

## B. Musical Theatre and the Opera Privilege

### 4

#### COMPETITION WITH THE ACADEMIE ROYALE D'OPÉRA (1669–1673)

After the success of his *Pastorale d'Issy* (1659), Perrin envisaged the foundation of a national lyric theatre modelled after the Italian academies. Eager to prove the viability of opera in the French language, he immediately wrote two more opera librettos in the comic and tragic genres: *Ariane, ou le Mariage de Bacchus* and *La Mort d'Adonis*. According to the frères Parfaict, Perrin and Cambert formed a partnership with the Marquis de Sourdéac and, assured of Mazarin's protection, they petitioned for a *privilege* to produce operas in French; meanwhile, they gave several rehearsals of *Ariane* at the Hôtel de Nevers. 'Finally, everything was ready to open a new theatre in Paris, when the death of Cardinal Mazarin, which occurred at Vincennes on 9 March 1661, postponed the projects of these associates.'<sup>1</sup> Despite his solicitations to the King and Colbert, eight years were to pass before Perrin finally acquired the royal opera *privilege*.

For the musical setting of his *tragédie en musique*, *La Mort d'Adonis*, Perrin turned to the court composer Jean-Baptiste Boësset. For nearly twenty years Boësset had been *maître de musique* to Anne of Austria—until he relinquished his position to Cambert in 1662 and became *maître de musique* to Queen Maria-Theresa. It is therefore likely that Boësset composed *La Mort d'Adonis* at this turning-point in his career. In the *avant-propos* to his *Diverses Paroles de Musique*, Perrin states that 'His Majesty has heard several detached fragments [of Boësset's score] at his *petit coucher*, and showed "many signs of satisfaction"'; but he also refers to 'the *cabale* of the *petit coucher* who, by private motives of interest and passion, tried to disparage it'. At this time Boësset also shared the position of *surintendant de la musique de la chambre* with Lully who, according to Perrault, was scornful of Perrin's operas.<sup>2</sup> While Perrin announced plans to publish 'the first acts' of the

<sup>1</sup> The frères Parfaict, *Histoire de l'Académie Royale de Musique*, 5. This important account is unfortunately marred by some factual errors, esp. with regard to the singers engaged by Perrin's academy.

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoires de ma vie*, par Charles Perrault, ed. P. Bonnefon (Paris, 1909), 126–7.

score (as he did later for *Pomone*), Boësset's music for *La Mort d'Adonis* has not survived.<sup>3</sup>

On 28 June 1669 Perrin was awarded the opera *privilège*,<sup>4</sup> and preparations began for the inauguration of the Académie Royale des Opéra with a production of *Ariane, ou le Mariage de Bacchus*.<sup>5</sup> For the next five months rehearsals were held in private three times per week, either at the home of the Abbé Brousse in the cloisters of Saint-Honoré, or at Cambert's home.<sup>6</sup> Some public dress rehearsals took place at the Hôtel de Nevers<sup>7</sup> where, according to one of the singers, they were attended by some two thousand people.<sup>8</sup> Then, at the beginning of December, all rehearsals of *Ariane* ceased; instead, Perrin and Cambert began composing a new opera, *Pomone*. In his foreword to *Pomone* Perrin explains his reasons for this change of plans:<sup>9</sup>

for the reasons that I have stated in the preface of the *argument* printed above, I deemed it more appropriate to inaugurate the theatre with a pastoral play, even though I had three heroic ones already written; and it is necessary to judge of it from that point of view, and to consider that it is composed of divinities and rustic characters, and that it involves at one and the same time comic and rustic styles, dramatic action, continuous vocal and instrumental music, machinery, and dance.

Considering that none of the principal singers had ever acted before on-stage, Perrin may have realized that a new, non-dramatic type of work was more in order.<sup>10</sup> Whatever the case, Perrin and Cambert formed a partnership with the Marquis de Sourdéac and Laurent Bersac, Sieur de Champeron, in mid-December. Sourdéac and Champeron were to fund the project, while Cambert

<sup>3</sup> Perrin's dedication to Colbert of his *Recueil de paroles de musique*, fo. 10; reprinted in Auld, *The Lyric Art of Pierre Perrin*, vol. iii, p. xiv.

<sup>4</sup> 'Privilege au Sr Perrin pour l'establissement d'une academie d'opera en musique et vers francois' is reproduced in Benoit, *Musiques de cour*, 24-5.

<sup>5</sup> C. Bashford ('Perrin and Cambert's *Ariane, ou le Mariage de Bacchus* Re-examined', *Music & Letters*, 72 (1991), 1-26 (at 20-1)) speculates that around 1671-2 Perrin and Cambert reworked and revised *Ariane* 'with the resources of the theatre at the Jeu de Paume [de la Bouteille] in mind'; the libretto of this lost source (Ω), according to Bashford, subsequently served as the basis for the 1674 production given at the Theatre Royal in London. While it is conceivable that some of the additions and changes may have been introduced as early as the 1669 public rehearsals, Bashford provides cogent reasons for believing that this production was essentially that of the 1659 *comédie en musique*.

<sup>6</sup> 'Mémoire de Catherine Suptille'; Archives of the Comédie-Française, reproduced in Nutter and Thoinan, *Origines de l'opéra français*, 102.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 104-5. The Hôtel de Nevers was built by Mazarin in 1649 to house his library; later it became part of the Bibliothèque Nationale (the Ancienne Salle de Lecture). See J. B. Durey de Noinville, *Histoire du théâtre de l'Académie Royale de Musique en France* (2nd edn., Paris, 1757; repr. Geneva, 1972), i. 26.

<sup>8</sup> Catherine Suptille, who sang the role of Ariane, informs us that that many 'personnes de qualitez' attended these performances: 'the Governor of Paris, accompanied by the Prior, the Count and Chevalier de Soissons, M. de Lyonne and M. de Nyel, first valet of the Chambre du Roi, not to mention another 2,000 persons whose names I do not know' ('Mémoire de Catherine Suptille'; cited in Nutter and Thoinan, *Origines de l'opéra français*, 123-4).

<sup>9</sup> *Avant-Propos to Pomone. Opera, ou representation en musique. Pastorale. Composée par Monsieur Perrin, Conseiller du Roy en ses Conseils, Introduceur des Ambassadeurs près feu Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans. Mise en Musique par Mr Cambert, Intendant de la Musique de la feuë Reynie. Et représentée par l'Académie Royale des Opéra* (Paris: Robert Ballard, 1671; repr. Geneva, 1980), 8.

<sup>10</sup> This is suggested in Auld, *Lyric Art of Pierre Perrin*, i. 46 n.

and Perrin (as holder of the opera *privilège*) contributed 'solely their knowledge and legal authority'.<sup>11</sup>

Preliminary rehearsals for *Pomone* took place in Sourdéac's country home at Sèvres, which the Marquis had equipped with a theatre. Cambert had the difficult task of teaching the music to the male singers from Languedoc 'who scarcely understood the language', and to the female singers 'who knew not one note of music'.<sup>12</sup> On 13 May 1670, Perrin leased a tennis-court on the rue Vaugirard, the Jeu de paume de Béquet (also known as 'le Bel-Air'), while Sourdéac and Champeron began to convert it into a theatre.<sup>13</sup> While construction was under way, Perrin and Cambert rehearsed *Pomone* in secret, for fear of losing more of their singers to the *musique du roi* (as they had Morel and Gillet). Finally, on 12 June 1670, a full rehearsal of *Pomone* was given at Sèvres, followed by another rehearsal twelve days later at the completed Béquet theatre in Paris.

A series of calamities soon befell the academy. Several of the singers filed lawsuits against Perrin and his associates, while Cambert, cut out of the partnership, became a salaried employee of Sourdéac and Champeron. Then because Perrin had neglected to receive legal authorization from La Reynie, Lieutenant of Police of Paris, the academy was forced to abandon the Jeu de paume de Béquet and seek a new location.<sup>14</sup> This unfortunate turn of events put the opening of Perrin's opera academy five months behind schedule. On 8 October 1670 Sourdéac and Champeron leased another tennis-court, the Jeu de paume de la Bouteille located on the rue des Fossés de Nesles (now rue Mazarine).<sup>15</sup> They contracted Henry Guichard, Superintendent of Buildings to Philippe d'Orléans, to build a stage, a graded amphitheatre, and boxes; to raise the existing edifice by several feet; to excavate more than 20 feet below the stage level to accommodate the workings of the machines; and to adjust everything to the scenery.<sup>16</sup>

While the Académie Royale des Opéra struggled to cope with these setbacks, Molière and Lully entertained the court and the public with their *comédies-ballets*. In August 1669 the Troupe du Roy performed *La Princesse d'Élide* four times at Saint-Germain for the King, and received a total of 30,389 *livres*.<sup>17</sup> The company followed the court to Chambord that autumn, where on 6 October it premièred

<sup>11</sup> 'Mémoire de Robert Cambert' (Archives of the Comédie-Française; cited in Nutter and Thoinan, *Origines de l'opéra français*, 116).

<sup>12</sup> Nutter and Thoinan, *Origines de l'opéra français*, 137.

<sup>13</sup> Perrin's lease for this tennis-court is reproduced *ibid.* 130-2.

<sup>14</sup> Sourdéac and Champeron had already begun constructing 'some boxes, a stage, an amphitheatre, and other things which have been in vain due to the cease and desist order presented to them on behalf of M. de la Reynie that prevented them from completing these works and pursuing the performance of operas in the aforesaid Jeu de paume de Béquet, and has obliged them to vacate' (cited *ibid.* 140). Sourdéac and Champeron lost their deposit of 800 *livres*, and were forced to pay a fine of 1,100 *livres*.

<sup>15</sup> According to Castil-Blaze, 'nombreuses répétitions' of *Pomone* were given at the Hôtel de Nevers 'while awaiting the transformation of the Jeu de paume de la Bouteille, rue Mazarine'. See Blaze, *Académie impériale de musique*, i. 28.

<sup>16</sup> Nutter and Thoinan, *Origines de l'opéra français*, 143-4.

<sup>17</sup> See Mongrédien, *Recueil des textes relatifs à Molière*, i. 345.

*Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*; the next month this *comédie-ballet* opened at the Palais-Royal on a double bill with *Le Sicilien*, and its first run of twenty performances lasted through the new year.<sup>18</sup>

For Carnival 1670 the Troupe du Roy returned to entertain the court at Saint-Germain. The King wished to re-enact the spectacles of antiquity in a grand *ballet royal*, and as a subject he proposed the rivalry between two princes in the surroundings of the Pythian games. Louis XIV danced alongside his courtiers for the last time in *Le Divertissement Royal*.<sup>19</sup> Tradition has it that he had been disturbed by some lines from Racine's *Britannicus*, which reproached Nero for exhibiting base talents unworthy of an emperor.<sup>20</sup> Or perhaps the Petite Académie felt that the royal image would be best served if Louis refrained from performing in court *divertissements*.<sup>21</sup> Whatever the case, Molière's spoken comedy, *Les Amants magnifiques*, served as dramatic *intermèdes* to Lully's ballet *entrées*, which included *vers* for Louis XIV (who was to have danced the roles of Neptune and Apollo). That the King ordered *Le Divertissement Royal* from Molière marked an important event, for it meant that Molière was to succeed Benserade as author of the King's ballets.

Despite the current wave of interest in machine plays, Molière did not transfer *Les Amants magnifiques* to the Palais-Royal. Public performances of its operatic *intermèdes* would have violated Perrin's *privilege*, which specifically forbade 'opera or musical performances in French verse'; and Molière may have also felt that his play was too slight to give by itself.<sup>22</sup> At any rate, this neoclassical entertainment suited the changing tastes of Louis XIV, who summoned the Troupe du Roy back the next month to repeat *Le Divertissement Royal* three more times.

Meanwhile, the Théâtre du Marais premièred on 2 March 1670 *Les Amours de Vénus et d'Adonis*—the first in a trilogy of *pièces à grand spectacle* by Donneau de Visé, with visually stunning sets and complex machine effects devised by Denis Bufféquin. Except for horn-calls and trumpet fanfares, the play called for no significant use of music (perhaps in compliance with Perrin's *privilege*). However, in his preface de Visé mentions that *Les Amours de Vénus et d'Adonis* played at the Marais for over three months, and he expresses his hope that if the court were to

<sup>18</sup> This was a special revival of *Le Sicilien*, which had not been performed at the Palais-Royal for over two years. Ten years later the Troupe de Guénégaud regularly performed these two *comédies-ballets* on a double bill.

<sup>19</sup> The printed *livret* included verses for the King, who was to portray Neptune in the first *intermède* and Apollo in the sixth *intermède*. The account in the *Gazette*, 18 (7 Feb. 1670), 143 and Robinet's letter of 8 Feb. 1670 praised the King's graceful dancing, but it would appear that the authors wrote their reviews in advance, embellishing upon the descriptions in the *livret*. In his following letter of 15 Feb. 1670, Robinet recanted ('Notre auguste Sire | Fait danser et ne danse point'). The *Gazette*, 21 (14 Feb. 1670), 168 explained that 'Le Comte d'Armagnac, & le Marquis de Villeroi, représentent Neptune, & Apollon, en la place du Roy, qui n'y danse pas'.

<sup>20</sup> 'Boileau à Losme de Montchenay', Sept. 1707; see *Œuvres complètes de Molière*, ed. Couton, ii. 1413–14 and Brooks (ed.), *Le Théâtre et l'opéra vus par Robinet et Laurent*, 27–9.

<sup>21</sup> This theory is proposed in M. Couvreur, *Jean-Baptiste Lully: Musique et dramaturgie au service du Prince* (Brussels, 1992), 189–90.

<sup>22</sup> However, the Comédie-Française did perform *Les Amants magnifiques* in Oct. 1688.

come to Paris the following winter, they would see his play 'with all its ornaments'.<sup>23</sup> Since the term *ornements* usually refers to music and dance, it is possible that de Visé envisaged performing a semi-operatic version of *Les Amours de Vénus et d'Adonis* before the King.

For the autumn hunting season at Chambord, the King requested a new *comédie-ballet* from Molière and Lully. The tales told by Laurent d'Arvieux about his trips to the Middle East, followed by the visit of a Turkish envoy that spring, had made *les turqueries* fashionable at court, and so Louis ordered Molière, Lully, and Chevalier d'Arvieux to plan a Turkish *divertissement*.<sup>24</sup> The three met at Molière's villa in Auteuil to collaborate on what would become the musical climax to *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*. After the King approved their plans, Chevalier d'Arvieux and Jean Baraillon, *tailleur ordinaire des ballets du Roy*, began designing the Turkish costumes and turbans.<sup>25</sup> It would appear that Molière and Lully worked independently on the play and the ballet until the first rehearsals at Chambord.<sup>26</sup>

A wholly professional *comédie-ballet*, *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* was the first large-scale court entertainment in which the King and his courtiers did not take part. More than two dozen singers from the Royal Chapel and as many *baladins* performed in the *intermèdes*, the 'Cérémonie Turque', and the concluding 'Ballet des Nations'. According to the royal accounts, these performances cost a staggering 49,405 *livres*.<sup>27</sup> Vigarani oversaw the construction of a temporary stage and amphitheatre in the great hall of the keep at Chambord, while dressing-rooms were built for the actors, dancers, and musicians—who were outfitted with expensive costumes.<sup>28</sup> According to the *Registre de La Grange*, the Troupe du Roy had left Paris on 3 October,<sup>29</sup> which would have given Molière and Lully less than ten days to put the final touches to their *comédie-ballet*, and rehearse for the 13 October première.<sup>30</sup> Afterwards, everyone packed up and travelled to

<sup>23</sup> *Les Amours de Vénus et d'Adonis*, *Tragédie* (Paris: Guillaume de Luynes, 1670); repr. in C. Delmas (ed.), *Recueil de tragédies à machines*.

<sup>24</sup> M. Couvreur shows that one M. Laisné (perhaps the poet Alexandre Lainez), who had been sent by Colbert to Constantinople to assist in the purchase of Turkish *œuvres d'art* for Louis XIV, may have also acted as an adviser on Turkish language and customs; see 'Notes sur Alexandre Lainez: Ses Relations du Levant et leur influence hypothétique sur Molière', *xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 167 (1990), 221–5.

<sup>25</sup> Laurent d'Arvieux, *Mémoires* (1735), iv. 252–4; quoted in Mongrédien, *Recueil des textes relatifs à Molière*, i. 376–7.

<sup>26</sup> Lancaster suggests that *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* began as a 1-act play, commencing with Act 3 (of the 5-act version)—to which other acts were later added along with the Turkish material; see Lancaster, *A History of French Dramatic Literature*, iii. ii. 724–5.

<sup>27</sup> 'Etat des dépenses faites pour les représentations du Bourgeois gentilhomme à Chambord et à Saint-Germain-en-Laye, en octobre et novembre 1670', given in Jurgens and Maxfield-Miller, *Cent ans de recherches sur Molière*, 483–91.

<sup>28</sup> The tailors Baraillon and Fortier furnished a total of 100 costumes, not including those for Molière's actors, for Lully, or for Mlle Hilaire.

<sup>29</sup> *Registre de La Grange*, i. 118.

<sup>30</sup> According to the *Gazette*, 125 (14 Oct. 1670), 1003–4, the King and Queen arrived at Chambord on the evening of 9 Oct. and 'yesterday [13 Oct.] they saw for the first time a ballet with six *entrées* accompanied by comedy, whose overture was played by a marvellous symphony followed by the most enjoyable *dialogue en musique*'. This account therefore contradicts the commonly accepted date of 14 Oct. for the première of *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*.

Saint-Germain-en-Laye for repeat performances on 9, 11, and 13 November. Ten days after the Troupe du Roy returned to Paris, *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* opened at the Palais-Royal and enjoyed immediate popular success.

The *ballet royal* planned for Carnival 1671—and scheduled for the Salle des Machines of the Tuileries Palace—posed an even greater threat to Perrin's opera monopoly. Colbert and the Petite Académie may have wished to elevate the tone of court entertainments and, as Lagrange-Chancel later claimed, he therefore solicited proposals from the leading playwrights of the day:<sup>31</sup> 'Racine proposed the subject of Orpheus; Quinault the abduction of Persephone, which he made subsequently into one of his loveliest operas; and Molière, with the great Corneille's help, held out for the subject of Psyche, which was preferred over the two others.' In the event, *Psyché* was the result of a unique collaboration between Molière (who wrote the play), Corneille (who completed the versification), and Quinault (who provided the sung lyrics).<sup>32</sup> Lully must have composed his score well in advance of the 17 January 1671 première, for Ballard published vocal selections in 1670.<sup>33</sup> With its *récits*, sung airs, ensembles, and choruses, together with Vigarani's magnificent décor and machine effects, *Psyché* was semi-opera. The sets that Vigarani created nine years earlier for Cavalli's *Ercole amante* were still stored in the Salle des Machines, and some may have been used in this production.<sup>34</sup> Perrin's Académie Royale des Opéra had not yet opened, and so Lully engaged some of its singers for the court performances of *Psyché*. Given that Perrin had held the opera *privilège* for eighteen months without any tangible results, it seems reasonable to assume that Molière and Lully began lobbying for the opera *privilège* at this time.

De Visé's second machine play, *Les Amours du Soleil*, opened at the Théâtre du Marais three weeks after the première of *Psyché*. The printed *sujet* contends that *Andromède*, *La Toison d'or*, and 'la Semélé' (probably Boyer's *Les Amours de Jupiter et de Sémélé*) were the last legitimate *pièces à spectacle* to have appeared on the stage of the Théâtre du Marais, whereas 'for the past several years one might have seen some works in this same place that were given the name of machine plays, even though they did not deserve it'.<sup>35</sup> The *livre du sujet* also informs us that Monsieur Prat painted the sets ('one of the most skilled men in France, and who has the most skilled hand for painting in distemper'), and that an engineer named

<sup>31</sup> François-Joseph de Lagrange, Seigneur de Chancel, pref. to *Orphée*, in *Œuvres*, 5 vols. (Paris: Libraires associés, 1758), iv. 63; quoted in Couvreur, *Jean-Baptiste Lully*, 218.

<sup>32</sup> According to Grimarest, Molière had been working on a machine play based on the Psyche legend a year and a half earlier; see J. L. Le Gallois de Grimarest, *La Vie de Molière* (1705), ed. G. Mongrédien (Paris, 1955, repr. Geneva, 1973), 118–19. Couvreur shows that Grimarest was mistaken, and that Molière had in fact been at work on *Psyché* only since Aug. 1670; see *Jean-Baptiste Lully*, 214.

<sup>33</sup> *Airs du Ballet Royal de Psyché, avec la Basse-Continue* (Paris: Robert Ballard, 1670).

<sup>34</sup> See M.-F. Christout, 'Ercole amante, "L'Hercule amoureux" à la Salle des Machines, aux Tuileries', *xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 142 (1984), 5–15 (at 13), and Couvreur, *Jean-Baptiste Lully*, 215–16.

<sup>35</sup> *Sujet des Amours du Soleil. Tragédie en machines représentée sur le Theatre Royal du Marais, le sixième de Feurier 1671* (Paris: Pierre Promé, 1671); repr. in Delmas (ed.), *Recueil de tragédies à machines*.

Beaulieu built and operated the stage machines.<sup>36</sup> The scenic effects included eight set-changes on the lower stage, five on the upper stage, and twenty-four aerial flights of the kind which, according to the author, 'have never been seen in any play'. According to Maxfield-Miller, Louis de Mollier composed music for this production.<sup>37</sup> After several performances given during Carnival, the Théâtre du Marais revived *Les Amours du Soleil* the following October for a run that lasted two months.<sup>38</sup> That autumn the Marais also performed Boyer's *Lisimène, ou la Jeune Bergère*—a hybrid of pastoral comedy and *comédie-ballet* that featured *intermèdes* of singing and dancing nymphs, shepherds, silvans, and fauns.<sup>39</sup>

The Académie Royale des Opéra finally opened on 3 March 1671 with its inaugural production of *Pomone*. According to Sourdéac and Champeron, this opera was performed 146 times over the span of seven or eight months.<sup>40</sup> While the production was praised for its novelty, Perrin's lyrics were held up to ridicule by Saint-Evremond, whose oft-quoted assessment of the opera appears in his own 1674 musical comedy, *Les Opéra*:

*Pomone* is the first French Opera to appear on the stage. The poetry is terrible, but the music is beautiful. Monsieur de Sourdéac built the machines: this is enough to give us a good idea of their beauty. The machines were viewed with surprise, and the dances with pleasure; the songs were heard with delight, and the words with disgust. (2. 4)

However, Saint-Evremond is a questionable authority, for he was living in exile in London during the time of the première of *Pomone*. Not having had the opportunity to witness the production first-hand, Saint-Evremond could only have become acquainted with the opera through the published *livret* and score.

By all accounts, *Pomone* was quite popular with Parisian audiences, who were literally beating down the doors of the Bouteille theatre to see it.<sup>41</sup> Presumably it could have been a financial success as well, had the Académie not been plagued with mismanagement and embezzlement.<sup>42</sup> Three months into the performance-run the singers had not been paid, and on 9 June 1671 they signed a formal complaint. Sourdéac, Champeron, and Champeron's brother Fondant (who

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 13. Beaulieu is perhaps Sébastien de Pontault, Sieur de Beaulieu (d. 1674), who held the post of *premier ingénieur et maréchal des camps et armées du roi*; see *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne* (Paris, 1811–55), iii. 633–4.

<sup>37</sup> Maxfield-Miller, 'Louis de Mollier', 32. This, however, is a moot point, as de Visé's play does not explicitly call for music, nor is music mentioned in Robinet's accounts of the performances.

<sup>38</sup> See Robinet, letters of 31 Jan., 28 Feb., and 7 Mar. 1671 (première); Robinet, letters of 24 Oct. and 7 Nov. 1671, and *Mercur Galant*, 16 Jan. 1672 (revival). For Robinet's letters, see Brooks (ed.), *Le théâtre et l'opéra vus par Robinet et Laurent*, 61–7 and 97–9.

<sup>39</sup> See Deierkauf-Holsboer, *Théâtre du Marais*, ii. 179.

<sup>40</sup> 'Mémoire de Sourdéac et de Champeron' (Archives of the Comédie Française; cited in Nutter and Thoinan, *Origines de l'opéra français*, 175).

<sup>41</sup> See the accounts of gatecrashing in Nutter and Thoinan, *Origines de l'opéra français*, 170–1.

<sup>42</sup> According to Perrault, 'Lully, who until that time had been scornful of their music, upon seeing the great gain they were making from it, asked the King to grant him the sole right of creating operas, and to receive all the profit' (*Mémoires de ma vie*, ed. Bonnefon, 127–8). Sourdéac and Champeron themselves reportedly collected admission at the door, 'bare-headed and in shirtsleeves, and armed with little scales to verify the weight of the *louis d'or* that they put in their pockets'; see Nutter and Thoinan, *Origines de l'opéra français*, 174.

acted as an usher and supervised the running of the stage machinery) had abused and mistreated the female singers.<sup>43</sup> In his letter of 20 June 1671 Robinet punningly described the growing scandal as follows:<sup>44</sup>

<p>Le grand <i>Opera</i> plus n'opère, Dont Maint, ici, se désespère. La Discorde aux poils coulevrins, Qui se nourrit de noirs Chagrins, Et, des Plaisirs, est l'Ennemie, En a troublé l'Académie, Les Intendants, &amp; les Autheurs, Les Musiciens, &amp; les Acteurs, Tous, sont tombez en Guerre atroce, En Guerre incivile, et féroce: Et <i>Pomone</i>, à ce que l'on dit, S'est vüe, en ce crüel Conflit, De Main sacrilège, outragée, C'est-à-dire de coups, chargée, Sans respect (quelle indignité!) De théâtrale Dëité. Or ils ont eu, sur leur Grabuge, Chez Dame Thémis, leur Refuge, Et c'est elle qui doit régler Leur Querelle; &amp; bref, démêler (Ce qui n'est pas affaire aisée) Une si plaisante Fusée.</p>	<p>The great Opera is no longer in operation, of which many here despair. Discord, with her serpentine locks, who feeds on blackest Grief and is the enemy of Pleasure, has troubled the Academy; the administrators and the authors, the musicians and the singers, all have fallen into atrocious fighting, into fierce and uncivil war: and Pomona, they say, found herself in this cruel conflict, with a sacrilegious hand, maltreated —that is to say, beaten without respect (what indignity!) of theatrical divinity. Now they have taken refuge from their squabbling at the court of Dame Themis, and it is she who must settle their dispute; and, in short, disarm (which is no easy affair) so amusing a bomb.</p>
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By the spring of 1671 Molière evidently felt confident that Perrin would be unable to enforce his opera monopoly, for during the Lenten break the Troupe du Roy decided to equip its theatre with a transformation stage, machinery, and a permanent orchestra. The first run of *Psyché*, performed with 'machines, decorations, music, ballet, and generally all the ornaments necessary for this *grand spectacle*', lasted from July to October 1671. This *tragédie-ballet* must have seemed even more like opera when the company hired professional singers 'to sing on-stage, unmasked, and dressed like the actors'.<sup>45</sup>

While *Pomone* was in production, Perrin found himself twice incarcerated for debt—first from 5 June until 27 August and then from 29 August until early September—and on 8 August 1671 he sold a portion of his opera privilege to Jean Granouillet de Sablières, *intendant de la musique* to Philippe d'Orléans (Monsieur).<sup>46</sup> Monsieur had come on several occasions to see *Pomone* in the com-

<sup>43</sup> For a fuller account of this débâcle, see Nutter and Thoinan, *Origines de l'opéra français*, 173–82.

<sup>44</sup> Given in Brooks (ed.), *Le théâtre et l'opéra vus par Robinet et Laurent*, 78–9. <sup>45</sup> *Registre de La Grange*, i. 124–6.

<sup>46</sup> See Nutter and Thoinan, *Origines de l'opéra français*, 184–90. Perrin's misfortunes derive from a debt of 18,000 livres that he and his new wife (the widow La Barroire, who was 61 years of age) contracted in 1653 in order to buy for Perrin the post of *attaché pour la présentation des ambassadeurs* to Gaston d'Orléans. When La Barroire had her marriage to Perrin

pany of his 9-year-old daughter Louise.<sup>47</sup> To celebrate his forthcoming marriage to Princess Elizabeth Charlotte of Bavaria, Monsieur commanded an *opéra en musique* from Sablières and Henry Guichard—an amateur librettist and Monsieur's *intendant et ordonnateur des bâtiments*.<sup>48</sup> At two weeks' notice, Sablières and Guichard hurriedly composed *Les Amours de Diane et d'Endymion* for a performance at Versailles on 3 November 1671.<sup>49</sup> The leading roles were sung by Marie Aubry and her brother-in-law, Pierre Le Vié (both former members of Perrin's academy), and Mlle Turpin (who sang in *Psyché* at the Palais-Royal until the end of October).<sup>50</sup> The *Gazette* reported that this opera 'was performed on a magnificent stage in the new apartment of the Queen, in the presence of Their Majesties and the entire court, [who were] marvellously surprised with this pleasant gallantry which had been prepared in fifteen days'.<sup>51</sup> Three weeks later, Perrin drew up a new agreement dividing his opera *privilege* equally among himself, Guichard, and Sablières.<sup>52</sup> Louis XIV thereupon requested another opera from Sablières and Guichard for Carnival. Lacking the necessary time to compose an original work, they revised and expanded their earlier opera, gave it a new title (*Le Triomphe de l'Amour*), and performed it twice in February 1672 for the King and his court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye.<sup>53</sup>

To add to Monsieur's wedding celebrations, the King commanded a new entertainment from Molière and Lully that would incorporate some of his favourite excerpts from *comédies-ballets* given in previous years. Molière wrote a short comedy, *La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas*, to serve as a literary frame for this ballet pastiche (called *Le Ballet des ballets*), and the Troupe du Roy performed it twice at Saint-Germain during the first week of December.<sup>54</sup> On 15 January 1672 the company began their second performance-run of *Psyché* at the Palais-Royal, which became interrupted when the King summoned them to Saint-Germain to perform *La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas* three more times in February 1672.<sup>55</sup> For Molière and Lully, this would be their last official collaboration.

annulled (and died soon thereafter), his creditor Bénigne Bruno demanded repayment. While La Barroire's son honoured her part of the debt, Perrin was unable to make good on his, and so was placed in debtors' prison on numerous occasions in 1659, 1660, 1665–6, and 1671; see Auld, *Lyric Art of Pierre Perrin*, i. 26–7.

<sup>47</sup> See Robinet, letter of 11 Apr. 1671; given in Brooks (ed.), *Le théâtre et l'opéra vus par Robinet et Laurent*, 68.

<sup>48</sup> Guichard's account of these arrangements is given in Nutter and Thoinan, *Origines de l'opéra français*, 199–200. See also J. de La Gorce, 'Un opéra français représenté à la cour de Louis XIV en 1671 et 1672: *Les Amours de Diane et d'Endymion*, pastorale mise en musique par Sablières', *xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 142 (Jan.–Mar. 1984), 37–46.

<sup>49</sup> Eleanor Pellet mistakenly believed that this was an adaptation of Gabriel Gilbert's 1656 mythological pastorale *Les Amours de Diane et d'Endymion*; see *A Forgotten French Dramatist, Gabriel Gilbert (1620?–1680?)* (Baltimore, 1931), 125.

<sup>50</sup> See Nutter and Thoinan, *Origines de l'opéra français*, 201.

<sup>51</sup> *Gazette*, 133 (13 Nov. 1671), 1099.

<sup>52</sup> Nutter and Thoinan, *Origines de l'opéra français*, 203.

<sup>53</sup> See the *factum* by Sourdeac and Champeron, quoted *ibid.* 206.

<sup>54</sup> The *Gazette*, 145 (4 Dec. 1671), 1168 states that the ballet was first given on the evening of the 2nd, and *ibid.* 148 (11 Dec. 1671), 1191 reported that it had been danced three more times; some of these performances must have omitted Molière's framing play, since the Troupe du Roy returned to Paris on 7 Dec. (*Registre de La Grange*, i. 130).

<sup>55</sup> On 10, 14, and 17 Feb. 1672, according to the *Gazette*, 21 (12 Feb. 1672), 167, and *ibid.* 24 (19 Feb. 1672), 191.

Donneau de Visé's *Le Mariage de Bacchus et d'Ariane* (also known as *Les Amours de Bacchus et d'Ariane*) premièred at the Théâtre du Marais on 7 January 1672, and played every Monday and Thursday afternoon during Carnival. This multi-generic *pièce à grand spectacle* completed de Visé's trilogy of mythological machine plays, and it rivalled *Psyché* in its combination of orchestral and vocal music, ballet, and scenic effects. The printed *livre du sujet* (presumably written by de Visé) states that 'the author of *Les Amours du Soleil* . . . wished this year to give a play in which music and *entrées* might have something as special as the machines of his last work'.<sup>56</sup> Ignoring Perrin's opera monopoly, the Marais hired an unprecedented number of singers, dancers, and instrumentalists for this production, including an orchestra of *instruments champêtres* (*flutes, hautbois, saquebouts, nazards, cornets à bouquin, chalumeaux, muzettes, flageolets, tambours, cornets d'airin, cimbales*, and *nyacres*). According to the *sujet*, nearly eighty people appeared on-stage in the third act. The *sujet* provides further information: the décor was by a 'Monsieur Simon' (i.e. Jean Simon, who would later work for Lully's Académie Royale de Musique), and the choreography was by 'Le Sieur Desbrosses' (i.e. Anthoine des Brosses, who had left Perrin's academy to serve as *maître de danse* to the Marais). While here the composer is referred to only as 'un grand Maistre', de Visé later stated in the *Mercure galant* that 'the airs are by M<sup>r</sup> de Molière [i.e. Louis de Mollier], who for many years composed airs for the King's ballets'.<sup>57</sup>

While Perrin languished in prison, Sourdéac and Champeron took over the operations of the Académie Royale des Opéra. For the next opera, *Les Peines et les plaisirs de l'Amour*, they engaged Gabriel Gilbert to write the libretto, for which Robert Cambert, their salaried musical director, would compose the score. As usual, the Marquis de Sourdéac designed the sets and machines. Cambert's score must have been completed by the autumn of 1672, for the music was in rehearsal when Beauchamps took over as *maître de danse*—probably sometime in December.<sup>58</sup> The première of *Les Peines et les plaisirs de l'Amour* probably took

<sup>56</sup> *Sujet des Amours de Bacchus et d'Ariane, comédie heroïque, qui doit estre représentée sur le Theatre Royal du Marais le 7. Janvier, & les Lundis & Jeadis suivans* (Paris: Pierre Promé, 1672); repr. Delmas (ed.), *Recueil de tragédies à machines*.

<sup>57</sup> *Mercure galant* (16 Jan. 1672, i. 110); cited in Maxfield-Miller, 'Louis de Mollier', 32 and in P. Mélése, *Repertoire analytique des documents contemporains d'information et de critique concernant le théâtre à Paris sous Louis XIV, 1659–1715* (Paris, 1934), 150.

<sup>58</sup> The 'Mémoire de Robert Cambert' clarifies Beauchamps's involvement with Perrin's Académie Royale des Opéra: 'Et pour l'opera des peines et des plaisirs d'Amour il [est] constant que toute la musique estoit preste auparavant que Pomone cessat puisque M<sup>r</sup> de beauchamps qui a dansé environ deux mois à Pomone a entendu la repetition dudit second opera le premier jour qu'il entra [dans *crossed out*] a l'opera et que M<sup>r</sup> des brosses avoit tous les airs [auparav *crossed out*] des ballets de ce second opera auparavant qu'il cedat sa place audit beauchamps.' *Pomone* opened on 3 Mar. 1671 and, according to Perrin, ran for 146 performances. In my article 'Pierre Beauchamps, Choreographer to Molière's *Troupe du Roy*', *Music & Letters*, 76/2 (May 1995), 168–86 (at 180), I stated that 'this would place Beauchamps in Perrin's theatre from July or August 1671, where he would have been dancing in *Pomone* an average of four or five times per week'. In retrospect, I may have overestimated the number of weekly performances given at Perrin's theatre. If *Pomone* had been given thrice per week (perhaps on Tuesdays, Fridays, and Sundays—the performance days of Molière's *Troupe du Roy* and of Lully's Académie Royale de Musique), then the production would have run for forty-nine weeks until the second week of Feb. 1672. If this were true, then Beauchamps would probably have waited until Molière's production of *Psyché* closed

place sometime in February or early March 1672.<sup>59</sup> Marie Aubry, who had performed the leading role in *Les Amours de Diane et d'Endymion*, sang the role of Phyllis, while Marie-Madeleine Brigogne, a newcomer to the Académie Royale des Opéra, was cast in the role of Climène.<sup>60</sup>

Gilbert prefaced his libretto with a lengthy dedication to Colbert. Praising the minister's efforts to promote the arts and sciences, Gilbert credits him with having the idea of establishing an 'Académie de l'Opéra'. Gilbert then predicts that a new Académie de la Musique will bring as much international recognition to Colbert as the Académie-Française did to Richelieu.<sup>61</sup>

The inventors of opera have expanded upon the Greeks, and have set all the parts of the poem to music to make it more perfect, and to give a new soul to the verse. If these ingenious minds have deserved a general approbation, it is to you, Monseigneur, that the principal glory for it is due, since you have deigned to encourage them, and nothing is undertaken except on the assurance of your support. It is only right that the public learn of this new debt of thanks that it owes you, so that it might recognize by this example, as well as by so many others infinitely more important, that you do even more praiseworthy things quietly and without ostentation.

That Gilbert dedicated his libretto to the King's minister is telling, for it was Colbert—playing Maecenas to Louis's Augustus—who oversaw royal patronage of the arts.<sup>62</sup> No doubt to Gilbert's disappointment, Colbert instead selected Lully to head this new opera academy. Indeed, the title 'Académie Royale de Musique' broke with a tradition that extended back to the Académie de Poésie et de Musique, founded by the poet Jean-Antoine de Baïf. Mazarin had also put a poet, Francesco Buti, in charge of Italian operas, and Colbert followed suit by entrusting the 'Académie Royale des Opéra' to the poet Pierre Perrin. One would reasonably have expected a literary figure—either Gilbert, de Visé, or Molière—to be chosen as Perrin's successor.

However, there is evidence that Colbert had been grooming Lully to assume the directorship of the opera academy for some time. In a letter that he wrote to Colbert on 3 June 1672, when Sourdéac and Champeron attempted to block the

on 25 Oct. 1671 (for which Beauchamps served as choreographer and conductor) before he took over des Brosses's position as *maître de danse* at Perrin's Académie—and so would have begun dancing in *Pomone* sometime in Dec. 1671.

<sup>59</sup> Nuytter and Thoinan, *Origines de l'opéra français*, 209. According to the frères Parfaict (*Histoire de l'Académie Royale de Musique*, 10), *Les Peines et les plaisirs de l'amour* was performed 'à la fin de Novembre, ou commencement de Décembre 1671'. This early date seems implausible for a number of reasons, not least of which is the 1672 date printed on the libretto.

<sup>60</sup> According to the frères Parfaict (*Histoire de l'Académie Royale de Musique*, 10–11), Mlle Brigogne 'débuté at the age of 20 in the pastorale, *Les Peines et des plaisirs de l'amour*, in the role of Climène, which she played with so much success that the name "la petite Climène" remained with her thereafter'.

<sup>61</sup> Dedication to the *Opéra pastorale heroïque, des Peines et des plaisirs de l'Amour, en vers bryriques. Par Monsieur Gilbert, Secrétaire & Résident de la Reyne de Suede. Représentée en Musique à l'Académie Royale des Opéra, l'an 1672* (Paris: Olivier de Varennes, 1672; repr. Geneva, 1980), 2.

<sup>62</sup> Catherine Kintzler, however, believes that Perrin and Gilbert made a political blunder by seeking patronage from Colbert; see *Pottique de l'opéra français de Corneille à Rousseau* (Paris, 1991), 203.

registration of his opera *privilège* with the Parlement, Lully reminded Colbert that he had only been following the minister's advice.<sup>63</sup>

Since the time you granted me the honour of directing the Académie Royale de Musique, I have been faced daily with new chicaneries—of which I make so bold as to send you the last one, by which you will realize, Monseigneur, that they lay false claim to everything: in the first place when they say that they have obtained letters patent from the King under Perrin's name; and in the second place by claiming that I caught the King unawares—those who presented several petitions to His Majesty and who knew better than I his intentions. *You know, Monseigneur, that I have taken no course in this matter other than the one you have prescribed to me*, and that in the beginning I believed that they would take the same one. However, they were far from following your good judgement—knowing full well that you would not tolerate any deception of the sort alleged by them, and which they intend to present to the Parlement, and about which you know more than anyone else.

Lully also had the support of Françoise-Athénaïs, Marquise de Montespan (the King's mistress from 1667 to c.1673), who may have helped Lully to purchase the opera privilege from Perrin.<sup>64</sup>

In his *Mémoires*, Charles Perrault recalled quite a different version of this event:<sup>65</sup>

Lully, who until that time had been scornful of their music, upon seeing the great gain they were making from it, asked the King to grant him the sole right of creating operas, and to receive all the profit. Perrin and Cambert were opposed to this, and M. Colbert himself, who did not think it fair to dispossess the inventors, or, at least, the first promoters, of this form of entertainment in Paris, was not at all in agreement. Furthermore, he found it more suitable, in order for the French to perfect their music studies, to allow everyone the freedom to compose operas, the lyrics as well as the music—in the same way as with comedies and tragedies, whereby each person may write them however he likes, and offer them to actors to be performed. Lully went to the King to demand this grant, and did so with so much force and daring that the King, fearing that Lully might abandon everything out of spite, said to M. Colbert that he could not do without that man for his entertainments, and that it was necessary to accord him what he sought. This was done on the very next day, to the great astonishment of many people, and especially me, because I knew that M. Colbert was against it.

Although Mélése gives credence to Perrault's account, it does not have the ring of truth.<sup>66</sup> The scene of the imperious Lully, going over Colbert's head to appeal

<sup>63</sup> Quoted in Nutter and Thoinan, *Origines de l'opéra français*, 252–4: my italics.

<sup>64</sup> See the frères Parfaict, *Histoire de l'Académie Royale de Musique*, 8, and J. B. Durey de Noinville, *Histoire du théâtre de l'Académie Royale de Musique en France* (2nd edn., Paris, 1757; repr. Geneva, 1972), 28. Pierre Clément suggests that Mme de Montespan provided Lully with the money to buy from Perrin the rights to the Académie; see *Madame de Montespan et Louis XIV*, 2nd edn. (Paris, 1868), 130.

<sup>65</sup> *Mémoires de ma vie*, ed. Bonnefon, 127–8.

<sup>66</sup> P. Mélése, *Le Théâtre et le public à Paris sous Louis XIV, 1659–1715* (Paris, 1934; repr. Geneva, 1976), 38–9. I arrived at this conclusion independently of R. M. Isherwood, who believes that 'Perrault may have been mistaken about Colbert's

directly to the King, and the King's immediate and complete capitulation to Lully, is enacted with the comic pacing of a Molière farce. Rather than opposing Lully, Colbert had been instrumental in promoting his career from the beginning, when he helped Lully secure the position of *Surintendant de la musique et compositeur de la musique de la chambre* in 1661. Moreover, beyond signing the legal documents, which probably had been drafted by Colbert, there is little evidence that Louis XIV played an active role in the opera academy's formation.<sup>67</sup> If the above scene so vividly described by Perrault did indeed take place, then it might well have been staged so as to leave no doubt that Lully had the full and unwavering support of the King.<sup>68</sup>

At any rate, the new opera *privilège* revoked 'all permissions and privileges that we might have previously given and granted, even the one of the aforesaid Perrin'.<sup>69</sup> This was probably the only possible solution to the opera débâcle, given that Perrin had sold partial rights to his privilege on two separate occasions. The King (via Colbert) ordered La Reynie, Lieutenant of Police, to close down Perrin's theatre as of 1 April 'in order to put a stop to the performances which have continued to be given of the said opera [*Les Peines et les plaisirs de l'Amour*]'.<sup>70</sup>

Meanwhile, Lully was seeking a suitable theatre for his Académie Royale de Musique. Perrin's theatre would have been the obvious choice, since it was already equipped for operatic performances. Lully, however, refused to have dealings with Sourdéac and Champeron, who still held the lease to the Jeu de paume de la Bouteille, and instead he requested the Salle du Louvre, the hall where twelve years earlier Cavalli's opera *Xerxes* had been performed.<sup>71</sup> However, when the King declined on the grounds that the Louvre was inappropriate for public performances,<sup>72</sup> Lully then leased the Jeu de paume de Béquet (also known as 'le Bel-Air'), the first site of Perrin's academy. This evidently was

initial objection to awarding the *privilège* to Lully'; see Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1973), 181.

<sup>67</sup> Indeed, Colbert's signature appears together with the King's on both Perrin's 1669 privilege and Lully's 1672 privilege (Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Ms. anonyme C 954).

<sup>68</sup> From an early age Louis XIV enjoyed seeing his orders carried out with a certain dramatic flair. See e.g. the account of the arrest of Cardinal de Retz on 19 Dec. 1652 as related by Charles Paulin, father-confessor to the 14-year-old king; given in Bluche, *Louis XIV*, trans. Greengrass, 61.

<sup>69</sup> 'Etablissement d'Académie Royale de musique en faveur du Sieur de Lully', reproduced in Benoit, *Musiques de cour*, 37–8. The text of the new *privilège* acknowledged Perrin's ineptitude while it extolled Lully's capabilities ('but having since been informed that the trouble and care that the said Sieur Perrin took for this establishment has not been able to support fully our purpose and to raise music to the point that we have promised, we have been persuaded that in order to make it succeed better, it would be appropriate to give its direction to a person whose experience and ability have come to our attention, and who had enough capability to train some students to sing and to act on the stage, and to prepare some ensembles of violins, flutes, and other instruments').

<sup>70</sup> Letter of 30 Mar. 1672; quoted in Nutter and Thoinan, *Origines de l'opéra français*, 247–8.

<sup>71</sup> See Maupoint, *Bibliothèque des theatres, contenant le catalogue alphabetique des Pièces Dramatiques, Opera, Parodies, et Opera Comiques; et le tems de leurs Représentations* (Paris: Laurent-François Prault, 1733; repr. Paris, 1970), 134.

<sup>72</sup> Louis's letter to Colbert, dated 3 June 1672, is reproduced in *Revue des documents historiques: Suites de pièces curieuses et inédites*, ed. É. Charavay (Paris, 1874–5), ii. 112.

to have been but a temporary measure, for Lully leased the playhouse only for the remainder of the 1672–3 theatrical season.<sup>73</sup> He retained many of the singers hired and trained by Perrin and Cambert,<sup>74</sup> and engaged Anthoine des Brosses to serve as its *maître de danse*. To help finance his opera venture, Lully went into partnership with the set-designer Carlo Vigarani.

News of Lully's coup caused a general uproar in the Parisian theatres, for the initial draft of the *privilege* prohibited performances 'de plus de deux airs et de deux instruments'.<sup>75</sup> When the Troupe du Roy learned of this, Molière and his actors formally protested against Lully's restrictions.<sup>76</sup> Evidently this objectionable clause was struck from the final version of the *privilege*, which carried only a general prohibition against 'having performed any piece set entirely to music, either in French verse or other languages, without the written permission of Sieur de Lully, upon penalty of 10,000 livres fine and confiscation of the sets, machines, decorations, costumes, and other things'.<sup>77</sup>

Perrin's 1669 opera *privilege* had carried similar musical restrictions to safeguard his monopoly, but they proved to have little actual effect when Molière's troupe, the Marais company, and even the Italian *commedia dell'arte* actors continued to produce their repertory of musical comedies, *comédies-ballets*, and semi-operatic machine plays. By May 1672 Molière had begun testing the efficacy of Lully's monopoly by increasing the amount of music and dance in his productions. He revived several of the *comédies-ballets* (*Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac*, *Les Fâcheux*, *L'Amour médecin*), and furnished several of his non-musical plays (*L'Avare*, *L'École des maris*, *Le Cocu imaginaire*, *L'Étourdi*) with 'augmentation de simphonie'.<sup>78</sup> He also teamed up with Charpentier and Beauchamps for the public première of *La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas*, and introduced a new *comédie-ballet* version of *Le Mariage forcé*, for which they replaced Lully's music with Charpentier's. Parisians flocked to this musical production, even though the Troupe du Roy charged twice the normal admission for the first four performances; when the prices dropped to normal on 17 July, the audience tripled in size to a record 687—the largest attendance of any comedy of the season.<sup>79</sup> Soon thereafter, Lully imposed his first set of specific restrictions on music. His ordinance of 12 August 1672 forbade any company from leasing Lully's play-

house, limited theatres to a maximum of six singers and twelve instrumentalists, and prohibited the hiring of singers and instrumentalists engaged by Lully or of dancers on the royal payroll.<sup>80</sup>

Lully's Académie Royale de Musique opened on 15 November 1672 with *Les Fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus*. Ironically, Molière had a stake in Lully's first opera, which consisted of a pastiche of pastoral scenes culled from *La Pastorale comique*, *Les Amants magnifiques*, and *George Dandin*, and tied together by Quinault's libretto. Four days before its première, the Troupe du Roy commenced its third run of *Psyché* at the Palais-Royal. To replace those singers and dancers who had left to join the Académie Royale de Musique, Molière hired seven new singers, while Pierre Beauchamps returned to train a new *corps de ballet*. However, these preparations were not solely for *Psyché*, but also for a new *pièce à spectacle* scheduled for the following Carnival season: *Le Malade imaginaire*.

<sup>80</sup> The 'Ordonnance portant deffenses a toutes les troupes de comediens francois et estrangers de louer la salle qui a servy aux representations des ouvrages de theatre en musique', dated 12 Aug. 1672, is reprod. in Benoit, *Musiques de cour*, 38–9.

<sup>73</sup> See Nutter and Thoinan, *Origines de l'opéra français*, 272–3.

<sup>74</sup> Among them were François Beaumavielle and Marie-Madeleine Brigogne.

<sup>75</sup> See the testimonies of Guichard and Sablières and of Sourdéac and Champeron, quoted in Nutter and Thoinan, *Origines de l'opéra français*, 234–6. Sourdéac and Champeron later petitioned the Parlement (on 30 May 1672) in an attempt to block the registration of Lully's opera *privilege* (ibid. 252–4).

<sup>76</sup> The 'Plainte de Molière et des comédiens contre Lully' (dated 29 Mar. 1672) is reproduced in Jurgens and Maxfield-Miller, *Cent ans de recherches sur Molière*, 509–10.

<sup>77</sup> See Benoit, *Musiques de cour*, 37–8.

<sup>78</sup> These performances are documented in André Hubert's *Registre*; see S. Chevalley (ed.), 'Le "Registre d'Hubert" 1672–1673: Étude critique', *Revue d'histoire du théâtre*, 25 (1973), 12–67.

<sup>79</sup> W. L. Schwartz, 'Molière's Theater in 1672–1673: Light from *Le Registre d'Hubert*', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 56 (1941), 395–427 (at 409).