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MUSIC IN THE EARLY FRENCH PASTORALE

Scores of incidental music for dramatic pastorales during the first half of the seventeenth century are extremely rare. To date, I have been able to identify only a single musical setting among the early published collections of *airs de cour* that can be traced to a dramatic source. In 1930 Lionel de La Laurencie cited the existence of a pastoral tragi-comedy entitled *Le Triomphe de Bacchus* (1615), with music by Jean Favier, one of the *Vingt-quatre violons de la Chambre du Roy*; but the music and the play have since disappeared without as much as a bibliographic trace. However, the place and function of music in the French dramatic pastorale can be deduced by means of performance rubrics and staging directions, verbal cues embedded within the dialogue, and musical comments made by the actors in character. Moreover, we might further speculate about the nature of its songs and dances by looking to the styles and genres of contemporary French chamber music.

Outside aristocratic circles, the dramatic pastorale was slow to attract the wider interest of Parisian audiences during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Valerian le Conte had little success with the pastoral dramas that he performed at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. Unlike contemporary farce, the pastorale did not depend on pantomime, grimaces, and slapstick for its effect; nor did it indulge in the on-stage violence of contemporary tragi-comedy. Instead, the pastorale relied on the beauty of its poetry formulated in pastoral commonplaces: soliloquies to nature, laments, confessions, lovers’ quarrels, and elegiac choruses. Of more popular appeal were the ribald gesticulations of a priapic satyr, a magician’s conjurings, or the miraculous intervention of a god, for such scenes occupied the senses without taxing the mind. The *farceur* Bruscambille implies as much in one of his colourful prologues delivered at the Hôtel de Bourgogne:²

You will perhaps reply that the performance doesn’t amuse you; it is there where I await you, why do you come then? why do you wait until the last amen in order to speak your mind. My word, if all the asses ate thistles, I would not want to provide food for the company for 100 écus, you often complain too easily—and the proof is that if they were to present for you some excellent pastorale in which Momus himself [the God of Blame] would

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find nothing to criticize, this fellow would find it too long, his neighbour too short: and he says another, stretching out his neck like some crane from antiquity, shouldn’t they include an intermède and special effects [feintes]?

But what do you call it when a Pan, a Diana, or a Cupid is adroitly inserted into the play’s subject? And as for the special effects (I hear you crying, you with the wooden clodhoppers), it’s that you’d have to have four devils flying around in the air, infecting you with stinking, smoking gunpowder and making more racket than all the metempsychoses in the armury—now there’s truly a good beginning. Our theatre, sacred to the muses who live on mountain tops to get away from the racket, would become the cry of charlatans. Alas! Messieurs, this is the road you’ve taken, but not the shortest one. And if we happen sometimes to make a din of fireworks, it is only to accommodate ourselves to your temperament. Learn patience from me, who would happily endure a hot rod in your arse without crying out, which you wouldn’t want to do, however: qui patitur vincit [he who is patient wins]: that is, he who farts, farts quietly for those who do not understand Latin.

The crude stage effects described above were a legacy of the old mystery plays; French stagecraft would improve considerably in the 1640s after the productions of *La Finta Pazza* and *Orfeo*.

**LYRIC AND MUSICAL FORMS IN PASTORAL COMEDY TO 1630**

Pastorales of the early seventeenth century provided the proving ground for the development of the lyric components that would later comprise the pastorale en musique: the chanson and lyric monologue, the dialogue en musique, and the pastoral chorus. As the appearance on stage of singing shepherds, magicians, satyrs, and gods of mythology became accepted pastoral conventions, these musical ‘set pieces’ would be introduced in increasingly less realistic dramatic contexts. Moreover, the pastorale offered a haven for the chorus, which by the 1620s had been largely abandoned in tragedy. Seven pastoral plays published before 1630 will serve to illustrate the place and function of these lyric forms: Isaac Du Ryser’s *Les Amours contraires* (1608); *Les Amantes* (1613) by Nicolas Chastrenet, Sieur des Croix; *L’Heureux désespéré* (1613) by C. A. seigneur de C.; Coigné of Bourron’s *Irisc* (1620); the anonymous *La Folle de Silène* (1623); *Racan’s Les Bergeries* (1623); and *La Morelle’s Philine, ou l’Amour contraire* (1630).

* Early 17th-century dramatists claimed that the tragic chorus was omitted more often than not in performance. Pierre Treterol claimed that, I have seen more than a thousand Tragedies performed in various places and have never seen these choruses declined (pref. to *Sceaux d’Auge*, 1617). Bois de Galland confirmed this in his foreword to *Le Perdrenne*, au *Deleuse du Andréma* (1618), stating ‘I have not included choruses in any works, seeing that they most often were left out in performance’ (printed in the préface Parfait, *Histoire du Théâtre Français*, IV, 247).

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**MUSIC IN THE EARLY FRENCH PASTORAL**

The chanson and lyric monologue emerged as one of the most important lyric forms of the early dramatic pastorale. Here, a shepherd usually escapes to a solitary place, where he calls upon birds, animals, rocks, and trees to bear witness to his misfortunes. Aubin was quite specific about how these set pieces were to be introduced in the play, and stressed that such lyrical outbursts must be made dramatically believable. The character should not be in the throes of passion, but rather in a contemplative mood, and he must be shown to have had the time to compose his speech. If the shepherd extemporizes his lyric soliloquy, then he either must be seized with poetic fury or have a facility for improvising verse. Moreover, Aubin felt that the lyrical nature of these interludes warranted their sung delivery by the actor to instrumental accompaniment. Indeed, lyric monologues are frequently labelled as *chansons* in many of these plays, and the terms *chanson*, *stanc*, and *plaine* as used in the early pastorales seem to be more or less interchangeable. In most instances, the playwright presents stances and plaines not as realistic musical performance, but rather as the lyrical expression of a character’s inner thoughts. This pastoral commonplace is the ancestor of the monologue air of later French opera, for which, according to Rousseau, the actor is alone and speaks only with himself. One of the earliest pastoral plays to introduce stances is Isaac Du Ryser’s *Les Amoures contraires*, first published in his nostalgic verse anthology *Le Temps perdu*, 8.

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8 For more on the stance in French plays of the early 17th cent., see H. C. Lancaster, *The Origin of the Lyric Monologue in French Classical Tragedy*, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 42 (Sept. 1927), 782-85; G. W. Andrasif, *Early Use of the Lyric Monologue in French Drama of the Seventeenth Century*, *Modern Language Notes*, 68 (1953), 101-5; J. Morel, *Les Stances dans la tragédie française au XVIIe siècle*, *vols. 2nd, 6th* (1967), 43-56; and M. P. Héger, *La mode des stances dans le théâtre tragique français* (Paris, 1974). The lyric monologue would later appear in the tragédies and tragédies comédiennes of Ronsard, Corneille, Tristan, and Racine. The classic example occurs in 1. 6 of Corneille’s *Le Cid*, where the protagonist, having slain his fiancée’s father in duel, contemplates a course of action. As Morel points out, Don Rodrigue’s deliberations develop in two parts: the first three stances examine the various aspects of the dilemma that confronts the hero; the last three enumerate the various solutions possible, to settle on the most courageous (‘Stances’, 54). Marc-Antoine Charpentier set the first three stances to music (‘Percé jusqu’au fond du cœur’, ‘Que je sens de rudes combats’, and ‘Père, maitresse, honteux, amoure’). H. 471-97. For late-century with continuo accompaniment, and published them in three successive issues of the Mercure galant (Jan.–Mar., 1681). It is doubtful, however, that these settings were ever intended to be sung in a performance of Corneille’s tragicomedy. Charpentier’s Stances du Cid are discussed and transcribed in L. Martin-Arroué, *Les Musiciens de Corneille, 1650-1699*, *Revue de musicologie*, 27 (1953), 43-75.


10 *En un mot, les Stances sont considérées comme des vers qu’un homme aurait été rêvant en l’espace auquel on le met sur le Théatre, mais encore comme des vers Lyriques, c’est-à-dire, propres à chanter avec des instruments de musique.* Ibid. 265.


Its plot revolves around a typical chain of lovers: Coridon loves Lillis, who loves Tillis, who loves Clorise, who loves Coridon, until Cupid intervenes to resolve this situation. In Act 2, scene 2, Coridon and Tillis arrive at an inviting grove and decide to take a nap; but first Coridon proposes that each shepherd sing a belle chanson in praise of his respective nymph. Here, the shepherds try to better each other at improvising poetic conceits in a kind of singing-contest. While the sung lyrics remain in alexandrine couplets, a change in rhyme-scheme to rimes croisées sets these chansons apart from the framing speeches. This same scene appears as Act 3, scene 2 of La Vengeance des satyres (1614), Du Ruyer’s expanded version of the earlier pastourelle. Here, the author changed this lyric exchange to spoken stances, probably to accommodate the non-singing actor who performed the role of Tillis (‘Mais au lieu de chanter rections quelque stance, | Car je n’ai point de voix’). In addition, to reorganizing the scenes in four acts, Du Ruyer added a comic fifth act in which two satyrs return to have revenge on their shepherd-rivals. They scatter a magic powder on the ground that immobilizes everyone, but it also paralyzes the satyrs themselves, who are left helpless until a rainstorm enables everyone to regain their motion. Coridon proposes another song exchange to make fun of the hapless satyrs, and Tillis suggests that his beloved Lillis sing about a satyr’s clumsy courtship of a nymph. A musical setting of this song (‘Un satyre cornu’) was published around this time in three different arrangements: for solo voice, for four-part vocal ensemble, and for voice and lute arranged by Gabriel Bataille (see Ex. 10.1).  

Les Amautes by Nicolas Chrestien, Sieur des Croix features numerous chansons that result from the expression of unrequited love. The play begins with a prologue by Cupid, who boasts of his powers over mortal and immortal hearts alike; the recalcitrant nymphs and shepherds of the play, however, try to resist Cupid’s authority, and hence must be punished. The chain of lovers includes Eurilie, who sings of his frustrated love for Floris (‘Eloigné de ma maîtresse’); Cloride, who sings a kind of chanson de toile of her disregarded love for Eurilie (‘C’est toujours en amour un bien’); and Ariston, who sings of his uncompensated love for Cloride (‘Que me sert d’estre fidèle’). In Act 4, two shepherdesses sing laments in anticipation of their attempted (but thwarted) suicides: Elice contemplates taking the place of Delfis on the sacrificial altar (‘Las je meurs et je n’ose dire’), while Filine, having also lost Delfis, prepares to take her own life (‘Si je soupire en mourant’). The convoluted plot leads to an equally involved denouement brought about by magic, recognition of familial-relationships, and ‘the miraculous effect of love’.  

In general, playwrights took care to introduce musical performance in a realistic manner—either by referring to a character’s musical abilities in advance, or by the character’s own announcement that he is about to perform a song. For instance, in Coignée de Bourron’s Iris, the shepherd Clarin sings a chanson (‘Quand pour ma bergere’), which he informs us that he composed earlier when he saw Iris. As his lyrics refer to several ‘rustic’ instruments—the flageolet, the musette, and the chalumeau—one might speculate that Clarin

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9 La Vengeance des satyres, pastourelle représentée dans la grande Salle de l’Église du Temple de Paris, de l’invention du sieur Du Ruyer, Secrétaire de la chambre du Roy, avec quelques masques du mesme Auteur (Paris: Toussaint du Rey, 1614). Du Ruyer added a spoken prologue for ‘Cupidon escoûler’, who refers to ‘acteurs petits, pastourelle petits’. On the basis of this reference, Marain believes that this 5-act revision may have been performed for the young Louis XIII by his fellow students at the Église du Temple; see La Pastourelle dramatique en France, 399 n.  


12 Lancaster (History of French Dramatic Literature, 1: 120) mistakenly refers to ‘Que me sert d’estre fidèle’ by a lyric monologue; in fact, the printed edn. of the play clearly labels it a chanson.

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Ex. 10.1  

Du Ruyer, La Vengeance des satyres (1614), Act 5, sc. 2  

Gabriel Bataille (after Airs de différents auteurs mis en tablature de luth (Paris, 1614))
brought them along to play between the stanzas.  Racan’s Les Bergerets (1625)14 depicts music-making as a common part of pastoral life, and all his shepherds seem to be innately musical. In Act 1, scene 3 Arétiné reveals that she first fell in love with Alcidor upon seeing him dancing to the sound of his chalumeau; we are therefore not surprised when Alcidor improvises a chanson in vers mêlés (‘Noir sejour de l’horreur, tenebreuses valées’) when he learns that he has been forbidden to marry Arétiné. 15 A second frustrated shepherd also breaks out in song (‘Donc, après tant de maux souffertes’) in Act 2, scene 2 with as little premeditation. In La Morelle’s Philine, ou l’Amour contraire, 16 the shepherd-musician Léandre precedes his lyric monologue (‘Doux flambeau dont les riches tracts’) with a lengthy apostrophe to his beloved lute. 6 When he later sees his beloved Philine approach, Léandre greets her by singing ‘a quatrains expressly composed in the form of a salutation’. 7 Such spontaneous outbursts of musical expression in the early dramatic pastoral would prepare for the aesthetic shift to sung declamation in the pastorale en musique.

The Dialogue en musique

Dialogues in lyric, rhymed verse often point up the inherent musicality of opposed, symmetrical lines—particularly when these exchanges fall into patterns of repetition, stichomythia, and refrain that suggest a quasi-musical organization. 18 For instance, the anonymous pastoral La Folle de Silène 19 features a love-triangle in Act 2, scene 1 in which Tyris repeats to Mélie the couplet addressed to him by Corilé, and then repeats Mélie’s response to Corilé:

**Tyris à Corilé**

C’est en vain raconter qu’elle...

**Corilé**

C’est en vain raconter qu’elle est ta maladie, Si je ne puis avoir de remède pour toye.

**Tyris à Mélie**

Beregere ignat au moins permets moy que je die, Ce que tes yeux cruez ont causé dedans moy.

**Mélie**

Ungrateful shepherds, at least allow me to say what your cruel eyes have caused inside me.

**Corilé**

Beregere ignat au moins permets moy que...

**Tyris à Corilé**

C’est en vain raconter qu’elle est ta maladie, Si je ne puis avoir de remède pour toye.

**Mélie répondant à Tyris**

Il vit de cruautés, de fureur et de flamènes, Et ses sensibles tracts ne cherchent quenous ames. Que je vivray d’amour?

**Philémon**

Il vit de cruautés, de fureur et de flamènes, Et ses sensibles tracts ne cherchent quenous ames. Que je vivray d’amour?

**Léandre**

Amour est un grand Dieu, qui auteur de la vie, A tout contentement et plaisir nous convie. Que je vivra le jour Que je vivray d’amour?

**Philemon**

Amour est un grand Dieu, qui auteur de la vie, A tout contentement et plaisir nous convie. Que je vivra le jour Que je vivray d’amour?

**Léandre**

Amour est un grand Dieu, qui auteur de la vie, A tout contentement et plaisir nous convie. Que je vivra le jour Que je vivray d’amour?

**Philemon**

Amour est un grand Dieu, qui auteur de la vie, A tout contentement et plaisir nous convie. Que je vivra le jour Que je vivray d’amour?

**Léandre**

Amour est un grand Dieu, qui auteur de la vie, A tout contentement et plaisir nous convie. Que je vivra le jour Que je vivray d’amour?

**Philemon**

Amour est un grand Dieu, qui auteur de la vie, A tout contentement et plaisir nous convie. Que je vivra le jour Que je vivray d’amour?

**Léandre**

Amour est un grand Dieu, qui auteur de la vie, A tout contentement et plaisir nous convie. Que je vivra le jour Que je vivray d’amour?

**Philemon**

Amour est un grand Dieu, qui auteur de la vie, A tout contentement et plaisir nous convie. Que je vivra le jour Que je vivray d’amour?

**Léandre**

Amour est un grand Dieu, qui auteur de la vie, A tout contentement et plaisir nous convie. Que je vivra le jour Que je vivray d’amour?

**Philemon**

Amour est un grand Dieu, qui auteur de la vie, A tout contentement et plaisir nous convie. Que je vivra le jour That I live for love?

**Léandre**

He lives in the sweetness of charms and delights, and gives to his followers all things favourable. When shall the day return that I live for love?

**Philemon**

He lives in the sweetness of charms and delights, and gives to his followers all things favourable. When shall the day return that I live for love?

**Léandre**

He lives in the sweetness of charms and delights, and gives to his followers all things favourable. When shall the day return that I live for love?

**Philemon**

He lives in the sweetness of charms and delights, and gives to his followers all things favourable. When shall the day return that I live for love?

**Léandre**

He lives in the sweetness of charms and delights, and gives to his followers all things favourable. When shall the day return that I live for love?

**Philemon**

He lives in the sweetness of charms and delights, and gives to his followers all things favourable. When shall the day return that I live for love?
MUSIC AND DANCE IN FRENCH PLAYS

Quand reviendra le jour
Que je vivray d’amour?
When shall the day return
that I live for love?

Discussing the sacred dialogue in Italy, Menestrier asserts that 'it is also through dialogues that dramatic music gradually began to appear'. Indeed, pastoral dialogues en musique provide an important point of contact between vocal chamber music of the early seventeenth century and the dramatic pastoral. Sung amorous dialogues on pastoral themes appeared in the three books of Airs nouveaux et chansons à danser published by Jacques Mangeant (1608), and are also found in later collections of airs de cours by Guédron, Bataille, Antoinette Boëset, and François Richard. The influence of such contemporary vocal chamber music becomes evident in Act 4, scene 1 of Baro’s La Clorise (1631), where Eliante urges Philidan to join her in singing a chanson en dialogue 'that Tiris once composed for Sylvie'. This rhetorical exchange is formulated in symmetrical, octosyllabic lines, which lead to a shared alexandrine and finally resolve in a duo refrain:

CHANSON EN DIALOGUE
ELIANTÉ
Quell’est ton amour, réponds moy?
ELIANTE
Ell’est égale à ton merite,
ELIANTE
Berger, ell’est donc bien petite,
ELIANTE
Et si tu ments,
ELIANTE
Que le Ciel me punitse.
ELIANTE & PHILIDAN ensemble
Dieu! inventez un supplice
Pour les parjures amants.

SONG IN DIALOGUE
ELIANTE
What is your love, can you tell me?
PHILIDAN
It is equal to your merit,
PHILIDAN
Shepherd, it is therefore quite small,
PHILIDAN
It is perfect like you.
ELIANTE
And if you lie,
PHILIDAN
Then may heaven punish me.
ELIANTE & PHILIDAN together
God! Invent a fitting torment
for perjuring lovers.

PHILIDAN
Sus, bergers, qu’on se rejouysse,
Et que chacun de nous jouysse
Des faveurs qu’Amour lay depart.
Ce bel âge nous y convient:
On ne peut trop tost ny trop tard
Gouster les plaisirs de la vie.

ELIANTE
Aris, shepherds, and let’s make merry,
and may each of us enjoy
the favours that Cupid bestows on him.
The lovely age invites us:
one cannot either too soon or too late
taste the pleasures of life.

[7 strophes follow]

The Pastoral Chorus

Lyric reflections on the Golden Age, the nature of love, the return of spring, the joys of hunting, and the sweetness of pastoral life are traditionally assigned to choruses of nymphs and shepherds, who affirm as a group the normative values of this pastoral utopia. In contrast to the alexandrines of spoken drama (which represent heightened speech), these choruses frequently appear in lyric verse, suggesting sung performance as an option. For example, the first act of Racadan’s Les Bergeries concludes with a strophic ‘Chœur des Jeunes Bergers’, an exhortation to partake of the pleasures of pastoral life. Here the verses are short, with varied rhyme-scheme and dance-like rhythms that invite musical setting:

Sus, bergers, qu’on se rejouysse,
Et que chacun de nous jouysse
Des faveurs qu’Amour lay depart.
Ce bel âge nous y convient:
On ne peut trop tost ny trop tard
Gouster les plaisirs de la vie.

The antithesis of this joyful chorus on the carpe diem theme is the choral lamentation. Used as a vehicle for communal grief, the lamentation often takes on a ceremonial or transcendental character that also lends itself to musical expression as exemplified in L’Heures désespéré by ‘C.A., Seigneur de C.’

Within the acts of the play, social celebrations and religious rites provided further occasions for choral tableaux. In Les Bergeries, the ‘Chœur des Sacrificateurs’ (‘A ce coup nous voyons qu’Astrée’) and the final choral epiphalalium (‘Cueillez, amans, le fruit de vos services’) appear in lyric verse; given the musical inclinations of the play’s characters, it is likely that these numbers were sung in performance. Indeed, more often than not choral music and group dance inform the wedding celebrations that end many pastoral comedies. In the denouement to La Folie de Silène, the god Pan unites the lovers and entertains the shepherds to celebrate their marriage with a choral song. Once more, a change of verse form

18 Menestrier, Des Représentations de musique, 192. Menestrier goes on to describe a soprano-bass dialogue between the fennyman Charon and the 'soul of a passionate lover', which Gérolph identifies as the famous dialogue 'Hôle, Charon, Naunturier infernal' found in the Soupirs of Olivier de Magny—which inspired later imitations by Anthoine Boëset and Pierre Bonnet. See T. Gérolph, L’Art du chant en France au xve siècle (Strasbourg, 1921; repr. Geneva, 1971), 34-7.
19 Airs nouveaux et chansons à danser; mentions sur toutes sortes de cadences de Bransé, Volés, Coucoutes, Ballets et autres danses, non encore imprimées. Aucuns Airs & Chansons Tour a été adopté la Musique de leur chant, par bon ordre, afin que chacun les puisse chanter & danser à propre comme il faut, 3 vols. (Caen: Jacques Mangeant, 1608). Pastoral dialogues en musique can be found in bk. 2'Chauve a la roue se fonde', fss. 14-15') and in bk. 3'Ô ma villageoisse m’aimez', fss. 33'); these rare printed sources are in the Musée Condé et Chantilly (Cat. No. VIP 49).
20 Gérolph reprints excerpts from several of these pastoral dialogues in L’Art du chant, 56-62.
Music, Allegory, and Intermèdes

The tradition of performing short mythological or historical playlets between the acts of a pastoral play had been established in France by the end of the sixteenth century.181 The acts of Montreux’s L’Arimène, ou le Berger désespéré (1597)24 were followed by a succession of short intermèdes derived from Ovid’s Metamorphoses: the assault on Olympus by the Titans, the abduction of Helen, the rescue of Andromeda, the death of Argus, and the fable of Orpheus and Eurydice.25 The final two myths featured incidental music: in the fourth intermède Mercury descends on a cloud and lulls Argus to sleep by singing and playing his flageolet, while in the last intermède Orpheus beseeches the infernal spirits in song to release his beloved Eurydice from the Underworld (‘Esprits d’embas, d’Orphée l’insensé’). Moreover, the performance ended with a sung envoi, in which ‘Monseigneur d’Arènes crowned the work by singing to the accompaniment of his lyre some lovely verses in honour of the Prince [the Duc de Mercœur].’26

Perhaps inspired by Montreux’s Arimène, Les Amantes (1613) by Nicolas Chrestien, Sieur des Croix was ‘adorned with heroic intermèdes in honour of the French people’. Dedicated to Louis XIII shortly after he ascended the throne, the play and its intermèdes were probably intended for the young monarch’s edification. These intermèdes dramatize great military moments in French history: the conversion of King Clovis to Christianity, the recapture of Compostella by Charlemagne, the capture of Jerusalem by Godfrey de Bouillon, the capture of Damietta by St Louis, and the campaigns of Joan of Arc. Music and propaganda figure prominently in the third intermède, where the Christian army sings a hymn as it lays siege to the holy city (‘Grand Dieu, dont la puissance’). The fourth intermède ends with the prediction that a young king will descend from Robert, son of St Louis, ‘and the French will see reborn in them their honour and their laws, leaving some fortunate sons filled with glory’.

Written at the end of the Wars of the Mother and Son, Coignée de Bourron’s Iris (1620) is a thinly veiled political allegory in support of Louis XIII and his queen, Anne of Austria. Lancaster believes that it was written to be performed during the King’s visit to Normandy in the summer of 1620, when he was negotiating a peace agreement with his mother, Marie de’ Medici, and her rebel followers.27 In Act 2 appear two river nymphs, Sequanie and Olonie, whose names derive from the two most important rivers in Normandy: the Seine (‘Sequana’ in Latin) and the Orne (‘Olonie’). Singing strophic setseits in alternatim, they praise Francyn, ‘prince of the shepherds’, who brings joy, prosperity, and a return of the

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Music and Dance in French Plays

and rhyme-scheme distinguishes the spoken alexandrine couplets from the sung octosyllables:

\[ \text{PAN} \]

Je veux pour davantage encore apprêter, 
Ce bien heureux hymen, au banquet me treuver; 
Et afin que les Dieux autoriëz vos flômes, 
Chantons en leur honneur ces beaux 
Epithalames.

\[ \text{PAN} \]

I want, to still further express my approval of 
this very happy marriage, to appear at the 
banquet; 
and so that the gods authorize your love, 
let us sing in their honour these fine 
wedding songs.

\[ \text{EPITHALAMIE} \]

Sur ce couple d’amans heureux, 
Aisant aymeze, comme amoureux; 
Que le Ciel a jamais envoyé, 
Une moisson de doux plaisirs, 
De rîs, d’amours, & de desirs, 
Où la douleur en fin se naye.

\[ \text{EPITHALAMIE} \]

Upon this couple of happy lovers, 
as much loved as beloved; 
may the heavens forever send 
a harvest of sweet pleasures, 
of laughter, of love, and of desires, 
in which suffering at last is drowned.

In the mythological pastoral, such wedding celebrations would often accompany the apotheosis of a mortal, for which music, dance, and machine spectacle contribute to the empyrean conclusion. In La Folie de Silène, however, the valet Silène, recently cured of his lunacy, brings this rustic celebration back to earth by singing a ribald chanson:

\[ \text{St'reis autant de Fustons,} 
Que j’ay baisé ces gros tetons, 
Ma foi je vous trouvoi que mon Maitre, 
Fût mon valet, & s’ait laite paitre; 
Ah! le voit, ha! le voit, 
C’est actoy-voy, c’est cyrvoy-lo, 
Hai qui m’a doné cette fême, 
Dieulx pardonnez à ma pauvre âme, 
Car je me eus in combattant: 
Quarante, il m’en faut bien autant, 
Car je veux aller en Egypte: 
Voyez com’ils prennent le fuite, 
Il faut sur ce joly gazon, 
Chiner une guey chanson.

If I had as many sheep, 
as I have kisses for these big breasts, 
my word, I would wish that my master 
were my valet and went off to pasture; 
hai! here he is! hai! here he is, 
this is one, it is that one, 
that who gave me this woman, 
Ye God! pardon my poor soul, 
for I am dying while fighting; 
forty, I will need as many, 
for I want to go to Egypt: 
see how they are fleeing, 
we must now, on this grassy turf, 
sing a merry song.

Music, Allegory, and Intermèdes

The tradition of performing short mythological or historical playlets between the acts of a pastoral play had been established in France by the end of the sixteenth century.181 The acts of Montreux’s L’Arimène, ou le Berger désespéré (1597)24 were followed by a succession of short intermèdes derived from Ovid’s Metamorphoses: the assault on Olympus by the Titans, the abduction of Helen, the rescue of Andromeda, the death of Argus, and the fable of Orpheus and Eurydice.25 The final two myths featured incidental music: in the fourth intermède Mercury descends on a cloud and lulls Argus to sleep by singing and playing his flageolet, while in the last intermède Orpheus beseeches the infernal spirits in song to release his beloved Eurydice from the Underworld (‘Esprits d’embas, d’Orphée l’insensé’). Moreover, the performance ended with a sung envoi, in which ‘Monseigneur d’Arènes crowned the work by singing to the accompaniment of his lyre some lovely verses in honour of the Prince [the Duc de Mercœur].’26

Perhaps inspired by Montreux’s Arimène, Les Amantes (1613) by Nicolas Chrestien, Sieur des Croix was ‘adorned with heroic intermèdes in honour of the French people’. Dedicated to Louis XIII shortly after he ascended the throne, the play and its intermèdes were probably intended for the young monarch’s edification. These intermèdes dramatize great military moments in French history: the conversion of King Clovis to Christianity, the recapture of Compostella by Charlemagne, the capture of Jerusalem by Godfrey de Bouillon, the capture of Damietta by St Louis, and the campaigns of Joan of Arc. Music and propaganda figure prominently in the third intermède, where the Christian army sings a hymn as it lays siege to the holy city (‘Grand Dieu, dont la puissance’). The fourth intermède ends with the prediction that a young king will descend from Robert, son of St Louis, ‘and the French will see reborn in them their honour and their laws, leaving some fortunate sons filled with glory’.

Written at the end of the Wars of the Mother and Son, Coignée de Bourron’s Iris (1620) is a thinly veiled political allegory in support of Louis XIII and his queen, Anne of Austria. Lancaster believes that it was written to be performed during the King’s visit to Normandy in the summer of 1620, when he was negotiating a peace agreement with his mother, Marie de’ Medici, and her rebel followers.27 In Act 2 appear two river nymphs, Sequanie and Olonie, whose names derive from the two most important rivers in Normandy: the Seine (‘Sequana’ in Latin) and the Orne (‘Olonie’). Singing strophic setseits in alternatim, they praise Francyn, ‘prince of the shepherds’, who brings joy, prosperity, and a return of the

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Footnotes:

24 See H. M. Porsia, ‘Les Intermèdes à la cour de France au xvii® siècle’, Bibliothèque d’humanisme et renaissance, 20 (1988), 296-309. An important anonymous collection of tragedies, intermèdes, and a pastoral, Le Théâtre français, cited above in n. 7. The two intermèdes (Andromède délivrée and Athénase faîndroy par Jupiter) are in these three acts, in order to

25 L’Arimène au Berger désespéré, pastoral, Par Olympe du Meul-Sénès Gaët-Lozoui de la Maitre (Paris: Abraham Sauvage & Guillaume des Ruet, 1597). In addition to this edn., another was published in Nantes by Pierre Doreau which provides a slightly different description of the staging. For a comparison of the two eds., see T. B. Lawrence, ‘La mise en scene dans L’Arimène de Nicolas de Montreux’, Bibliothèque d’humanisme et renaissance, 18 (1956), 286-90.

26 For more on Montreux’s L’Arimène, see Ch. 12, pp. 231-2.

27 Since these sung verses immediately followed the Orphée intermède, Purkis suggests that Montseigneur d’Arènes played the part of Orphée (‘Intermèdes’, 302 n. 1).

28 Lancaster, History of French Dramatic Literature, i. 223. Louis XIII had spent the summer of 1620 subduing the rebel province of Normandy, which had been the power-base of his former opponent Condé, Count of Anjou.
Gold Age; moreover, they express the hope that one day his ‘shepherdess’ might bear him a ‘petit berger Dauphin’.1 Juno arrives at the end of Act 5 to assure Sequanie and Olonie that Francyn loves them both, and the play concludes with an envoi by Cupid in praise of Queen Anne.

**L’ASTRÉE AND THE DRAMATIC PASTORALE**

When the first two instalments of Honoré d’Urfé’s pastoral novel L’Astreë appeared in 1607 and 1610, its success was immediate and universal.28 Unlike the humble rural inhabitants of Arcadia, Sicily, or Cyprus, these heroic and eloquent shepherds and their refined nymphs are the fifth-century descendants of ‘bonnes et anciennes familles’ of Gaul, who resolved to live as rustics in order to escape the agression of Rome. L’Astreë portrayed a new peaceful and chivalric French society, which by analogy reflected and idealized the social changes in the aftermath of the turbulent Valois era. Pastoral verses celebrating the tranquillity and sweetness of life allude to the stability brought about by the reign of Henri IV, and a new French nationalism emerges in its lengthy descriptions of the countryside—that of d’Urfé’s home province of Le Forez (Lyonnais).

While as passionate and romantic as their Italian and Spanish counterparts, D’Urfé’s well-bred shepherds, nymphs, and knights embody noble Gallic virtues: ‘they have more artlessness, this inclination toward decorum, this prudent reason, and this easy manner that we like to recognize in ourselves’.29 The chain of unrequited love would be refined, as conversations between lovers focused upon the variety of love’s effects and the Cornelian connection between love, duty, and honour. By advancing an ideal of polite and distinguished living, the utopian world of L’Astreë provided contemporary French society with a poetic and moral code, to the extent that ‘knowing one’s Astreë well’ became a primary requirement of the cultured gentleman.30 ‘They liked to fancy themselves as these passionate and well-spoken philosophers, to imagine themselves heroic and gentle in their likeness, to suffer their pains and exalt in their ecstasies, to relive the novel and to assign themselves the characters and their picturesque names.’31

Not only did L’Astreë become the most influential and widely imitated pastoral novel of the century, it provided the dramatic pastoral with a new French

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28 L’Astreë was published in four parts during years 1607, 1610, 1610, and 1627.
29 J. Marais, Pastoral dramatique en France, 314.
30 Tallenman de Réaux relates that ‘in the company of the family of Mme de Guéméné, they entertained themselves, among other things, with writing some verses on L’Astreë, and he who did not answer well paid for each mistake with a pair of Frangipani gloves. Two or three questions were written down on paper and sent to a person—as, for example, on which side was Bonilieu upon leaving the Bouteresse bridge, and other such things, he in history or geography; this was the means of knowing one’s Astreë well. There had been so many pairs of gloves lost on all sides that when we came to count them (for we scoured carefully), it was found that practically nothing was owed by anyone’ (Tallenman des Réaux, Historiettes, ed. Adam, ii. 305, ‘Le Cardinal de Retz’).
31 Marais, Pastoral dramatique en France, 314.

identity. While the first dramatic adaptation did not appear until 1623 (Pierre de Cotignan’s La Mandonde), L’Astreë’s influence can be traced in earlier pastorales. The richness and variety of its episodes, its language of refined elegance, the passionate fervour of its lovers, its loving descriptions of the Gallic landscape, the nobility of its shepherds, the majesty of its Druids, and the purity of its vestal virgins are all assimilated into Racan’s Les Bergeries.32 D’Urfé offered dramatists a new set of pastoral clichés and characters. A beneficent wise man with healing powers would often replace the evil magician. The unhappy lover would go into self-imposed exile—retreating to the depths of the forest, where he would don symbolic devices.33 Hylas, the inconstant shepherd of L’Astreë, would advocate his doctrine of indifferency in Mairé’s La Silvanière (1631) and in Mareschal’s L’Inconstance d’Hylas (1635). In short, d’Urfé’s L’Astreë breathed new life into the pastoral, and provided the romanesque plots for many dramas of the late 1620s and 1630s. Its musical set pieces and lyrical compositions—songs, stances, poetic recitations—were further developed in subsequent dramatic adaptations.

The tragico-comédie pastorale La Climeæ (1629) by C. S. Sieur de la Croix, derives from an episode in part 2 of L’Astreë.35 With its noble characters, unlikely coincidences, mistaken identity, and scenes of recognition, La Climeæ is essentially a tragicomedy with a bucolic setting and pastoral clichés: a chain of lovers, a magician, and an attempted suicide. The lyric monologue is given new dramatic meaning in Act 3, scene 1, when Climeæ (a prince in disguise) requests that the shepherdess Clarîfée sings for her, ‘and make these woods stir with the delightful sound of your divine voice’. She declines at first, but then agrees to if Climeæ will join her in duet, and she produces a song ‘that I wrote in my anguish, covered with my tears, when my scornful lover refused to grant what my heart desires’. The lyric expresses Clarîfée’s unrequited love for the shepherd Silandre. However, such a match is impossible in this new pastoral order, for Silandre (unknown to Clarîfée) is in fact a prince in disguise, and cannot wed below his social rank. Moreover, Silandre is in love with Climeæ, who in turn loves Alcidor. Clarîfée’s plaintive is thus presented as a composed song (‘Dites essences sousterraines’), which she and Climeæ perform as a sung duet. Ironically, its lyrics also serve as Climeæ’s first declaration of her love for Alcidor, and its references to supernatural influences, to life and death, and to demons foreshadows Climeæ’s fate: the spurred Silandre consults

32 Ibid. 326.
33 In 2.3 of L’Hermite d’épée, Angéralde adorns her hat with ‘an ivory death’s-head between two myrtle and cypress branches’, with the device ‘No quiæro mai’ inscribed below.
35 See Lancaster, History of French Dramatic Literature, i. 355–7. According to Paul Ferry, who wrote upon this play in 1634, ‘the greater part of this Climeæ has been plagiarized, borrowed, and stolen from my Isabelle’. Indeed, Marsin (Pastoral dramatique en France, 342) has confirmed that the episodes, characters, and some dialogue bears an uncanny resemblance to the first half of Ferry’s Isabelle (1610).
a magician, who gives him a bracelet that is supposed to act as a love charm; but Clímene falls into a death-like state when she puts it on, and is later revived by a magic potion.

Grandchamp's *Les Advenitures amoureuse d'Omphalle* (1630),35 is another pastoral tragicomedy derived from parts 1 and 3 of 'L'Astrée. The play is built around a succession of bizarre or spectacular scenes: a duel between the disguised heroine and her lover, a consultation with a sorceress and a ghost, a tomb eu and execution scene, and a final double wedding. The play opens with a melodramatic episode that takes place in two locales simultaneously: Daphnis struggles through a forest in the dark during a thunderstorm to reach the bedchamber where Princess Omphalle awaits him. The author ignores the *bienséances* with this illicit encounter, and he later shows graphic violence on-stage. He also plays with pastoral convention in Act 4, scene 2, where realistic music-making is mistaken for the musical discourse of the gods. Disguised as a shepherdess, Omphalle retreats to a secluded grove where she fancies that nature sympathizes with her melancholy mood. There she finds a lute that she believes was sent from the heavens to console her, and she joins her own song and lute-playing to the music of the birds and the breezes.4 Polidon overhears her song, but does not recognize his beloved (or her sex); admiring the beautiful voice and graceful appearance of the singer, Polidon questions whether it is a god or a demigod, for musical discourse is a divine attribute.5

Grandchamp's play concludes with an operatic tableau featuring an elaborate set, a multitude of characters, and choral music. Believing his daughter to be dead, the king has a magnificent tomb erected with ornamental columns, altars, statues, alcoves, and triumphal arches. There some priests preside at a funeral ceremony in which a number of warrior-captives are to be sacrificed in Omphalle's honour—including her lover Daphnis, who is thought to have slain her in a duel. After spoken lamentations by her grieving mother and father, the vestal virgins express their communal sorrow in a choral threnody ('Pleurez mes soeurs! votre tristesse') that anticipates the tomb scene of later French opera.6 Polidon tells Omphalle that her lover is about to be put to death, and she arrives just in time to present herself to her parents, save Daphnis, and marry him.

No less spectacular is the musical conclusion to Jean Maret's *La Silvanire* (1630),7 the first French play in which the Aristotelian unities were consciously applied. In his argument Maret indicates that the subject of his tragédie *pastorale* derives from part 3 of 'L'Astrée, as well as from d'Urfé's own play based on

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37 For discussion of the relationship between d'Urfé's Silvanire (1631) and Maret's La Silvanire, see Mazarin, *Pastoral dramatic of France*, 179–82, and Lancaster, *History of French Dramatic Literature*, i. 358–9.

‘dances publiques’ for the wedding of Uranie and Floriliane were immediately carried out in a balletic finale.

The final dramatization of L'Astrée to be considered here is La Clorise (1631), by d'Urfé’s secretary Balthazar Baro.40 Baro’s play is an adaptation of an episode from part 1 of L'Astrée, and has the distinction of being the only pastoral dedicated to Cardinal Richelieu.41 The plot involves a chain of lovers, an arranged marriage, a heroine disdainful of love, and an attempted suicide—in which, at the moment of truth, the forlorn lover casts a mannequin dressed as himself into the river Lignon. The lyric elements include an opening monologue on the delights of country life, a letter-scene (1. 5), a poem inscribed on a tree (2. 4), a chanson en dialogue (4. 1: ‘Quel’ est ton amour, réponds moi?’—discussed above, p. 178), and a lyric monologue (4. 4). The play ends with a double wedding, for which the heroine’s father commands: ‘Let the entire hamlet resound with our songs, let your head be crowned with myrtle; let games, festivities, and even balls make a Golden Age of this Age of Iron.’ Judging by the account published in the 1636 Gazette, it would seem that La Clorise concluded with a ballet when it was performed for the royal family at the Hôtel de Richelieu.42

After 1631 pastoral drama and its conventions became absorbed into the genres of comedy and tragicomedy, and was subsequently refashioned into the pastorale en musique, the comédie-ballet, and pastoral opera.43 Discret’s pastoral comedy Les Nopces de Vaugirard, ou les Nuïvettes champêtres (1638)44 takes place not in an Arcadian setting, but rather in the rustic village of Vaugirard—where the first act features a ball given at a country wedding (the ball scene is described in Chapter 7, p. 98). The play is a hybrid of several genres: while it employs many conventions of the pastoral (a chain of lovers, lyric mono-

40 La Clorise de Baro, Pastoalle (Paris: François Poremetey, 1632).
41 In his autobiography, Baro writes, ‘my first plan was to take the story of Céllon and Bellinde from Astrée and set it for d’Urfé; but wishing to adapt it to the theatre, I was compelled to join as many things to it that in the end I decided to change the names—preferring that one accuse me of having robbed some episodes from it, rather than of having had the vanity of adding some elegance to its rich inventions’. La Clorise seems to have enjoyed quite a bit of success, for it appeared in a second edn., the following year and the Mémoire de Mabélius lists it among the plays performed at the Hôtel de Bourgogne; references to Baro’s pastoral are also found in an anonymous Ballet de la Marine (danced at the Arsenal on 25 Feb. 1631; see Lucullus, Rauet des balles, v. 77), in Potemkin’s Le Barre de la Côte (1632), and (much later) in the opening scene of Rostand’s Cyrano de Bergerac (1897). See Lancaster, History of French Dramatic Literature, i. 1, 387.
42 The Gazette, 18 (2 Feb. 1636), 76 mentions that on ‘Dimanche dernier 27 Jan. 1636… le soir, la Reine oïlit La Clorisee, excellent comédie du sieur Baro, représentée par la Troupe de Belle voix dans l’Hôtel de Richelieu, où estoient Monsieur, Madame, les Prince & Princesse de Condé, la Comtesse de Soissons, la Duchesse de Lorraine: & en un mot, tout ce qu’il y a de Princes, Princesse & autres Siegures & Dames en cette Cour. Après laquelle comédie il y eut ballet, entrelacé d’une double collection; l’une, des plus beaux & rares fruiss; l’autre, de confitures, que des ballerins dansaient présenter en de petit pantis tous chargé de rubans d’Angleterre, tenus d’or & d’argent, aux Siegures qui les distribuèrent aux Dames. ’The frères Parfait (Histoire du Théâtre Français, v. 169) consider La Clorise a misère for La Clorise; however, Lancaster suggests that La Clorise may in fact be a lost play by Baro (History of French Dramatic Literature, i. 1, 387).
43 As Roussel (Littérature de l’Age baroque en France, 49) points out, ‘the borders are uncertain: one passes smoothly in the 1630s from pastoral to comedy and to tragicomedy. The enchainments, the “farces” and their delusions, the metamorphoses, the inconstancy…are also common to tragicomedy, ballet de cour, and, later on, opera.’