je suis venue en France, j'y ai vu une réunion d'hommes de talent, comme on n'en trouvera plus dans beaucoup de siècles. C'étaient Lulli, pour la musique; Beauchamp, pour les ballets; Corneille et Racine pour la tragédie; Molière pour la comédie'.

⁹² Beauchamps seems to have remained active professionally well into his seventies: Pierre Mélése (*Répertoire analytique des documents contemporains d'information et de critique concernant le théâtre à Paris sous Louis XIV, 1659–1715*, Paris, 1934, p. 105) cites a letter dated 12 January 1705 from the Comte de Pontchartrain to Guyenet which advises: 'Vous ne pouvez mieux faire que de vous servir de B[eauchamps] pour les danses'.

⁹³ Abraham du Pradel, *Le livre commode contenant les adresses de la ville de Paris, et le trésor des almanachs pour l'année Bissextille 1692*, Paris, 1692 (repr. Geneva, 1973), 73.

⁹⁴ See Astier, 'Pierre Beauchamps and the Ballets de Collège', pp. 152–63, for a list of the ballets by Beauchamps performed at the Jesuit colleges. Beauchamps's association with Parisian educational establishments was of long standing. Nutter & Thoinan (*Les Origines de l'opéra français*, p. 164) mention that 'en 1673 . . . le sieur Filz, qui tenait une institution pour les jeunes gens de bonne famille . . . faisait jouer à ses élèves des tragédies avec intermèdes de danse et de musique. Le Seur, le maître de danse de la maison, réglait les danses, assisté de Beauchamps, qui de plus composait la musique de ses intermèdes.'