THE BEGINNINGS OF FRENCH OPERA

After his success with the *Pastorale d'Issy* (1659), Perrin envisaged creating a new type of opera that would appeal to French rationalist sensibilities. At the time of its première, Perrin wrote a letter to Girolamo della Rovera from his prison cell at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, in which he provided the first theoretical statement of operatic principles to appear in France. Above all, Perrin sought to avoid the ‘faults’ of contemporary Italian opera: the interminable, tiresome recitatives so reminiscent of plainchant; the unregulated and extravagant Italian style of singing; the insufferable length of the librettos and the equally wearisome solo arias; the artificial poetry, burdened with inversions, archaisms, and forced metaphors; and especially the use of castrati (‘the horror of ladies, and the laughing-stock of men’).

Perrin felt that opera had many inherent advantages over spoken plays. The passions may be expressed more movingly by the rise and fall of the voice, the words may be more firmly impressed on the mind of the listener through repetition, and, particularly, several sentiments may be expressed at once through sung ensembles. To avoid the pitfalls of narrative singing, Perrin proposed replacing all ‘serious discourse’ with the lyric sentiments most suitable for musical expression: love, joy, despair, etc. His solo airs and dialogues would be short, with constantly changing vocal combinations, and his poetry would be intentionally artless and understandable ‘even by illiterate persons’. All scenes would be written in lyric verse, with caesuras and rhymes appropriate for singing, so that ‘there is none which could not be made into a song or a duet’. Toward the end of his letter, Perrin concluded:

However that may be, I have the advantage of having started and paved the road, of having discovered and charted this new territory, and having furnished my nation with a model for a French musical theatre. I began with the pastoral genre; my *Ariane* will provide another example, in the comic mode; and in the tragic mode, *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 with this in all the dramatic genres.

Perrin’s goal was a plot composed primarily of familiar situations requiring little explanation, but one that would provide the pretext for a variety of visual effects,

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dramatic ritual acts, and contrasting emotional states. Unlike Quinault’s opera librettos, which had to stand on their own as plays (and were judged as plays by the Petite Académie), Perrin never intended his librettos to be evaluated using the same literary criteria. More ritualistic than psychological, they grant primary importance to spectacle, and thus reveal ‘a baroque theatricality clearly designed for viewing upon the stage’.

ARIANE, OU LE MARIAGE DE BACCHUS

In his earlier Pastorale d’Issy, Perrin, like his predecessors, used a dramatic framework to weave together a series of solo airs, dialogues, and vocal ensembles into a unified whole. However, with his next opera, Ariane, ou le Mariage de Bacchus, Perrin created the first mythological pastorale en musique. As with Corneille’s La Toison d’or, Perrin’s subject—the triumphal return of Bacchus after conquering India, and his marriage to Ariadne—became an allegory of the state occasion it was designed to celebrate: Louis XIV’s victory over Spain and his marriage to the Spanish infanta, Maria-Theresa. Perrin’s prologue, sung by the god Momus, follows in the tradition of court ballets and mythological pastorales by promoting the image of Louis XIV as a god; further references to the King as royal peacemaker occur in the final scene of the opera.

Ariane, ou le Mariage de Bacchus mirrors the ceremonial nature of the court festivities in its scenes of ritual and pageantry featuring choral tableaux, ballet, and colourful instrumentation: a triumphal procession, a marriage, a coronation, and a wedding celebration. Indeed, Perrin incorporates the visual and musical arts into his dramatic design. The beginnings of the acts are marked by a change of scene accompanied by a characteristic prelude: trumpets, flutes, and drums for Bacchus’ palace (Act 1), musettes for the seashore (Act 2), strings for a desert landscape (Act 3), a ‘concert de hautbois’ for a rustic locale (Act 4), and a ‘grande symphonie des violons’ for the palace of Bacchus (Act 5). Furthermore, the conclusions of each act lead into ballet entrées, which become choreographic extensions of the previous dramatic action.

In the Corybantes’ hymn to Bacchus (1. 1), various drinking songs by Silenus (1. 2; 2. 2) and Bacchus (1. 3), a chanson sung by Cloris (4. 1), and choral songs of celebration and praise (5. 3 and 5. 4), Perrin drew upon the rituals and set pieces

of the mythological pastorale. Lyrical commonplace include a love-duet by Ariadne and Bacchus in Act 5, scene 2—patterned after the dialogue en musique—and a comic choral plaine sung by the Corybantes in Act 3, scene 4. As Cambrèt’s score is lost, we enter into the realm of conjecture with regard to the music. The solo plaine in Act 2, scene 1 and the lyric monologues in Act 1, scene 2 and Act 4, scene 2 would have provided the composer with opportunities for arioso settings, while the musical discourse of Venus—who appears twice as a dea ex machina (first to bestow her blessing on the lovers in Act 4, scene 3, and later to present Ariadne with a jewelled crown in Act 5, scene 4)—could have effectively been set as recitative.

Like many mythological pastorales, Perrin’s opera concludes with a musical wedding and apotheosis, presented as a grand musical celebration with processions, ballets, and pageantry. Momus, Silenus, and the Corybantes gather with pails, drums, and tambourines to serenade the newly-weds with a charivari interspersed with chansons. Bacchus and Ariadne ascend the throne, after which Cloris, Silenus, and the Corybantes sing wedding songs and present them with a bouquet of flowers. In the final scene Venus descends and presents Ariadne with a jewelled crown, which remains suspended a half-foot above her head. The little Amours who carried the crown sing songs of praise, and are joined by Cloris, Silenus, the Corybantes, and Venus. As the seven jewels of Ariadne’s crown burst into flames and transform into a ring of stars, all join in chorus to express the hope that, one day, ‘the greatest of Monarchs’ may commemorate this happy day, which ‘brings Pleasure and Peace back to earth’.

LA MORT D’ADONIS

Whereas Ariane represented in effect a tragédie pastorale set to continuous music, Perrin’s next opera was a five-act tragédie en musique, also with many of the attributes of the mythological pastorale (pastoral setting, shepherds, gods, demigods, and allegorical figures). Its dramatic format departed significantly from that of Ariane, with a marked reduction in the spectacular element: here the action takes place at a single locale, with few special effects. While there is no dedicatory prologue, the first act fulfills much the same function, by revealing the subject of the play and setting its dramatic action into motion. The result is a libretto of extraordinary lyrical quality and variety. Perrin not only incorporates

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8 See Auld, Lyric Art of Pierre Perrin, p. 126.
9 J. Laurent, Le vice de la Vieille, Compositions de la musique italienne et de la musique française, p. 2. 213-15.
10 Auld, Lyric Art of Pierre Perrin, p. 137.
11 e.g. the ballets after Act 1 continue the triumphal parade of Bacchus’ army with their royal Indian captives. Following Act 2 the inhabitants of Naxos express their distress over Ariadne’s grief, in a grotesque parody of it, the Satyrs and Bacchantes lament Bacchus’ preference of love over revenge in the Act 3 ballet. In the Act 4 ballet, the lovers and five drunkards confirm in dance the agreement made between Silenus and Venus: to spend the day drinking, and the night making love.

* La Mort d’Adonis. Tragédie en musique mise en musique par Mont’ Soutain Intendant de la musique de la chambre (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Fr. 2098, fols. 89-100) ed. Auld, in Lyric Art of Pierre Perrin, III. 132-43. Kintzler dates this work ‘vers 1668-1669’ (Politique de l’époque française, 1971), however, toward the end of his epistle addressed to Giovanni della Rovere (and dated 30 Apr. 1659), Perrin mentions that the composition of La Mort d’Adonis had occupied him time ‘for the past few days’. Furthermore, the libretto is found in the Recueil de Pieces de Musique that Perrin presented to Colbert in 1666.
to Pomone, Perrin explained that 'I considered it appropriate to open the theatre with a pastoral play, even though I had three heroic plays already written; and it is necessary to judge the work from that point of view, taking into account that it is composed of divinities and rustic characters, and involves at one and the same time comic and rustic styles, dramatic action, continuous vocal and instrumental music, machinery, and dance'. Indeed Pomone (like Psyché and Le Mariage de Bacchus et d'Aréthée) featured an unusually large cast of colourful characters, which Perrin grouped into two main categories: singers (with subcategories of 'personnages véritables' and 'personnages feints & transformés') and dancers ('personnages véritables' and 'personnages muets'). Of the singers, Perrin makes a distinction between real characters and characters capable of taking on other forms. Likewise the dancers are either real characters (cowherds, fruit-pickers, and sprites), or mute transformations of other characters (a dragon, a thornbush, instrumentalists). To complement these visual marvels, Pomone included ballet sequences by Antoine de Bosses, spectacular staging effects by the Marquis de Sourdéac, and music by Robert Cambert.

Perrin's allegorical prologue takes place at the Louvre, where the Nymph of the Seine asks Vertumnus for his opinion of her fertile banks. The Roman god replies that nothing in ancient or modern times compares with Louis XIV, in whom Vertumnus finds 'a new Mars' and whose city is 'a new Rome'. Vertumnus announces that he intends to create a vision and show Louis his 'ancient marvels', and the god joins the Nymph of the Seine 'to charm both his heart and his ears' with their music.

The opera that follows represents Vertumnus' 'vision', and features a change of locale at the beginning of each act (the exception being the final act, where the scene-change is delayed until scene 3), with instrumental symphonies marking the entr'actes. Drawing upon the musical conventions of pastoral drama, Perrin includes both musical set pieces and realistic dance-performances. Pomona and Juturne sing chansons in Act 1, scene 1; Pomone and Venelle perform a dialogue en musique in Act 3, scene 2; and Satyr sing drinking-songs in Act 3, scenes 7 and 9, and return to entertain for the wedding of Vertumnus and Pomone in Act 5, scene 6. However, the signal accomplishment of Pomone was Cambert's creation of a musical equivalent for speech—which, because fragments of the score were published, we fortunately are able to examine.\footnote{Pomone, Opéra ou Representation en Musique, Pastoreale. Composé par Monsieur Perrin, Consulter du Roi en ses Conseils, Intendant des Ambassadeurs prés les Monarches de Paris. Mise en Musique par M' Cambert, Intendant de la Musique de la France Regne. Il est représenté par l'Académie Royale des Opéras (Paris: Robert Ballard, 1672; repr. Geneva, 1679).\footnote{Pomone, Pastoreale mise en musique par Monsieur Cambert, Intendant de la Musique de la France Reine (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1671; repr. Geneva, 1980). This musical fragment includes the first overture, the complete prologue, the second overture, all of Act 1, the instrumental entr'acte, and Act 2, sc. 1-5. To what extent Cambert developed this style of recitative in the Pastoreale d'Ily et Aréthée remains unknown, since both scores are unfortunately lost.}

With a view to the success of the multigeneric machine plays given at the Marais and the Palais-Royal, Perrin and his associates settled upon a different kind of opera for the inauguration of their Académie Royale des Opéras. In his foreword\footnote{Perrin's main literary source was Adone, by the Italian poet Gianbattista Marino. Written in twenty canti, Adone was published in both Paris and Venice in 1623 and remained popular during Perrin's time.} to Pomone, Perrin explained that 'I considered it appropriate to open the theatre with a pastoral play, even though I had three heroic plays already written; and it is necessary to judge the work from that point of view, taking into account that it is composed of divinities and rustic characters, and involves at one and the same time comic and rustic styles, dramatic action, continuous vocal and instrumental music, machinery, and dance'. Indeed Pomone (like Psyché and Le Mariage de Bacchus et d'Aréthée) featured an unusually large cast of colourful characters, which Perrin grouped into two main categories: singers (with subcategories of 'personnages véritables' and 'personnages feints & transformés') and dancers ('personnages véritables' and 'personnages muets'). Of the singers, Perrin makes a distinction between real characters and characters capable of taking on other forms. Likewise the dancers are either real characters (cowherds, fruit-pickers, and sprites), or mute transformations of other characters (a dragon, a thornbush, instrumentalists). To complement these visual marvels, Pomone included ballet sequences by Antoine de Bosses, spectacular staging effects by the Marquis de Sourdéac, and music by Robert Cambert.

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A representative example of Cambert's style of recitative is found in Act 1, scene 2, where Flora first meets up with her sister Pomona. Flora's speech, an octosyllabic sextet, consists of four lines in alternating masculine and feminine rhymes (rimes croisées) and a concluding rhymed couplet (rimes plates). In the transcription given below, the quantification for each octosyllable is marked by superscript numbers, with a superscript ' + ' indicating mute syllables that are voiced but not included in the syllable-count. A vertical stroke within the lines corresponds to Cambert's barlines (disregarding the short, written-out prebeat appoggiaturas and ports de voix), as can be verified in Ex. 14.1:

Ah! ma soeur, à quoi pen-ses-tu?
Veux-tu ban-nir de ton em-pi-
Ah! my sister, of what are you thinking?
Do you intend to banish from your empire
this powerful god, whose virtue
gives life to all that breathes,
and whose fertile heat
makes your fruits and my flowers grow?

Unlike Italian recitative, this text-setting adjusts metre so that the last syllable of the end-rhyme falls on a downbeat. Of particular interest is the setting of the so-called 'lyric 'e''—an expressive device that places both the penultimate syllable and the final mute 'e' of a feminine rhyme on successive beats, thereby creating an agogic accent at the end of the rhyme. In lines 2 and 4, for instance, 'empire' and 'respirer' receives such treatment—which is further intensified on 'respirer' by a 7–6 suspension followed by a port de voix. In line 6, the metric change from triple to slow duple combined with the lengthening of note-values in the last half of the line (mm. 11–14) functions like a written-out rallentando. Pomona impetuously responds to Flora in hexasyllables, with a rallentando built into the second hemistich (mm. 18–20) of her concluding alexandrine:

I accept that his flames
burn the entire universe,
provided that in our souls
he might constantly find ice and winters.

When Beroë arrives, her exchange with Flora takes the form of a dialogue en musique. Beroë knows the pain of unrequited love, and she provides a foil to Flora's romantic idealism. Beroë's lines mirror those of Flora, but she ironically substitutes 'malices' for 'délits' and 'soûpirs' for 'désirs'. Rather than lingering with an appoggiatura on the final lyric 'e' (as did Flora on 'délites'), Beroë prolongs and embellishes the strong syllable of 'malices' in her chest register, and replaces Flora's seductive melismas on 'il flatte nos désirs' with affective rests and a port de voix on 'il cause de soûpirs':

Ex. 14.1
Perrin, Pomone (1672), Act 1, sc. 2
Robert Cambert
(after Pomone (Paris, 1671))
This thematic play of oppositions in Perrin's verse translates into musical values in the duet that follows, where Flora and Béroé continue their antithetical exchange in shared alexandrines spanning alternate measures (mm. 33–9). When they join in singing the second hemistich of the final alexandrine ("de vivre dans ses chaisnes"), their melodic lines harmonize to cadence in F major (mm. 39–42). Cambert's music projects the image of love's chains through various expressive devices: close imitation between the voices, a hemiola cadence, and the prolonged agogic accent (the lyric 'e') on the word 'chaisnes':

Flore
Que ses fers
Béroé
que ses loix

Flora
Ah! si tu connaissais comme moy ses délices!
Béroé
Ah! si tu connaissais comme moy ses malices!

With how many sweet things does he incite our desires!
How he causes sighs!

Béroé
Combien il cause de soupirs!

Pomona, however, resolves to pursue her own pleasures, and she sums up the oppositions ('Il a ses biens, il a ses peines') in a balanced octosyllable, with an appoggiatura trill on 'biens' and a 4-3 suspension on 'peines'. Her final octosyllable ('Et je ne veux que des plaisirs') extends over 3½ bars of melismata, savouring love's pleasures in a written-out rallentando (mm. 45–7).

The critic Saint-Evremond, in Act 2, scene 4 of his satire Les Opéras, was outspoken with regard to Cambert's strengths and weaknesses in vocal composition:10

Cambert has had this advantage in his operas: that récitatif ordinaire did not bore him, which he composed with more care than the airs themselves and varied with the greatest art of the world. In truth, Cambert did not enter sufficiently into the meaning of the verses, and he often lacked the true expression of the song—because he did not understand well that of the words. He loved words that expressed nothing, so that he would not be bound to any particular expression, and to have the freedom to compose airs purely according to his fancy. Nanette, Brunette, Feuillage, Bocage; Bergère, Fougère; Oiseaux & Rameaux, particularly sparked his musical imagination. If he had to express the passions, he wanted only violent ones which are felt by everybody; unless the passion were extreme, he took no notice of it. Tender and delicate sentiments escaped him: boredom, sadness, languor, all held something too secret and too delicate for him. He did not recognize sadness except by cries, affliction except by tears; anything sad or plaintive was unknown to him.

The dramatic monologue that closes Act 1 of Pomone allows us to test Saint-Evremond's critical observations. Here Vertumus enters alone on-stage during an expressive ritornello to complain of Pomona's disdain (see Ex. 14.2).

Vertumne
Hélas que m'est-il de changer tous les jours
De forme & de figure

Vertumnus
Alas what use is it to me to change every day
my shape and my appearance

10 Saint-Evremond, Les Opéras, ed. Fouch and Jollain, 63. Saint-Evremond could only have known Pomone through the printed score, as he was living in exile at the English court from 1661.
Et de me déguiser à toute la nature,
Si je ne puis changer l'objet de mes amours!

J'aime une insensible maîtresse,
Une ingrate & fière Déesse,
Qui se rit du tourment
Et des soins d'un amant.

Que ferons-nous, mon cœur, en des peines si dures?
Ah! puis que vainement je dirais mes langueurs,
Il faut nous transformer, & sous d'autres figures,
Tâcher de vaincre ses rigueurs.

Vous que le Ciel soumet à ma puissance,
Hélas! Follets, venez, voles, suivez mes pas,
(Une troupe de Follets voit de tous les costes du Théâtre)
Mais ne vous monstrez pas,
À mes lois seulement rendez obéissance.

(Retirez-vous.)

and to disguise myself to all of nature,
if I cannot change the object of my affections!

I love an indifferent mistress,
an ungrateful and cruel goddess,
who laughs at the torment
and the attentions of a lover.

What shall we do, my heart, in such terrors?
Ah! since I complain of my languor in vain,
we must transform ourselves, and in different forms
try to overcome her harshness.
You whom the heavens subject to my power,
hey, sprites, come, fly, follow me,
(a troupe of sprites fly
from all sides of the stage)
but do not show yourselves,
to my command alone give obedience.
(They disappear.)

Cambert's musical setting carefully follows the structure of Perrin's vers mêlés with fluctuating metres, end-rhymes falling mostly on downbeats, frequent tempo changes, and a fluid mixture of arioso, air, and recitative styles. Moreover, his affective arioso is rife with suspensions, appoggiaturas, ports de voix, anticipations, and ornamentation (see mm. 11–41). The unstable harmonies of this passage seem to mirror the god's inner turmoil; but when Vertumnus resolves to follow a course of action, his music settles into A Minor for a brief air (mm. 42–49) that just as quickly reverts to recitative when the god summons his sprites to assist him. Here, Cambert's expressive musical language would seem to refute the appraisal of his talents quoted above, and leaves one wondering just how familiar Saint-Evremond was with Cambert's music.
LE TRIOMPHE DE L'AMOUR

On 23 November 1671 Henri Guichard and Jean de Granouillet, Sieur de Sablières, purchased two-thirds of the royal opera privilège from Perrin. Soon thereafter, Louis XIV requested an opera from them for performance during the forthcoming Carnival. With insufficient time to compose a completely new work, Guichard and Sablières adapted their earlier pastorale en musique, Les Amours de Diane et d'Endymion. To this they added some new material, and changed its title to Le Triomphe de l'Amour, opéra or pastorale en musique, imité de Amours de Diane, et d'Endymion, divisées en trois parties, meslées de deux intermèdes.¹¹ This must have been the 'opéra en musique et machines' which, according to the Marquis of Saint-Maurice, was performed at court on 18 February 1672.¹²

Guichard, working under pressure, may be excused for having looked to both Pomone and Psyché for inspiration. Guichard’s libretto likewise divides the cast of characters into two main categories (singers and dancers), and its design distinguishes between the main action and the intermèdes. A further distinction could be made between the types of characters who appear in each dramatic component—for the low comedy and rustic characters of the intermèdes serve as a comic foil to the noble action and heroic figures of the main action. For example, in part 1 Diana loves the hunt and renounces love, despite the urgings of her nymphs, while in the first intermède three satyrs attempt to persuade a shepherdess to join them in a ménage à quatre. Whereas Diana finally takes refuge in the hunt, some

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¹¹ Prince Robert Ballard, 1672. Unfortunately, Sablière’s score is lost.
fairies come to the aid of the shepherdess and frighten away her assailants. In part 2, Cupid causes Endymion to fall in love with Diana, the shepherd complains to nature, and is given reason to hope by an echo; meanwhile in the second intermède, the rejected satyrs forsake love and find their consolation in wine. Endymion and Diana are finally subjected by Cupid, whereas the satyr-lovers become willing followers of Bacchus. At the end of the opera, the inhabitants of both worlds join together to celebrate the wedding of Diana and Endymion.

Le Triomphe de l’Amour borrows a number of commonplace from the dramatic pastoral: Endymion sings a lyric monologue to the forest, carves Diana’s name on a tree, and later has a conversation with an echo. As in pastoral drama, the singing ranges from realistic drinking-songs, ritualistic and celebratory choruses, and expressive plaintes, to sung discourses—such as Sablières presumably set as recitative. Similarly, the choreography includes both realistic dances by fauns, hunters, woodcutters, shepherds, and shepherdesses, and dance-pantomimes by fairies, dragons, Amours, dreams, and zephyrs. The second intermède includes a touch of the burlesque when the woodcutters, having emptied their bottles while singing a drinking-song, prove to be falling-down drunk when they join some drunkards and gypsies in a dance.

By all accounts, the performances of Le Triomphe de l’Amour given at Saint-Germain-en-Laye in February of 1672 were lavish. The performers included more than 120 singers, dancers, and instrumentалиSTS, and Guichard and Sablières spared no expense for costumes, masks, accessories, stage machines, and decorations. The organization of Le Triomphe de l’Amour, and the importance given to dance throughout, confirms that its model was Psyché—the previous ballet royal to be given at court. Moreover, its final scene is a spectacular tableau of marriage and apotheosis which bears an unmistakable structural resemblance to the final intermède of Psyché (see Table 14.1). In the first part, set in the Temple of Diana, priests unite the two lovers in a ritualistic ceremony featuring solo song and a double chorus (which recalls the ceremonial entrance of Apollo, Bacchus, Momus, Mars, and the two choruses of divinities who gather for the wedding of Cupid and Psyche). In the second part Pan and Flora arrive with their followers to celebrate Cupid’s victory in song, chorus, and dance (compare with the entrées of the followers of Apollo, Bacchus, Momus, and Mars), and in part 3 all join in the final wedding celebration of Diana and Endymion.

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Table 14.1. Comparison of the 'Dernier Intermède' of Psyché (1671) and final scene of Le Triomphe de l’Amour (1672)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Psyché</th>
<th>Le Triomphe de l’Amour</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>part I</td>
<td>part I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[The Palace of Jupiter, where the gods gather to celebrate the wedding of Cupid and Psyche]</td>
<td>[The Temple of Diana, where the priests sanctify her union with Endymion]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Récit d’Apollon ('Unissons-nous, troupe immortelle')</td>
<td>Chœurs des sacrificateurs ('Endimion n’est plus mortel')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chœur des Divinités ('Célébrons ce grand jour')</td>
<td>Le Sacrificateur ('Unissez vos coeurs en ce jour')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Récit de Bacchus ('Si quelquefois suivant nos douces lois')</td>
<td>Chœur des sacrificateurs ('Lors que l’Amour deux coeurs ensemble')</td>
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<tr>
<td>Récit de Mome ('Je cherche à médire')</td>
<td>Le Sacrificateur ('Ainsi blesses des messes coups')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Récit de Mars ('Mes plus fiers ennemis, vaincus ou pleins d’effroi')</td>
<td>Chœurs des sacrificateurs ('Lors que l’on s’aime')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chœur des Dieux du Ciel ('Chantons les plaisirs charmants')</td>
<td>Entrée des sacrificateurs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part II</td>
<td>part II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Apollo with the nine muses, Bacchus with his maenads, gypsies, and satyrs, Momus with his metamorphs and polichinelles, and Mars with his men arrive to celebrate Cupid’s power]</td>
<td>[Pan with his fauns and Flora with her zephyrs arrive to celebrate Cupid’s victory]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrée de la Suite d’Apollon</td>
<td>Récit de l’Amour ('Aimer est un mal nécessaire')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Premier Air pour les Arts traves en Bergers galants</td>
<td>Entrée des Bergers &amp; les Bergères</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chanson d’Apollon ('Le dieu qui nous engage')</td>
<td>Chœur des Bergers ('Célébrons la gloire')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deuxième Air pour les Arts traves</td>
<td>Second Récit de l’Amour ('Je vous promets de solides plaisirs')</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bergers galants</td>
<td>Entrée des Bergers &amp; les Bergères</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chanson des Muses ('Gardez-vous, beautés sévères')</td>
<td>Récit de Floré ('Ouvrons nos cœurs à la tendresse')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrée de la Suite de Bacchus</td>
<td>Récit de Pan ('Servons-nous bien de bons moments')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Premier Air pour les Marsades et les Aegipans</td>
<td>Chœur des Bergers ('Des Fleurs, des Fleurs, couronons ce Vainglour')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chanson de Bacchus ('Admirons le jus de la treille')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deuxième Air pour les Marsades et les Aegipans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chanson de Silène ('Bacchus veut qu’on boive à longs traits')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trio de Silène et de deux Satyres</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('Voulez-vous des douceurs parfaites?')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrée de la Suite de Mome</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air pour les Polichinelles et les Matassins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chanson de Mome ('Polètrons, divertissons-nous')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrée de la Suite de Mars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prélude de Trompettes et de Violons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chanson de Mars ('Laissons en paix toute la terre')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Premier Air pour les Suivants de Mars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deuxième Air pour les Suivants de Mars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part III</td>
<td>part III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[The troupes of Apollo, Bacchus, Momus, and Mars join together in the final celebration of the wedding of Cupid and Psyche]</td>
<td>[The Amours bring trophies that are erected for him in the Temple of Diana, and they raise Cupid to her Palace, where the Games and Laughter receive him to complete his triumph; he crowns Diana and Endymion, and ties the fair knots that unite them so as to make them perpetually binding]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dernière Entrée

Chœur des Dieux ('Chantons les plaisirs charmants')

Chœur General ('Aimable Souverain des Hommes, & des Dieux')
LES PEINES ET LES PLAISIRS DE L'AMOUR

The second production of the Académie Royale des Opéra was Les Peines et les plaisirs de l'Amour, an opéra-pastorale-héroïque with a libretto by an established playwright, Gabriel Gilbert. The Marquis de Sourdéac designed the décor and the stage machines, the choreography was by Anthoine Brosses and Pierre Beauchamps, and Robert Cambert composed the music. While the distribution of roles is not known for the most part, most likely many of the singers who appeared in Pomone also performed in Les Peines et les plaisirs de l'Amour. The role of Climène was created by a newcomer to the company—Marie-Madeleine Brighogne—who was greatly praised for the tombeau scene of Act 2.

Gilbert’s opera libretto, like his earlier mythological machine play Les Amours de Diane et d’Endimion, included extended balletic episodes. The prologue is a musical tribute to Louis XIV and his recent victories in the Dutch War. Venus, arriving on a chariot drawn by doves, meets Fame accompanied by two little Amours. Venus heralds Louis as ‘a new Apollo’ and as ‘the Sun of the French, who on the field of Mars submits all to his laws’. Later Venus predicts that ‘this grand monarch one day will make of this universe but a single Court’. Fame then announces the arrival of representatives from many lands (Spaniards, Indians, Moors, Egyptians [or gypsies]), who have come to pay homage to Louis and ‘to entertain in peace this victorious king’. The nations then join in chorus to sing Louis’s praises (‘Charmez de sa Valeur nous venons dans ces lieux’) and perform for his entertainment a ‘Ballet des Nations’. A career diplomat, Gilbert recognized the effectiveness of opera in promoting the royal image.

In contrast to Perrin, Gilbert approached opera from the perspective of a dramatist rather than that of a lyricist, and his libretto more closely resembled what was expected in a spoken play. Moreover, his characters express themselves in much the same way as the heroic figures of spoken tragedy. Gilbert integrates the intermèdes of comédie- and tragédie-ballet within the main action, where they are presented as set pieces designed to distract Apollo from his despair over the death of Climène (see Table 14.2). Two minor characters, Pan (Apollo’s counsellor) and Phïlis (Astérix’s confidante), act as a liaison between the heroic episodes of the main action and these intermèdes. Whereas rustic characters and woodland beings perform these divertissements for the gods’ entertainment, priests and priestesses preside over the funeral service given for Climène. Hence, Gilbert’s pastoral society mirrors that of the class structure of French society during the Ancien Régime: the nobility, the clergy, and the ‘third estate’.

The fragment of Cambert’s score published by Ballard included the overture, the prologue, and all of the first act. From this, it is clear that Cambert associated different vocal styles with the various characters: ‘Pan’s speeches tend to be closer to chanson style; Apollo’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’. Moreover, in Les Peines et les plaisirs de l’Amour Cambert introduces sung recitative more frequently and at greater length than in Pomone. Toward the end of Act 1, successive settings of the same poetic line serve to underscore the musical distinctions between realistic song and operatic discourse. The Faun invites Phïlis to sing ‘quelque chanson plaisante’, and proposes one on the subject of Apollo’s love for Climène—but then (for reasons that are not made clear) he decides to sing it himself:

Chanson
Apollon pour Climène
Ne fait que soupirer,
Il deviendra fontaine
A force de pleurer:
L’Amour fait d’étranges choses
De sottes metamorphoses;
Un jour dans Cypre Venus
Des Mariés en fin des bestes
Mit des cornes sur leurs testes
D’ou les Cornars sont venus.

Chanson
Apollo for Climène
does nothing but sigh,
he will become a fountain
by dint of weeping:
Cupid, with preposterous transformations,
makes strange things;
one day in Cyprus Venus
changed the husbands into beasts—
put horns on their heads
from where the cuckold have come.

Afterwards, Phïlis ponders the Faun’s statement ‘Que l’Amour fait d’étranges choses, de sottes metamorphoses’—repeating these words to herself. In Ex. 14.3a, the Faun’s double continuo dance-song is accompanied by two obbligato violins double continuo. By way of contrast, Phïlis’s reflection on his sentence pathétique is

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14 In Z. 4 of his comedy Les Opéra, Saint-Evremond gave a favourable review of this production: ‘This other (i.e. Les Peines et les plaisirs de l’Amour) was something more polished and more refined (than Pomone); the singers and instrumentalists were better trained this time for the performance. The Prologue was lovely, and the “Tombeau de Climène” was much admired.’ See Les Opéra, ed. Finch and Joliot, 63–6. Again, Saint-Evremond could not have seen the performance first-hand as he was still in exile.
15 ‘Thereafter, Mlle Brighogne was always known as “la petite Climène”.’ Lully later engaged her to create the title role in his first tragédie-lyrique, Cadmus et Hermione, and she would remain one of the leading singers of the Académie Royale de Musique until her retirement in 1686.
16 ‘Africains’, according to Cambert’s score, 8.
Table 14.2. Structure of *Les Peines et les Plaisirs de l’Amour* (1672)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dramatic division</th>
<th>Setting and decor</th>
<th>Machine/scene effects</th>
<th>Musical set pieces</th>
<th>Ballet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overture Prologue</td>
<td>The Heavens</td>
<td>Venus appears in her chariot with Fame and two Amours; delegates of the nations appear on earth</td>
<td></td>
<td>'Ballet des Nations'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act 1, sc. 1–2</td>
<td>Flowerbeds with fountains</td>
<td>Iris appears in her chariot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sc. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Concert sung by three shepherds, accompanied by flutes and oboes; chorus of shepherds and satyrs</td>
<td>Chanson sung by the Faun</td>
<td>'Ballet des Faunes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sc. 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sc. 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act 2, sc. 1</td>
<td>An alley of cypress</td>
<td>Clímène’s tomb appears</td>
<td>Funeral ritual music</td>
<td>'Ballet des Bergers effrayez &amp; des Spectres'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sc. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Spectres emerge from Clímène’s tomb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sc. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sc. 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>The tomb vanishes along with the spectres</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sc. 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Act 3, sc. 1</td>
<td>A garden of orange trees, fountains, and a plain</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sc. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>A hymn to the sun, sung by the Graces</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sc. 3–4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sc. 5</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Muses reascend to the heavens</td>
<td>A hymn in praise of Clímène, sung by the shepherds and shepherdesses</td>
<td>'Ballet des Bergers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sc. 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>Two Amours take Clímène’s portrait to the Isle of Cythère</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sc. 7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Act 4, sc. 1–5</td>
<td>An orchard and fountains</td>
<td>The Dreams fly away</td>
<td>Chorus of Dreams</td>
<td>'Ballet des Songes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sc. 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chansons by Tyrsis, Philis, and the Faun</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sc. 7–8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chanson by Clímène</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sc. 9</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sc. 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>sc. 11</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Act 5, sc. 1–2</td>
<td>[no change of scene]</td>
<td>Cupid descends from the Heavens, removes Clímène’s veil, and flies away</td>
<td>'Ballet des Satyres, des Bergers &amp; des Bergères'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sc. 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Palace of Apollo appears</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sc. 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sc. 5</td>
<td></td>
<td>A throne descends from the heavens; Apollo and Clímène sit on it and ascend to the heavens</td>
<td>The chorus celebrates the union of Apollo and Clímène</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
in recitative style accompanied only by continuo (see Ex. 14.3b). Whereas the Faun's original statement progresses mainly in quarter- and half-notes that double the bass-line, Philis's recitative consists of sixteenth-, eighth-, and quarter-note rhythms against a static, independent bass. Cambert's setting also points out the aesthetic distinction between a premeditated performance, and operatic discourse. Two obbligato instruments join the music-making in Ex. 14.3a, their parts moving by parallel thirds in trio with the voice and instrumental bass to give this chanson the character of a pre-existent musical composition. On the other hand, such audible musical relationships are noticeably absent from Philis's recitative, which gives the impression of being invented on the spot. Indeed, it might be argued that Philis is really not singing at all, but rather thinking aloud, and so her melodic line makes no conscious reference to the continuo accompaniment.

Ex. 14.3
Gilbert, Les Peines et les plaisirs de l'Amour (1673), Act 1, sc. 5

Robert Cambert (after Les Peines et Les Plaisirs de l'Amour (Paris, 1672))

(a) Premier Dessus de Violon

(b) Second Dessus de Violon

Qu'A-mour, Qu'A-mour fait d'é-tre-nes cho-ses De so-tes mé-ta-mor-pho-ses;

(c) Faune

(d) b.c.

Que l'A-mour fait d'é-tre-nes cho-ses De so-tes mé-ta-mor-pho-ses;

(e) b.c.

(f) Philis

Les Festes de l'Amour et de Bacchus

In November 1672 Lully inaugurated his Académie Royale de Musique with an opera pastiche, the livret of which was assembled by his new librettist, Philippe Quinault. Aside from its prologue, the greater part of this pastorale en musique consisted of pastoral intermèdes borrowed from the three Molière–Lully collaborations least familiar to the Parisian public: Les Amants magnifiques, La Pastorale comique, and George Dandin. To these excerpts Quinault added some new material, and skilfully interwove the whole into a spectacular entertainment. Not surprisingly, Les Festes de l'Amour et de Bacchus derives its general plan from the comédie-ballet and the pièce en machines. The libretto's threefold categorization of characters who sing, who dance, and who are transported by machines underlines the three main components of the opera: music, ballet, and spectacle. Due to Quinault's and Lully's wholesale borrowings, there are no fewer than 15 characters (5 shepherds, 5 shepherdesses, 2 satyrs, and 3 sorceresses), 2 independent choruses and instrumental ensembles (representing the followers of Cupid and of Bacchus), 32 dancing characters (fauns, dryads, magicians, demons, shepherds, shepherdesses, satyrs, Bacchantes), and 11 supernatural characters who appear on machines (7 flying demons, 2 sirens, 1 flying sorceress, 1 flying goblin). One might question the frères Parfait's belief that 'the mélange which formed this Pastorale would produce but a mediocre spectacle'. Rather, the combination of Vigarani's magnificent scenery and spectacular machine effects, des Brosse's ballets, Molière's lyrics, and Lully's music proved sufficiently successful to warrant revivals of Les Festes de l'Amour et de Bacchus in 1689, 1696, 1706, 1714, and 1738.

For his part, Quinault fleshed out some of the characters that were hastily sketched in Molière's original intermèdes. For example, in Act 1, scene 3 Caliste, who is inured to love, converses with the inconstant Clémence, who sings a maxim air that summarizes her philosophy. In the second couplet Quinault shifts from alexandrines to octosyllables to underscore the contrast between steadfast, eternal love and infidelity:

22 La Pastorale comique and Les Amants magnifiques had never been performed in the public at the Palais-Royal, whereas George Dandin had been given there as a non-musical play.
23 "We tried to tie together these selected fragments with several new scenes, to which we attached some ballet entrées and intermingled some flying machines and superb sets; and thereby formed these various parts a Pastorale in three acts, preceded by a grand prologue." (Avenu propos à Les Festes de l'Amour et de Bacchus.)
26 E. Labrousse, Dictionnaire des théâtres de Paris (Paris, 1756; repr. 1767-70 edn., Geneva, 1971), i. 550 (c.v. 'Les Fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus').
On goûte la douceur d’une amour éternelle,  
Quand on fait l’heureux choix d’un fidèle Berger,  
Et quand on aime un infidèle,  
On a le plaisir de changer.

We enjoy the sweetness of an eternal love  
when we make the happy choice of a  
fidelity shepherd.  
and when we love an unfaithful one  
we have the pleasure of changing affections.

The majority of Quinault’s additions are found in the second act (see Table 14.3). Two brief monologues by the satyr Forestan (2. 1 and 2. 3) frame the episode borrowed from La Pastorale comique. Here Quinault extends Molière’s comic action in scene 4, where Silvandre and two sirens show Forestan how ridiculous he looks; then Silvandre and Forestan resolve to renounce Cupid and join Bacchus’ band. Just as the added scene 5 and the first part of scene 6 prepare for the ‘Dépôt amoureux’ borrowed from the third intermède of Les Amants magnifiques, Quinault’s final addition consists of Arcas’s invitation to attend the Festival of Cupid and Bacchus that comprises the entire third act.

Table 14.3. Structure of Les Festes de l’Amour et de Bacchus (1672)

| Ouverture (from Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme) |
| Prologue Part I, sc. 1 (from ‘Le Ballet des Nations’, Première Entrée) |
| First entrée, ‘Le Donneur de livres, quatre Importants’ (seconde entrée of the ‘Ballet des Nations’) |
| Part II, sc. 2–5 (new material by Quinault) |
| Seconde entrée, ‘Quatre Héros, quatre Pêtres & quatre Ouvriers’ |
| Ouverture (repeated) |
| Act 1 sc. 1–2 (from Molière’s Les Amants magnifiques, third intermède, sc. 1–2) |
| sc. 3 (new material by Quinault) |
| sc. 4–6 (from Molière’s Les Amants magnifiques, third intermède, sc. 3–5) |
| Third entrée, ‘Quatre Faunes, quatre Dryades’ |
| Act 2 sc. 1–2 (new material by Quinault) |
| Fourth entrée (from Molière’s La Pastorale comique, sc. 1) |
| sc. 3–5 (new material by Quinault) |
| sc. 6–7 (from Molière’s Les Amants magnifiques; third intermède, sc. 5) |
| sc. 8 (new material by Quinault) |
| Act 3 (from Molière’s George Dandin, third Intermède) |

Of more immediate interest, however, is Quinault’s prologue: the first statement of the goals of the Académie Royale de Musique. The festive mood of Molière’s first entrée from the ‘Ballet des Nations’ abruptly changes when Polyhyminia, the Muse of Pantomime, appears and exhorts everyone to ‘elevate your concerts above ordinary song... and remember that you have to please the greatest King in the universe’. Melpomene and Euterpe then arrive as representatives of the tragic and pastoral genres (the absence of Thalia, Muse of Comedy, is noteworthy here). After presenting their respective musical arguments, the Muses agree to ‘join our efforts and our voices to please the greatest of Kings’.

In fact, for the latter half of his prologue Quinault seems to have drawn inspiration from Boyer’s mythological pastoral Les Amours de Jupiter et de Sémélé (1666), whose prologue also debated the efficacy of the tragic, comic, and pastoral genres in glorifying Louis XIV. Quinault begins in much the same manner, having his Muses arrive to their characteristic music and deliver abbreviated versions of arguments presented by Boyer’s Muses. However, unlike the latter, which are cast entirely in alexandrines, Quinault assigns his Muses the verse-forms befitting their dramatic genres. Melpomene speaks in vers mêlés of alexandrines and octosyllabes (the ‘nobles récits’ of tragedy), whereas Euterpe delivers her defence of the pastoral genre in chanson verse of shorter lines and varied rhyme-scheme:

**MELPOMÈNE**

C’est moi dont la voix éclatante  
A droit de célébrer les exploits les plus grands,  
Les nobles récits que je chante  
Sont les plus dignes jeux des fameux conquérans.

**EUTERPE**

C’est un doux amusement  
Que d’aimables chansonnettes;  
Les douceurs n’en sont pas faites  
Pour les Bergers seulement.  
Les tendres amourettes,  
Que l’on chante à l’ombre des bois  
Sur les musettes,  
Ne sont pas quelquefois  
Des jeux indignes des grands Rois.

In contrast to Euterpe’s rustic dance-song, Lully set Melpomene’s ‘nobles récits’ in the style of recitative with its characteristic anaepastic rhythms (see Ex.14.4).

**MELPOMÈNE**

‘Tis I, whose brilliant voice  
is entitled to celebrate the greatest exploits,  
are the most worthy pastimes of famous conquerors.

**EUTERPE**

How sweet amusements  
are pleasant chansonnettes;  
their delights are not made  
for shepherds alone.  
The sweet nothings  
that are sung in the shade of the woods  
upon the bagpipes  
are sometimes not  
pastimes unworthy of great kings.

In one deft stroke, Quinault and Lully banished Comedy from the triumvirate of Muses, silenced the riotous gaiety and esprit gaullis of Molière’s ‘Ballet des Nations’, and commanded the performing arts henceforth to show more dignity in celebrating Louis XIV. In short, the age of comédie-ballet is past. While Polyhyminia agrees also to support Euterpe, she confines to the tragic Muse, ‘I reserve for you my greatest works’. Indeed, this statement would be prophetic, for with the exception of Acis et Galatée (1686), all of Lully’s subsequent operas were tragédies-lyriques.

There remains a misunderstanding to clear up regarding the authorship of the libretto to Les Festes de l’Amour et de Bacchus, for it is widely believed that Isaac Benserade and Président de Perny assisted Quinault in its composition. This
notion, offered as hearsay by Nuitter and Thoinan, has been stated as fact by generations of Lully scholars. To begin with, the task of piecing together the livret from Molière’s intermèdes scarcely warranted the collaboration of three authors; but this is a moot point, since Perigny died in 1670. The idea that Benserade provided verses for *Les Fêtes de l’Amour et de Bacchus* may stem from the misconception that he had written the intermèdes borrowed from *Les Amants magnifiques* (1670). As it turns out, in his review of the court première written before the event (!) Robinet incorrectly ascribed these lyrics to Benserade; whereas the gazetteer subsequently corrected his earlier error, the damage had already been done. Since Benserade had no hand in writing *Les Amants magnifiques*, he therefore had no tangible connection with *Les Fêtes de l’Amour et de Bacchus*. As far as we know, nothing contradicts Tralage’s assertion that ‘the verses are by M. Quinault and by M. de Molière, the music by M. Lully’.

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28 While many modern sources credit Benserade as being one of the libertins without further explanation, only the article by Hervé Lacoume in Benoit (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la musique en France*, 387 (s.v. ‘Fêtes de l’amour et de Bacchus’) explains that Benserade’s contribution to the libretto pertains to the borrowings from *Les Amants magnifiques*.
