

MARC-ANTOINE CHARPENTIER'S *DAVID ET JONATHAS*:
FRENCH JESUIT THEATER AND THE *TRAGÉDIE EN MUSIQUE*

by

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Abstract

Marc-Antoine Charpentier composed *David et Jonathas* (1688) for a performance at the Jesuit Collège de Clermont in Paris. The work is described in contemporary sources as a *tragédie en musique*, though the latter term was usually reserved for works that had been composed for the stage of the Académie Royale de Musique. Some scholars have questioned the validity of the label *tragédie en musique* for this work on the grounds that it lacks certain features common to the genre: the amount of recitative, dance, and references to the supernatural are proportionately low compared to other works titled *tragédie en musique*. What is more, the work was originally intended to be performed interwoven with a separate spoken play, titled *Saül*. *Saül* and *David et Jonathas* are dramatically self-contained, but they were meant to be performed together, thus conflating the genres of *tragédie en musique* and *intermède*. In fact, the work's biblical story also raises issues of genre, given that, up to 1688, all works labeled *tragédie en musique* featured a secular story.

This thesis aims to show how this work mixes the traits of several genres both as a result of its Jesuit performance context and its composer's priorities and past experiences writing music for the stage. Through an analysis of the political, aesthetic, musical, and dramatic features of the work, I reveal how the opera shows some indebtedness to the *tragédies en musique* that preceded it. Elements that point to this work's status as a generic hybrid are also brought to the fore, following modern theories of genre that allow for works to participate in several genres without the stipulation to place it into any single category.

Lay Abstract

Given the recent upswing of interest in the composer Marc-Antoine Charpentier, his works are now receiving the attention they deserve. One of Charpentier's largest-scale pieces, the opera *David et Jonathas* is a work that merits much more in-depth analysis than it has received up to this point. The piece challenges notions of genre as we understand them in the context of seventeenth-century French opera. This thesis explores how this work interacts with several genres—the *tragédie en musique*, the oratorio, the ballet *intermède*, and the spoken tragedy—and provides an extensive discussion of its historical context.

Preface

This thesis consists entirely of the unpublished work of the present author, Justin Henderlight.

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*For Dan Kim, Darlene Franz, and Byron Schenkman,
Three teachers to whom I'll always be grateful*

Introduction: Charpentier, the Jesuits, and the genre of *Tragédie en musique*

I have to tell you about three operas. One was performed by the Jesuits on the 28th of last month [February]. As that may surprise you, I will explain myself: The College of Louis-le-Grand, being filled with boarding students of the highest quality who leave and go on to possess the highest dignities of the State, the Church, the Sword, and the Robe, it is necessary that the youth become accustomed to the hardiness and the good grace that are required for speaking in public. To that end, the Jesuits take pains to have two tragedies performed every year. They offer one at the end of each summer, just before the holidays begin, and this one is staged in the court of the college because the weather is still fine. The other appears during the last days of Carnival, performed by the pupils of the Second class [the second-to-highest grade]. These tragedies were previously mixed only with ballets, because dance is very necessary to teach good grace, and to make the body agile, but since music is having its reign now, it has been found appropriate to mix some into the tragedies, in order to make the entertainments complete. There have been even more put on this year, and besides the tragedy of *Saül* performed in Latin verse, there was also one in French titled *David & Jonathas*. As its verses were set to music, it makes sense to call this work an opera. There could not have been greater applause than what it had received, either in rehearsal or in performance. [...]

The second opera of which it is necessary to speak is not new, since it is that of *Phaëton*. [...]

I'll pass by the third opera which was performed here in the last few days. It is in three acts, titled *Flore & Zephire*.¹

So reads a praise-filled account in the *Mercure galant* of Marc-Antoine Charpentier's *David et Jonathas*, an opera that premiered at one o'clock in the afternoon on February 28, 1688. As evident from the opening sentences of the *Mercure* review, the author thought his readers would be taken aback by the performance of an opera orchestrated by the Society of Jesus—also known as the Jesuits—at one of their colleges in Paris, the Collège Louis-le-Grand. Then as now, French opera of the 1670s and 1680s was generally regarded as the domain of one composer, Jean-Baptiste Lully, whose works were performed at court and on the public stage of the Académie Royale de

¹ *Mercure galant*, March 1688, p. 317–323. Translation mine. The French text is reproduced in Appendix 1. Unless otherwise specified in this dissertation, the translations are all my own, and the original French text provided retains the spelling used in the source.

Musique. Lully had acquired the sole right to produce operas in France in those decades.² When Lully died in 1687, the immediate future of French was difficult to foresee. Regardless of this fact, one would not necessarily expect a religious society to provide the stage for new operatic ventures. However, the above quote lays out the Jesuit fathers' objectives in this pursuit, namely to take advantage of a vogue for musical drama that Lully's operas had created. The Jesuits meant at once to teach their pupils how to declaim, sing, and dance in public, but also to entertain their audiences. Moreover, by appealing to the fashions at court, they were able to prepare their students—who were in many cases the children of prominent courtiers—for courtly life, in which ballet and opera figured prominently.

On Genre

Perhaps most remarkably, the author of the above review speaks of the Jesuit opera *David et Jonathas* in the company of the revival of Lully's *Phaëton* (1683), describing the two pieces within the same genre and the same magnitude. In contrast, the new opera premiered at court that year, *Flore et Zéphire*, a collaborative effort by Lully's two sons, receives only a passing remark. What is more, for all of these works, the review uses the term “opera” instead of “tragédie en musique”. The title pages on the livrets and scores of *David et Jonathas* and *Phaëton* employ the latter label. This raises the issue of the relationship between the two terms. Sébastien de Brossard, in his *Dictionnaire de musique* (1703), effectively equates these two genres under his definition of opera:

OPERA. means properly, OUVRAGE (work). Without a doubt, it has come more into use in Italy than in France, to name as “Opera” Tragedies, Pastorales, and

² On this topic and the performing venues for Lully's operas, see Jérôme de la Gorce, *Jean-Baptiste Lully* (Paris: Fayard, 2002), 180–200.

other poems, set to music and mixed with spectacles and dances, in order to be performed in the theater.³

In his index of French terms at the end of the dictionary, Brossard refers the reader to the corresponding Italian entry for each definition. For “tragédie”, he points the reader to the entry “opera.” Modern scholars have addressed the issues of terminology surrounding the terms “opera” and “tragédie en musique” as well. For example, Laura Naudeix opines that “the Italian term ‘opera’ was without a doubt judged to be too vague [...] to designate a serious lyric production in French” when Lully designed the *tragédie en musique*.

However, she concedes that “the term [opera], which we understand today as what the contemporaries of Lully and Rameau were making, seems to us able to be alternated with the exact and precisely authentic title of the genre without doing harm; in the end, it gives us a broader field for our thoughts.”⁴ Rebecca Harris-Warrick has pointed out the fluidity of terminology surrounding such words as “tragédie”, “ballet”, and “pastorale” in seventeenth century France, noting that “opera” could refer to any of these more specific genres.⁵ Given this flexibility, this study will use the term “opera” interchangeably with “tragédie en musique.”

As to the question of the generic identity of *David et Jonathas*, the extant sources for the work all use the label “tragédie en musique” to describe it, including the livret penned by François Bretonneau (1660–1741). Printed copies of the livret survive for both

³ Sebastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris: Ballard, 1703), s.v. “Opera.” “OPERA. veut dire proprement, OUVRAGE. De-là sans doute, est venu tant en Italie qu’en France, l’usage de nommer *Opera*, les Tragedies, les Pastorales, & autres Poésies, mises en Musique & mêlées des Spectacles & de Danses, pour être représentées sur le Théâtre.”

⁴ Laura Naudeix, *Dramaturgie de la tragédie en musique* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2004), 26. Downing Thomas uses the terms interchangeably, see for example *Aesthetics of Opera in the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 4–5.

⁵ Rebecca Harris-Warrick, *Dance and Drama in French Baroque Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 207–208.

the premiere in 1688 and a revival in 1706.⁶ The score remains in one source only, a slightly incomplete manuscript in the hand of Philidor l'Ainé, dated 1690.⁷ Despite the uniformity with which these sources identify this work as either opera or *tragédie en musique*, there are undoubtedly ways that the work diverges from the examples of the genre created by Lully and his librettist-collaborator, Philippe Quinault. First of all, as the *Mercurie galant* described, it was initially ballet—not opera—that graced the stage at the Jesuit Collège Louis-le-Grand (before 1682, the school was known as the Collège de Clermont, the name I will henceforth use for the sake of consistency).⁸ The Fathers inserted ballets between the acts of spoken plays in Latin in order to “allow the populace to taste all of the sweetness of the charms of pleasure and entertainment that makes them [the audience] more receptive,” according to rhetoric professor Claude-François Ménéstrier (1631–1705).⁹ Beginning in the year 1684 and continuing until *David et Jonathas* in 1688, the Jesuits at the Collège performed *tragédies en musique* in French together with their Latin tragedies, both in a single afternoon. With their acts interlaced, the two works told the same story but emphasized different elements. This we know due to the survival of printed programs, synopses, and livrets for the theatrical works given at the Collège de Clermont that indicate, exactly as described in the *Mercurie galant*, a semi-annual production at the school that featured a tragedy given by the students to practice

⁶ François Bretonneau, *David et Jonathas* (Paris: Claude Thiboust, 1688), and François Bretonneau, *David et Jonathas* (Paris: Louis Sevestre, 1706).

⁷ F-Pn, Rés. F 924.

⁸ Beginning in 1682, the Collège de Clermont became a royal foundation financially supported by the French crown. The Jesuit fathers honored this endowment by renaming their school the Collège Louis-le-Grand after Louis XIV.

⁹ Claude Ménéstrier, *Des ballets anciens et modernes selon des règles du théâtre* (Paris: Guignard, 1682), preface: “pour en faire goûter aux peuples toutes les douceurs, sous les appas du plaisir & du divertissement qui les leur rendent plus sensibles.”

their Latin declamation, along with an interpolated ballet or operatic work.¹⁰ This string of roughly twice-yearly performances at the school spanned from 1650 to 1762.

The acts of *David et Jonathas* were, as in the case of all of the music presented at these occasions, sandwiched between the acts of a spoken play—a significant point with regards to genre. The operatic works presented at the Collège before *David et Jonathas* emphasize their function as *intermèdes* on their title pages. *Demetrius* (1685) was described as a “tragédie pour servir d’intermèdes à la pièce latine.”¹¹ Both *Jephté* (1686) and *Celse Martyr* (1687) have the label “tragédie en musique pour servir d’intermèdes à la pièce latine.”¹² While the livret of *David et Jonathas* does not bear the descriptor “intermède” as its predecessors do, it nevertheless functioned at its premiere as an *intermède*.¹³ Thus, the experience of the work would be quite unlike the experience of hearing a Lully opera: the spectator would continually have his or her attention shifted between a spoken play in Latin—in this case the play *Saül* by Pierre Chamillart—and an opera sung in French. The audience inevitably would have understood the works in relation to one another, as each continually interrupted the other to tell the same story. A direct intertextual comparison of the works is unfortunately not possible, as the full text of the Latin play *Saül* was not printed. Only a Latin-texted synopsis survives.¹⁴ The relationship between the operas and their corresponding Latin tragedies is summarized by the Jesuits in the preface to *Demetrius* (1685): “The subject [of the opera] is the same as

¹⁰ A full list of the extant sources for the theatrical productions at the Collège de Clermont is given in Robert W. Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier et l’opéra de collège* (Paris: G.P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1966), 176–195.

¹¹ *Demetrius* (Paris: 1685), 1.

¹² *Jephté* (Paris: Gabriel Martin, 1686), 1; Pierre Bretonneau, *Celse Martyr* (Paris: Gabriel Martin, 1687), 1.

¹³ On the many historical functions and appearances of the *intermède* in French theatrical works, see John Powell, *Music and Theatre in France 1600–1680* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

that of the Latin piece: we have only changed in the course of the outline the order of certain circumstances, to which we have added some others which do not deviate from the subject but which can give more place for spectacle and for the beauty of the music.”¹⁵

Both *David et Jonathas* and *Saül* tell the story of the death of King Saul of the Israelites along with his son Jonathan at the hands of the Philistines, ultimately leading to David's coronation as the new king of Israel. Bretonneau took the story from the Old Testament, 1 Samuel 28 to 2 Samuel 2:1–4. The biblical origins of this opera plot pose another problem with regards to genre, as Quinault's *tragédies en musique* had stories sourced either from Classical mythology (particularly Ovid's *Metamorphoses*) or from medieval chivalric epic, such as Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (1581) or Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (1532).¹⁶ A biblical opera would come to the stage of the Académie in 1732, Montéclair's *Jephté*, but in 1688 there was no precedent. The available models of opera for the Jesuits were exclusively secular. Moreover, the work was performed in a school, mostly by students.¹⁷ As such, *David et Jonathas*—like any Jesuit theatrical piece—was meant to be edifying to both the audience and the student performers. These three differences—the opera's performance alongside a spoken tragedy,

¹⁴ F-Pn Rés. Yf 2822.

¹⁵ *Demetrius* (Paris: 1685), 3. “Le Sujet étant le même que celui de la pièce Latine: on a seulement changé dans la conduite du dessein l'ordre de quelques circonstances, auxquelles on en a ajouté quelques autres qui sans s'écarter du Sujet pouvoient donner plus de lieu au spectacle & aux beautés de la Musique.”

¹⁶ Quinault's earlier livrets, from *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673) to *Phaëton* (1683) sourced their stories from mythology. The later stories, *Amadis* (1684) to *Armide* (1686), took from medieval epic.

¹⁷ None of the livrets for the five operas presented at the Collège list the performers. However, we know that at least some professionals participated in the case of the ballets performed at the school. No less than eighteen dancers from the Opéra were engaged in the *Ballet de la paix* of 1698 (see Ernest Boyssé, *Théâtre des Jésuites* [Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970], 218). A later *tragédie en musique* performed at the Collège, *Narcisse* (1707), employed four professional singers for the important roles and relegated the students to the chorus (see Robert Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 145). Jean Duron has found a handwritten annotation in the margins of one extant copy of the Jesuit opera *Demetrius* (F-Pn Rés Yf 432) that lists four singers from the Chapelle Royale who participated in the work. See Jean Duron, “Marc-Antoine Charpentier: *Mors Saülis et Jonathae—David et Jonathas*, de l'histoire sacrée à l'opéra biblique”

the origins of its story, and its use as an educational tool—call its generic identity into question, despite contemporaries’ lack of hesitation to call it “opera” or “tragédie en musique.”

The purpose of this dissertation is not to decide whether *David et Jonathas* is or is not a *tragédie en musique*. Current genre theory tells us that such a question too greatly simplifies the notion of genre and does not allow for the subtlety that issues of genre demand. Jacques Derrida, for instance, defines genre as “a sort of participation without belonging—a taking part in without being part of, without having membership within a set.”¹⁸ John Frow follows this notion by remarking that

Derrida is right to distinguish between participation and belonging, and to argue that the 'participation' of texts in genres cannot mean a subsumption of the members of a class in the closed totality to which they belong. Texts work upon genres as much as they are shaped by them, genres are open classes, and participation in a genre takes many different forms.¹⁹

Genre boundaries, following Derrida and Frow, are not rigid, and genres are not templates for works to follow. Derrida goes on to remark that “it is possible to have several genres, an intermixing of genres or a total genre, the genre ‘genre’ or the poetic or literary genre as genre of genres.”²⁰ This kind of generic hybridity is emphasized in other genre theorists’ work. Tzvetan Todorov asserts that “a new genre is always the transformation of an earlier one, or several: by inversion, by displacement, [or] by combination.”²¹ This notion is particularly applicable for this thesis, as the *tragédie en musique* indeed was born out of existing genres: it drew upon spoken tragedy but inverted

Revue de Musicologie 77, no. 2 (1991): 259.

¹⁸ Jacques Derrida, “The Law of Genre,” *Critical Inquiry* 7, no. 1 (Autumn, 1980): 59.

¹⁹ John Frow, *Genre*, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 30.

²⁰ Derrida, “The Law,” 64.

²¹ See Tzvetan Todorov, *Genres in Discourse*, translated by Catherine Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Repr. as “The Origin of Genres,” in *Modern Genre Theory*, edited by David Duff, 193–209 (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 197.

some of its critical characteristics, replacing verisimilitude with the supernatural; it displaced the *ballet de cour* as the dominant courtly entertainment; and it combined features of the tragedy, the ballet, and the *air de cour*.²² This last fact is reinforced by Gérard Genette's statement that "any genre can always contain several genres," and "no one can set a limit on this proliferation of species,"—that is, on how many subcategories there can be.²³ As Frow has shown, this hybridization can extend beyond major categories, such as when "complex" genres contain embedded "simple" ones. He gives the example of the appearance of prophetic riddles in *Macbeth*.²⁴ Such genre mixing on this level also occurs in the *tragédie en musique*, for example with prayers and incantations—genres that exist outside of the theater—which are dramatized and situated within the larger work.²⁵ Embracing this idea of the intermixing of genres allows for a much more nuanced reading of individual works.

The freedom of genres to mix is an important precept when analyzing *David et Jonathas*, as the work challenges rigid genre categories. It is not at all self-evident that it belongs to the genre *tragédie en musique*, and yet the work interacts with the conventions of that genre in several ways that will be explored over the course of this thesis. Derrida and Frow provide a theoretical framework within which this thesis can evaluate the work's participation in the *tragédie en musique* genre as well as other genres without the obligation to assert that it belongs to any genre—that is, that it must be classified with a

²² On the inversion, see Catherine Kintzler, *Poétique de l'opéra française* (Paris: Minerve, 1991). On the shift from ballet to opera at the court of Louis XIV, see Georgia Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), ch. 4. On the interaction between the genre elements of ballet and opera, see Rebecca Harris-Warrick, *Dance and Drama*.

²³ Gérard Genette, *The Architext: An Introduction*, translated by Jane Lewin (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); repr. as "The Architext," in *Modern Genre Theory*, 213.

²⁴ Frow, *Genre*, 42.

²⁵ On the appearance of these, see Caroline Wood, *Music and Drama in the Tragédie en Musique* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 315–327.

label that fits it better than any other. Despite the fact that Bretonneau labeled the work *tragédie en musique*, there are several reasons to question the accuracy of that designation, as discussed above. Derrida notes how an author's own "mention" of a genre as a conscious act of labeling can be "mendacious, false, inadequate or ironic."²⁶ I do not contend that the label was applied mendaciously, falsely, or ironically, but it may in fact be inadequate to describe the complexity of this work. Nevertheless, the label invites us as modern interpreters—as much as it invited its contemporary audiences—to view the work as *participating* in a genre that was invented by Lully and Quinault, whatever ways it might diverge from the model works written by those artists. Genre labels bring about what Frow, following Todorov, has called a "horizon of expectation", where spectators' notions of how certain genres typically operate necessarily influences their understanding of a work.²⁷ Throughout this thesis, I generate an interpretive reading of *David et Jonathas* by examining ways that it interacts with these horizons of expectation that the genre label *tragédie en musique* suggests.

The question this study proposes is: which conventions of the *tragédie en musique* are respected in this work, which are not, and why? Further, in which other genres does this work participate, and how does the mixture of these genres reflect both the Jesuit theatrical traditions out of which it emerged and the history and compositional priorities of its composer? This study thus takes the position that *David et Jonathas* is a hybrid, as it participates with the genre of *intermède* given its original performance circumstances, and yet its dramatic coherence and continuous plot limit its participation in the latter genre. The work's status as a spiritual drama suggests connections to the oratorio as well,

²⁶ Derrida, "The Law," 64.

²⁷ Frow, *Genre*, 76. See also Todorov, "The Origin," 199.

although, unlike the latter, it was fully staged.

Emphasizing the hybrid nature of this work labeled a *tragédie en musique* is appropriate as that genre is in and of itself a hybrid. Antoine Louis Le Brun calls the opera libretto a “poetic monster” where it has “neither the constraints of Tragedy, nor the liberty of Epic.”²⁸ French Baroque opera draws on the precedents set by tragedy, lyric poetry, the *ballet de cour*, and the pastorale. Jean Duron emphasizes its hybrid nature when he remarks that it is “the quasi-totality of the ingredients of those grand entertainments at court which had made for some ten years prior the glory of Versailles and of its young sovereign (Louis XIV).”²⁹ By separating out some of the constituent parts of the *tragédie en musique*, I hope to show which aspects were compatible with the aims of Jesuit theater. Because Jesuit opera was produced under different circumstances than Lully’s works, I will demonstrate where *David et Jonathas* consequently strays from the norms of the operas staged at the Académie Royale de Musique.

Essential Sources

Scholars have only sporadically treated the topics of Jesuit opera and the particular circumstances of the creation of *David et Jonathas*, and anglophone scholarship has yet to see a study completely dedicated to this work. Ernest Boyssse’s *Le théâtre des Jésuites* (1880) is the earliest book exclusively devoted to the theatrical practices at the Collège de Clermont.³⁰ Boyssse begins by recounting a brief history of the college, drawing particularly on Gustave Émond’s work on the school, published in

²⁸ Antoine Louis Le Brun, *Théâtre lyrique* (Paris: Ribou, 1712), 12. “Ce Poëme, à proprement parler, est un monstre en fait de Poësie. Il n’a ni la contrainte de la Tragédie, ni la liberté de l’Epopée.”

²⁹ Jean Duron, “L’instinct de M. de Lully,” in *La tragédie lyrique* (Paris: Cicero, 1991), 67. “La tragédie en musique de Quinault et Lully [...] permet de réunir en un seul spectacle la quasi-totalité des ingrédients de ces grands divertissements de cour qui avaient fait quelques dix ans auparavant, la gloire de Versailles et de son jeune souverain.”

³⁰ Repr. as Ernest Boyssse, *Le théâtre des Jésuites* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970).

1845.³¹ This contextual background, along with the following issues raised in Boyssé's study, will be discussed in greater depth below in Chapter 1. Boyssé chronicles the emergence of the practice of performing tragedies in Latin as part of the students' education, drawing upon the work of Joseph de Jouvancy (1643–1719), whose *Ratio discendi et docendi* (first published posthumously in 1725) describes the pedagogical purpose and practical application of theater in the students' lives.³² Boyssé then details the use of ballet at the Jesuit school, citing the aforementioned Jesuit writer and rhetoric professor, Claude-François Ménéstrier.³³ Boyssé points out that ballet flowered on the Jesuit stage after the birth of Louis XIV, who galvanized the court's interest in this art form.³⁴ That the ballet tradition at the Collège de Clermont closely followed courtly fashion is an essential point for this study. Another indispensable primary source for Boyssé is Jean Loret's *Muze historique* (publ. 1650–1665), a somewhat anecdotal journal written in verse that contains descriptions of the author's visits to the Jesuit theater. This source helps Boyssé to piece together aspects of stage décor, the nature of the actors—who were students from the noblest families—and the audiences, which on many occasions included prominent members of the court and even Louis XIV himself.³⁵ Most helpfully, Boyssé concludes his study by enumerating every piece in the repertoire

³¹ Gustave Émond, *Histoire du Collège de Louis-le-Grand* (Paris: Durand-Loisel, 1845).

³² Josephi Juvencii, *Ratio discendi et docendi* (Paris: Barbou, 1725); throughout this dissertation, all citations refer to the translation given by Gilbert C. Lozier, "A Translation of Jouvancy's *Method of Learning and of Teaching* with Historical Significance," Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati, 1956. Jouvancy taught rhetoric from 1677–8 and 1698–9 at the Collège de Clermont. See Gustave Dupont-Ferrier, *Histoire du Collège de Clermont* (Paris: Boccard, 1925), vol. 3, 53.

³³ Claude-François Ménéstrier, *Des ballets*, and Ménéstrier, *Des représentations en musique anciennes et modernes* (Paris: Guignard, 1681).

³⁴ Boyssé, *Le théâtre*, 32.

³⁵ Jean Loret, *La muze historique, ou recueil des lettres en vers* (Paris: Chenault, 1651–1665); repr. in *La muze historique, nouvelle édition*, ed. J. Raveuel and V. de la Pelouze (Paris: P. Janvet, 1857). See Boyssé, *Le théâtre*, 80–83.

performed on the stage at the college from 1650 to 1762.³⁶ He summarizes the surviving pamphlets and livrets for each work that survived the state's seizure of the school upon the expulsion of the Jesuits from France in 1762.

The source that most thoroughly investigates Charpentier's activities at the Collège de Clermont is Robert W. Lowe's *Marc-Antoine Charpentier et l'opéra de collège*.³⁷ Lowe begins by describing the state of research on Charpentier in 1966, observing that, "although he was one of the masters of the French seventeenth century, Marc-Antoine Charpentier is still little known in our time."³⁸ Only one biography had been completed by that point, Claude Crussard's *Un musicien français oublié* (1945).³⁹ It is therefore remarkable that, of all of Charpentier's music, Lowe chose to focus on the composer's contributions to this brief tradition of Jesuit opera. He first describes the Jesuits' appropriation of ballet for their stage, noting that they "dreamt first of all to 'christianize' these new genres and employ the livrets of ballets and operas as a vehicle of propaganda as they had done for the Latin tragedy."⁴⁰ He adumbrates the tradition of the Jesuits including ballets in their semi-annual theatrical productions of tragedies, as described in the *Mercure galant* review cited above. Lowe then follows Boyssse by listing the titles of each of the theatrical pieces given at the Collège, for which (at the very least) synopses and *arguments* survive for the period from 1650 to 1761. Lowe then focuses on the period from 1684 to 1688, when the Jesuits replaced ballets with acts of new operas

³⁶ Boyssse, *Le théâtre*, 113–334.

³⁷ Robert Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier et l'opéra de collège* (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve & Larose, 1966).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 9. "Bien qu'il soit un des maîtres du XVIIe siècle français, Marc-Antoine Charpentier est encore de nos jours peu connu."

³⁹ Claude Crussard, *Un musicien français oublié* (Floury, 1945).

⁴⁰ Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 57. "songèrent les premiers à 'christianiser' ces nouveaux genres et à employer le livret de ballet et d'opéra comme véhicule de propagande ainsi qu'ils avaient fait pour la

to serve as *intermèdes* for their Latin tragedies. After noting the paucity of sources regarding miscellaneous music-making at the Collège, Lowe discusses the surviving evidence regarding staging, followed by a descriptive analysis of *David et Jonathas*. This source is still invaluable. However, given the great resurgence of interest in Charpentier since the 1960s, much of the biographical information has since been greatly expanded by larger, more comprehensive works by H. Wiley Hitchcock, Catherine Cessac, and Patricia Ranum.⁴¹ Most significantly for this study, Lowe deems the works presented on the stage of the Collège from 1684 to 1688 “veritable operas, comparable in as far as length of text as musical development to the secular operas presented by Lully and Quinault during the same epoch on the stage of the Académie Royale de Musique.”⁴²

Jean Duron created the first (and to this date, only) critical edition of *David et Jonathas*.⁴³ Here, he opts for the genre label “opéra biblique” above the first page of the score, though he retains Philidor's designation “tragédie mise en musique” for the title page. Elsewhere, Duron uses *Jonathas* as the prime example of an “opéra de collège.”⁴⁴ In two related articles, he discusses the circumstances surrounding the creation of *Jonathas* and touches on its generic identity.⁴⁵ Most directly, he states that the work is

tragédie latine.”

⁴¹ H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Catherine Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, translated by E. Thomas Glasow (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1995); Patricia M. Ranum, *Portraits around Marc-Antoine Charpentier* (Baltimore, MD: Sheridan Books, Inc., 2004).

⁴² Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 50. “véritables opéras, comparables tant en longueur du texte qu’en développement musical, aux opéras profanes présentés par Lulli et Quinault à la même époque sur la scène de l’Académie Royale de Musique.”

⁴³ Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *David et Jonathas*, edited by Jean Duron (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1981).

⁴⁴ See *Dictionnaire de la musique en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, edited by Marcelle Benoît (Paris: Fayard, 1992), 510. As far as I can tell, Lowe is the earliest author to use the term “opéra de collège” (in the title of his book), although within the work he calls the works at the school *tragédies en musique*. See Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 49.

⁴⁵ Jean Duron, “L’année musicale 1688,” *XVIIe siècle* 139 (1983): 229–241; Jean Duron, “Marc-Antoine Charpentier: *Mors Saülis et Jonathae—David et Jonathas*, de l’histoire sacrée à l’opéra biblique,”

“no longer an intermède at all: it acts like a veritable opera in five acts with a prologue, whose dimensions are comparable of those of the tragédie lyrique. But the comparison stops there, because *David et Jonathas* is not an autonomous work; it depends entirely on the Latin tragedy *Saül* and must functionally react to it (and vice versa).”⁴⁶ In fact, Duron has suggested that the “opéra de collègue” functions as “one gigantic piece in eleven acts mixing spoken dialogue in Latin and song in French.”⁴⁷ A potential difficulty of this interpretation is the fact that the two works, *Saül* and *David et Jonathas*, had different titles, different authors, and survive in separate printed sources. *Jonathas* was revived in 1706 and compressed into three acts; joining this was a new spoken tragedy on the theme of Saul supplied by a different author (likely Jean-François Paullon).⁴⁸ Thus, this historical act of separating the two works from one another supports the notion that they are dramatically autonomous. A case in point is that the plot ingredients in the last acts of *Saül* and *David et Jonathas* are nearly identical, even to the point where the audience sees the characters Saul and Jonathan die in *Saül*, but they are alive again at the start of the subsequent final act of *Jonathas*. The opera can be performed on its own, as it is dramatically self-contained (even though such a performance did not take place in the period, as far as we know).

In another article, Duron refined a taxonomy for the “opéra de collègue”,

Revue de musicologie 77, no. 2 (1991): 221–268.

⁴⁶ Duron, “L’Année Musicale 1688,” 237–238. “*David et Jonathas* n’est plus du tout un intermède : il s’agit d’un véritable opéra en cinq actes et un prologue, dont la dimension est comparable à celle d’une tragédie lyrique. Mais la comparaison se limite à ceci, car *David et Jonathas* n’est pas une œuvre autonome ; elle dépend entièrement de la tragédie latine *Saul* et doit réagir en fonction de celle-ci (et inversement).”

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 238. “C’est donc une pièce gigantesque en onze actes mêlant le dialogue parlé en latin et le chant en français.”

⁴⁸ The printed synopsis does not specify the author. Lowe states “P. Ballu ou Paullon” but does not explain further (185). Since Jean-François Paullon taught rhetoric and humanities during the time of the 1706 *Saul*, he is the probable author. See Dupont-Ferrier, *Du Collège de Clermont au Lycée Louis-le-Grand*, vol. 3, 55.

rhetorically asking whether the Jesuits were attempting an “ideal compromise between a sacred lyric tragedy, an Italian-style sacred history [oratorio], and the traditions of the college theater [the performance of Latin tragedies].”⁴⁹ Indeed, by the title of his article—” *from sacred history to biblical opera*”—Duron appears to see the operatic works presented at Clermont from 1684 to 1688 as an extension of the oratorios that Charpentier composed for the Jesuits, including *Mors Saülis et Jonathae*, which tells the same story as *David et Jonathas*. The potential hazard of Duron's approach—to create a new genre box for this fairly unique series of college operas—is to undermine the works' indebtedness to their musical antecedents. *Mors Saülis et Jonathae* both structurally and stylistically resembles the Italian oratorios of Giacomo Carissimi, with whom Charpentier studied, whereas *David et Jonathas* is in a French idiom derived in part from Lully. As I will show in Chapter 2, these sharp differences in musical structure and style actually delimit ways that these two genres mix—at least by how they sound.

The tendency to disassociate *Jonathas* from the genre of *tragédie en musique* continues in an article by Catherine Cessac.⁵⁰ This article, presented in a compilation aimed at theater historians, gives an overview of the sources for the work, details its subject matter, describes its performance circumstances, and finally asks the question of whether or not the work qualifies as a *tragédie en musique*. Ultimately, Cessac concludes that the work “cannot be considered a *tragédie en musique* because it does not possess all of its characteristics (notably the absence of recitatives and machines). It exceeds the status of *intermède*, on the one hand, by its suitability to function in an autonomous

⁴⁹ Duron, “Marc-Antoine Charpentier,” 258. “un compromis idéal entre tragédie layrique sacrée, histoire sacrée à l’italienne et théâtre de collège traditionnel.”

⁵⁰ Catherine Cessac, “Tragédie latine et tragédie en musique au Collège Louis-le-Grand de Paris: L’exemple de *Saül et David et Jonathas* (1688),” in *Plaire et instruire : Le spectacle dans les collèges de*

manner to the Latin work.”⁵¹ She deems *David et Jonathas* and its antecedent operas at the college as “original in this epoch and belong[ing] to no genre elsewhere essayed.”⁵² It is remarkable that Cessac emphasizes the ability of the work to stand alone, counter to Duron. Yet, like Duron, she takes issue with the idea of *Jonathas* being termed *tragédie en musique* based on the aforementioned lack of “all of its characteristics”, a point which shall be addressed later in this study.

Over the past thirty years, a growing corpus of scholarship has appeared which has examined the *tragédie en musique* as a genre. These studies fall into two camps: those that are most concerned with its literary aspects, and those that more prominently examine the role of the music. Of the first type, the most comprehensive is undoubtedly Laura Naudeix's *Dramaturgie de la tragédie en musique*.⁵³ Naudeix focuses on the idea of the genre as spectacle, delineating how the subject of each work, its staging, and its formal features all aid in the construction of that spectacle. She distills the works to their elements in order to articulate patterns that arise, such as the highly stylized elements like the sets.⁵⁴ Her method is generally reductive, particularly to expose how the many disparate elements contribute to the overall spectacle. More abstract is Catherine Kintzler's *Poétique de l'opéra français*, which explores the relationship between the spoken tragedy and the lyric tragedy, explaining how the Classical rules of tragedy are “inverted” in opera.⁵⁵ Kintzler shows, however, how the *tragédie en musique* maintains

l'ancien régime, edited by Anne Piéjus (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2007), 203–213.

⁵¹ Cessac, “Tragédie Latine,” 213. “l'œuvre commune de Bretonneau et de Charpentier ne peut être considérée comme une tragédie en musique, car elle n'en possède pas toutes les caractéristiques (notamment l'absence de récitatifs et de machines). Elle excède le statut d'intermèdes, d'une part, par sa propriété à fonctionner d'une manière autonome de la pièce latine.”

⁵² Ibid. “original à cette époque et n'appartient à aucun genre expérimenté ailleurs.”

⁵³ Laura Naudeix, *Dramaturgie de la tragédie en musique* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2004).

⁵⁴ Ibid., 140–158.

⁵⁵ Catherine Kintzler, *Poétique de l'opéra français* (Paris: Minerve, 1991).

certain internal consistencies with itself, including the prominent position of the supernatural (*les merveilleux*) in place of verisimilitude (*la vraisemblance*).⁵⁶ In both of these works, music is only discussed as an abstract concept, such as Kintzler's description of how its presence requires a "pathétisation" (pathetization) of the poetry—an effort to ensure that the poetry elicits sympathy on the part of the audience for the characters onstage.⁵⁷ Poetry that stirs the passions of the listeners renders it suitable for musical expression.⁵⁸

Downing Thomas has acknowledged the prominent position that the element of spectacle holds in the *tragédie en musique*, but he suggests that Lully's *Armide* (1686), in particular, complicates this notion.⁵⁹ *Armide*'s monologue in Act II, Scene 5 ("Enfin, il est en ma puissance") creates a "caesura" in the ongoing visual spectacle, leaving the spectator absorbed in the combination of the music and the drama.⁶⁰ He therefore notes an "ascendance of music in *Armide*"—the title of a chapter in his *Aesthetics of Opera in the Ancien Régime*—because this scene "reveals how opera, through its use of music and focus on the operatic voice of passion, goes beyond what drama can accomplish."⁶¹ Elsewhere, Thomas cautions against the pitfalls in affording too much power to music, citing Jean-Laurent Le Cerf de Viéville, that "whatever draws its principal beauty from the fancywork that the musician adds is nothing but cheap goods."⁶² This does not stop Thomas, however, from arguing that the music in *Armide* goes beyond "second-rate

⁵⁶ Kintzler, *Poétique*, Ch. 2.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 361.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ See Downing Thomas, "Opera, Dispossession, and the Sublime: The Case of *Armide*," *Theatre Journal* 49, no. 2 (May 1997): 168–188. See also Downing Thomas, *Aesthetics*, ch. 2.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁶² Le Cerf de Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française* (Brussels: Foppens, 1705), vol. 1, 9. Translated in Thomas, *Aesthetics*, 101. "ce n'est que du droguet, qui tire sa

mimesis or a mere play of sound and decoration.”⁶³ After all, I would add that even Le Cerf acknowledges the power of music in *Armide* in his glowing description of its last scene, discussing Lully’s setting of Armide’s outburst “The perfidious Renaud flees from me”:

How many beauties! What force, what skillful expression even in the most minimal things! For example, consider in passing the port de voix and trembling on the minim that sets the word “flees”; this long note: does it not say “flees from me to very far away ... flees me forever?” One can call out this scene for its moving nature, for its graces, for the diversity of its movements, the triumph cut out from French music.⁶⁴

Though Le Cerf goes on to praise the stage machinery that allows the audience to witness the destruction of Armide’s palace, he clearly sees the music as integral here, very much legitimizing Thomas’s effort to equate the importance of music with visual spectacle.

Other works much more specifically examine how musical style plays into the overall experience and nature of the *tragédie en musique*. Geoffrey Burgess’s dissertation, “Ritual in the *tragédie en musique* from Lully’s *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673) to Rameau’s *Zoroastre* (1749)” shows how plot elements such as political power, magic, heroics, and physical setting manifest themselves in music.⁶⁵ Associating elements of musical style with these aspects of the story is crucial to constructing a concept of how the *tragédie en musique* functions as a literary and musical whole. Caroline Wood’s *Music and Drama in the Tragédie en Musique, 1673–1715* also explores the musical style of Lully and his successors to paint a cohesive picture of the interactions of music and

principale beauté de la broderie que le Musicien met dessus.”

⁶³ Thomas, *Aesthetics*, 102.

⁶⁴ Le Cerf de Viéville, *Comparaison*, vol. 2, 15. Translation mine. “Combien de beautez! Quelle force, quelle adresse d’expression jusques dans le moindres choses! Par exemple remarquez en passant le port de voix & le tremblement sur la blanche du mot, *me fuit*, ce long ton ne veut-il pas dire, *me fuit bien loin, me fuit pour jamais?* On peut appeller cette Scene pour le pathétique, pour les graces, pour la diversité des mouvemens, le triomphe en abregé de la Musique Françoisé.”

⁶⁵ Geoffrey Burgess, “Ritual in the *tragédie en musique* from Lully’s *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673) to Rameau’s *Zoroastre* (1749),” (PhD diss, Cornell University, 1998).

drama in this genre. Wood highlights stylistic tendencies in the music of Lully and his immediate successors to demonstrate how particular musical devices coincide predictably with conventional dramatic devices. Her repertory-centric approach (as opposed to the theory-centric approach taken by Kintzler) helps to show what actually happens in the pieces, regardless of what critics expected or what theorists prescribed.⁶⁶ The approaches of Wood and Burgess in particular has led me to emphasize music's role in the genre of the *tragédie en musique*, very much with the idea that the music is one of its most important components. It is the music more than anything else that gives seventeenth-century opera its enduring appeal to us now, despite the fact that it is the product of a culture quite different than ours.

Other sources have treated the *tragédie en musique* in the context of the larger narrative of art's role in the representation of power at the court of Louis XIV. Robert Isherwood's *Music in the Service of the King* lies in the middle ground between highly music-centric examinations such as Wood's and Burgess's works and the more literary-focused monographs by Kintzler and Naudeix.⁶⁷ His study is an important early exploration in English of the ties between Louis XIV's power and Lully's operas. The chapter on the operas of Lully describes the allegorical appearance of the king within the *tragédie en musique*, establishing the inescapable relationship between opera and politics in *ancien régime* France.⁶⁸ Buford Norman's systematic analysis of Philippe Quinault's livrets, *Touched by the Graces*, does the important work of placing each opera into the

⁶⁶ Caroline Wood, *Music and Drama in the Tragédie en Musique, 1673–1715* (New York & London, Garland Publishing, 1996).

⁶⁷ Robert Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1973).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Ch. 5. In Ch. 8, Isherwood also gives a brief summary of the theatrical practices at the Collège de Clermont; this is the earliest major English-language publication to do so.

immediate real-life context which spawned it.⁶⁹ It also comments on the structure and aesthetics of each work in light of the ideals of French classicism. Norman's discussion of the prologue in particular furthers Isherwood's work on exploring the relationship between king and opera. Georgia Cowart's *The Triumph of Pleasure* then carries this work even further, showing how the political norms of Louis XIV's France could be seen as celebrated or subverted through the performing arts.⁷⁰ Cowart demonstrates how Lully's operas treat the opposing themes of love (which flourishes in peace) and glory (which flourishes in war), and how the relative distribution of these themes often relates to state of France in contemporary reality. In Lully's first four operas, composed during the Dutch Wars (1672–1678), the pleasures of peace sharply contrast with the dangers of war. Following the Treaty of Nijmegen which ended the Dutch Wars, glory is often portrayed in the operas as essential to the hero, superceding potentially dangerous love as the prominent theme. From 1685–1690, Louis XIV's renewed appetite for war and neglect of the arts began to spawn works quietly offering up narratives of dissent.⁷¹ The role of politics in the construction of the *tragédie en musique* genre, as Isherwood, Norman, and Cowart argue, is crucial.

In light of the work that has come before my thesis, I have opted to examine this opera from three angles I see as essential: the political, the aesthetic, and the musical. In order to explore to what extent *David et Jonathas* participates within the genre of the *tragédie en musique*, I will seek to construct a reading of the work. This exercise exposes what the genre norms of the *tragédie en musique* can tell us about *David et Jonathas*, but

⁶⁹ Buford Norman, *Touched by the Graces: The Libretti of Philippe Quinault in the Context of French Classicism* (Birmingham, AL: Summa Publications, 2001).

⁷⁰ Georgia Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

it also shows what a work like *David et Jonathas* can tell us about the historical conception of the *tragédie en musique*. That is to ask, what genre elements did Charpentier, Bretonneau, and the Jesuits see as essential to retain when they brought the *tragédie en musique* genre to their stage, adapting it to their particular priorities? I will also show how this work crosses genre boundaries, incorporating aspects of the *intermède*, the oratorio, and even spoken tragedy.

Chapter 1 will focus on politics, functioning both as an introduction to the Jesuits' relationship with the French government and also to the development of Jesuit theater as it related to French politics. The first part of this chapter also establishes the very general context out of which *David et Jonathas* eventually sprang. A strong bond existed between the Jesuits and the French crown in the seventeenth century, a correlation mirrored by the theatrical traditions of the Collège de Clermont and its emulation of artistic practices at court. I will show how the stage at this school lavished the king with panegyrics using imagery borrowed from courtly entertainments. This narrative begins to dissolve in the 1680s as the Pope's deteriorating relationship with Louis XIV placed the Roman-based Jesuits in an awkward position. When read in light of the political difficulties encountered by the Society at this time, I will show how the surprising lack of panegyrics in the prologue to *David et Jonathas* can be read as an intentional breach of genre to convey quiet dissent for Louis XIV's recent policies.

Chapter 2 explores the dramatic and aesthetic aspects of *David et Jonathas*, addressing the generic difficulties posed by its sacred subject matter. I will examine the potential overlap between opera and oratorio that arises due to the sacred source of the story, examining musical style in *Jonathas* and Charpentier's oratorio *Mors Saülis et*

⁷¹ Cowart, *The Triumph*, Ch. 4.

Jonathae. I will demonstrate how the genre boundaries of opera and oratorio are blurred or upheld, and though Charpentier approaches the musical style in the two genres quite differently, certain elements hybridize these two works. Moreover, the sacred story of *Jonathas* invites us to examine its moral nature in light of the moral expectations (or lack thereof) associated with the *tragédie en musique*. The idea of morality also encompasses a strong theme of opera—love—that I show had to be tempered through Jesuit notions of what was proper to present on their stage. The title characters' relationship in *David et Jonathas* poses challenges of interpretation, and I will offer two potential readings of its nature, but ultimately, it is a love story quite unlike that in Quinault's *tragédies*.

Chapter 3 systematically analyzes the operatic components of the *tragédie en musique* as they appear in *David et Jonathas*: recitative, air, dance, chorus, and instrumental music. Charting the distribution of these elements relative to Lully's *Armide* (1686) exposes how the Jesuit work does or does not resemble one of Lully's operas regarding musical style and the priorities of the respective composers. Charpentier's *Médée* (1694) is included in the analysis as well to show how certain stylistic features are common between the two Charpentier works, speaking to elements which appear in *David et Jonathas* as the result of Charpentier's personal preoccupations.

Exploring the participation of *David et Jonathas* in various genres helps us in modern times to understand its relationship to its sister pieces in the repertoire. Over the past few decades, a resurgence of interest in seventeenth-century French opera has taken hold of performers and audiences alike. As *Jonathas* continues to be performed in the future, directors, musicians, and audiences will have to make decisions regarding the work that can benefit from a detailed inquiry into how the piece works, both in terms of

musical style and in relation to the cultural environment from which it emerged. This study provides extensive analysis and elucidates the historical context of the piece, context that has until now existed most robustly in French-language sources. My hope is to demonstrate the dual influences of Lully's works and Jesuit theatrical practices on this opera. A third influence, naturally, is Charpentier's unique position as a French composer having studied in Italy. Ultimately, this study underscores the futility of attempting to classify this work with any one genre label and shows that it lies at the confluence of several streams of traditions.

Chapter 1.

The Jesuits and the French Monarchy: Politics and *David et Jonathas*

A Perplexing Prologue

All of the sources of *David et Jonathas*—the two surviving livrets and the manuscript score—label the work “tragédie en musique”. This label obliges us to question how the work interacts with the norms of that genre. One of the most significant aspects to consider is the political element, as the originators of the genre, Jean-Baptiste Lully and Philippe Quinault, acknowledged Louis XIV as the dedicatee of their collaborations from the very first, *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673). Lully writes:

Great king, whose valor astonishes the Universe: I have prepared for you my most charming concerts, but I have just offered their charms to you in vain. You do turn your eyes only towards arms; You follow a voice more agreeable to you than the meager delights of the sweetest of my songs, You run to where Glory calls you today, and where She has spoken, you listen only to Her. You intend here for my songs and my plays as entertainments for your fortunate subjects, and when you go to the ends of the earth, to shower your enemies with the misfortunes of war, you leave the pleasures of peace in the heart of your state, as you seek out pain and combat.⁷²

Lully's dedication indicates how the king had authorized the creation of this new kind of spectacle for the amusement of his courtiers, but the composer confirms that his most cherished audience member would be the king himself. Lully also acknowledges the king's zeal to acquire glory through war, yet the tone indicates an almost jealous plea for the monarch to redirect his attention to the peaceful pursuits of the court.

⁷² Jean-Baptiste Lully and Philippe Quinault, *Cadmus et Hermione* (Paris: Ballard, 1673), n.p. “Grand Roy, dont la Valeur estonne l’Univers, J’ay préparé pour Vous mes plus charmans Concers; Mais je vien vainement Vous en offrir les charmes, Vous ne tournez les yeux que du costé des Armes; Vous suivez une Voix plus aimable pour Vous que les foibles appas de mes Chants les plus doux, Vous courez où la Gloire aujourd’huy Vous appelle, Et des qu’elle a parlé, Vous n’escoutez plus qu’Elle. Vous destinez icy mes Chansons, & mes Jeux, Aux Divertissements de vos Peuples heureux; Et lorsque Vous allez jusqu’au bout

Given the close association of the *tragédie en musique* with the king, some image of him had to appear within each work. As Robert Isherwood has shown, Louis XIV consolidated the arts into various academies, including the Académie Royale de Musique, to exercise control—at least symbolically—over the efforts of his resident artists.⁷³ The artists, in turn, acknowledged the patronage of the king by glorifying him in their works. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the prologues to the *tragédies en musique*. As Claude-François Ménéstrier explains: “Prologues have always been received in performances, principally when one bestows through them the honor on some prince, whose praises one ordinarily sings in these prologues.”⁷⁴ While recent work by Rebecca Harris-Warrick shows how prologues could in fact have purposes beyond panegyrics, during Lully's lifetime, the delivery of praise took precedence.⁷⁵ Generally, an allegorical hero (sometimes nameless) transparently represented the king and often referenced some recent event from reality—a military victory or the like.⁷⁶ The prologue to *Cadmus et Hermione* demonstrates such a vivid parallel. Quinault himself tells us that

the subject of this prologue is taken from the first book and eighth fable of the *Metamorphoses*, where Ovid describes the birth and the death of the monstrous serpent Python, which the Sun caused to be born by its heat on the muddy silt that remained on the Earth after the Flood, and which became a monster so terrible that Apollo himself had to destroy it. The allegorical sense of this subject is so clear that it is useless to explain. Suffice it to say that THE KING is above ordinary praise, and in order to form some idea of his grandeur and the brilliance

de la Terre, Combles Vos Ennemis des malheurs de la Guerre, Vous laissez, en cherchant de la peine, & les Combats, Les plaisirs de la Paix au Cour de vos Estats.”

⁷³ See Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King*, Ch. 4.

⁷⁴ Ménéstrier, *Des représentations*, 213. “Ces Prologues ont toûjours été receus dans ces représentations, principalement quand on les à faites à l’honneur de quelque Prince, dont on chanté ordinairement les loüanges en ces Prologues.”

⁷⁵ Rebecca Harris-Warrick, “Le prologue de Lully à Rameau,” in *Le répertoire de l’Opéra de Paris (1671–2009): analyse et interprétation*, ed. Solveig Serre and Michel Noiray (Paris: École Nationale des Chartes, 2011), 205.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

of his Glory, it was necessary to lift him up to the luminous Divinity himself that is the embodiment of his epithet.⁷⁷

By “epithet” (“devise”), Quinault references the description of Louis XIV as “Le Roi Soleil”, a description coined after the young Bourbon portrayed the rising sun in the *Ballet de la Nuit* (1653). Quinault's version of the fable finds the rustic inhabitants of a hamlet disturbed by Envy personified, who summons storms and the monstrous serpent. The Sun descends from the sky and “rains fire” on the infernal interlopers to rescue the villagers.

The Sun tells them that

*In these fortunate places, the Muses will descend
Amorous [galants] games will follow their steps;
I inspire songs full of charms
That you will all hear.
While I follow my course (across the sky),
Profit from beautiful days.⁷⁸*

Here, Quinault puts words in the king's mouth as he supplies the Sun's monologue; he sets up an ideal for courtly life, wherein the king acts as the protector of the people and the font from which endless pleasures flow for their enjoyment. The sentiments here echo Lully's description of his opera as an entertainment that the king provides for the benefit of the court and shows the appropriate relationship between the stage, the monarch, and his people. That the king paves the way for *jeux galants*, or “amorous games”, is another prominent pleasure promised by the Sun's speech, a topic that will be taken up in more detail in the next chapter.

⁷⁷ Quinault and Lully, *Cadmus*, 1. “Le Sujet de ce Prologue est pris du premier Livre & de la huitième Fable des Metamorphoses, où Ovide décrit la naissance & la mort du monstrueux *Serpent Python*, que le Soleil fit naistre par sa chaleur du limon bourbeux qui estoit resté sur la Terre après le Deluge, & qui devint un Monstre si terrible qu'Apollon luy même fut obligé de le détruire. Le sens allegorique de ce sujet est si clair qu'il est inutile de l'expliquer. Il suffit de dire que LE ROY s'est mis au dessus des loüanges ordinaires, & que pour former quelque idée de la grandeur & de l'éclat de sa Gloire, il a falu s'élever jusques à la Divinité mesme de la lumiere qui est le Corps de sa Devise.”

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 8. “Dans ces Lieux fortunez, les Muses vont descendre, / Les Jeux galants suivront leurs pas; / J'inspire les Chants pleins d'appas / Que vous allez entendre. / Tandis que je suivray mon cours, / Profitez des beaux jours.”

Isherwood has pointed out that the muddy landscape out of which the Serpent came represents the Netherlands, where Louis currently was engaged in the Dutch War (1672–1678), represented by the storm.⁷⁹ While the prologue had strong references to the real world, however, the rest of the opera “contained no reference to the king”, in Isherwood's opinion.⁸⁰ The fact that the image of Louis appears primarily in the prologue and not in the drama proper is an important distinction. There is usually—but not always—a sharp divide between the story of the prologue and the story of the main tragedy.⁸¹ In a theatrical genre designed as royal entertainment, the stories inevitably contain a plethora of kings and heroes, but the hero of the prologue is not the main hero of the tragedy. As Buford Norman points out, “a literal reading in which Quinault's kings and/or heroes represent Louis XIV is not at all satisfactory.”⁸² This Norman asserts by listing examples of Quinault's heroes or kings who in some way display unacceptable shortcomings which would make for a highly unflattering depiction of Louis, were he in fact to be personified by such characters. Georgia Cowart acknowledges the purpose of this disconnect between flawed heroes and the king when she remarks that “the roles and imagery [of the *tragédie en musique* ...] did not conform to any specific referent or any one norm of heroic behavior but rather constructed a composite image of heroism [...] Though the individual heroes of the operas often fall victim to the pitfalls of lesser humans, this fallibility serves only to enhance the image of Louis XIV.”⁸³ Geoffrey

⁷⁹ Isherwood, *Music in the Service*, 191.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 194.

⁸¹ See Geoffrey Burgess, “Ritual,” 265–272., and Rebecca Harris-Warrick, *Dance and Drama in French Baroque Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 141–145.

⁸² Buford, *Touched by the Graces*, 33. For example, Admète in *Alceste* “is an extremely weak king who takes second place to Alcide.” Norman mentions Phaëton, who in *Phaëton* disobeys his father the king and is struck by Jove's thunderbolt and the end of the opera. Roland, in *Roland*, goes mad over his lost love.

⁸³ Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*, 123–124.

Burgess opines that “the *tragédie en musique* can be thought of as a prism that refracts sovereign power into a spectrum of representational images.”⁸⁴ He evaluates several hypothetical comparisons between the heroes, kings, and gods with Louis XIV, finding that many of them make for poor or conflicting representations.⁸⁵ We therefore see scholars cautioning against too literal an allegorical reading of the plots of the operas. The most reliable place to find allusions to contemporary people and events in the *tragédie en musique* is the prologue, not the drama proper.⁸⁶

The panegyric prologue to a stage work was a modern invention that predated the *tragédie en musique*.⁸⁷ The prologue to Pierre Corneille's machine play *La Toison d'Or* (1660) was seen as the archetypal example of this genre.⁸⁸ Part of the function that the prologue provided was to act as a transition between reality and the fictitious world of the drama.⁸⁹ The typical procedure adopted by Quinault in his prologues is to present a series of allegorical characters who praise a hero, usually described as “the greatest of heroes.” With the exception of *Cadmus*, this hero is not represented onstage but is the object of unbridled praise directed at him by the allegorical characters that make up the prologue; this hero, of course, represents the king. As Norman has shown, the prologue's purpose was to make “it very clear that we must not forget the greater-than-life ‘plus grand des

⁸⁴ Burgess, “Ritual,” 72.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 68–75.

⁸⁶ Rebekah Ahrendt has shown how a 1701 production of *Armide* in the Hague featured a new prologue which more appropriately related to its own performing circumstances, as opposed to those of Paris in 1686. The fact that a new prologue was composed for the revival underscores the connection between prologues and a contemporary events surrounding a performance. See “*Armide*, the Huguenots, and the Hague,” *The Opera Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (Summer 2012): 131–158.

⁸⁷ Powell, *Music and Theatre*, 265.

⁸⁸ It was Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle (1657–1757) who asserted this. See *Œuvres de Monsieur de Fontenelle*, new ed. (Paris: Libraires Associés, 1766), vol. 3, 108, cited in Powell, *Music and Theatre*, 267.

⁸⁹ Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 62.

héros” at the expense of admiring the heroes of the tragedy.⁹⁰ By presenting a very clear image of the king in the prologue purely to praise his merits, the light of Le Roi Soleil could shine brighter than the constellation of (sometimes quite flawed) ancient heroes presented in the tragedies that followed. This procedure helps to protect against reading any particular figure of power as being directly analogous to Louis XIV or other figures from political reality. Of course, sometimes the story of the tragedy was thought to represent real-life situations, in one case with dire consequences.⁹¹ On the whole however, Norman asserts that “the principal purpose of the prologues is an ideological one (to praise the king) whereas that of the tragedies themselves is esthetic (to evoke emotions and to move the spectator).”⁹²

Given these conventions, *David et Jonathas* presents us with a perplexing situation: the prologue of the work references no hero. No positive image clearly identifiable with Louis XIV appears. Instead, the prologue previews what will come in the tragedy by staging the scene that occurs in 1 Samuel:28. Saul visits a witch who summons the ghost of Samuel, who in turn informs Saul that he and his sons will die and that David and the Philistine army will defeat the army of Israel. Here one also notes another unusual aspect of this prologue: the character of Saul appears in both the prologue and the tragedy. Among Lully's works, only *Psyché* and *Amadis* feature characters in common on either

⁹⁰ Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 66-67.

⁹¹ Quinault's *Isis* was read as an allegory of the current situation between the king and two of his mistresses, an older (Madame de Montespan) and a younger (Madame de Ludres). The plot of *Isis* revolves around Jupiter's infatuation with the young nymph Io, in spite of his marriage to Juno. Juno's jealousy and her angry responses to Jupiter's amorous exploits were read by many at the court to reflect Madame de Montespan's outrage at the king's new female companion. In response, Montespan convinced Louis XIV to forbid Quinault to provide further livrets for Lully's operas (an order which the king rescinded after two years). See Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 186-189.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 57.

side of the prologue/tragedy boundary.⁹³ I use the word “boundary” following Geoffrey Burgess's description of the prologue as “liminal”—as he puts it, “the prologue transports the audience from the everyday to the extraordinary and effects the transition from the present to the mythical by conflating the real time of the performance with the *temps fabuleux* of the *tragédie*.”⁹⁴ Saul, who delusionally begins the prologue of *David et Jonathas* by asking “Where am I? What am I doing?”, can hardly represent a hero who is master of himself. His visitation of a witch to divine his fate further distances him from the image of a self-assured king. At first glance, this prologue seems not to act as a *transition* from reality to plot so much as it plunges the spectator immediately into the story. The abruptness with which the plot begins and its lack of panegyrics might seem grounds to declare this work as diverging completely from the typical role of the prologue in the works of Lully and Quinault.

Jean Duron opines that the present prologue in fact corresponds exactly with a species described by François D'Aubignac in his *La Pratique du Théâtre*.⁹⁵ D'Aubignac notes that there is a type of prologue that “Corneille never employs,” a type of prologue that “contain[s] the argument of a theatrical work, [which is] defective, useless, and completely separate from the poem [...] An all-knowing divinity comes to explain the entire tragedy in this prologue, destroying all of the arguments of the piece, including almost always its surprises and novelty.”⁹⁶ One possible reading of *David et Jonathas*

⁹³ Glancing through the *Recueil général des opéras* (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1971), vol. 1, 53–296, one will note that in the opera prologues in the years 1673–1686, only two operas feature a character from the prologue who also appears in the tragedy: *Psyché* (1678) with Venus and L'Amour, and *Amadis* (1684) with Urgande. See also Harris-Warrick, *Dance and Drama*, 141.

⁹⁴ Burgess, “Ritual,” 263.

⁹⁵ Duron, “Marc-Antoine Charpentier: *Mors Saulis et Jonathae*,” 256.

⁹⁶ François d'Aubignac, *La pratique du théâtre* (Paris: A. de Sommerville, 1657), cited in Duron, “Marc-Antoine Charpentier,” 256. Translation mine. “contiennent l'Argument d'un Piece de théâtre, sont défectueux, inutiles, & entierement séparés du Poëme [...] un Dieu que l'on présuppose tout connaître vient

would thus suggest that librettist Pierre Bretonneau indeed took this type of prologue as his model and that he ignored the precedent set by Quinault (or Corneille). However, the dramatic situation allows Bretonneau and Charpentier to construct a type of scene quite firmly rooted in the tradition of the *tragédie en musique*—a “scène infernale.”⁹⁷ In the process of drawing up Samuel, the witch calls up demons that create atmospheric disturbances. This dramatic situation recalls the aforementioned prologue to *Cadmus et Hermione*, as Envy summons miscellaneous infernal forces before calling up the monster Python. The difference is that no force of good—such as the Sun in *Cadmus*—comes to destroy these forces of darkness in *David et Jonathas*. The witch is in control, and only she allows the demons to dissipate once their aid in summoning Samuel has transpired. As Catherine Cessac has pointed out, the nature of the prologue does not conform to one’s musical or dramatic expectations of the genre; this leads her to question the work’s generic status as a *tragédie en musique* in the first place.⁹⁸

To raise again Todorov’s notion of genre’s ability to foster a “horizon of expectations,” labels create for an audience familiar with certain genres a sense of anticipation about what their experience of a work will be. Given the fact that the printed livret declares *David et Jonathas* a *tragédie en musique* and labels the first section “prologue”, some in the audience may have held expectations for there to be the conventional praise of the king in this work, as per the practices of Quinault. Those expectations would have been dashed, but the context of this piece was no less important to the audience’s presumptions about how the work might unfold. The operas of Quinault,

expliquer toute la tragédie dans ce Prologue, détruisant tous les Arguments de la Piece, qui consiste presque toujours en la surprise & la nouveauté."

⁹⁷ Cessac, “Tragédie latine et tragédie en musique,” 211.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

given at court and on the stage of the Académie Royale de Musique, were part of the larger project of the *académies* to celebrate the king as the foremost patron of the arts and to use the arts as a means to glorify the king and his ideals.⁹⁹ *David et Jonathas* was not the product of this centralized artistic system, and thus the audience may not have been disturbed by the lack of panegyrics, whatever the labels the printed livret used. In fact, given the Jesuits' history of preaching against the dangers of tyranny, some may have even been able to read political criticism into their works.

Without the protection afforded by a panegyric prologue, it becomes more possible in *David et Jonathas* to ascribe a political interpretation to the entire work. Since we are shown no clear image of the king, there is greater possibility to identify the actions of powerful characters portrayed in the work with those of Louis XIV. The subject matter indeed invites such a reading, as it concerns two kings: Saul, the war-thirsty, godless tyrant, and the future King David, faithful, stable, and divinely anointed. We have seen that the heroes of the tragedy proper tend to be flawed, yet *David et Jonathas* presents us with two characters who embody very different approaches to handling power, one greatly flawed and one nearly flawless. David and Saul both make a choice either to follow God or not, and this theme is central to the Jesuits' ideals. St. Ignatius—founder of the Jesuit order—emphasizes the importance of making this choice or “election.” He notes that “the purpose for which I was created” is “to praise God our Lord and save my soul. Accordingly, anything whatsoever that I elect ought to be chosen as an aid toward that end.”¹⁰⁰ I argue that the representation of two kings in *Jonathas* as choosing either a

⁹⁹ See Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), 50. See also Isherwood, *Music in the Service*, Ch.4.

¹⁰⁰ George E. Ganss, ed., *Ignatius of Loyola: The Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 161.

godly path or a path of godlessness resonates with the political situation of the 1680s. Louis XIV had through several actions damaged his relationship with the Pope in that decade, and he had thereby placed the Jesuits in a difficult position of conflicting loyalties. I read *Jonathas* as a reminder on the Jesuits' part to their audience of the dangers of a king who rules without regard for the higher authority of God (and by proxy, of the Church).

We will now turn to a brief history of the Jesuits in France to examine their historical relationship with the monarchy. Thereafter, a discussion of the emergence of Jesuit theater will show how the king was represented in earlier theatrical pieces on the Jesuit stage. As Isherwood has opined, the theatrical productions at the Collège “followed the events of the reign closely.”¹⁰¹ This point will be explored through several examples. Finally, we will review the immediate political context of the years leading up to *David et Jonathas* to demonstrate the imperiled position of the Jesuits at the time of the opera's inception. We shall review certain aspects of the political reality in the 1680s that strained the relationship between the Jesuits and the king, particularly a series of events that damaged Papal relations with France. In this context, a somewhat unfavorable image of the king in Jesuit theater is a reasonable possibility, particularly as the operas on the public stage—such as *Achille et Polyxène* (1688)—also took a turn at the end of the decade toward a cautiously dissenting tone to the king's policies at large.

The Jesuits' Origins and Their Relationship with the French Monarchy

Because a political reading of *David et Jonathas* concerns the relationship between Louis XIV and the Jesuits, it is necessary to see how the Jesuits historically

¹⁰¹ Isherwood, *Music in the Service*, 322.

interacted with the monarchy from their introduction in France.¹⁰² As we shall see, the conflict that the Jesuits faced between their loyalty to Rome and their loyalty to secular rulers often created difficulties for them. To ensure the safety of the Society's members and their right to operate in France, however, a cordial relationship with the sitting king was critical, though they could never completely neglect the authority of the Pope.

The Jesuits, though first established as an order in France, originated with a Spaniard who was born as Iñigo de Onaz de Loyola. This man is better known since his death as St. Ignatius (c. 1491–1556), whose legacy to the Catholic Church was to found the Society of Jesus. Many aspects of Jesuit spirituality and the priorities of Jesuit education have their roots in the personal experiences of Ignatius and the manner in which he found himself drawn to a religious life, for initially, he seemed relatively unconcerned with matters of faith. He instead had more interest in pursuing a life in the military, and in the first decade of the 1500s he became attached to the royal court of Spain, an experience that indoctrinated him into the chivalrous life of a courtier, complete with an exposure to worldly knowledge, to chivalric literature, and to the amorous entanglements associated with such a lifestyle.¹⁰³ Exposure to this world left lasting impressions upon him, both positive and negative. It arguably shaped his later appreciation for a liberal education as well as a certain regret for his erstwhile enthusiasm for carnal pleasures. It was in fact a catastrophe that brought about a period of great introspection in the Spaniard's life, paving the way for a more pious destiny.

¹⁰² An excellent introduction to the Jesuits and their interactions with various states can be found in William Bangert, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 2nd ed. (St. Louis, MO: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1986). There is also a more abstract review of Jesuit political thought through their writings; see Harro Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c. 1540–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

¹⁰³ Bangert, *A History*, 4.

At the infamous battle of Pamplona in 1522, Ignatius was seriously injured, leaving him lame; he returned to Loyola, and during his long recovery, he passed the time by absorbing the histories of the life of Christ and of the Saints. This trying time transformed Ignatius. William Bangert suggests that the origin of Ignatius' religious fervor lay in the parallels between the military "heroism" to which Ignatius was so drawn and the zeal with which the saints at times had historically had to fight and die as martyrs.¹⁰⁴ However, he initially had serious doubts about his suitability for such a life, given his past transgressions and indulgences. He overcame these concerns only through intense self-reflection, in which he dwelled on the nature of his sins and allowed himself to imagine vividly the eventual punishment he would therefore receive in Hell. He then contrasted these thoughts with an attempt to understand the grace of God as it appeared in the pious actions of the saints and of the experiences of Christ.¹⁰⁵ Ignatius must have been a man of extraordinary imagination, likely arising from his appreciation for literature and his long period of idleness during his recovery. He would eventually codify this imaginative and transformative experience into his *Spiritual Exercises*, or *Exercitia spiritualia* (first published in Rome, 1548), a systematic treatise on the art of finding God's will inside oneself.

Ignatius saw his *Spiritual Exercises* as a tool for Jesuit recruits to better themselves, designing a month-long program in which an initiate had a companion guide him through the stages of the book. The exercises are divided into four weeks, and in order to ensure that the devoted party keep his mind on the subject at hand, he would not be allowed to read the book himself at his leisure, relying instead on his overseer to direct

¹⁰⁴ Bangert, *A History*, 6.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

him step by step. The first week requires that the subject focus on the nature of sin in general, on his own sins, and on the nature of Hell. During his own process of coming to terms with his sinful past, Ignatius must have found this an essential step. Philip Endean characterizes the purpose of the first week as an attempt to “cope realistically with sin” but to imagine that the world need not be “controlled by it.”¹⁰⁶ The subsequent three weeks in the process dwell on the life, death, and resurrection of Christ, respectively, and invite the initiate to vividly imagine the mysteries of Jesus' life by placing himself into various scenes from Scripture that capture these episodes. Endean explains that, through this journey, the subject should allow himself to vacillate between “consolation and desolation”, or “attraction towards God and repulsion away from God”, and ultimately, an “election” on the part of the individual to follow Christ.¹⁰⁷ The emphasis all the while is on a very personal and rich experience of Scripture as a means of coming to terms with it and determining how it may apply to one's own life; the idea that one rules one's own fate with personal choices also underscores the work. There is an appended section which warns how “predestination must always be spoken of with great caution.”¹⁰⁸ Flexibility was certainly a virtue, and the *Exercises* optimally provided a “way of proceeding”—a way of learning how to adapt and apply scriptural learning to the unpredictable nature of contemporary life.¹⁰⁹

LuAnn Homza has described how Ignatius' exposure to the lack of unity in the Catholic environment of early sixteenth-century Spain provided him and others “a space

¹⁰⁶ Philip Endean, "The Spiritual Exercises", in *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 59.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 61–62.

¹⁰⁸ Edward A. Fitzpatrick, ed., *St. Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum* (New York and London: McGraw Hill, 1933), 269.

¹⁰⁹ Endean, "The Spiritual Exercises," 64.

for individual religious initiatives”,¹¹⁰ as rampant corruption forced the truly devout to “debate about belief, hierarchy, and ritual.”¹¹¹ While the *Spiritual Exercises* encourage obedience to church superiors and official doctrine, we shall see how the Jesuits at times had to compromise on this matter, no doubt drawing on the overall message to obey the divine “knowledge from within.”¹¹² These general themes and their deep roots in Ignatian theology underpin a great deal of the struggles the Jesuits would come to endure with exponents of other ideologies. The emphasis on experiencing edification vividly—actually placing oneself mentally among the characters and events of Biblical situations—explains in part why collegiate theatrical productions would become so instrumental to the Society.¹¹³

By the 1550s, Ignatius began to pen the Jesuit *Constitutions* and the *Ratio studiorum*, which, after several revisions, became the guidelines by which the Jesuits approached their educational mission. These works still have force even today. The Preamble to the *Constitutions* distills Ignatius' pedagogical goals for his Society stating that “[s]ince the direct objective at which the Society aims is to help the souls of its members and of the neighbor to attain the final end for which they were created, [...] the education in letters and the manner of utilizing them [...] can aid to a better knowledge and service of God, our Creator and Lord [...] are thus necessary, and] will be treated.”¹¹⁴

Consistent with the spread of humanistic ideas in Renaissance Europe, Ignatius did not hesitate to embrace the teachings of Classical philosophy and literature, except for

¹¹⁰ LuAnn Homza, "The Religious milieu of the Young Ignatius", in Worcester, *The Cambridge Companion*, 13.

¹¹¹ Ibid., "The Religious milieu", 25.

¹¹² St. Ignatius, *Spiritual Exercises*, 233, cited in and translated by Endean, "The Spiritual Exercises", 65.

¹¹³ See William McCabe, *An Introduction to Jesuit Theater*, edited by Louis Oldani (St. Louis, MO:

passages which “can hurt good morals” or “offend the purity of souls.”¹¹⁵ Core Jesuit education included a thorough grounding in Greek and Latin, alongside heavy study of Scripture, the theological writings of St. Thomas Aquinas, and Aristotelian philosophy and metaphysics. However, Ignatius welcomed the inclusion of other authors when deemed “better adapted to our times,” at the discretion of the Rector and the Society's current General.¹¹⁶ In this concession one sees resonances of the aforementioned aim of the *Spiritual Exercises* to allow members of the Society to imbue themselves with the ability to make astute moral judgments in the face of the unknown, rather than adhering to any particular dogma. The *Ratio studiorum* contains specific outlines of the duties of professors of each subject, and suggestions abound regarding the extent to which various writers' authority must be upheld. Professors of theology are mandated to regard St. Thomas as a “special teacher”, yet “they should realize that they are not confined to him so closely that they are never permitted to depart from him in any matter.”¹¹⁷ Likewise, professors of philosophy should “not depart from Aristotle unless something occurs which is foreign to the doctrine which academies everywhere approve of; much more if it is opposed to the orthodox faith.”¹¹⁸ These examples suggest a cautious balance between acknowledgment of a single authority and the need to reconcile authority continuously with contemporary knowledge.

By the sixteenth century, universities either began to embrace humanism in the tradition of Petrarch and Erasmus, or cling ever more firmly to the Quadrivium at the

The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1983), 11–13.

¹¹⁴ Translated in Fitzpatrick, *St. Ignatius*, 49.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹¹⁶ Fitzpatrick, *St. Ignatius*, 106.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 160.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 168.

expense of the humanities. Not only did the choice of curriculum divide the two approaches, but the end goal of education was also different. John O'Malley has discussed the extent to which humanism undergirds Jesuit teaching priorities.¹¹⁹ He describes medieval scholasticism as “the polar opposite of the humanist ideal,” because it “was not about *pietas* but *veritas* [...] It was not centered on the development of the student or the betterment of society but on the solving of intellectual problems.”¹²⁰ He concludes that the Jesuit tradition of education is indeed “consistently humanistic on two levels. First, on the level of belief in both the practical and the more broadly humanizing potential of the humanities, and second, on the level of concern for the yearnings of the human heart arising from Ignatian spirituality.”¹²¹ At the same time, as the above examples from the *Ratio Studiorum* show, the Society never strayed too far from an “exacting obedience to rules,” which can cause their approach to be described as “authoritarian humanism.”¹²² This legacy would endure long beyond Ignatius' lifetime and it underpins not only the Jesuits' approach to education but also their responses to the challenges they would face as their order increased in size and influence. As we shall see later, the high position held by Aristotle in Jesuit education and the tendency to adhere to rules would influence how they adapted fashionable forms of entertainment to the demands of ancient authority.¹²³

¹¹⁹ John O'Malley, "From the 1599 *Ratio Studiorum* to the Present: A Humanistic tradition?" in *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives*, edited by Vincent J. Duminuco (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), 127–144.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 132.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 144.

¹²² This term is Aldo Scaglione's. *Ibid.*, 136.

¹²³ The tortured relationship between ancient authority and modern innovation spawned the *Querelle des Ancients et Modernes* in seventeenth-century France. See Georgia Cowart, *The Origins of Modern Musical Criticism: French and Italian Music, 1600–1750* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981), Ch. 2. See also Larry Norman, *The Shock of the Ancient: Literature & History in Early Modern France* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2011).

The last decade of Ignatius' life saw a great expansion of the Jesuit order. Instrumental to this expansion was the foundation of the first Jesuit colleges, of which the Collège de Clermont in Paris was one. Ignatius had gained his first followers in that city, and one could therefore say that the germ of the Society had originated there. However, France proved a fairly hostile environment for the Society even from its foundations. While Pope Paul III had officially announced his endorsement of the Jesuits in the bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* (1540), the Gallican church's relative independence from Rome and the presence of some official Calvinist sympathy during 1560s hindered the expansion of the Jesuits in France. The Society had monarchical support from Francis II, Henry II, and Catherine de' Medici (regent for the young Charles IX), yet the Parlement and the Bishop of Paris, Eustache de Bellay, continually worked to delay the extension of the right to the Jesuits to assemble and teach.¹²⁴ It was the bishop of Clermont, Guillaume de Prat, whose generosity led to the foundation of the first and most prominent Jesuit college in Paris when he bequeathed the Hôtel La Cour to the Society upon his death in 1560, along with 6000 *livres*.¹²⁵ The Jesuits won the right to teach there, commencing with classes on February 22, 1564, but only under the guise of a secular organization styled the "Society of the College of Clermont".¹²⁶ By the following year, the Society of Jesus proper obtained legal recognition and was granted the right to teach, but only at their own institutions; they could not, as they had hoped, subsume their new college into the University of Paris.¹²⁷ It is worth noting that, throughout this period, the college was known by various names, including "collegium parisiense, collège des Jésuites, collège

¹²⁴ Bangert, *A History*, 67.

¹²⁵ Dupont-Ferrier, *Collège*, vol. 1, 3.

¹²⁶ Bangert, *A History*, 69.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 70.

dict des Jésuites”, among others; the name “Clermont” was only consistently used by the government and the institution itself by 1618.¹²⁸ The earliest few years of the school were quite modest, with only “a dozen and a half poor schoolboys” enrolled.¹²⁹ However, by 1564, two Spanish lecturers, Miguel Venegas (humanities) and Juan de Maldonado (philosophy/theology) joined the faculty; through their great skill as orators and passion for their subjects, they had attracted more than 1,000 students by 1570.¹³⁰

Despite this early success, the college would have to close its doors multiple times in the following decades due to the highly unstable political situation of the Jesuits. As their numbers increased, the Society became the object of much suspicion, for their loyalty to the Pope at times put them at odds with the French crown. Moreover, a handful of fairly radical Jesuits in Spain and elsewhere did not endear the Society to the French when they published controversial works which questioned the idea of monarchical power. The Jesuits faced a most trying episode during the reign of Henry IV (r.1589–1610), who was a Calvinist; though he converted to Catholicism in 1593, many were reluctant to accept his change of faith as genuine.¹³¹ In fact, the Jesuits were in a particularly awkward position as Henry had been excommunicated by Pope Sixtus V in 1585; therefore, upon Henry's coronation, the Jesuit general in Rome, Claudio Aquaviva, ordered the French Jesuits “to take no oath of allegiance to the king,” and should they be banished as a result, they ought to accept their fate.¹³² On December 27th, 1594, an attempt was made on the king's life by an erstwhile pupil of the Collège de Clermont, Jean Châtel. This turned what had been a

¹²⁸ Dupont-Ferrier, *Collège*, vol. 1, 5–6.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹³⁰ Bangert, *A History*, 69.

¹³¹ Thomas Worcester, "Jesuit dependence on the French Monarchy," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 106.

¹³² Bangert, *A History*, 120.

smoldering distrust of the Jesuits into a conflagration, for even though Châtel was not a member of the Society, his previous association with the school was enough to damn the Jesuits in the eyes of the French Parlement. Unhelpfully, a radical Jesuit priest had in a 1593 sermon welcomed the idea of Henry's death; this connection further solidified the erroneous perception that the Society had advocated the assassination of the monarch.¹³³ By 1595, the enemies of the order were screaming for their expulsion, a decision that was left up to local courts of law: Paris was quick to exile the Jesuits, and many other communities did so as well, even though the decision was not uniform across all of France.¹³⁴

The Collège de Clermont, of course, had no choice but to close at this point. A further complication then arose which delayed the school's ability to reopen until 1611: two seemingly anti-Royalist publications by the Jesuit writers Juan de Mariana and Robert Bellarmine only deepened the French mistrust of the Society. Mariana, a Spaniard, penned his *De rege et regis institutione* in 1599, a work which appears to question the idea of the divine origins of monarchy, instead suggesting that a king's right to rule is granted by society at large.¹³⁵ The most inflammatory passages in this work suggest that regicide is justified in some cases: Mariana writes that "if circumstances require, and the commonwealth is not able otherwise to protect itself, it is right [...] to declare the prince a public enemy and put him to the sword."¹³⁶ However, Mariana cites the example of David

¹³³ Eric Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy: Catholic Reform and Political Authority in France (1590–1615)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 25.

¹³⁴ Worecester, "Jesuit dependence," 106.

¹³⁵ An English translation exists in Juan de Mariana, *The King and the Education of a King*, translated by George Albert Moore (Washington, DC: The County Dollar Press, 1948).

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 148.

and Saul, noting that David did not take this course of action even though it seemed possibly justified:

Think how great, they say, was the wickedness of Saul, the King of the Jews, in the olden times, and how dissolute was his life and morals! His mind was agitated with his evil plans, and as the punishments of his crimes drove him on[,] he swayed along blindly in his course. After he had been disclaimed by the authority of God, the right of ruling was transferred to David, along with the mystical anointing. Nevertheless, though Saul was ruling unjustly and had slipped down into folly and crimes, his rival, David, did not dare to injure him and he [Saul] was put back into power time and again. Yet David seemed to be in a position to do it legally either by making rightful claim to the dominion, or on the grounds of looking out for his own safety; while Saul, unprovoked by any wrongs, was plotting in every way to take even his life, and dogging the footsteps of the innocent man wherever he presented himself. Now, not only did David spare his enemy; but he slew with the sword, as impious and imprudent, the young Amalechite, who told him that he had killed Saul at the latter's request, when he was conquered in battle and leaning on his sword, because the Amalechite had dared to injure the Prince sacred to God (for that is what the ceremony of anointing signifies).¹³⁷

This account of the story of David and Saul shows how the Jesuits juxtaposed Saul and David, painting the former as the worst sort of tyrant and the latter as the most noble of kings. Though Mariana mentions above that it is in some cases acceptable to kill a king, he cites this story to soften that stance. In the end, it is God's judgment, not any human's, that ultimately matters, as Saul's own actions brought about the moment of his death—David did not need to intervene.

Jonathan Wright, in explaining the nature of such works as Mariana's, points to the fact that they were "part of a long-standing, reputable scholarly debate about the nature and politics and civil society," and Mariana's language "was so cautious and hedged around with qualifications" so as to render the publication quite innocuous. However, Parlement demanded that all copies of Mariana's tract be burned in 1610, which was also

¹³⁷ Mariana, *The King*, 144–145. The "Amalechite" mentioned is the soldier whom Saul begged to kill him when he was injured in battle against David and the Philistine army. Rather than facing defeat against David, he begged the soldier to kill him. See 1 Samuel 31:1–4. It was this soldier who later relayed the deaths to David; David then had a guard kill the soldier for having had the audacity kill a king (even though

the year another inflammatory Jesuit work, Robert Bellarmine's *Tractatus de potestate summi pontificis in rebus temporalibus*, was published. Bellarmine attempted to re-affirm the Pope's supremacy over kings in temporal affairs in response to the Scotsman William Barclay's *De regno et regali potestate* of 1600, which by contrast insisted upon the Godly origins of regal power. The apparent position against monarchical authority in these publications of many (albeit foreign) Jesuits damaged the image of the Society greatly in the first decade of seventeenth-century France. Nevertheless, as Thomas Worcester has shown, due to the careful flattery of the monarchy in print by certain prominent French Jesuits, the Society was able to repair their image at least with those who mattered most to their eventual acceptance: the royal family.¹³⁸

Throughout the seventeenth century, one sees a pattern wherein a single Jesuit with an extraordinary penchant for diplomacy manages to smooth over the most difficult conflicts encountered by the officially papist Jesuits living within the regalist and Gallican church of France. The first such individual was arguably Pierre Coton (1564–1626). King Henry IV, after having survived his first assassination attempt in 1594, succumbed to a later incident of regicide in 1610. Again, the Jesuits were implicated, though those closest to the king must have assumed their innocence, since the monarch had done the Society a great kindness that put them very much in his debt: by the Edict of Rouen (1603), he removed the order of exile against them that the courts had issued in 1595. Eric Nelson describes what motivated the king to make this move: the warm and beguiling Father Pierre Coton played no small part in acquiring the king's favor through his incredibly

Saul no longer had the Lord's blessing) (2 Samuel 1:1–16.)

¹³⁸ Worcester, "Jesuit dependence," 105.

moving sermons.¹³⁹ When Henry was killed, it was again Coton's eloquence that saved the Society from becoming a scapegoat as they had in 1594: he penned an open letter to the Queen, Marie de' Medici, detailing in no poverty of rich elocution the greatness of the deceased monarch, the Jesuits' official love for him, and their abhorrence for works such as Mariana's.¹⁴⁰ Coton states that “kings are, as Homer calls them, the children and infants of God, or rather, *his living image*” in order to distance the Society from any official endorsement of violence against the monarch.¹⁴¹ The following gives an idea of Coton's flowery language to beatify his country:

O France, eye of Christianity, rose of Empires, and pearl of the world; how terrible is this loss for you! How horrible this sinking! France, favorite of Heaven and most loved by God, who has removed from you the mantle of glory that covered you, and the Crown of honor that was raised so high upon your master?¹⁴²

This act apparently solidified the Jesuits' position in France—at least officially—for years to come, as the Queen accepted Coton's letter and ordered the Collège de Clermont to resume its activities.¹⁴³ The Queen's prominent role in this reversal of attitude only strengthened the reliance of the Jesuits on retaining an unwavering monarchical approval indefinitely, without which their enemies might gain a foothold again to secure their ouster.

¹³⁹ See, in general, Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy*, 70–78. Nelson cites a letter of Coton from 24 June 1603 (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu Galliae 64, fo. 33), in which Coton says that the king “wished to hear an hour of Coton's preaching every day” (74, translated by Nelson).

¹⁴⁰ Pierre Coton, *Lettre Declaratoire de la Doctrine des Peres Iesuites conforme aux decrets du Concile de Constance, adressee à la Royne mere du Roy Regente en France* (Paris: Claude Chappelet, 1610), 15.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 17. “Que les rois sont, comme les appelloit Homere, les enfans & nourissons de Dieu; ou plustost, *son image animee.*”

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 26. “O France, œil de la Chrestienté, rose des Empires, & la perle du monde; que ceste perte est grande pour toy! que ce naufrage est horrible! France la fauorie du Ciel & la bien aymee de Dieu, qui t'a osté le mâteau de gloire qui te couuroit, & la Couronne d'honneur qui se releuoit si hautement sur ton chef?”

¹⁴³ Bangert, *A History*, 127.

It was not the Collège de Clermont but another Jesuit institution that bore the legacy of Henry IV's generosity and of his role in the security the Jesuits had acquired under his rule. The college of La Flèche had actually opened by Henry's permission, and his heart was interred there. Worcester describes how the Jesuits continued to extol Henry long after his death, with one Jesuit writer, Étienne Binet, seeing his eulogy to the late monarch in continued publication until seventeen years after Henry's death.¹⁴⁴ Binet, like Coton, lavished panegyrics on the king, juxtaposing his greatness to that of King David, Alexander the Great, and Julius Caesar, concluding that Henry surpassed all of them.¹⁴⁵ This example shows the continued effort that the Society put into publicly assuring the royals of their support, which, as Thomas Worcester shows, was an indispensable gesture that helped solidify their protection.¹⁴⁶

During the reign of Louis XIII (r.1610–1643), the Jesuits continued their slow ascendance, aided by their continual courtship of the royal family and their careful tact during times of crisis. Another explosive tract arrived in 1625 in the form of the Italian Antonio Santarelli's *Tractatus de haeresi, schismate, apostasia, sollicitatione in sacramento poenitentiae & de potestate summi Pontificis*, a work which again sought to confirm the pontiff's supreme authority over kings regarding secular matters. As Bangert puts it, “[i]t was so easy for a Spanish or an Italian Jesuit, in the tranquility of his room in Madrid or Rome, to turn out a few pages which could bring about the destruction of the Society in France.”¹⁴⁷ Predictably, the Parlement of Paris demanded that the Jesuits reject the book. Again, Coton used his ability to find a careful balance between requirements of

¹⁴⁴ Published in Étienne Binet, *Recueil des oeuvres spirituelles du R.P. Estienne Binet, de la Capagnie de Iesuu* (Rouen: Richard d'Allemant, 1627), 786–809.

¹⁴⁵ Binet, *Recueil*, 788.

¹⁴⁶ Worcester, “Jesuit dependence,” 107–111.

loyalty to the Pope, the Jesuit general in Rome, and the French Crown; he encouraged the Fathers who were called to respond (most of them from the Collège de Clermont) to “yield to the times” and to accept Parlement's demand on the grounds that Santarelli's work “could result in civil disturbance” and therefore be considered potentially “evil.”¹⁴⁸

By this point, it seems that highly placed French Jesuits either genuinely embraced the Gallican church or at least saw no great sin in adhering to its demands over those of Rome in order to maintain harmony with the local authorities. One can surmise that, despite their deference to the central Church and its policy to send annual Roman inspectors as enforcers, the French Jesuits were realists and knew that they could suffer much more at the hands of the local government. The Jesuit General in Rome had “the power to abandon or alienate colleges” should he see fit, and the French colleges could have feared that he might exercise this right should they stray too far from the official position of the Society at large regarding papal power. However, Ignatius also writes into the Constitutions that “since [closing a college] is like severing a member from the body, and since it is a matter of great moment and of lasting consequence, it is better to communicate in regard to it with the whole Society.”¹⁴⁹ Thus, Rome likely would not have considered closing the colleges in France, even if it meant that the Jesuit General had to tolerate the French Jesuits’ official stance of support to the king’s autonomy from the Pope.

Another sign of the growing bond between the French monarchy and the Society of Jesus came in the formation of a tradition that would linger into the early eighteenth century: both Louis XIII and his son would always name a Jesuit as their personal

¹⁴⁷ Bangert, *A History*, 200.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 201.

confessor.¹⁵⁰ While such a high placement of a member of the Society undoubtedly proved advantageous, any disagreements between the monarch and his confessor had to be hedged carefully; when not, the result usually had a deleterious effect. This trend began with Jean Suffren, named to the post in 1625 by Cardinal Richelieu, Louis' first minister. Richelieu had some reservations about his own appointment and encouraged Suffren to keep himself circumspect with respect to the king. Suffren's successor, Nicolas Caussin, had even greater trouble with Richelieu when he beseeched the king to withdraw from the Thirty Years' War and subsequently found himself banished by the Cardinal.¹⁵¹ Caussin's issue with the war was no small one: Louis XIII had made allegiances with the both the Protestant Swedish and even the Turks against the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁵² Here was a major example of the French monarchy seeking political advantages without regard for the religious implications of its actions. This example would certainly not be the last in which the French crown's political ambitions put the Jesuits in a highly awkward position. They of course could not support the king when he befriended those they viewed as heretics and infidels. Moreover, both some Jesuits and their opponents alike had reservations about members of the Society rising to so high a place among the elite; this fact naturally stoked the embers of those who continued to suspect the Jesuits as conspiring with foreign powers to bring ruin to France.¹⁵³

The 1640s saw the stability the Jesuits had enjoyed for the past two decades shaken by the Caussin affair, as well as the emergence of one of their chief ideological

¹⁴⁹ Translated in Fitzpatrick, *St. Ignatius*, 56.

¹⁵⁰ Though, as Robert Bireley has shown, this was typical throughout Europe. By the Thirty Years' War, Jesuit confessors had in fact occupied several major courts in Europe, including Vienna, Munich, and Madrid. See *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 267.

¹⁵¹ Bangert, *A History*, 201–202.

rivals, the Jansenists. Named after Cornelius Jansen, this ideology had its roots in the theology of St. Augustine, after whom Jansen had named his influential book *Augustinus seu doctrina Sancti Augustini de humanae naturae sanitate, aegritudine, medicina adversus Pelagianos et Massilianses* (1640). Two of the earliest and most famous followers of Jansen were Antoine Arnauld and Blaise Pascal, both of whom believed that the Jesuits lacked moral rigor. In particular, Arnauld's *De la frèquent communion* (1643) attacked the Jesuits for their tendency to downplay the gravity of sin and to administer the Host to unclean souls. As Wright puts it, however, “sin was a tricky concept to pin down. What if you were doing a bad thing to achieve a worthwhile end?”¹⁵⁴ This question frankly encapsulates the reason that the Jansenists and the Jesuits diverged on the topic of sin. In the *Spiritual Exercises*, the *Ratio studiorum*, the *Constitutions*, and throughout the Jesuits' actions in history, one can see a cautious sort of liberty afforded to humanity to act upon the individual conscience, choosing among various authorities to arrive upon a solution to a difficult moral dilemma that best suited the needs of the time. This is known as the doctrine of probabilism.¹⁵⁵ Pascal and other Jansenists saw the apparent danger in too implicit a trust in individuals to make righteous choices given the allowances provided by probabilism.¹⁵⁶ To the Jesuits, however, Jansenism resembled Calvinism in a way that hastened them to brand such thinking heretical, and they too engaged in pamphlet-based polemics to tar the Jansenists. Moreover, the Jansenists' foundations in St. Augustine's philosophy were incompatible with Ignatius' humanist leanings that

¹⁵² Jonathan Wright, *God's Soldiers: Adventure, Intrigue, and Power—A History of the Jesuits* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 145.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 145.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 157.

¹⁵⁵ First codified in Bartholomeo a Medina, *Expositio in primam secundae angelici doctoris D. Thomae Aquinatis* (Bergamo: 1586).

continued to pervade the Society's teachings. As O'Malley explains, the early humanists “promoted a more optimistic Christian anthropology than the more pessimistic emphasis in the so-called Augustinian tradition, with its often dour fixation on human depravity and moral impotence.”¹⁵⁷ Remaining flexible in matters of morality allowed the Jesuits some measure of protection in their conscience in instances where they had to make difficult choices between whose authority to follow, though they could never stray too far from the authority of the Jesuit General and the Pope in Rome.

In recounting this history, we glean that the Jesuits at large feared that too great an emphasis on the secular authority of kings could generate tyrants. Defense against tyranny was a preoccupation for the Society, at least according to the pamphlet writers such as Mariana. In an age where monarchs increasingly wished to emphasize their independence from Papal authority, the Jesuits—particularly those in France—had to find a careful balance between showing their support for the governments that allowed them to operate while still maintaining loyalty to Rome. This balance would continue to challenge the Jesuits as we turn to the reign of Louis XIV.

Representations of the King on Two Stages

We have seen thus far how the Jesuits gained monarchical support by the publication of materials dripping with praise for the house of Bourbon. Louis XIV's cultivation of the performing arts during his early reign gave the Jesuits a new outlet to emphasize their support for the king. As Louis poured resources into the ballet and later the opera, the Jesuits caught onto the fashion for these art forms and staged their own,

¹⁵⁶ See, for example, Blaise Pascal, *Les lettres provinciales*, Letters 5 and 6 (20 March 1656 and 10 April 1656).

replete with allegorical representations of the king and praises of his virtues. We shall examine the twin traditions of the *ballet de cour* and the Jesuit ballets performed at the Collège du Clermont to establish the norms for the king's onstage image.

Louis XIII died in 1643, leading to a period of great instability in France. Here is not the place for an extensive recount of the Regency of Louis XIII's wife, Anne of Austria. However, it was arguably the shadowy times that preceded his reign that helped the Sun King's emergence—that is, Louis XIV—seem all the brighter. Louis XIII had indicated in his will that his Queen would share power with a cabinet of ministers after his death, but Anne took immediate steps to ensure her exclusive right to rule. She apparently knew little, however, about governance,¹⁵⁸ and entrusted the actual power of policy-making to Louis XIII's minister, Cardinal Mazarin, who fostered a great deal of hatred for himself among the landed gentry, not the least of which because he was Italian. It was no secret that he was in charge, and various factions, including the Parlement and the feudal landowners, all sought to take advantage of the decentralization of power during this time to better their own lots. This led to the series of rebellious episodes collectively known as the Fronde, a string of violent insurrections which caused Paris at times to become so dangerous that the royal family had to vacate the Palais Royale in fear for their own safety.¹⁵⁹

This turbulent backdrop saw a shift in the role and nature of courtly entertainment. Ballet had for almost a century flourished at the French court, and its

¹⁵⁷ O'Malley, "From the 1599 *Ratio Studiorum*," 131.

¹⁵⁸ Ian Dunlop, *Louis XIV* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 11. Dunlop reports accounts that the Queen 'ne savait pas rien de rien.'

¹⁵⁹ See Orest Ranum, *The Fronde: A French Revolution 1648–1652* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1993), 182.

association with the political might of the French monarchy was well established.¹⁶⁰

Regarding the breadth of danced entertainments at the French court, Margaret McGowan notes that “the scale of performances [of ballets] was infinitely fluid, dictated by circumstance, [... and] there was no straight evolution from ball to masquerade to ballet. All forms developed concurrently and invaded each other.”¹⁶¹ In 1581, the “first court ballet” in the sense that we know it arrived in the form of Beaujoyeux's *Circé*.

Because ballets often arose to celebrate specific events, they would allude to current reality and praise the largesse of the monarch who made such celebrations possible. This practice intensified under Louis XIII's reign, and thereby the *ballet de cour* solidified its role as a strong link between an ideally generous king and his grateful subjects.¹⁶²

Cardinal Mazarin, however, made no effort to politicize ballets during the regency of the 1640s, a fact Cowart ascribes to his “lack of sensitivity to this innately French genre.”¹⁶³ Rather, he endeavored to cultivate interest in the ultimate entertainment of his native Italy: opera. Of course, neither the Italian language nor the Italian musical style helped dispel the idea among the French that opera was a foreign art form incompatible with French tastes. James R. Anthony contends that Mazarin's “wish to promote Italian opera in France was due partly to nostalgia and partly to practical politics.”¹⁶⁴ Mazarin hoped opera would become “a political arm of the government with Italian musicians,

¹⁶⁰ For an overview of the emergence of ballet and its nature before Louis XIV's reign, see Margaret McGowan, *L'art du ballet de cour en France, 1581–1643*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Éditions du centre nationale de la recherche scientifique, 1978); for a very brief summary: James R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, rev. ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978), Ch.2.

¹⁶¹ Margaret McGowan, “Dance in Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century France,” in *Dance, Spectacle, and the Body Politick*, ed. Jennifer Nevile (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008), 98.

¹⁶² Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King*, 103. See also Marie-Françoise Christout, *Le ballet de cour au XVIIe siècle* (Genève: Éditions Minkoff, 1987), 7–18.

¹⁶³ Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*, 7.

¹⁶⁴ Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, 48.

poets and machinists potentially involved in state intrigues, and the court so diverted by spectacle that his own political machinations might pass unnoticed.”¹⁶⁵ The minister apparently underestimated the adherence of the French to their own art and their suspicion of foreign influence. In fact, his move to push Italian entertainment on the court only reminded the courtiers of Mazarin's own status as a foreigner determined to impart his own will on the Gauls.

The French reaction to the earliest operas presented in 1645 and 1646 was lukewarm at best. Luigi Rossi's *Orfeo*, however, premiered in France in 1647 with staging designed by the esteemed Italian machinist and set designer Giacomo Torelli. It was a success. The spectacular effects he created, along with the inclusion of ballets between the acts, created a composite work that the French ultimately enjoyed. *Orfeo* had six performances over the course of two months.¹⁶⁶ However, this success quite literally came at a high price: the extravagant costs of mounting the work several times stood in stark contrast to the rampant poverty that had taken hold of Paris over the course of the Regency. Isherwood names several contemporary estimates on the order of hundreds of thousands of *livres*.¹⁶⁷ Meanwhile, Parlement could no longer ignore the dire situation of the lower classes, finally issuing the Queen an appeal in 1648 to aid them, which ultimately fell on deaf ears.¹⁶⁸ Isherwood argues that anger over the cost of *Orfeo* may well have had “very real consequences,” as the breakout of the Fronde in 1648 immediately pushed out all of the visiting Italian talents who feared for their lives.¹⁶⁹ Mazarin's plan to beguile and pacify the elite with his native country's ultimate theater

¹⁶⁵ Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, 48.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹⁶⁷ Isherwood, *Music in the Service*, 125.

¹⁶⁸ Dunlop, *Louis XIV*, 13.

genre had failed; however, a taste for the wondrous stage machinery that the Italians had wrought lingered for decades, becoming a prominent element in later genres such as the *tragédie en musique*.

Louis XIV came of age on September 5th, 1651, at the age of thirteen.¹⁷⁰ Over the next two years, the storm of the Fronde continued, yet the promise of the return of a centralized authority helped to keep the young Bourbon safe. This year also signaled the renewed interest in ballet as the dominant courtly entertainment. Mazarin had been forced into exile, and upon reaching his majority the young Louis wasted no time in following the model of his father to resume the production of ballets for his own political benefit. Already an accomplished dancer, he made his debut in February of 1651 in the ballet *Cassandre*, whose scenario had been designed by Isaac Benserade; it was Benserade's loyalty to the crown and to Mazarin that had afforded him the honor of devising the work.¹⁷¹ Benserade would design several of the ballets during the 1650s, with music supplied by several different composers, such as Jean de Cambefort, Jean-Baptiste Boësset, and Michel Lambert. Subject matter took its cue from several sources, including history, mythology, or the purely allegorical. Characters might be mere personifications of concepts, and the serious and the comical stood side by side. The ballet was usually divided into four large sections, each having a somewhat unified topic; subsections, or *entrées*, consisted of various courtly dances, sung *récits*, airs, and duets, as well as choruses. The variety of subject matter, music, and dance genres included in these *fêtes*

¹⁶⁹ Isherwood, *Music in the Service*, 125.

¹⁷⁰ Dunlop, *Louis XIV*, 21. For a history of this period in the young Louis' life, see Dunlop, Chapters 2 and 3.

¹⁷¹ Isherwood, *Music in the Service*, 135.

speaks to Cowart's distillation of their purpose as "icon[s] of noble pleasure."¹⁷² Where Mazarin had failed to charm and subjugate the nobility with opera, the early ballets of Louis XIV's reign helped him, as they had helped his father, in appeasing the courtiers. Eager to appeal to the king's sensibilities and the fashions of the new era, the Jesuits wasted no time in employing ballet at the Collège de Clermont. A mere six months after the king danced in *Cassandra*, the Jesuits staged the ballet *Saül* at the school, the beginning of a long tradition that would endure until the Jesuits' expulsion from France in 1762.¹⁷³

We have already seen the importance placed on the humanities by the Jesuits in structuring their educational priorities. Though the final version of the *Ratio Studiorum* completed in 1599 says nothing about dance or music, it does include a provision for dramas given at the annual ceremony for the distribution of prizes given to students for outstanding achievements.¹⁷⁴ At Clermont, this event took place each August, and without fail, the students of rhetoric (the highest level, with a median age of 17–18) performed a five-act Latin tragedy composed by one of the resident professors, usually from the rhetoric or humanities department.¹⁷⁵ The *Ratio* mandated that such works "must not be given except in Latin and on very rare occasions, ought to be sacred and

¹⁷² Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*, 13.

¹⁷³ French Jesuits had staged ballets prior to this, though these spectacles were sporadic: Louis XIV's interest in ballet beginning in 1651 certainly catalyzed the Jesuits' zeal for the art form. On Jesuit ballet before Louis XIV, see McGowan, *L'art du ballet de cour*, Ch. 7.

¹⁷⁴ Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 36, states that "Although the first members of the Society of Jesus were not keen to employ music as a pedagogical activity, we read in the instructions of 1560–61 for the prefects of studies (which were a first edition of the *Ratio*), "praefectus scholae ... cantus et chori generalem curam habebit [the prefect of studies will have management over general singing and choirs]". There would be in every class on every day a lesson in song to be given by a competent lay musician, and "a song of the Holy Spirit will be sung at the beginning of classes each morning." However, a second edition of the *Ratio*, dated 1580, calls for a reduction of singing in class because it is "tiresome and of little use."

¹⁷⁵ See Dupont-Ferrier, *Collège*, vol. 3, 231 for a table of the distribution of ages in each class level.

pious, and nothing should be introduced between the acts which is not in Latin and is not becoming; nor is a feminine role nor feminine attire to be introduced.”¹⁷⁶ Father Jouvancy, in his 1685 pamphlet for instructors *Ratio discendi et docendi*, seems eager to uphold the demands of the *Ratio studiorum*. He writes:

The plot should be so handled, wherever it is taken from, that nothing which is not serious, and grave, and worthy of a Christian poet will be included. A play with splendid and well-defined characters affects and moves the spectator more than the most learned and eloquent speech. Therefore, let there be no place for profane love, however chaste it is, no place for female characters, whatever attraction they be endowed with [...] As for its being written in the vernacular, I should not advise this to anyone, for in such verses we are vulgarly stupid and ridiculous. Moreover, our rule does not allow it, since it desires to preserve the literary exercises of our schools in Latin. Also, our theatres should not strive to give any delight whatsoever, but only that delight of a learned and select spectator. These wonders of the art become cheap when we lower them to the taste and desires of the uneducated multitude.¹⁷⁷

These strict rules were not, however, closely followed in practice: In 1704, the play *Josephus venditus*, originally written in 1698 in Latin by Gabriel LeJay, was translated and performed in French verse.¹⁷⁸ And as we shall see, female roles did indeed appear on the Jesuit stage, performed by boys *en travesti*.¹⁷⁹ However loftily Jouvancy's sentiments claimed to appeal only to the educated with Jesuit tragedies, the desire to attract an audience seems to have superseded a strict adherence to doctrine in actual practice. Ménestrier alludes to this desire when he notes that the Jesuits “put on public festivities [...] in order to allow the populace to taste all of the sweetness of the charms of pleasure and entertainment that makes them [the public] more receptive.”¹⁸⁰ William McCabe

¹⁷⁶ Translated in Fitpatrick, *St. Ignatius*, 140.

¹⁷⁷ Translated in Lozier, “Method,” 75–77.

¹⁷⁸ Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 38.

¹⁷⁹ For a detailed exploration of the issues raised by cross-dressing in school drama, see Julia Prest, *Cross-Casting and the Performance of Gender in Drama, Ballet and Opera* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), Ch. 3. See also McCabe, *An Introduction*, Ch. 15.

¹⁸⁰ Ménestrier, *Des ballets*, Preface. “Nous en faisons des réjouissances publiques [...] pour en faire goûter aux peuples toutes les douceurs sous les appas du plaisir & du divertissement qui les leur rendent

states that “drama soon came to be an important link between the college and the surrounding world.”¹⁸¹

Jouvancy's discussion of tragedy immediately follows his remarks on declamation in general as well as of poetry, and while the primary purpose of these tragedies was thus to instruct the students in the art of declamation in Latin, the Jesuits' goal to “help the souls of its members and of the neighbor” seems to have been an important function of the public spectacles as well.¹⁸² Usually, a synopsis in French of each of the five acts was printed and distributed for the benefit of those who could not understand Latin. These documents (such as the extant synopsis for the play *Saül* that accompanies *David et Jonathas*) are frequently the only surviving materials from the plays, the full text generally having never been printed.¹⁸³ The Jesuits went even further, however, to aid in the enjoyment and edification of their audience members uneducated in Latin. As Lowe points out, interpolating ballets into the plays helped “mitigate the monotony and the austerity” of them, particularly for spectators unable to comprehend the Latin declamation.¹⁸⁴ Ménestrier refers to these as “ballets d'attache” and that “at the Collège de Clermont, where a sizeable tragedy is made each year for the distribution of prizes by His Majesty, we most often connect the subject of ballets to that of said tragedy.”¹⁸⁵ Ménestrier then explains through several examples how the subjects of the ballets need only be loosely derived from the tragedy, perhaps simply to function as an allegorical

plus sensible.”

¹⁸¹ McCabe, *An Introduction*, 11.

¹⁸² See also *ibid.*, ch. 3.

¹⁸³ Pierre Chamillart, *Saül, Tragoedia* (Paris: Claude Thiboust, 1688). Such documents are primarily held in the F-Pn. Boyse, in *Théâtre des Jésuites*, summarizes the synopses of all of the extant works and provides some commentary.

¹⁸⁴ Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 39.

exegesis of the main story.¹⁸⁶ This procedure allowed the Fathers to remain somewhat true to the expectations of tragedy outlined in the *Ratio Studiorum* while appealing to a wider audience.

Including dance had benefits for the students as well: The Abbé Michel de Pure, writing in 1668, notes that

Our nobility have always considered dance to be one of the most galant and most honorable [*honnestes*] exercises, where at all times the most elevated people have tried to excel and have made renown by succeeding.¹⁸⁷

This concept of being “honneste,”—or *honnête* in modern spelling—was “no other thing but to excel in everything regarding attractiveness and propriety in life,” according to Antoine Gombaud, the Chevalier de Méré (1607–1684) in his posthumously published *De la vraie honnesteté*.¹⁸⁸ We shall examine the idea of what “honneste” means more in the following chapter, but for now it will suffice to note that a strong background of dance training was indispensable for a young courtier-in-training. Ménestrier defines ballet as “an imitation of those things which are said and are sung,” going beyond “simple dances” and being rather “ingenious representations” when they coincided with

¹⁸⁵ Ménestrier, *Des ballets*, 279. “Au College de Clermont où se fait tous les ans une grande Tragedie pour la distribution des Prix donnez par sa Majesté, on lie le plus souvent le sujet des Ballets à celui de la Tragedie.”

¹⁸⁶ For example, Ménestrier discusses the tragedy given in 1671, *La prise de Babylone*, which was accompanied by the *Ballet des songes*. The topic of dreams in the ballet is fitting because the main character of the tragedy, Balthazar, predicted to fall of the Assyrian empire through clairvoyant dreams. Ménestrier goes on to cite the examples of the tragedies with their ballets in the subsequent years: *Catharina/Ballet de l’illusion* (1672); *Cyrus restitutus/L’Empire du soleil* (1673); and *Moses/L’Idolatrie* (1674). See *ibid.*, 279–282.

¹⁸⁷ Abbé Michel de Pure, *Idées des spectacles anciens et nouveaux* (Paris: Brunet, 1668), 280. “Aussi notre Noblesse à toûjours considéré la Dance comme un des plus galants & plus honnestes exercices, où de tout temps les Personnes le plus relevées & les plus honnestes ont tâché d’exceller, & ont fait gloire de reussir.”

¹⁸⁸ Le Chevalier de Méré, *Œuvres complètes*, edited by Charles-Henri Boudhors (Cadratin, 2008), 70. “Si quelqu’un me demandoit en quoi consiste l’honnêteté, je dirois que ce n’est autre chose que d’exceller en tout ce qui regarde les agréments et les bienséances de la vie.”

the choruses in ancient Greek dramas.¹⁸⁹ He thus vests the art with the authority of the ancients and acknowledges the ability of gesture and movement to carry meaning and convey ideas like words and music do. He also cites also examples in Scripture wherein dance is described with approbation, including when the Israelites celebrated the final victory of David over the Philistines.¹⁹⁰

Jouvancy, more practically, explains that dance helped the body participate in learning the art of eloquence in general; in learning how to hold the body during any declamation, he comments that the “ballet instructors will instruct the boys in this matter.”¹⁹¹ Jesuit Father Gabriel-François LeJay—who taught rhetoric at Clermont—went even further to describe dance as being essential “to raise and form the youth who must one day be a support and ornament of a State”; he acknowledges the importance of its being an “exercise of the body” as well as an “honorable diversion” from “serious occupations”, “as youth are not capable of applying themselves continually.”¹⁹² He puts this on par, in fact, with the need to develop strong minds and virtuous hearts. These words from Jouvancy, Ménestrier, and LeJay come from the 1680s and 1690s, after ballets had been performed regularly at the Collège de Clermont for decades. By that point, ballets had become an ubiquitous part of the annual entertainments, and by 1663, the school began to put on tragedies with ballets during Carnival season also, starting a cycle of biannual entertainments that continued with only a few exceptions to 1761. Kate van Orden has enumerated several earlier writers—Thomas Pelletier, François de Lauze,

¹⁸⁹ Ménestrier, *Des ballets*, 37–40.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁹¹ Translated in Lozier, *A Translation of Jouvancy's Method of Learning and Teaching*, 64.

¹⁹² Preface to *Ballet de la jeunesse*, cited in Boyssse, *Théâtre des Jésuites*, 209. “Quatre choses sont nécessaires pour élever et former une jeunesse qui doit estre un jour l'appuy et l'ornement d'un Estat. [...] Les exercices du corps sont nécessaires aussi pour la disposer aux fonctions d'un âge plus avancé. Enfin,

and Thoinot Arbeau, among others—who all agree with the importance of dance for courtly life.¹⁹³ She notes that it also conditioned the body for more martial pursuits such as swordfighting and equestrian activities.¹⁹⁴ With the opportunity to stage a ballet twice a year, the young pupils at the Collège de Clermont had ample opportunity to show their preparation for court life near the end of their Jesuit education.

It is no coincidence that the first ballet performed at the college since Louis XIV's birth, *Saül*, appeared in the same year as the king's first stage appearance in *Cassandra*.¹⁹⁵ The monarch was in fact present at the college's event, and the choice of subject matter is no surprise given that 1651 was the first year of Louis XIV's reign: *Saül* is a cautionary tale which shows the fall of a king who turns his back on God and loses his divine right to rule. For a drama presented before the king in his formative years, the theme of the importance of obedience to Divine Will was naturally appropriate. An account of this event in Renaudot's *Gazette* describes its perceived purpose and its grandeur:

The Jesuit Fathers, who forget nothing in the education of the children of the best families in this city who are committed to them, had performed at their college the previous week the history of Saul, first king of the Israelites, taken from Holy Scripture and adorned with poetic inventions and morals necessary to endear [the audience to] correct actions and to avoid wrongs: that is the principal law which not only poems but all the works of Christians must put forward. The theater was in the courtyard of the College of these Fathers [...] occupying all of its breadth [...] taking up more than one hundred feet.¹⁹⁶

comme la jeunesse n'est pas capable d'une application continuelle, elle ne peut se passer de quelques divertissements honnestes qui interrompent de temps en temps les plus sérieuses occupations."

¹⁹³ Kate van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2005), 93. She cites (for example) de Lauze, *Apologie de la danse*, facs. ed. (Geneva: Minkoff Reprints, 1977); Pelletier, *Nourriture de la noblesse* (Paris: Mamert Patisson, 1604); Arbeau, *Orchésographie* (Langres, 1589).

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 92.

¹⁹⁵ There was, in fact, a ballet given in honor of the king's birth at the Collège de Clermont in 1638. See McGowan, *L'art du ballet de cour en France*, 226. Jesuit ballets before Louis XIV's reign were, however, quite rare, and belonged to no running tradition such as that at Clermont from 1651–1761.

¹⁹⁶ Théophraste Renaudot, *Gazette*, No. 103, 830–831. Translation mine. "Les Pères Jésuites, qui n'oublient rien à l'éducation des enfans des meilleures familles qui leur sont commis en cette ville, firent représenter dans leur Collège la semaine passée l'histoire de Saül premier Roy des Israélites, tirée de l'Escriture Sainte, & ornée des inventions Poëtiques & moralitez nécessaires à faire aimer les bonnes

The review goes on for several pages to describe with wonder a two-story stage framed with staircases, Ionic columns, two colors of marble, busts of the past four French monarchs and an ostentatious inscription on an equestrian statue of Louis XIV reading: “LVDOVICO XIV. REGI CHRISTIANISS. AGONOTHETAE SVO. THEATRVM CLAROMONT [Louis XIV, the most Christian King, Superintendent himself of the Theater of Clermont].” Regarding the reception of the work, the *Gazette* reports that “the action lasted nearly four hours without a single person becoming bored, neither His Majesty, who took such pleasure from it, that he listened to the end with unwavering attention.”¹⁹⁷ Regarding the potentially tedious use of Latin, the reviewer insists that “the actors so well animated this 'speaking painting' with their efficacy and good grace, that those who were ignorant of the Latin language understood hardly less than the others, so that everybody found satisfaction either through the ears or the eyes.”¹⁹⁸

A second account of the 1651 *Saül* in colorful verse exists in Jean Loret’s *Muze Historique*, which not only agrees with the *Gazette* regarding the quality of the entertainment, but also gives some indication of the size and importance of the audience and the performers:

The Queen and messieurs her two sons,
 Last Monday, on the appointed day,
 Went with large retinues
 To the College of the Jesuits
 In order, at a very beautiful theater,

actions, & les mauvaises : qui est la principale loy que non seulement les Poèmes, mais tous les ouvrages des Chrestiens se doivent proposer. Le Théâtre estoit dans la Cour du Collège de ces Pères [...] qui occupoit toute la largeur de la cour [...] estant de plus de cent pieds.”

¹⁹⁷ Renaudot, *Gazette*, No. 103, 836. “L’action dura pres de quatre heures sans que personne s’y ennüyast non plus que Sa Majesté, qui y prit un tel plaisir, qu’Elle y assista jusqu’à la fin avec une égale attention.”

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 835. “Les Acteurs animèrent si bien cette peinture parlante de leur action & bonne grace, que ceux qui ignoroyent la langue Latine ne les entendoient guères moins que les autres, en sorte que chacun s’y trouvoit content ou par l’oreille ou par les yeux.”

To see a completely new poem,
 Which several young philosophers
 Dressed in brilliant fabrics,
 Performed in Latin
 Half fig; half raisin.
 One experienced there also several dances,
 Ballets, postures, and cadences,
 Where many sons of princes and lords
 Appeared there with honor,
 Not so much for their rich clothing,
 Which they rendered entirely nimble,
 But for the disposition,
 The grace, the beautiful action,
 The agreeable look, the skill,
 The sprightliness, and the youth
 of these lovable damsels,
 Which for the most part were very beautiful.
 Between these young persons,
 All of high and noble lineages,
 Armagnac, Soissons, Chateauneuf,
 and others... etc.¹⁹⁹

By this point, then, Clermont College had become a training ground for the offspring of some of the most prominent families at court, teaching them both the eloquence and the dance skills necessary for them to function in Louis XIV's budding pleasure-centered court society. Naturally, the parents would come to witness their young students' efforts, and with the royal family in attendance, the experience of *Saül* was tantamount to courtly entertainment if indeed the staging was so lavish, the costumes so fine, the dancing, declamation, and gesture so stunning. One difference was that the courtiers did not participate in the performance but only watched. The fact that the subject

¹⁹⁹ Loret, *Muze historique* Letter 32 (13 August 1651), repr. in *La muze historique, nouvelle édition*, edited by J. Raveuel and V. de la Pelouze (Paris: P. Janvet, 1857), 144–145. “La Reine et messieurs ses deux fils, / Lundy dernier, à jour prefix, / Allèrent avec grandes suites / Au collège des Jésuites / Pour, sur un théâtre fort beau, / Voir un poëme tout nouveau / Que pluzieurs jeunes philozofes / Vétus de brillantes étofes, / Représentèrent en latin, / Moitié figue, moitié raisin. / On y vit aussi pluzieurs dances, / Balets, postures, et cadences, / Où maints fils de prince et seigneur / Y parurent avec honneur, / Non pas tant pour leurs riches vestes, / Qui les rendoient tout-à-fait lestes, / Que pour la disposition, / La grace, la belle action, / L’agréable mine, l’adresse, / La guillardize et la jeunesse / De ces aimables damoizeaux, / Don’t la plus-part étoient fort beaux. / Entre ces jeunes personages, / Tous de hauts et nobles lignages, / Armagnac, Soissons, Châteauneuf, / Et d’autres... etc.”

matter blended sacred and secular elements also separates the ballet *intermèdes* in *Saül* from the court ballets. A synopsis of the entrées was published in the *Gazette* alongside the description of the event as a whole. According to that synopsis, pagan gods such as Mars and allegorical characters such as Jealousy, Death, Fortune, and Time all make appearances alongside Philistine and Israelite soldiers proper to the play.²⁰⁰ The ballet *intermèdes* therefore allowed the Jesuits to take liberties from the Biblical narrative, inserting voguish elements typical of court ballets for entertainment purposes. Such liberties were confined to the ballets, thus keeping the content of the play free from secular influences.

We see further evidence of the close attention the Jesuits paid to the ballets at court in the appearance of Apollo in the second-to-last entree of *Saül*: just four months previously, Louis XIV had danced in his second ballet, the *Ballet du Roy des Fêtes de Bacchus*, appearing as Apollo, among other roles.²⁰¹ In the role of Apollo, the god of the sun and chief of the Muses, the king's costume foreshadowed perhaps his most famous appearance as the rising sun in the *Ballet de la Nuit* (1653). The event which capped the August theatrical productions at the Collège de Clermont was the distribution of student prizes. In this case, this event actually occurred in the second-to-last entrée of the ballet in *Saül*, wherein “Apollo, to the sound of the prizes that His Majesty founded there, makes the people from all of the faculties come to compete for them.”²⁰² Thus, Apollo acts as a stand-in for the king (who was in the audience) for the actual distribution of the

²⁰⁰ Renaudot, *Gazette*, No. 103, 837–840.

²⁰¹ Isherwood, *Music in the Service*, 136.

²⁰² Renaudot, *Gazette*, No. 103, 840. “Apollon au bruit des prix que Sa Majesté y a fondez, fait venir des personnes de toutes les Facultez pour les disputer.”

prizes. The Jesuits, like the court, therefore closely identified the figure of Apollo with the king.²⁰³

The *Ballet de la Nuit* was a celebration of the end of the Fronde, which saw a shaky and gradual return to order, and the return of Mazarin, whom the king retained as a trusted advisor. It was not until 1654 that France's political situation had stabilized enough for Louis' actual coronation ceremony. During the late 1650s, Louis continued to craft his image as a young, powerful monarch, both as the embodiment of the state and as a youthful, desirable lover. Ballet, of course, played no small role in projecting both of these aspects. These were the conflicting interests of a monarch: on the one hand, to love, to bring peace, and to foster an atmosphere of pleasure for his subjects, and on the other, to triumph, to expand the interests of the state, and to pursue his personal *gloire*. As Cowart observes, already by the *Ballet de la Nuit* does Benserade acknowledge this conflict: the ballet includes an allegorical representation of Games in the suit of Venus—the goddess of love and pleasure—in which the king states that Venus “will hardly keep him” because “Honor and Mars in the end will lure him away.”²⁰⁴ And indeed, later that year, the king embarked on his first military exercise. The ballets later in the decade retained those twin themes, and due to the continued influence of Mazarin, the French and Italian languages and musical styles at times appeared—sometimes for comic

²⁰³ See Rebecca Harris-Warrick, *Dance and Drama in French Baroque Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 187. On the history of the Louis-as-Apollo image, see Jean-Marie Apostolidès, *Le Roi-Machine: Spectacle et politique au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1981), particularly 64–65; 128–131. Apostolidès opines that the appearance of Apollo in *Alceste* (1674) is a turning point in the reign. Apollo's appearance in that work is “a souvenir of what he was; he [Apollo] represents the phantom of the symbolic body of the king such that it has been imagined during the first part of his reign. Since the Dutch War, it is no longer the fires (i.e., lights) of the theater that the prince shoots into the face of Europe, but rather the fire of his cannons” (129). (“L'Apollon du théâtre traduit le souvenir de ce qu'il fut; il représente le fantôme du corps symbolique du roi tel qu'il a été mis en image pendant la première partie du règne. Depuis la guerre de Hollande, ce ne sont plus des feux de théâtre que le prince jette à la face de l'Europe, mais le feu de ses canons.”)

effect—juxtaposed. Here Jean-Baptiste Lully, born in Florence and brought to France to tutor the Duchesse de Montpensier in Italian, had an inherent advantage as he contributed ever more frequently to the court ballet.

Though at least one ballet was produced at court each year, Mazarin apparently opted at least once to forgo the usual ballet in 1659, due to costly expansions of the Louvre palace.²⁰⁵ This brings us to the very practical issue of the immense cost of these entertainments, whether at court or at the Collège de Clermont. We have already seen how Mazarin did not hesitate to spend lavishly on diversions even as Paris ached with hunger and discomfort, for the State nearly always had the resources and the privilege to channel its funding in this way. For the Jesuits, without the same access to funds as the court, the matter would seem different. How did the Collège de Clermont so regularly have the resources for their annual tragedies and ballets, especially given that tuition was generally free? The *Ratio Studiorum* mandates that the Prefect of Studies, regarding the admission of students, “exclude no one on account of his lowly station in life or his poverty.”²⁰⁶ As Loret's account of *Saül* suggests, however, the participants in the ballets were always students of noble birth. In fact, François de Dainville has discovered financial records suggesting that the pupils paid for their right to perform in the tragedies and ballets, the price varying in accordance with the prominence of the role; this fee did not include a costume which would be purchased separately.²⁰⁷ Conflicting accounts obscure whether or not the Jesuits charged for tickets to their entertainments, but Judith

²⁰⁴ Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*, 38.

²⁰⁵ John Russell, *Paris* (New York: Abrams, 1983), 81, cited in Rock, "Terpischore," 95. According to Russell, this saved 300,000 livres.

²⁰⁶ Translated in Fitzpatrick, *St. Ignatius*, 181.

²⁰⁷ François de Dainville, “Décoration théâtrale dans les collèges des Jésuites au XVIIe Siècle,” *Revue d'histoire du théâtre* 3, no. 4 (1951): 371.

Rock has discussed how this practice—if applied at all—was certainly not done consistently.²⁰⁸ Deficits on several occasions were made up for by the king, who as we have seen, attended at times.²⁰⁹ Jesuit colleges could also accept charitable donations, as long as the donor was “wont to assign [their contribution] to Divine Glory”, allowing the school in turn to “give freely what [it had] received freely.”²¹⁰ Students who lived within the walls of the college, known as “pensionnaires”, were sponsored for their room and board either by their parents or another wealthy patron, who generally paid between 300 and 500 *livres* per year, though at times the Collège de Clermont received gifts of tens of thousands of *livres* from wealthy benefactors.²¹¹ The funding for these extravagant entertainments therefore potentially came from several different sources; with few exceptions, the Jesuits always managed to finance their spectacles.²¹²

The beginning of the 1660s witnessed two events which catapulted Louis XIV into adulthood: he married Marie-Thérèse of Spain, and Cardinal Mazarin, Louis' godfather and First Minister, died less than a year thereafter. Isherwood characterizes this period as a time of “centralizing political, religious, and economic power which carried the royal absolutism to its zenith.”²¹³ Cowart suggests that the first years of this decade also saw an intensification of dissent among artists, a slow smolder sparked by the sudden moves the king made to intensify his sole control of the government after

²⁰⁸ Rock, “Terpischore,” 98.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 99.

²¹⁰ According to the *Constitutions* regarding rules for schools, translated in Fitzpatrick, *St. Ignatius*, 83.

²¹¹ See Dupont-Ferrier, *Collège*, vol. 3, 195–219, for a list of donations.

²¹² Written on the back of the program of the ballet *Romulus* (1693), F-Pn Yf 2814 and 2815, there is a note which indicates that in 1694, there was no ballet because it was a “bad year.” See Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 181.

²¹³ Isherwood, *Music in the Service*, 150.

Mazarin's death.²¹⁴ No more than a day had passed after Mazarin expired when Louis dismissed his entire cabinet of ministers in order to make clear his desire to “take charge of the state in person and to rely on no one else.”²¹⁵ Moreover, the king had his popular finance minister, Nicolas Fouquet, imprisoned both for falsifying the state of the treasury and for hosting an elaborate celebration in the minister's home which only reminded the king of the potential for his ministers to embezzle.²¹⁶ Louis' decision to replace Fouquet with the middle-class Jean-Baptiste Colbert, an unknown entity, sparked a tirade of pamphlet-based protests.²¹⁷

Amid these rapid and significant changes, Colbert aided the king in establishing royally supported academies for the arts, with the Académie Royale de Dance being the first to appear in 1661.²¹⁸ The arts' role in projecting a strong image of the king both to his own subjects and to the rest of Europe was seen as a matter of the utmost importance. Dance, in particular, had always been at the forefront of Louis' artistic concerns, as we have seen. In his own words, the king saw dance as “most respectable and most necessary to train the body and to give it the first and the most natural dispositions to every kind of exercise, to that of arms among others.”²¹⁹ According to van Orden, one can see the close relationship shared by fencing and dance, as the same instructors often taught them both.²²⁰ Violence was a fact of courtly life, especially given the frequency of wars within

²¹⁴ Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*, 50.

²¹⁵ Dunlop, *Louis XIV*, 82.

²¹⁶ See Dunlop, *Louis XIV*, 83, and Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*, 49.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ The *lettres patentes* for the *Académie de danse* are reprinted in Georges Adrien Crapelet, *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Quinault* (Paris: L'imprimerie de Crapelet, 1824), 39.

²¹⁹ Crapelet, 39; translated by Isherwood, *Music in the Service*, 153. “des plus honnêtes et plus nécessaires à former le corps, et lui donner les premières et plus naturelles dispositions à toute sorte d'exercices, et entre autres à ceux des armes [...]”

²²⁰ Van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms*, 92. On the earlier history of this tradition, see McGowan, *Dance in the Renaissance: European fashion, French obsession* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press,

France and outside its frontiers. Even when not engaged on the battlefield, Louis XIV's courtiers would be expected to be adept at the martial arts. Thus, van Orden continues, "the camaraderie kings and nobles developed in sweating it out together on stage was not so far from the closeness that came from shared blood sports, fencing, jousts, and fighting together in battle."²²¹ An all-encompassing education, it seems, *required* dance.

One will immediately see how these accounts of the importance of dance resonate with the value placed upon it by the Jesuits, as evidenced above. The foundation of the Académie must only have intensified the Jesuits' perception that their pupils must have abilities in that art form. By 1669, they succeeded in recruiting Pierre Beauchamps, court choreographer and dancing master to the king; he would go on to choreograph for the Jesuits until his death.²²² Before this fortuitous acquisition, however, the College de Clèrmont continued to show its awareness of court life, as the *Ballet du Lys et de l'Imperiale* (August 1660) was "dedicated to Their Majesties"—that is, the king and his new queen—in order to celebrate the king's marriage.²²³ In August 1662, the title of the ballet even more plainly advertised its purpose: *La destinée de Monseigneur le Dauphin* celebrated the birth of the king's first son of less than a year before. Ménestrier recalled the work, recounting the action which consisted entirely of different allegorical figures and generic divinities—the four continents, sibyls, astrologers, and so forth—who come together to agree on the auspiciousness of the prince's destiny; the ballet ends with a troupe of demons, who flee from "so Christian a life such as that of the young prince,

2008), 17–21.

²²¹ Van Orden, *Music, Discipline and Arms*, 105.

²²² For a brief synopsis of Pierre Beauchamps' relationship with the Jesuits, see Régine Astier and Dorothy Pearce, "Pierre Beauchamps and the Ballets de Collège" *Dance Chronicle* 6, no. 2 (1983): 138–163.

²²³ Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 177.

taking fear [with them] into Hell.”²²⁴ By directly tying their entertainments to recent, prominent events at court, the Jesuits continued to ensure their relevance to a wide and important audience. The ballet in August of 1663, the *Ballet de la verité*, further demonstrates this fact: the son of Jean-Baptiste Colbert danced “a modest role”, and Loret's *Muze Historique* reports that that afternoon's spectacle appeared in front of an audience of six thousand.²²⁵ Loret mentions tartly that he could not find a proper chair, having to use a stepladder, suggesting that the audience was large enough to crowd the entrance courtyard that the theater occupied.²²⁶

In the midst of these events, however, the story of Saul again made an appearance in 1661. Unfortunately no printed program survives for either the tragedy or the ballet, whose subjects are the same. The play is titled *Justitia Saülis filios immolantis* [The Judgment of Saul Having Sacrificed his Sons], and the ballet echoes this in the vernacular: *Le théâtre de la justice dans la punition des enfants de Saül* [The Theater of Justice in the Punishment of the Children of Saul]. The only details we have from this performance come from Loret, who writes:

This plausible subject was taken
From the Book of Kings in the Bible
(The Great Book of the good people)
Chapter I don't know which
Having for its title, at the frontispiece,
The Theater of Justice
Father Darrouy, profound doctor,
Is its noble and dignified author.
This history, receiving the best treatment,
Was quite well performed,
And the interlaced ballets
Very agreeably danced,
Assuredly included

²²⁴ Ménestrier, *Les ballets*, 283.

²²⁵ Boyse, *Le théâtre des Jésuites*, 142–143.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 142–143.

One of the most skilled dancers in France
[Loret supplies a footnote: Le sieur Langlois]

People of high extraction,
Were present during the action,
There I saw princes, princesses,
Presidents, Countesses,
A Great Many Minds of Good Sense,
And more than two hundred.²²⁷

The king did not attend, for Loret mentions in the same letter that he was on campaign in Brittany, having left the Monday prior.

Though we know little about the plot, the title and the timing of the choice of subject suggest a connection. As the story of Saul seemed an appropriate subject for the young king when he came of age the previous decade, the Jesuits chose the subject again in the year that the king took full control of the government, having lost Mazarin and having opted to dissolve his cabinet. The story of Saul teaches that it is God's choice, not merely the inheritance of royal blood, which determines who should have the throne. When Saul defies God, his son and heir Jonathan is killed in battle, and David instead becomes king with the Lord's approval. The choice of this subject, presented while Marie-Thérèse was pregnant with the Dauphin, can be read as a timely reminder of the fate that could await tyrants. The Jesuits had a long history of preoccupation with this topic, as evidenced in the aforementioned events of the first half of the seventeenth century. This play was another reminder to the public that kings could only hold on to their and their successors' right to the crown through obedience to Divine Will.

²²⁷ Loret, *Muze Historique*, Sept. 3 1661, repr. in Raveuel, vol. 3, 397. "On a pris ce sujet plausible / Au Livre des Roys, dans la Bible, / (Le grand Livre des Gens-de-bien) / Chapitre, je ne sçay combien, / Ayant pour titre, au frontispiece, / Le Théâtre de la Justice, / Père Darroüy, profond docteur, / En est le noble et digne Autheur : / Cette histoire, des mieux traitée, / Fut assez bien représentée, / Et les Balets entrelacez / Fort agréablement dancez, / Se trouvant, illec, d'assûrance, / Un des adroits danseurs de France. / Des gens de haute extraction / Furent prézens à l'Action, / J'y vis des princes, des princesses, / Des prézidentes, des comtesses, / Quantité d'Espirits de bon sens, / Et des moines plus de deux cents."

There is no reason to think of the 1661 Latin tragedy *Justitia Säuilis* as a criticism of the king or of a specific event like his dissolution of the cabinet, but the Jesuits may have had some reservations about the rapidity with which the hotheaded young Louis began making changes in that year. Indeed, as Cowart shows, his actions sponsored protests both quietly voiced through subtle artistic symbolism and the publication of vitriolic pamphlets.²²⁸ Without any description of the details of the plot, however, it is only possible to read the choice of general subject in *Justitia Säuilis* as an affirmation of the need for kings to act always with deference to the Lord. As we have already seen, the Jesuits had always seen the necessity to watch out for tyranny, even if they did not condone the assassinations of Henry III and Henry IV. The Jesuits' position regarding the nature of monarchy, however, owed much to the theologian they respected above all others, St. Thomas Aquinas. Aquinas described monarchy as the most perfect form of government, since in no other way could a society have a more unified sense of direction than when it was shepherded by a single person. Aquinas acknowledges, however, that “just as the government of a king is the best, so the government of a tyrant is the worst.”²²⁹ We shall revisit Aquinas' beliefs later when they were vividly challenged by Louis in the 1680s, but for now, Louis' actions merely demonstrated his resolve to act decisively and independently. What this resolve created was a sense of fear of the unknown for the nobility, as the example of Fouquet showed that the power of their titles and positions would not necessarily be respected by Louis: as Ian Dunlop observes, the king was trying to “make a clean break with a past that still had its roots in the feudal system,” and

²²⁸ Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*, 49–57.

²²⁹ Thomas Aquinas, *On Kingship*, trans. Gerald B. Phelan (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1949), 13.

Fouquet “symbolised this past.”²³⁰ Of course, fear motivated Louis as well, for it was the chaos of the Fronde throughout his childhood which made him distrustful of the nobles who might attempt to undermine his authority for their own gain.²³¹ Since the children of some of France's most respectable families attended the Collège de Clermont, it should come as no surprise that the Jesuits would see the nobles' interests as having some amount of importance.

That the Jesuits chose to remind Paris of the message carried by Saul's downfall was a fairly innocuous gesture: following Aquinas and Mariana, advice to avoid tyranny was always fitting. However, the timing of the two *Saül* plays with their attached ballets is significant, as both coincided with years wherein Louis XIV's power escalated. The content of neither of these plays is extant, and no synopsis of the action in the 1661 ballet survives. One will notice, however, that the figure of David is not mentioned in the titles of these pieces, and in the 1651 ballet, David makes only a brief appearance in one *entrée*, according to the summary in the *Gazette*.²³² As Mariana proclaims, David was “a very brave and most felicitous king, whom the Holy Scriptures hold up as the model of the ideal Prince.”²³³ No other Jesuit tragedy or ballet from 1651 to 1688 references David, and it seems that—for now—the Jesuits did not want to invite the comparison between Louis and the most revered king of the Israelites.

From Ballet to Opera

In 1673, the dominant form of courtly entertainment—and consequently the genre

²³⁰ Dunlop, *Louis XIV*, 93.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 10.

²³² Renaudot, *Gazette*, No. 103, 839.

²³³ Mariana, *The King*, 292.

most closely associated with the king—shifted from the *ballet de cour* to the newly invented *tragédie en musique*. This genre, a creation of Quinault and Lully, became exclusively theirs, as Lully would acquire the sole right to produce such large-scale theatrical works with music. We shall review the circumstances surrounding Lully's monopoly, as it at first prevented the Jesuits—as well as anyone else—from staging operas. The Jesuits having closely modeled elements of their ballets on the fashions of the *ballet de cour*, one would expect them to have immediately followed the shift towards opera as the dominant courtly entertainment. However, Lully provided the Jesuits with an obstacle, and it was not until 1684 that they began to produce works titled *tragédies en musique*.

While Mazarin in the 1650s and '60s had attempted to stage Italian operas at court, it had become clear that the French would not warm to what they perceived as a distinctly foreign form of entertainment. His attempts ultimately failed. Poet Pierre Perrin first took seriously the idea of creating a distinctly French form of opera. In a letter of April 30th, 1659 to the Archbishop of Turin, Perrin laid out nine defects of Italian operas that he sought to correct in what he advertised as the *Première Comédie Française en Musique représentée en France*, his *Pastorale d'Issy* (1659).²³⁴ The music was supplied by Robert Cambert. Following that, Mazarin commissioned another French-language work from Perrin and Cambert, which would become *Ariane, ou le mariage de Bacchus*; they would have to wait until 1669 until the opportunity arose for its performance.²³⁵ Louis XIV then accorded him with the control of the newly established *Académie Royale de musique*, whose purpose the king described in the *Lettres patentes* (St. Germaine, 28 June, 1669) as

²³⁴ Both the letter and the livret are printed in Pierre Perrin, *Les œuvres de poésie de Mr. Perrin* (Paris: Estienne Loyson, 1661), 273–290, and 290–312, respectively.

“to perform and to sing in public operas and *représentations en musique* in French verse, equal to and in the manner of those of Italy.”²³⁶ Before long, however, Perrin ran into financial troubles, allowing the opportunity for the ambitious Lully to wrest control of the organization from him. The new patent, drawn up at Versailles and confirmed by Parlement on 27 June 1672, gives the king’s reason for the change:

Having been informed of the troubles and cares that the said sir Perrin has taken for that establishment [the Academy], plainly not having been able to follow our intentions and elevate music to the point to which we had intended, we believed, better to succeed there, that it was the right time to give the direction to a person whose experience and abilities were known [...] For these reasons, well informed of the intelligence and great knowledge that our dear and beloved Jean-Baptiste Lully has acquired regarding music, [...] we have permitted and accorded to the said Lully by those present, signed by our hand, to establish a Royal Academy of Music. [...] We permit him to give to the public all of the pieces that he will have composed, even those which will have been represented before Us, [...] making a very express inhibition and defense against all people of whatever quality and condition that they be, even Officers of our House, to enter there [to the theater] without paying, as also to sing no piece entirely in music, whether in French or other languages, without the written permission of the said Sir Lully, on penalty of 10,000 livres.²³⁷

Naturally, this exclusive right posed a problem for theater troupes in Paris, the most famous of which being Molière's. Molière, born Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, had received his education at the Collège de Clermont in the years 1635–1640.²³⁸ He received training in declamation and acting there, and may have participated in one of the yearly

²³⁵ Isherwood, *Music in the Service*, 174–175.

²³⁶ Reprinted in Jacques-Bernard Durey de Noinville, *Histoire du théâtre de l'Opéra en France* (Paris: Barbou, 1753), 79. “représenter & chanter en Public des Opera & Représentations en Musique & en vers François, pareilles & sembables à celles d'Italie.”

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 83–85. “ayant depuis été informé que les peines & les soins que ledit Perrin a pris pour cet établissement, n’ont pu seconder pleinement notre intention, & élever la Musique au point que nous nous l’étions promis, nous avons crû, pour y mieux réussir, qu’il étoit à propos d’en donner la conduite à une personne dont l’expérience & la capacité nous fussent connues [...] A ces causes, bien informé de l’intelligence & grande connoissance que s’est acquis notre cher & bien amé Jean-Baptiste Lully au fait de la Musique [...] Nous avons, audit sieur Lully, permis & accordé, permettons & accordons par ces Présentes, signées de notre main, d’établir une Académie Royale de Musique [...] Nous lui permettons de donner au Public toutes les Pièces qu’il aura composées, même celles qui auront été représentées devant Nous, [...] faisant très-express inhibition & défense à toutes personnes, de quelque qualité & condition qu’elles soient, même aux Officiers de notre Maison, d’y entrer sans payer, comme aussi de faire chanter aucune Pièce entiere en Musique, soit en vers François ou autres langues, sans la permission par écrit dudit

tragedies, though records from the first half of the century are not nearly complete enough to confirm this. The tradition of ballets, of course, had not yet begun during his time there.²³⁹ Molière put together a band of travelling actors who performed his plays shortly after leaving school. By 1658, his work had become successful enough to receive the commendation and patronage of the king's brother, Philippe I d'Orléans, eventually leading to the playwright's recognition by Louis himself. The king installed the company in the theater of the Palais Royale in 1667, thus allowing their exposure to the highest echelon of society.²⁴⁰ Lully was Molière's musical collaborator throughout the 1660s, and the pair jointly developed the *comédie-ballet*, which intermixed scenes of dance and song with the playwright's satirical verse. In 1671, they produced a more serious work, *Psyché*, which blended tragedy and ballet in a manner resembling the procedure at the Collège de Clermont. The esteemed playwright Thomas Corneille, along with Lully's future collaborator for his operas, Philippe Quinault, assisted Molière in devising the full-scale spoken tragedy, and Lully drew upon the materials of the court ballet to create the musical *intermèdes*. Once Lully had realized the opportunity afforded by Perrin's compromised position, however, he acquired the privilege of the Académie Royale de Musique. Apparently incensed by this seizure of power by Lully, Molière ceased to work with him; however, the above terms of Lully's rights made it impossible for the playwright to stage new performances without Lully's approval. Most restrictive was a mandate that no stage

sieur Lully, à peine de dix mille livres.”

²³⁸ Ranum, *Portraits*, 142.

²³⁹ Jérôme de la Gorce, in *Jean-Baptiste Lully* (Paris: Fayard, 2002), links Molière's development of the Comédie-Ballet to his education at Clermont, particularly due to the practice there of inserting ballet intermèdes into Latin tragedies. He mentions *Saul* (1651), saying “to be sure, it had nothing to do with comedy, but the principal (of inserting the ballet entrées) remained practically the same” (“Certes, il ne s’agissait pas d’une comédie, mais le principe demeurait pratiquement le même”) (477).

²⁴⁰ Ranum, *Portraits*, 145.

work could include “more than two airs and two musical instruments.”²⁴¹ Molière, determined to stay afloat, successfully appealed to the king to intervene and expunge at least this last and most restrictive element of Lully's rights.²⁴² The playwright then sought out a new composer to provide his incidental music and ballets, settling on Marc-Antoine Charpentier.

Charpentier was born in Paris, but all evidence—mostly in the form of contemporary gossip—suggests that he received significant musical training in Rome under Carissimi, though details about this arrangement do not survive.²⁴³ Patricia Ranum places Charpentier's arrival in Rome in 1666 and his return to Paris in 1669.²⁴⁴ Both his eventual employment in the House of Guise, and his collaborative work with Molière seems to be due to old family ties.²⁴⁵ Once Molière had engaged Charpentier and achieved the revocation of the rule against more than two airs, he resumed his productions with *Le Comtesse d'Escarbagnas* (1671) and *La Mariage Forcé* (1664, rev. 1672), for which Charpentier's music replaced Lully's. Understandably, Lully was livid. He immediately demanded that the king reinstate his monopoly, and apparently received a compromise: the new restriction was set at a maximum of “six singers” and “twelve

²⁴¹ See Charles Nutter, et. al., *Les origines de l'opéra français* (Paris: Plon, Nourrit, & co., 1886), 234–236. Regarding the stipulation of 2 instruments, Nutter cites the *Factum pour Jean de Granouillet Escuyer sieur de Sablières, intendant de la musique de Monsieur, Duc d'Orléans, et Henry Guichard* (F-Pn 14.285), 8.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 234.

²⁴³ In addition to stylistic evidence and his proficiency in Italian genres such as the oratorio and polyphonic mass, accounts such as the August 1709 *Journal de Trévoux* attest to this anecdotally. Ranum, *Portraits*, 626, note 13 contains a full list of mentions of Charpentier's studies with Carissimi in the *Mercure Galant* and elsewhere.

²⁴⁴ Ranum, *Portraits*, 527–533. These biographical details are still fairly sketchy, and Ranum has done much to augment Catherine Cessac's work to help fill in the gaps. See also Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, Ch.2.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 144 and 376–377. During Molière's early travels in southern France before his major successes in Paris, Marc-Antoine Charpentier's cousin Gilles apparently was present at the wedding of Molière's sister. Another of Marc-Antoine's cousins, Jacques Havé de Saint-Aubin, had been a gentleman in the house of Orléans, that is, the house of Madame de Guise's father.

instrumentalists.”²⁴⁶ The conflict continued: Molière disregarded Lully's rights once again, performing *L'Amour medecin* whose music had been composed by the Florentine. Lully responded by attaining exclusive rights to any piece upon which he had ever collaborated, meaning that Molière could never again revive any piece for which Lully had composed the music (even in part). Molière produced one last, freshly composed work, *Le Malade imaginaire*, presented at court (though with no contribution by Charpentier) in 1673. Later that year, Lully's first opera *Cadmus et Hermione* required that Molière's troupe be ejected from the Palais Royale.

Recounting the difficulties endured by Molière and Charpentier allows us to answer the question of why the Jesuits did not immediately seek to produce operas at the Collège de Clermont in order to keep up with court fashion. After the shift in emphasis to opera as the genre most closely associated with the king, one might expect the Jesuits to have pursued opera in order to solidify their relationship with the monarchy as they had done by regularly introducing ballets into their entertainments from 1651 onward. Under the terms of Lully's privilege, of course, they could not. What is striking is that the Jesuits' ballets continued as before, apparently with no immediate rebuke from Lully. As our prior examination of the Jesuit ballets shows, their scale and popularity rivaled courtly entertainment, raising the question of why Lully was not more troubled by the Jesuits' activities.

Ranum has offered insight into occasions throughout the 1670s and '80s where Lully's monopoly—being in full force during those decades—seems not to have been enforced as uniformly as the troubles of Molière's troupe suggest. Charpentier composed several quasi-operatic works for his primary employers at the House of Guise, as well as

²⁴⁶ This new ordinance (12 August 1672), reproduced in Nutter, *Les origines*, 275.

during his work for the Dauphin: these include the *Petite Pastorale* (1676), *Les Plaisirs de Versailles* (1682), *Actéon* (1684), *La Couronne des Fleurs* (1685), and *La Descente d'Orphée aux Enfers* (1685). Ranum points out that the last of these requires fourteen singers and that, in addition to the usual instrumentalists belonging to the Guises' music, two court musicians also played.²⁴⁷ (It is worth noting as well that these pieces may have influenced Charpentier's later dramatic works such as *David et Jonathas*, a fact that shall be explored in the subsequent chapters.) How was it that such flagrant violations of Lully's hold on musical theater could pass apparently untroubled by the Florentine? Ranum opines that the "superior" position of the sponsors of these works "over the general category of opera-writers and opera-producers against whom Lully's privilege was directed" prevented Lully from troubling them.²⁴⁸ As long as these works "would extol [...] the glory of the monarch" and did not "upstage" him, Lully likely realized that Louis XIV would protect both his son's private entertainments and those of a powerful family such as the Guises, should he attempt to stifle them.²⁴⁹ We have seen how the Jesuits lavished the king with praise in their stage works with the staging of *Saül* (1651), and we shall see how they continued to promote a positive image of him in the following pages. The king's protection may have extended to the Jesuits in the same manner, since the rhetoric of their entertainments afforded him with so much respect.

Another possibility, of course, is that the Jesuits obtained written permission from Lully under the terms of his privilege for each performance. Colbert penned a letter on 22 September, 1677 to the king's chief of police, Gabriel Nicolas de la Reynie, which

²⁴⁷ Patricia Ranum, "Lully Plays Deaf," in *Lully Studies*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 28.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 25.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

indicates that Lully at least on one occasion gave permission for a production by school boys:

The King orders me to write you these lines in order to say to you that you may allow Sir de Lescogne, lawyer in Parlement, to have the little tragedy that he wrote performed with no problems by the pupils that are staying with him, under the conditions provided by the consent of Sir Lully, which he will convey into your hands.²⁵⁰

Jean Duron interprets this letter as evidence that the Jesuits must have therefore been subject to Lully's restrictions.²⁵¹ However, it is unclear who this "Sir de Lescogne" is, whether he was associated with the Jesuits, and how extensive the musical component might have been in his "little tragedy." Colbert also authorized another public entertainment that required consideration under Lully's monopoly. In a letter of 4 February, 1679, again addressed to La Reynie, he writes:

The king orders me to let you know that he wishes that you give permission to the named Alart to perform in public, at the fair in Saint-Germaine, acrobatics [*les sauts*], accompanied by some discourse, which he had performed before His Majesty, on the lone condition that no one sings or dances there.²⁵²

The suggestion, therefore, is that this unnamed work contained song and dance when performed before the king but now must be put on without those components. Thus, in these two examples of allowed performances, music and dance do not appear to have been prominently featured. How then could the Jesuits expect to receive permission from

²⁵⁰ Printed in *Lettres, instructions, et mémoires de Colbert*, edited by Pierre Clément (Paris: L'imprimerie Impériale, 1868), vol. 5, 381. "Le Roy m'ordonne de vous écrire ces lignes pour vous dire que vous pouvez permettre sans difficulté au sieur de Lescogne, avocat au parlement, de faire représenter, par des écoliers qui logent chez luy, une petite tragédie qu'il a composée, aux conditions portées par le consentement du sieur Lully, qu'il vous remettra entre les mains."

²⁵¹ Duron, "L'année Musicale 1688," 231.

²⁵² Printed in *Correspondance administrative sous le règne de Louis XIV*, edited by G.B. Depping (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1851), vol.2, 565. "Le roy m'ordonne de vous faire sçavoir qu'il veut que vous donniez la permission au nommé Alart de représenter en public, à la foire de Saint-Germaine, les sauts, accompagnez de quelques discours, qu'il a joués devant S.M. à condition seulement que l'on n'y chantera ni dansera." Pierre Clément, in *Lettres* (vol. 5, 381), mentions this letter in the first footnote on the page as another example of Colbert's enforcement of Lully's rights.

Lully to put on complete ballets? It is thus most likely that the king's protection, as Ranum mentioned in other cases, allowed them to carry on.

By whatever means they did so, the Jesuits managed to work around Lully's monopoly on music in theatrical productions. They continued to produce ballets, and in one case, a "tragédie-ballet" *Persée* (anon., 1677), which included eight singers in addition to the usual dancers.²⁵³ This work may have been a stepping stone towards the production of operas on the Jesuit stage, much like Lully's tragédie-ballet *Psyché* (1671) can be seen as such a transitional piece from ballet to opera at court. If the production of the Jesuits' *Persée* rankled Lully, I can find no evidence.²⁵⁴ The Collège de Clermont, however, produced no further "tragédies-ballets" during Lully's lifetime, nor is there any evidence of singers in the synopses of the subsequent ballets of the 1670s and early 1680s. We turn now to continue to examine the king's image as it appears in these ballets, in light of his military achievements at the end of the 1670s.

The King, Champion of Peace, Celebrated

The perception that Louis XIV was a great military leader factored heavily into his creation of his self-image.²⁵⁵ Predictably, the opera prologues of Lully and Quinault celebrate the king's might as a warrior. In an effort to continue to affirm their close attachment with the monarch, the Jesuits too celebrated this aspect of the king in their stage productions. In the 1670s particularly, the arts portrayed the king's wars as just and

²⁵³ The synopsis for this work is reprinted in Boyssse, *Théâtre*, 169–171.

²⁵⁴ There is, for example, no fine in 1677 listed in the financial records given in Dupont-Ferrier, *Collège*, vol. 3, 212.

²⁵⁵ See Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1992), Ch. 6 particularly. See also Apostolidès, *Le Roi-Machine*, 135–137.

necessary; we shall review this time period in order to form a contrast with the following decade, when matters changed.

John Lynn describes the earliest wars of the Louis as wars for *gloire*, a commonly held notion; he describes warfare as fitting, however, into a larger scheme of monarchical grandeur, writing that

Gloire translates best as renown, reputation, or prestige. Pursuit of this ultimate quality did not only derive from the desire to enjoy great repute in one's lifetime, but also from the resolution to create an enduring aura that would win the praise of posterity. Concern for *gloire* guided the king's actions in a wide range of ventures. It inspired Louis' creation of the Academy of Sciences and his sponsorship of the composer Lully, as well as his wars.²⁵⁶

Louis' earliest war for *gloire* was conducted based upon the belief that, upon the death of king Philip IV of Spain, his wife Marie-Thérèse's filial ties to the dead monarch entitled her (and therefore Louis) to certain Spanish land holdings in the Netherlands.²⁵⁷ Thus began the brief War of Devolution (1667—68), so named because the right to those lands should have *devolved* upon his Queen, by his reckoning. While the Dutch had been old allies with French, they withdrew their support upon seeing the aggression with which Louis attempted to seize hold of the Spanish Netherlands, thus leading to the Dutch War of the 1670s. This conflict arguably concluded as a great success for Louis, for he had augmented French territory and brought about the treaty of Nijmegen with the Dutch in 1678. By early 1679, France had also signed treaties with Spain and the Holy Roman Empire, both of which having become involved during the course of the decade-long strife.²⁵⁸

Though France's success in 1678 set the stage for future conflicts, the few years of peace that it brought about were relished by French subjects. Both in Lully's operas at

²⁵⁶ Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, 32.

court and in the ballets at the Collège de Clermont, the arrival of peace was celebrated with allusions to reality so transparent they are hardly worthy of the term “allusion.” Cowart notes that the allegorical prologues to Lully's operas from *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673) to *Isis* (1677) persistently feature “the artists of the opera [...] rhetorically begging Louis to turn his attention from war to the pleasures of peace.”²⁵⁹ Such appeals for peace became temporarily unnecessary after the conclusion of the treaty of Nijmegen. In the prologue to *Bellérophon* (1679), Apollo opens the opera with an entreaty to the nine Muses to “prepare our concerts,” for “the greatest king in the Universe has just assured the tranquility of the earth.” They respond that “after having sung the furies of war, let us sing of the sweetness of peace.”²⁶⁰ The relief and gratitude to Louis could not be more plain. The following year, the prologue to *Proserpine* treats the subject of “La Paix”, who at the mercy of “La Discorde”, is freed by the intervention of “La Victoire”; as Buford Norman states, “the allegory could hardly be more clear.”²⁶¹

At the Collège de Clermont, the Jesuit Fathers celebrated peace in an equally overt manner. In 1679, they staged the *Ballet de la paix*, whose printed preface explains its nature:

The work of the peace gloriously brought to completion by France, must be the happiness of Europe, and it must see to it that virtue, the fine arts, abundance, and joy—the four effects of peace incompatible with the disorders of war—are made to flower again. [...] The divinities that preside over these same effects, and which have crowns under their protection, prepare them for peace. Pallas, goddess of virtue, forms hers [her crown] out of an olive branch; Apollo, god of the fine arts, out of a laurel branch; Ceres, goddess of abundance, out of spices; Flora, goddess of joy, out of roses. And the work of these four divinities is that of Louis the Great. That is the subject of the four parts of this ballet. The first part takes place in the temple of Athens, the most religious of all cities, famous in the

²⁵⁷ Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, 33.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 156.

²⁵⁹ Cowart, *The Triumph*, 133.

²⁶⁰ Thomas Corneille and Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Bellérophon* (Paris: Beujeu, 1679), n.p.

²⁶¹ Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 226.

fable of the dispute between Neptune and Pallas, who fought over the honor of its protection, which Pallas won by having brought about the origin of the olive tree. The second takes place in Parnassus, home of Apollo, the third the fields of Ceres, the fourth the gardens of Flora. [... In the general ballet that ends the work,] the French assemble the other nations for the coronation of Peace. They engage the Spanish, Swedish, Germans, and Dutch, and they oblige the Danish and the people of Brandenburg all to join together to offer Peace the four crowns [the crowns of olives, of laurel, of spices, and of roses representing the aforementioned effects of peace.]²⁶²

One will note the reference to Apollo, as always associated with Louis and his role as grand patron of the arts. The Jesuits in the *Ballet de la Paix* employ the same allegorical image of the king as that found in the prologue to *Bellérophon* that same year. In fact, the connection between Apollo and Louis appears again the following year in the Jesuit ballet *La France Victorieuse sous Louis-le-Grand*, which takes as the subjects of its four parts “the four kinds of triumphs which are uniquely the doing of LOUIS THE GREAT.” The argument of the ballet states: “it is not solely through Arms that France is victorious under LOUIS THE GREAT: It is also by the Laws that this Prince has so sagely established : through the Fine Arts, which he has made to flourish with so much brilliance: but also through the Peace which he has so generously accorded throughout Europe.”²⁶³ Apollo and the nine Muses “quit Parnassus to establish themselves in France” in the first entrée of

²⁶² Cited in Boyssse, *Théâtre*, 176–177. Translation mine. “L’ouvrage de la paix glorieusement terminé par la France, doit estre le Bonheur de l’Europe et faire partout reflourir la vertu, les beaux-arts, l’abondance et la joye : quatre effets de la paix, incompatibles avec les désordres de la guerre. [...] Les divinitez qui président à ces mesmes effets, et qui ont ces couronnes sous leur protection, les préparent à la paix. Pallas, déesse de la vertu, lui en forme une d’olivier; Apollo, dieu des beaux-arts, une de lauriers; Céres, déesse de l’abondance, une d’épics; Flore, déesse de la joye, une de roses. Et l’ouvrage de ces quatre divinitez est celuy de Louis-le-Grand. C’est le sujet des quatre parties de ce ballet. La première partie a pour scène un temple d’Athènes, la plus religieuse de toutes les villes, fameuse dans la fable par les différens de Neptune et Pallas, qui se disputoient l’honneur de sa protection, que Pallas remporta pour avoir fait naistre un olivier. La seconde a pour scène le Parnasse, séjour ordinaire d’Apollon, la troisième les campagnes de Céres, la quatrième les jardins de Flore. [...] Dans le ballet général,] les François assemblent toutes les autres nations pour le couronnement de la Paix. Ils y engagent les Espagnols, les Suédois, les Allemands, les Hollandois. Ils y obligent les Danois et les peuples de Brandebourg et tous se réunissent pour offrir à la Paix les quatre couronnes.”

²⁶³ Anon., *La France Victorieuse sous Louis le Grand* (Paris: Gabriel Martin, 1680), 2.

the second part.²⁶⁴ One will note the emphasis on the patronage of the arts as a symbol of Louis' greatness, both in Lully's works and at the Clermont ballets.

These years arguably were the zenith of Louis XIV's prestige, especially in the eyes of the Jesuits, as attests the triumphant image they crafted of him in the *Ballet de la paix* and *La France victorieuse*. In 1682, he would personally declare the Collège de Clermont, thenceforth known as the Collège Louis-le-Grand, a royal foundation.²⁶⁵ In the *lettres patentes*, Louis granted the institution an annual stipend of 400 *livres* for the distribution of prizes (presumably offsetting the cost of the August stage pieces), as well as the right to bear the royal coat of arms.²⁶⁶ The king drew praise through the works we have examined due to his having achieved peace through his campaigns and his munificence of artistic patronage. In the years that would follow this happy chain of events, however, the king's policies became increasingly difficult for the Jesuits to follow, and their overt praise of the monarch becomes correspondingly more muted, as we shall see.

Jesuit Difficulties in the 1680s portrayed onstage

The positive image of the king evident in the *Ballet de la paix* touts him as a virtuous, generous patron of the arts, concerned with the cultivation of joy among his subjects. Indeed, the king in 1679 had fulfilled the promise that Quinault put into the king's mouth by way of the Sun in his prologue for *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673)—which guaranteed beautiful days filled with the gifts of the muses. In the 1680s, however, the king's policies changed. Three facets of Louis XIV's reign altered over the course of the

²⁶⁴ *La France victorieuse*, 4.

²⁶⁵ The *lettres patentes* are in the Arch. Nat., M. 148.

1680s: first, the king's wars became less self-assured and successful; second, his religious policies changed, and his desire to rule the church with the same authority as all other aspects of statecraft became apparent; and third, his relationship with the arts changed gradually, with his interest waning dramatically over the course of the decade. We have seen how, throughout their history in France, the Jesuits became practically inseparable from the French monarchy, even in situations where their loyalty to Rome and to official church dogma had to be bent in order to retain the Society's security in France. By declaring the Collège de Clermont as a royal foundation in 1682, the king had increased his public support for the Jesuits. However, he would shortly thereafter force them into the awkward position of deciding how far they could follow a monarch determined to increase his power over the Church. As such, the image of the king on the Jesuit stage of the 1680s became less consistently one of unbridled praise.

Though the Gallican Church had historically enjoyed a great deal of independence from Rome,²⁶⁷ Louis XIV made it his business to insinuate himself into the administration of the Church, inciting the Pope's wrath on several occasions. The 1670s and '80s can be characterized as a rapid downward spiral in the relationship between the king and the reigning Popes of the period, particularly Innocent XI (r.1676–1689). The origins of this ill will lay in the decision of Louis in 1673 to broaden the scope of a policy whereby the king had the power to appoint benefices and collect church income when a diocese lacked a bishop.²⁶⁸ Historically, this was allowed in the northern parts of France, but Louis sought

²⁶⁶ G. Émond, *Histoire de Collège de Louis-le-Grand* (Paris: Durand&Loisel, 1845), 135.

²⁶⁷ Particularly since the Western Schism and the Avignon Papacy (1309–1377).

²⁶⁸ This power was first granted to King Francis I by Pope Leo X in the Concordat of Bologna (18 August 1516). The text of this agreement is reprinted in *Raccolta di concordati tra la Santa Sede e le autorità civili* (Vatican, 1919), 233. For an English-language summary of this agreement, see Sidney Ehler and John Morrall, *Church and State through the Centuries* (Westminster: Newman Press, 1954), 134.

through an edict of 10 February 1673 to extend this power throughout the south as well.²⁶⁹

Naturally, the Pope was furious; after two unsuccessful letters that denounced Louis'

actions, he sent a third, dated 29 December 1679, reaffirming his disapproval:

If you should not withdraw this decree, We would fear deeply that you feel not the vengeance of heaven... As for Us from now on, We will not deal with this affair any further in letters, but We will not neglect to employ remedies which are in our power through God, and which, in a grave and dangerous plague, we would not think to omit without making us guilty of criminal negligence to our apostolic duty. We fear however no peril, no storm, however cruel and horrible though it be, drawing glory from the cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ. It is with Him, not Us any longer, that you will be dealing with in the future, without whom there is neither wisdom nor power [...] We will continue simply through a brief prayer to ask that God give force to our exhortations and sway Your Majesty's heart to the beneficial resolutions for the prosperity of the populations subject to your empire.²⁷⁰

As in the turbulent beginnings of the century, it was a prudent and diplomatic Jesuit confessor to the king, François de la Chaize, who initially smoothed the matter over, though the damage was done and a sourness in the relationship between the Pontiff and Louis persisted. In 1680, the Bishop of Pamiers (in the Archbishopric of Toulouse) died, and the Pope lost one of his ardent supporters against the efforts of Louis to expand his right to dip into the coffers of vacant Sees. Two candidates arose, one being the Pope's choice and the other having been appointed by the French crown. The Pope promptly excommunicated Louis' appointed replacement, and, fed up with the conflict, the Papal secretary ordered the Jesuits in Paris and Toulouse to put into print the Pope's brief

²⁶⁹ This edict is printed in Daniel Jousse, *Commentaire sur l'Édit du Mois d'Avril 1695*, nouvelle édition (Paris: Deburre, 1764), vol. 2, 151–154.

²⁷⁰ Cited in Georges Guitton, *Le Père de la Chaize* (Paris: Beauchesne et Fils, 1959), vol. 1, 68. “Si vous ne retiriez pas ce décret, Nous craindrions vivement que vous n'éprouviez la vengeance du ciel... Quant à Nous désormais, Nous ne traiterons plus cette affaire par lettres, mais Nous ne négligerons pas d'employer les remèdes qui sont de par Dieu en notre pouvoir et que, dans une maladie si grave et si dangereuse, Nous ne saurions omettre sans Nous rendre coupable de négligence criminelle dans notre charge apostolique. Nous ne redoutons cependant aucun péril, aucune tempête, si dure et horrible qu'elle soit, tirant gloire de la croix de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ. C'est avec Lui, non plus avec Nous, que vous aurez affaire dans l'avenir, avec Celui contre lequel il n'y a ni sagesse, ni puissance [...] Nous continuerons simplement par une prière instante à demander que Dieu donne force à nos exhortations et fléchisse le cœur de Votre Majesté à des résolutions salutaires pour la prospérité des populations soumises à votre empire.”

confirming the other candidate.²⁷¹ Naturally, the Jesuits could not do this without infuriating the king, and they would be forced to disobey a direct order from the Vatican. De la Chaize responded by voicing his concerns to the Jesuit General in Rome, Giovanni Paolo Oliva, who supported the order to print the brief:

On the one hand, the commandments of Your Paternity press us. On the other hand, their execution is forbidden by royal ordinances. The latter, of the most ancient, divine and human, natural and positive right, oblige the conscience of them; the former oblige the same, by virtue of the piety and of the spontaneously contracted wishes. To one or the other obligation, as long as the orders do not contradict each other, satisfaction will be given, even in mortal peril. But if, owing to contrary orders, it becomes necessary to fail on one or the other precept, may Your Paternity judge for himself what we must do in the end!²⁷²

The desperation of the Society is clear here. Fortune, however, relieved the Jesuits from this impossible choice: the copy of the Papal brief sent to the Jesuits was found and confiscated by French authorities before the Jesuits laid eyes on it.²⁷³ The Jesuits in France were therefore seen as having had no part in the matter.

To confirm his resolve to settle the dispute over his power, Louis assembled the clergy in 1682 to have them ratify the Four Articles of the Gallican Church, selections of which follow:

- I. There is no power that does not come from God, and it is He who arranges those which are upon the earth; therefore, that which opposes power resists the order of God. We consequently declare that Kings and Sovereigns are not subject to any ecclesiastical power by the order of God in temporal matters.

²⁷¹ See Guitton, *La Père de la Chaize*, vol. 1, 90, and Blet, “Jesuites Gallicans,” 74. The papal brief is dated 1 January, 1681.

²⁷² This letter of 10 February 1681 is in the ARSI *Gal.* 72, folio 68; reproduced in Guitton, *Le Père de la Chaize*, vol. 1., 91. “D’une part, les commandements de Votre Paternité nous pressent. D’autre part, leur exécution est interdite par des ordonnances royales. Celles-ci, de par le droit le plus ancien, divin et humain, naturel et positif, obligent en conscience; ceux-là obligent de même, en vertu de la piété et de vœux spontanément contractés. A l’une et l’autre obligation, tant que les ordres ne s’opposent pas entre eux, satisfaction sera donné, même au péril de la vie. Mais si, par suite d’ordres contraires, il devient nécessaire de manquer à l’un ou à l’autre précepte, que Votre Paternité juge elle-même de ce qu’enfin nous devons faire!”

²⁷³ Bangert, *A History*, 203.

- II. The decrees of the Holy Ecumenical Council of Constance [...] remain in full force and power
- III. The rules, morals, and constitutions received in the kingdom must be maintained, and the limits posed by our Fathers [are] to remain immovable.
- IV. Although the Pope has the principal part in questions of faith and his Decrees pertain to all of the Churches and each Church in particular, his judgment is nevertheless not irrefrangible.²⁷⁴

These beliefs were far from new, as we saw the French espousing similar beliefs regarding the Pontiff's limited power earlier in the seventeenth century. In 1682 as before, the Jesuits seemed to accept the Articles, and the rest of the clergy ratified them without hesitation. However, trouble arose when the king ordered that the Jesuits teach the Four Articles in their schools. The Jesuit general in Rome at the time, Father de Noyelle, refused outright to allow the Jesuits to promote such anti-Papist teachings; and again, it was thanks to Father de la Chaize's diplomatic skills (and objections raised by the Sorbonne and other non-Jesuit institutions) that Louis rescinded his order.²⁷⁵

In the middle of the 1680s, the two strands of the king's changes of religious policy and of his conduct in warfare reached two points of intersection: at home, there began a violent assault on the Huguenots, and abroad, lingering enmity with the Holy Roman Empire—a holdover from the Thirty Years War and the Dutch War—further degraded Louis' relationship with the Pope. Louis had from the earliest years of his reign sought to

²⁷⁴ The articles are reproduced in the full, original Latin text and French translation in *Documents relatifs aux rapports du clergé avec la royauté de 1682 à 1705*, edited by Léon Mention (Paris: Picard et Fils, 1893), 26–31. “I. [...] Il n’y a point de puissance qui ne vienne de Dieu, et c’est lui qui ordonne celles qui sont sur la terre; celui donc qui s’oppose aux puissances résiste à l’ordre de Dieu. Nous déclarons en conséquence que les Rois et les Souverains ne sont soumis à aucune puissance ecclésiastique par l’ordre de Dieu dans les choses temporelles. II. [...] Les Décrets du saint Concile Œcumenique de Constance [...] demeurent dans toute leur force et vertu. III. [...] Les règles, les mœurs et les constitutions reçues dans le royaume doivent être maintenues et bornes posées par nos Pères demeurer inébranlables. IV. [...] Quoique le Pape ait la principale part dans les questions de foi et que ses Décrets regardent toutes les Églises et chaque Église en particulier, son jugement n’est pourtant pas irréfutable.”

²⁷⁵ Bangert, *A History*, 204.

extinguish Protestantism in his country, though he did not initially think it necessary to resort to violence to do so.²⁷⁶ However, he embarked on a gradual stripping of the rights of the Protestants, culminating in 1685 with the annulment of the Edict of Nantes, the official policy of toleration of the Huguenots enacted by Henry IV in 1598. The goal was to convert every last Calvinist to Catholicism, by any means necessary. Louis and his minister of war, Louvois, dispatched the military to predominantly Protestant towns, forcibly requiring that the soldiers be quartered in private homes. The clergy were united in their approval of the crackdown on heresy. One obvious problem, however, was that many of the “conversions” that took place may have been less than genuine given that they were conducted coercively. The Pope, furthermore, did not approve of the violence with which the process was carried out, nor did he believe that the convertees could be true Catholics when many lived in bishoprics whose posts were vacant, the Pope having begun to refuse filling them due to the Four Articles.²⁷⁷

Equally problematic from the Pope’s point of view was the inimical position Louis retained towards the Habsburg-controlled Holy Roman Empire—an old grudge—even in light of the Empire's invasion in the 1680s by the Turks. Pope Innocent beseeched Louis to aid his fellow Christians in 1683, a request which Louis refused.²⁷⁸ Naturally, some viewed this action as tantamount to assisting the Turks, especially since Louis was actively building up his defensive fortifications along the German border.²⁷⁹ Eventually, after the Germans quelled the Turkish invaders, the Swedes, the Emperor, and the Spanish

²⁷⁶ Dunlop, *Louis XIV*, 268.

²⁷⁷ Guitton, *La Père de la Chaize*, 266.

²⁷⁸ Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, 166.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 37.

formed the League of Augsburg in 1686 which was ranged against France, leading to a new war in 1688.

In their theatrical works, the Jesuits addressed both the tensions between the Empire and France and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In 1686, the Latin tragedy for the August distribution of prizes at Clermont took the subject of *Clovis* from the history of France, written by Father Jouvancy. Clovis was “king of France [in the year 496 and] having defeated the Germans at the border of the Rhine, embraced along with the French the faith of Jesus Christ, who gave him victory.”²⁸⁰ In the drama, both Clovis the French king and Inguiomar, the German king, are pagans, and being “tired of war, the kings of the two nations believed that a marriage would be the means to establish a durable peace between them.”²⁸¹ The son of Clovis, Thierry, and Rosalinda, the German princess, are made to marry, but Rosalinda's Christian faith proves an obstacle for all. War resumes, and unbeknownst to Clovis, his wife Clotilde has converted to Christianity, and when the French meet their victory, it is because of Clotilde's prayers to the Christian God (and not to the “false divinities”). Clovis and his son Thierry become convinced that Christianity is the true faith, and the wedding proceeds, all having converted (it is worth noting that Jouvancy ignored his own admonishments from the *Ratio discendi* regarding the unsuitability of female roles to the Jesuit stage, but both prominent female parts were played by boys). This story speaks to a hope for the end of the long conflict between the German territories and France, as they had both been Christian lands for over a millennium. In the wake of Louis' refusal to aid the Empire against the Turks—and in anticipation of the coming war suggested by the formation of the League of Augsburg—

²⁸⁰ Joseph de Jouvancy, *Clovis* (Paris: Gabriel Martin, 1686), 2.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

the Jesuits voiced their hope for an avoidance of renewed conflict between two Catholic nations. The plot's inclusion of the marriage between the Prince of France and the Princess of Germany was perhaps a reminder that the current Dauphin was married to the Bavarian Princess Maria Anna Victoria, whose brother was the current Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian II Emanuel.

While *Clovis* voiced the Jesuits' unease with the resumption of war with the Holy Roman Empire, the ballet interlaced with *Clovis* praised Louis for his noble destruction of the heretics. Some French Catholics, such as the oft-cited commentator Louis de Rouvroy, Duke of Saint-Simon, deplored the violent tactics with which the conversion of Protestants was taking place. He writes that the "Revocation of the Edict of Nantes [...] was the outcome of that appalling plot which decimated a quarter of the kingdom [...] exposing it to admitted and public looting by the dragoons, authorising the torments and tortures by which thousands of the innocent of both sexes died."²⁸² For the Jesuits, however, the end result was celebrated: the 1686 *Ballet de les Travaux d'Hercule* makes it very clear that Hercules' slaying of a Hydra at the end of the fourth *intermède* represented Louis' destruction of heresy.²⁸³ The ballet concludes with a celebration of Hercules' deeds, which had made references to Louis' victories and the concluding peace in Holland (the Treaty of Nijmegen).²⁸⁴

The combined message of these two works presented simultaneously seems to teach a lesson on the cases in which violence is justified: when it ends in pan-continental

²⁸² Cited in and translated by Charlotte Haldane, *Madame de Maintenon* (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1970), 168–169.

²⁸³ Anonymous, *Les travaux d'Hercule* (Paris: Gabriel Martin, 1686), 6.

²⁸⁴ As Rebekah Ahrendt has shown, both the recounting of Louis' noble deeds (including but not exclusively eradicating the "monster" of heresy) is the subject of the prologue of Lully's *Armide* of the same year. See "Armide, the Huguenots, and the Hague," *Opera Quarterly* 28, no. 3–4 (2012): 136.

peace as in the Dutch War, or in the eradication of heretical Protestantism, Louis' aggression was a cause for celebration. Given that the Jesuits looked to Aquinas above all other theologians, his views on just war explain their beliefs: “they [rulers] use the sword in lawful defence against domestic disturbance when they punish criminals [...] so they lawfully use the sword of war to protect the commonweal.”²⁸⁵ Protestants lived in defiance of the one true Church, and therefore of God, thus they threatened Aquinas' idea of the “commonweal” by tempting the Lord's wrath upon the nation. A new war with the Emperor, however, did not seem justified whatever the political motivation. Tensions were escalating as Louis had sought throughout the 1680s to extend his borders: this motivation for war must have seemed terribly petty to the Jesuits. Their position was awkward enough under the king's strained relationship with the Vatican; a war with the Holy Roman Empire would only make matters worse.

In 1687, the Jesuits seemed to be clinging to the glorious past by reviving the ballet *La France victorieuse* from 1680. In this context, the message that “it is not only through Arms that France is victorious under Louis-le-Grand” had a different meaning. That opening line was printed again in the 1686 synopsis distributed at the performance. Because the ballet emphasized the peace brought about by the conclusion of the Dutch War, it sent the message that destabilizing that peace would undermine the victory of 1679. Again Aquinas was helpful when he stated that “those who wage a just war intend peace.”²⁸⁶ Territorial skirmishes would seem not to fall under that category. As evidenced

²⁸⁵ *Summa theologiae*, 2a2ae. Q. 40, A. 1, Par. 2. Translated in Thomas R. Heath, *St. Thomas Aquinas: Summa theologiae*, vol. 35 (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1972), 83. “licite defendunt eam materiali gladio contra interiores quidem perturbatores, dum malefactores puniunt [...] ita etiam gladio bellico ad eos pertinet rempublicam tueri”

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Q. 40, A. 1, Resp. 4. Translated in Heath, 85. “Ad tertium dicendum quod etiam illi qui justa bella gerunt pacem intendunt.”

above, Louis' greatness was also due to his being a patron of the fine arts, according to the second part of the ballet, in which Apollo and the Muses descend from Parnassus to France. This symbolism also took on a new meaning in the year 1686, as Louis had begun to turn his back upon the arts in the middle of the decade.

As Cowart has shown, the year 1685 was a beginning of an intensification of the criticism of Louis XIV's reign, with pamphlet literature portraying the king as a tyrant; of course, any objections to official policy portrayed by the Opéra had to be more subtle.²⁸⁷ The king's interest in that art form was waning, however, a fact generally attributed to his increasing piety absorbed from his secret wife, Madame de Maintenon, the mounting expenses of the operas, and the scandal that erupted around Lully in 1685 concerning his sexual relationship with a male court page.²⁸⁸ Lully was temporarily exiled from court as a result of his actions. Lully's *Armide* (1686), though commissioned by the king, did not receive its traditional court premiere in that year, though that may have been due in part to a painful illness that contemporaneously plagued Louis.²⁸⁹ Shortly after completing *Armide*, the librettist Quinault requested to end his collaboration with Lully permanently. Thus the pair of artists that had done so much to found the tradition of French opera was riven apart. Quinault died shortly thereafter, and so did Lully, in 1687.

This gradual destabilization of Lully's regime at the Opéra afforded greater opportunities than ever before for his monopoly to be challenged. Three years before he died, we already see that the Collège de Clermont began to stage pieces described as “tragédie en musique”. In the next chapter we shall examine the ways in which these works do or do not resemble the works of Lully and Quinault in that genre, but it is worth

²⁸⁷ Cowart, *The Triumph*, 145.

²⁸⁸ See Isherwood, *Music in the Service*, 237, and Cowart, *The Triumph*, 139.

noting immediately that these works were, like the Jesuit ballets, interlaced with the tragedies in Latin that were the official focus of the Jesuit stage. While works at court and in the public theater also intermingled ballet with spoken tragedy (albeit plays in French), the procedure adopted in 1684 by the Jesuits was entirely unique: after each act of the Latin play, the same story is told simultaneously in French verse that has been set completely to music. As discussed in the Introduction to this study, the plots of the tragedy and the *tragédie en musique* are the same in essence, but the operas are not a direct translation. The plots are adapted to the demands of setting them to music, but since no full print of the dialogue of any of the Latin plays exists, a side-by-side comparison with the printed livrets of the operas is impossible.

Five operas were presented at the Collège de Clermont between 1684 and 1688—*Eustache*, *Démétrius*, *Jephté*, *Celse martyr*, and *David et Jonathas*. One might expect such works to contain prologues built in the mould of Quinault, filled with panegyrics, and yet all but the last—*David et Jonathas*—avoid the term “prologue” whatsoever. *David et Jonathas* features a prologue—a term all of the sources use to describe its first section—yet it does not contain the most important element common to those of the courtly opera prologues: the representation of the king as a hero.²⁹⁰ We have seen thus far how the Jesuits sought to solidify their ties with the French monarchy, often using similar imagery to the court ballet in their own staged works to praise the king and his deeds. It is remarkable, therefore, that the Jesuits did not take the opportunity afforded by the conventions of the *tragédie en musique* to create prologues in the vein of Quinault to further continue this project of praise. However, in light of the political climate during the

²⁸⁹ Isherwood, *Music in the Service*, 237.

²⁹⁰ The manuscript score does not label the prologue at its beginning, but it does state “Fin du

period of these Jesuit operas, perhaps an entire segment of a work devoted to royal panegyric seemed inappropriate to the Jesuit fathers. We are now poised to examine the political function of the story of *David et Jonathas* as a whole.

***David et Jonathas* as political allegory**

The choice of the subject of *David et Jonathas* and its related spoken tragedy *Saül* has particular poignancy in light of the recent events in Louis XIV's reign. Both works chronicle Saul's downfall and David's subsequent rise from slightly different perspectives. The story's basic thrust is to warn that it is God who ultimately affords power to a king, and those who disobey Divine Will shall inevitably meet their downfall. As we have seen, the Jesuits invoked the story of Saul previously on occasions where Louis XIV increased his power—in 1651, when he came of age, and in 1661, when he took over the government from Mazarin. In those previous instances, the gesture of staging this particular story only functioned in a general sense to remind the audience of the dangers of tyranny. Given the pursuit of power Louis had embarked upon in the 1680s, however, the 1688 staging of Saul's history can be read as something more directly admonitory.

The story reinforces the idea that even kings are subject to a higher, spiritual authority. Saul angers God through his disobedience: the Lord commands him in 1 Samuel 15 to slaughter a certain village—that of the Amalekites—utterly, leaving nothing alive, even the livestock.²⁹¹ Saul, however, spared all of the beasts, and from that day forward, the Lord ceased to speak to him. The Lord then selected David as the future king of Israel

Prologue” at its close.

²⁹¹ The reason that the Amalekites were evil is revealed in 1 Samuel 15:32–33: “Then said Samuel, Bring ye hither to me Agag the king of the Amalekites. And Agag came unto him delicately. And Agag said, Surely the bitterness of death is past. And Samuel said, As thy sword hath made women childless, so

and meanwhile persecuted Saul with evil spirits; Saul, however, was told that David’s skill at the harp would quiet his soul during these malevolent attacks.²⁹² Here already we see the importance placed upon David’s skill in music that separated him from Saul. David became a member of Saul’s house and eventually proved himself as an avid warrior, slaying Goliath (1 Samuel 17), and pursuing the Philistines, the enemies of the Israelites. When David waged war against the Philistines, it is said that “Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his tens of thousands” (1 Samuel 18:7). This figure awoke petty jealousy in Saul for David, which he would never relinquish. David developed a strong bond with Saul’s son Jonathan, who recognized that David was God’s next anointed king, and as prince, Jonathan would have to step aside for David’s ascent for the crown; this he does willingly out of affection for David and obedience to God (1 Samuel 20). Saul’s hatred for David ultimately results in the defection of David to the Philistines, whose allegiance he pledges to the king Achis by eliminating villages inimical to him (1 Samuel 27). It is at this point that the stories of *Saül* and *David et Jonathas*—summarized in the following table—begin. One will note that each act of the play and the opera feature the same major events, but the opera, as expected, simplifies the intrigue to focus on those elements more appropriate to music and spectacle—that is, celebrations, the emotional aspects such as David and Jonathan’s love and each character’s personal ambitions.

Table 1.1. The plots of *Saül* and *David et Jonathas*

<i>Saül</i>	<i>David et Jonathas</i>
<p>Prologue.(Common to the opera and the play) Saul seeks out an oracle to confirm that David will indeed ascend to the throne. The oracle summons the ghost of Samuel, who acknowledges that David <i>shall</i> become king and—what is more—that Saul and his son, Jonathan, will perish in the process.</p>	

shall thy mother be childless among women. And Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the LORD in Gilgal.”

²⁹² 1 Samuel 16: 14–19

<i>Saül</i>	<i>David et Jonathas</i>
<p>Act I. Saul grows nervous at the Philistines' mounting might. Jonathan encourages Saul to head off any attack by calling David back to act as a mediator for peace between Saul and Achis.</p>	
	<p>Act I. A triumphant celebration among the Philistines acknowledges David's recent conquests over their enemies; there is little plot advancement beyond Achis's and David's discovery that Saul plans to entreat the Philistines for peace. The events of this act serve to establish the righteousness of David.</p>
<p>Act II. Peace negotiations ensue: Achis and David come to the Israelite camp and accept Saul's proposed treaty, so long as Saul forfeits his anger for David. Saul does not agree to these terms. Meanwhile, David and Jonathan steal away for an embrace, and Jonathan urgently relays the discovery to David that his brother, Abinadab, knows of the oracle's prophecy surrounding his father's demise and hopes to goad the Philistines into battle to see to it that Jonathan and Saul die. Abinadab hopes thereby to seize the throne for himself. Abinadab hears Jonathan telling his plan to David, so he goes to Saul and lies to him that it is Jonathan who plans to trick the Philistines into fighting to usurp the crown.</p>	
	<p>Act II. Joadab, general of the Philistine army, grows jealous of David and also wishes to lure the two armies into battle, hoping that David will then be killed. Meanwhile, David and Jonathan's stolen moments together are spun out into a <i>divertissement</i> celebrating their happiness with the support of their attendants.</p>
<p>Act III. Abinadab finally convinces Saul to attack the Philistines. David and Jonathan are torn apart, as David must return to the Philistine army, having pledged his allegiance to Achis.</p>	
	<p>Act III. Relative to the play, time reverses back to the point of Achis's negotiations with Saul for peace. Saul goes mad with anger at being asked to relinquish his hard feelings for David. He then sees David in the distance and summons his guards to pursue him. Joadab, realizing that David might simply be killed by Saul directly, is overjoyed, but David escapes.</p>
<p>Act IV. David bids Jonathan farewell as he and Achis go back to the Philistine camp to prepare for battle. Jonathan, at the behest of David—and to avoid Saul's wrath—appears to accept the coming strife.</p>	

<i>Saül</i>	<i>David et Jonathas</i>
	Act IV. David is praying when Jonathan enters and interrupts. Realizing that they are about to be pitted against each other in battle, they discuss that they will try to keep each other from being killed, though they know in all likelihood that they will die.
Act V. The final act of both the play and the opera recount the same events: the battle has passed, Jonathan is mortally wounded, and he dies in David's arms. Saul, realizing that the terms of the prophecy are about to come true, kills himself. David is celebrated as the new king of Israel, having conquered Saul's army, yet he knows nothing but grief at having lost Jonathan and at the manner in which Saul relinquished his crown.	
	Act V. (The same events are recounted as in <i>Saül</i> .)

The prologue opens to find Saul disoriented. His first words—"Where am I? What have I done?"—immediately indicate his confusion. He encounters a witch he has sought out and through his dialogue with her, confirms an unholy allegiance:

SAUL
Must I at last experience the aid of your magic?

WITCH
Advance, advance; Hell is going to respond to your wishes.

SAUL
*After mortal alarms
It is the only hope that remains for the unfortunate.*

SAUL and the WITCH
*After mortal alarms
It is the only hope that remains for the unfortunate.*²⁹³

The image of a wretched monarch, seeking his last fortunes in the aid of black magic, seems quite out of place in a prologue to a *tragédie en musique*, though the imagery and

²⁹³ Bretonneau, *David et Jonathas*, 4. "SAUL: Dois-je enfin éprouver le secours de vos charmes? / LA PYTHONISSE: Allez, allez; L'Enfer va répondre à vos vœux. / SAUL: Après de mortelles allarmes / Il est l'unique espoir qui reste aux malheureux."

the music have much in common with the prologue to *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673). Both prologues feature an evil character who summons supernatural forces.

Another remarkable point of overlap between these two prologues arises from etymology. The witch of Endor is in fact called “la Pythonisse” in the livret of *David et Jonathas*. This term was used in early modern France for oracles based on Classical terminology, and its origins lie in the story of Apollo slaying the serpent Python as recounted in the prologue to *Cadmus*. Louis Moréri’s *le grand dictionnaire historique de l’histoire sacrée* defines “la Pythonisse” as equally used to describe the witch of Endor in Scripture, the oracle of Apollo, or a spirit medium in general.²⁹⁴ The Jesuit theologian Nicolas Serarius describes the etymology of this name in his commentary on the books of Kings (including the book of Samuel).²⁹⁵ He cites Plutarch, who describes in *De defectu oraculorum* that Delphi, the location of the serpent Python, was also the source of prophecies, which

were the mighty workings of dæmons, and the same respecting the Python, and that the slayer of the Python (Apollo) [...] went into another world, and there abode for the revolutions of nine *Great Years*, until at length having become pure, and really ‘bright’ he returned, and received possession of the oracle.²⁹⁶

Oracles, according to Plutarch, were possessed by the spirit of the Python which “enters into the bodies of the prophets and makes proclamation, employing their mouths and voices in the way of instruments.”²⁹⁷ The Latin Vulgate Bible states that “est mulier habens pythonem in Ændor” (“there is a woman possessed of a python in Endor”) (1 Samuel 28:7). Latin therefore retains this term born out of Classical mythology to

²⁹⁴ The term is defined in Louis Moréri, *Le grand dictionnaire historique ou le mélange curieux de L’Histoire Sacrée* (Basel: Jean Brandmuller, 1732), vol. 5, 1009.

²⁹⁵ Nicolas Serarius, *In libros Regum et Paralipomenon. Commentaria posthuma* (Mainz: Balthasarus Lippius, 1617), 105.

²⁹⁶ C. W. King, trans., *Plutarch’s Morals* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1903), 97.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 83.

describe oracles generically, including the witch that Saul visits. French then follows the Latin, and the woman “possessed of a python” becomes “la Pythonisse.” After making the connection between Plutarch and Biblical terminology, Serarius goes on to cite other passages of the Bible that prohibit the visitation of oracles and spirit mediums, reinforcing the fact that Saul had truly turned against God in so doing.²⁹⁸ Table 1.2 compares the very similar language used by Envy in *Cadmus* to summon the Python and by the witch to summon its spirit to aid in her divination.

Table 1.2. The imagery of *Cadmus* and *Jonathas*, compared

Prologue to <i>Cadmus et Hermione</i>	Prologue to <i>David et Jonathas</i>
<p style="text-align: center;">ENVY</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Come, dark enemies of his [the Sun's] light of life, Join our furious transports. Let each one assist me. Appear, frightful monster! Come out, Subterranean Winds, from the most hollow lairs. Fly, Tyrants of the air, disrupt the Earth and the Wave(s). We spread terror; Such that with us Heaven groans Such that Hell responds to us; We fill the Earth with horror: Such that nature becomes confounded; Throw into all of the hearts of the world The Jealous furor Which rips apart my heart.²⁹⁹</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">LA PYTHONISSE</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Retire, frightful thunder. Storms, calm yourselves. Winds, submit to my laws, Such that nothing disturb here the Earth. I want to make my voice heard all the way to Hell. And you that I've created, come dark clouds, In your thick veils bury these places. Spread, dark night, and horror, and storms: Hell cannot suffer the light of the Heavens. What do I hear? Beneath my steps, the earth trembles. Everything obeys me; all cedes to my vanquishing charms Spirits that my order assembles, Come, come, Demons; assist my furies.³⁰⁰</i></p>

²⁹⁸ Serarius, *In libros Regum*, 105. For example, Serarius cites Leviticus 19:31, which issues the order “regard not them that have familiar spirits, neither seek after wizards, to be defiled by them: I am the Lord your God.”

²⁹⁹ Quinault, *Cadmus et Hermione*, 4–5. “Venez, noirs Ennemis de sa vive lumiere, / Joignons nos transports furieux. / Que chacun me seconde: / Paraissez, Monstre affreux. / Sortez, Vents sousterrains, des Antres les plus creux. / Volez, Tirans des airs, troublez la Terre & l'Onde. / Répandons la terreur; / Qu'avec nous le Ciel gronde: / Que l'Enfer nous réponde; / Remplissons la Terre d'horreur: / Que la Nature se confonde; / Jettons dans tous les cœurs du monde / La jalouse fureur / Qui déchire mon cœur.”

³⁰⁰ Bretonneau, *David et Jonathas*, 4–5. “Retirez-vous affreux Tonnerre. / Orages, calmez-vous. Vents soumis à mes loix, / Que rien ne trouble icy la Terre: / Je veux jusqu'aux Enfers faire entendre ma voix. / Et vous que j'ai formés, venez nüages sombres / Dans vos voiles épais ensevelir ces lieux. / Répands, obscure nuit, & l'horreur, & les Ombres: / L'Enfer ne peut souffrir la lumiere des Cieux. / Qu'entends-je? Sous mes pas déjà la terre tremble. / Tout m'obéit; tout cède à mes charmes Vainqueurs. / Esprits que mon ordre rassemble, / Venez, venez Démons; secondez mes Fureurs.”

In *Cadmus*, Envy thus summons the forces of Hell to blot out the Sun's light, and in both works, storms and infernal spirits create an atmosphere of general chaos that Lully and Charpentier respectively create with the orchestra. In both prologues, rapid scales and thunderous rearticulated monotones burst out between Envy and the Witch's summons to represent the winds and general disorder of the storms (See Examples 1.1 and 1.2). The crucial difference between these two prologues, however, lies in the fact that a hero—the Sun, Apollo, or Louis' onstage image—comes in *Cadmus* to vanquish the forces of darkness brought up by Envy. The inhabitants whom the Sun has saved then sing his praises. In *David et Jonathas*, the witch successfully conjures the ghost of Samuel instead, who issues a dire warning to Saul, informing him that he and Jonathan will die in return for his disobedience to God. There is no hero to praise, and the only multitude on stage is a troupe of demons that accompanies the witch. Avoiding the panegyric component in this prologue has two potential effects: first, some in the audience may have interpreted the lack of an image compatible with Louis XIV as a gesture of dissent in its own right, if the label "prologue" in a work called *tragédie en musique* set up their expectations for a work following Quinauldian conventions. Others may not have expected (or at least may not have been fazed by) the lack of panegyrics, understanding that this opera was a Jesuit product that was not required to follow the conventions of the Académie. In the latter case, however, a story that preaches the perils of tyranny may well have resonated with the audience who would no doubt have been aware of the king's thirst for war and his difficulties with the Pope.

Example 1.1. Depiction of the storm in the prologue to *Cadmus et Hermione* (continued on next page)

Les vents forment de nouveaux tourbillons, tandis que le Serpent Python s'élève en l'air
 (The winds create new whirlwinds, while the Serpent Python is lifted into the air)

6

L'Envie
 O - sons, o - sons; tous ob - seur - cir ses clar - tez les plus bel - les

11

O - sons nous op - po - ser à son cours trop heu reux: O - sons o - sons nous op - po

16

ser à son cours trop heu - reux.

19

Example 1.2. The depiction of the storm in the prologue to *David et Jonathas*

*Les Démon*s qui s'étoient prosternés, témoignent à la Pythonisse que rien ne paroît.
(The demons that were prostrated demonstrate to the Pythonisse that nothing is appearing.)

La Pythonisse
Quel tran-sport me sai - sit?

This system contains measures 1 through 6. It features a piano accompaniment with a treble and bass staff. The treble staff has a melodic line with some rests, while the bass staff provides a rhythmic accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes. The vocal line for 'La Pythonisse' begins in measure 1 with a half note, followed by a quarter rest in measure 2, and then continues with a series of eighth notes in measures 3-6.

La mort la mort cru - el - le pour la pre-mie-re fois a pû me re - sis - ter

This system contains measures 7 through 10. The piano accompaniment continues with similar rhythmic patterns. The vocal line for 'La Pythonisse' continues from measure 6, with a quarter rest in measure 7, followed by a series of eighth notes in measures 8-10.

Les Démons disparaissent.
The demons disappear.

This system contains measures 11 through 15. The piano accompaniment continues with similar rhythmic patterns. The vocal line for 'La Pythonisse' continues from measure 10, with a quarter rest in measure 11, followed by a series of eighth notes in measures 12-15.

In fact, one can read Louis' dwindling ties with Rome as being reflected in Saul's dwindling ties with God, and the opera might also be read as an essay on the perils of unjust war. Throughout *David et Jonathas*, both Saul and the Philistine general Joadab seek out war for their own personal gain, each hoping that David might be killed in the chaos of battle.³⁰¹ With David a member of Saul's house, God's chosen king of Israel, and also a general in the Philistines' army, he is in a special position to bring the Israelites and the Philistines together. They are, in effect, on the same side in the eyes of God, as the Philistine king Achis knows, but Joadab and Saul are determined to see their respective armies engaged in battle. This is a modification of the Biblical story,³⁰² for though David is trusted by Achis in the Bible, Bretonneau fabricates the idea of failed peace negotiations between Achis and Saul. The personification of Joadab as a warlord jealous of David is also a liberty taken relative to Scripture. This fabrication suggests that Bretonneau wished to emphasize the potential for peace between the two peoples under David, and indeed one can see a parallel to the real world: As both the Israelites and Philistines could be seen as children of God under David, so too could the Christian nations France and the Holy Roman Empire be seen as on the same "side"—that is, Catholics. This echoes the plot of *Clovis* (1686) as another plea for peace between France and the Holy Roman Empire. As David (I.4) puts it,

*Too long discord has known us divided
Forever may peace bind us.
A great heart easily forgets*

³⁰¹ In the play *Saul*, Jonathan's brother Abinadab, not featured in the opera, also hopes to profit by goading the two armies into battle, as, aware of the prophecy, he believes that he will become king if Saul and Jonathan die.

³⁰² "Then Achish called David, and said unto him, Surely, *as* the LORD liveth, thou has been upright, and thy going out and thy coming in with me in the host *is* good in my sight: for I have not found evil in thee since the day of thy coming unto me unto this day: nevertheless the lords favour thee not. Wherefore now return, and go in peace, that thou not displease the lords of the Philistines." (1 Samuel 29: 6–7).

*The fatal cares of vengeance.*³⁰³

This plea to put aside petty causes for battle finds its opposite in the words of Joadab (II.2):

*David, at the height of his glory,
Seeks to enjoy in peace his noble deeds.
You alone, witness of his victory,
Go coward, go languish in a shameful repose.*³⁰⁴

The petty, jealous Joadab embodies the mistaken idea that “always must a hero fly towards victory” (II.1), never to savor the delights of peace that he has achieved.³⁰⁵ Here one can read a criticism of Louis, having achieved so much by the peace brought about in 1679 but having brought France to the brink of a new war with the Empire and its allies in 1688. By contrast, David (II.1) represents an ideal king’s attitude when he declares

*Between peace and victory
A Hero can divide his time,
In happy repose or in the horror of danger,
If he knows equally to find glory above all,
A Hero can divide his time
Between peace and victory.*³⁰⁶

This declaration echoes the idea that the Jesuits had advanced in the *Ballet de la Paix* (1679), that war was not the only means by which a king achieves glory, but also through just laws and the cultivation of the arts (see above). Here is an entreaty to the king to model himself after David, the young warrior who ultimately would become remembered for his composition of the psalms. The king’s interest in the arts had begun to wane ever since his marriage to Madame de Maintenon, and thus the comparison with David paints a hopeful picture that the king would continue to view the arts as important to his *gloire*.

³⁰³ Bretonneau, *David et Jonathas*, 13. “Trop long-temps la discorde a scû nous partager. / Pour jamais que la Paix nous lie. / Aisément un grand cœur oublie / Le soin fatal de se vanger.”

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 17. “David au comble de sa Gloire, / Cherche à jouir en paix de ses nobles travaux. / Toi seul, témoin de sa Victoire, / Va lâche, va languir dans un honteux repos.”

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 16. “Entre la Paix & la Victoire / Un Heros peut se partager / Dans un heureux repos, dans

It is not only on the Jesuit stage that we can see concerns of the king's policies raised in allegorical guise. On the stage of the Académie in 1688, Lully's unfinished last opera *Achille et Polixène* (completed by Pascal Collasse after his death) also defied structural norms to voice quiet dissent of the king's changes in policy. The piece does not start with an *ouverture*, and as Cowart points out, this omission symbolically bypasses the monarchical grandeur that opens all of Lully's operas.³⁰⁷ The prelude which opens the opera does not reference the heavily dotted rhythms and duple meter with which the Lullian *ouverture* invariably begins; instead, the prelude is in triple time and in the rhythm of a sarabande (see Example 1.3). Thereafter, the Muses begin the prologue by complaining that the king has sought to pursue glory through his "arms" and "exploits" at the expense of their "fêtes", and they appeal to Jupiter to reinstate them; Cowart reads this as an obvious change in the typical nature of the prologue, describing it as "a new phase in the royal panegyric, in which praise of the king is accorded not on the basis of his deeds but rather on the basis of a kind of fantasy answering the artistic community's unfulfilled desire for his political support."³⁰⁸ Thus, both the Jesuits and the public stage employed suggestive imagery to indicate that all was not well in the kingdom.

l'horreur du danger, / S'il sçait également trouver par tout la gloire, / Un Heros peut se partager / Entre la Paix & la Victoire."

³⁰⁷ Cowart, *The Triumph*, 156. For a more detailed political analysis of this work, see also Géraldine Gaudefroy-Demombynes, "Achille et Polyxène (1687): The Trojan war and a plea for peace at the Académie royale de musique" *Early Music* 43, no. 3 (August 2015): 397-415.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 156.

Example 1.3. The prelude to *Achille et Polyxène* in place of the usual *ouverture*

PROLOGUE

The image shows a musical score for the prelude of *Achille et Polyxène*. It consists of five staves. The top staff is in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The time signature is 3/8. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The word "PRELUDE." is written above the first staff. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and trills (tr). Below the bottom staff, there is figured bass notation: 6, 7 6#, 7, # 5#, 7, 7 #, 6.

Throughout the seventeenth century, the Jesuits had forged a strong relationship with the monarchy in France, finding a balance between respecting the kings' authority while necessarily obeying their orders from Rome. In spite of this, the Jesuit order at large had long taken a stance against tyranny and of maintaining the Pope's authority over kings. After decades of promoting a positive image of the king in their ballets, the Jesuits had neglected to do so in the genre most closely associated with the king's power, the prologue in a work labeled as a *tragédie en musique*. *David et Jonathas*—the first and only Jesuit opera to contain a section titled “prologue”—seems to have been the perfect opportunity to echo the practice of court operas and celebrate the king's image, solidifying the ties between the monarchy and the Jesuits in France, as the Jesuits had done previously. Given that the king's actions in the 1680s touched off the tensest conflict between France and Rome in decades, however, both the lack of a positive image of the king in the prologue—and the choice of the Saul story in general—suggest quiet dissent from the Jesuits. Some in the audience may have seen marked similarities between the

war-thirsty Saul, who had put his own needs before those of Divine will, and some of the recent actions committed by Louis. A comparison between Louis and David—throughout the opera pledging his faith to God and his pursuit of peace—cannot have reflected favorably on the real monarch. In fact, the use of David as a main character in a *tragédie en musique* defies convention, as the perfect nature of the allegorical hero of the prologue always shines brighter than the flawed kings and heroes of the tragedy. In this opera, there is no direct reference to Louis XIV, and consequently, there is no insurance that the king is above comparison with other figures of power in the work.³⁰⁹ This fact, along with the politically suggestive subject matter, leads me to interpret *David et Jonathas* as bearing a message of dissent for the king's recent policies. The exploration of different approaches to kingship—the approach of the tyrant versus that of the devout ruler—is a theme very much in keeping with the Jesuits' theoretical writings in the seventeenth century, as I hope to have shown. The Jesuits believed that the decision to lead a godly life had to be a deliberate election made on the part of an individual, an election like they themselves made as part the culmination of their *Spiritual Exercises*. Kings, too, had to make the election of faith, and the Jesuits' message in this work is to remind them that the “purpose for which [they were] created” was to “praise God and to save [their] soul[s],” just as was the case for their subjects.³¹⁰ David made the correct choice. Saul did not.

The lack of a conventional prologue in this work destabilizes its connection to the genre *tragédie en musique*, which was expected to underline the idea that Louis XIV was

³⁰⁹ Burgess, in “Ritual,” 68–75, and Norman, in *Touched by the Graces*, 33, give several instances of flawed heroes who make the light of the king outshine them. A particularly strong example is Phaéton, in *Phaéton* (1683), whose ambition to guide le Soleil's chariot results in his death. Roland is another example, when he allows his love for Angélique to drive him to madness in *Roland* (IV.6).

³¹⁰ Ganss, ed., *Ignatius*, 161.

above comparison to any past hero.³¹¹ Over the course of the next two chapters, I will argue how the label “tragédie en musique”, in certain respects, inadequately describes how *David et Jonathas* operates, and yet, following Todorov and Frow, how the mere existence of the label brings about “horizons of expectation” from the audience. As Frow states, genre “defines a set of expectations which guide our engagement with texts. It is oriented to the future.”³¹² An audience member holding the printed livret and seeing the words “tragédie en musique” and “prologue” would thus have expectations in this work that were not entirely fulfilled. I hope to have demonstrated a potential interpretation that spectators could have made in light of those dashed expectations.

³¹¹ On this idea in general, see Peter Burke, *The Fabrication*, Ch. 9. The decision that no comparison between Louis XIV and any ancient hero was really an adequate reflection of his glory emerged around 1668. See Apostolidès, *Le Roi-Machine*, 114–116.

³¹² Frow, *Genre*, 113.

Chapter 2. Exploring Jesuit Opera: Morals, Musical Style, and Love

How has it happened that no one has imagined or ventured a Christian opera? I don't think there has ever appeared one at any time, if not for the *Jonathas* of Charpentier, played at the Collège de Clermont: But, a spectacle where the Jesuits deny themselves the placement of even the tiniest female role or the slightest feature of the most allowable *galanterie* does not merit to be called but half an Opera: That of *Jonathas* is, it seems to me, too dry and too devoid of sentiments of morality and piety to be called a Christian opera. I would like a subject pulled from the Bible or from the lives of the Saints, and what's more, a foundation of Christianity, lightened with the right mix of elusive *galanterie*. That would not be impossible to adapt.³¹³

Writing in 1704, Jean-Laurent Le Cerf de Viéville bemoaned a lack of operas on Christian subjects and could think only of a single example: Charpentier's *David et Jonathas*. As an ardent Lullist, however, Le Cerf's evaluation of this work was certainly not without bias.³¹⁴ Though he elsewhere praised Charpentier's settings of Latin texts as “natural, brilliant, and true,” he blasted the composer's French-texted music as “harsh, dry, and excessively stiff,” using both *David et Jonathas* and *Médée* (1694) as examples.³¹⁵ The complaints leveled against the Jesuit opera stem from two alleged aspects—a lack of *galanterie*, and a lack of morality. *Galanterie* is difficult to define, and

³¹³ Le Cerf de Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique françois*, 2nd ed. (Brussels, François Foppens, 1705), part 3, 5. “Comment est-il arrivé que personne n'ait imaginé ou n'ait osé hasarder un Opera Chrétien? Je ne sçache pourtant pas qu'il en ait paru aucun en aucun tems, si ce n'est le Jonathas de Charpentier, jöüé au Collège de Clermont: Mais, outre, qu'un Spectacle où les Jesuites se défendent de mettre la moindre femme & le moindre trait de la galanterie la plus permise, ne mérite qu'à demi d'être apellée un Opera: Celui de Jonathas est, ce me semble, trop sec & trop dénué de sentimens de Morale & de pieté, pour être apellé un Opera Chrétien. Je voudrois un sujet tiré de la Bible ou de la Vie des Saints; puis un fond de Christianisme, égayé par un juste mélange de galanterie hors d'atteinte. Cela ne seroit pas impossible à ajuster.”

³¹⁴ Le Cerf, in his *Comparaison*, and François Ragueneau, in his *Parallèle des italiens et des françois, en ce qui regarde la musique et les opéra* (1702) engaged in a pamphlet war with each other, each defending the merits of French and Italian music respectively. A summary of this can be found in Georgia Cowart, *The Origins of Modern Musical Criticism* (Ann Arbor: UMI Reseach Press, 1981), Ch. 3. Le Cerf predicted, for example, that “Lully enjoyed the beginnings of his glory, uncommon greatness; however if he rose from the dead 500 or 600 years from now, I don't doubt that he would live celebrated, admired 100 times more.” (“Lulli a jöüi des commencemens de sa gloire, bonheur peu ordinaire; cependant s'il ressuscitoit dans cinq ou six cens ans d'ici, je ne doute point qu'il ne se vît fêté, admiré cent fois davantage”) (*Comparaison*, vol. 2, 212).

we will explore this concept more fully later, but for now, Lewis Seifert's summary of the concept will give an introduction. He notes that *galanterie* "was primarily linked to notions of urbanity, politeness, and courtliness."³¹⁶ Further, Seifert states that "what galanterie required of any man was an appropriation and display of the 'feminine.' By seeking out the company and the affection of women, he came to resemble them."³¹⁷ For Le Cerf, the feminine element—both in the physical presence of women onstage and the depiction of courtly, chivalric, heterosocial love—would be a requirement of any opera. That *David et Jonathas* exhibited no *galant* sentiments is unsurprising, given the Jesuits' prohibition against female roles onstage. Jouvancy, following his proscription against the inclusion of "profane love" in Jesuit theatrical works, observes that

fire, though it be buried under a crust of ashes, cannot be handled without injury. [...] Let the religious teacher keep this caution in mind: he should not consider it necessary to read certain vernacular poets, in whose plays passionate love seems rampant. Nothing is more damaging, spiritually, than the reading of such matter.³¹⁸

The Jesuits did not go so far as Jansenists like Antoine Arnauld, however, in thinking of opera as dangerously "effeminate" in general.³¹⁹ They clearly saw its value to adorn their plays from the period of 1684 to 1688, though the "profane love" and the *galanterie* found in Lully's operas were lacking. Various substitutes were used, as we shall examine later in this chapter.

A lack of *galanterie* in Jesuit productions is easy to acknowledge, and its root cause is clear, given the Society's priorities. However, the general lack of morality that Le

³¹⁵ *Comparaison*, part 3, 138, cited in Cessac, *Charpentier*, 44.

³¹⁶ Louis Seifert, *Manning the Margins: Masculinity and Writing in Seventeenth-Century France* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2009), 40.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 101.

³¹⁸ Lozier, "Method," 76.

³¹⁹ See Downing Thomas, *Aesthetics*, 33–34. See also the previous chapter for a brief summary of the Jansenists' views of the Jesuits.

Cerf perceives in *David et Jonathas* is not as obvious. As I will argue in this chapter, there is indeed a moral core to the Jesuit opera, one that exceeds the moral expectations of the genre of *tragédie en musique*, particularly as critics of that art form often lamented its morally vacuous nature. For instance, Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux commented on the ubiquity of love in opera plots, which overtook the importance of heroics and led him to view the genre as immoral; he writes to warn a gentlemen what his female companion would witness at the opera in his *Satire X* (1694):

She will hear the discourse revolving on love alone
 Those gentle Renauds, those insensible Rolands;
 [She] will know of them only love, as to the only supreme God,
 One must sacrifice everything, even virtue itself;
 [She] will know that one would not soon enough know to let oneself be enflamed;
 That one has received from heaven a heart made only for love.
 And all of those common scenes of lewd morals
 That Lulli heats up with the sounds of his music.³²⁰

It is therefore remarkable that the Jesuits at the Collège de Clermont chose to cultivate their own version of the *tragédie en musique*, despite the fact that its moral nature was considered dubious by some. This is particularly striking when one considers that another dramatic genre was in existence that consistently took sacred subject matter and did not necessarily include an element of amorous intrigue: the oratorio. In fact, as a sacred dramatic work, one might characterize *David et Jonathas* as oratorio-like, and I will evaluate below how far one can discuss overlap between opera and oratorio as seventeenth-century genres. Charpentier composed an oratorio on the same story as the opera, a work titled *Mors Saülis et Jonathae* (1681/82[?]). Examining how the drama unfolds in this unstaged genre compared to *David et Jonathas* shows some surprising

³²⁰ *Dialogue, ou Satire X* (Paris: Denis Thierry, 1694), 12–13. “[Elle] Entendra ces discours sur l’amour seul roulans, / Ces doucereux Renauds, ces insensez Rolands; / Sçaura d’eux qu’à l’amour, comme au seul Dieu suprême, / On doit immoler tout, jusqu’à la vertu même: / Qu’on ne sçauroit trop tost se laisser enflammer: / Qu’on n’a reçû du Ciel un cœur que pour aimer; / Et tous ces lieux communs de

points of overlap, as we shall see. However, a comparison of Charpentier's musical style in the two works will show how it is highly differentiated in each and indebted to his antecedents in each respective genre. Whereas the oratorio may seem better suited to function as a Jesuit drama, the Jesuits clearly wished to create stage works inspired by courtly fashions, as demonstrated in the previous chapter. Part of the appeal to the tastes at court included a clear preference for the French musical style in the vein of Lully.³²¹ I will demonstrate many ways how Italian-trained Charpentier absorbed some of Lully's influences in the musical language he used in *David et Jonathas*. By contrast, his oratorio exhibits a style very much indebted to his teacher Carissimi.

Since the related issues of love and morals are raised by Le Cerf, these two topics will also be examined in the other *tragédies en musique* presented at the Collège de Clermont. The Jesuits did include love in their opera plots, but it is not the courtly, *galant* love of Quinault's operas that appears. Given that interest for the oratorio was limited to those familiar with the genre in France during Charpentier's lifetime, it makes sense that the Jesuits cultivated *tragédies en musique* instead of oratorios (at least when it came to large-scale public entertainment), despite the dangers it might present for morality.³²² As this chapter will demonstrate, the Jesuits attempted in *David et Jonathas* to forge a spiritually edifying work with an appealing veneer of music derived at least in part from Lullian opera. Le Cerf was left unfulfilled by these efforts, but given his generally

Morale lubrique / Que Lully recauffa des sons de sa musique?"

³²¹ It was the king who dictated the preference for French music over the Italian, at least at his court. In the courts of other prominent members of the royal family, this was not necessarily the case. See Don Fader, "The 'Cabale du Dauphin', Campra, and Italian Comedy: The Courtly Politics of French Musical Patronage around 1700," *Music & Letters* 86, no. 3 (Aug., 2005): 384.

³²² See the entry "Oratorio" by James Anthony in Marcelle Benoît, *Dictionnaire de la musique en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, Fayard, 1992), 510. Charpentier's large output of oratorios may be partly attributed to his patroness, Mlle de Guises, and her familiarity with the genre: She had been exposed to the oratorios in Florence during a stay there in the 1650s. See Ranum, *Portraits*, 363.

disdainful attitude toward Charpentier, one must view his commentary with some reservations. Steeped in polemics though he was, Le Cerf's criticism invites us to take a closer look at the aesthetics of Charpentier's Jesuit opera, beginning with its relationship to the oratorio genre.

The Seventeenth-Century Oratorio in France and Italy

Le Cerf's plea for Christian operas raises the question of why the sacred drama *par excellence*, the Italian oratorio, did not gain a foothold in France. As discussed in the previous chapter, Cardinal Mazarin's efforts to foster French interest in Italian music were met with suspicion by those who saw it as part of an overall attempt to exert foreign influence on France during the politically weak period of the Regency (1643–1661). The French were nevertheless exposed to Italian opera, and in addition, three surviving French copies of Italian oratorios are extant bearing the date 1649.³²³ Native French composers seem not to have had much interest in the form, though there are a handful of exceptions: Guillaume Bouzignac composed dialogues in Latin in the first half of the century, though they lack basso continuo and, in the opinion of Howard Smither, are more in the vein of the Renaissance dramatic dialogue.³²⁴ Pierre Perrin, poet of the early French opera *Pomone*, published a handful of Latin dialogues in 1665 that were set by various composers, including Thomas Gobert and Henry du Mont.³²⁵ Such pieces, however, were not labeled “oratorio”, bearing instead unspecific labels such as “canticum” (song) or simply the ever-problematic “motet”. In fact, the Italians also used a range of terms to describe their sacred dramatic works, including “*historicus, actus musicus, dramma sacro,*

³²³ Howard Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, vol. 1 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 225.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 418.

componimento sacro, or azione sacra”); these terms are all listed by Smither, who has suggested that we can describe all of them under the umbrella-label “oratorio.”³²⁶ He defines such pieces as “sacred, unstaged work[s] with a text that is either dramatic or narrative dramatic.”³²⁷ Thus, a singer (or several singers) might take the part of a narrator, where others portray characters of the story. While examples exist in Italian dialects, the majority of this repertoire has a Latin text, often in prose rather than verse.

One therefore sees the genre boundaries that a modern scholar such as Smither draws between opera and oratorio in this period: opera is a staged story texted in the vernacular and in verse. An oratorio, by contrast, is not staged, and its text is sacred, is frequently in prose, and often includes a narrator. Without any visual element, the words alone tell the story. The performance contexts of these works are therefore quite different. The term “oratorio”, in fact, arose from its typical location of performance—an oratory, or chapel. We have an account describing such an oratory that hosted the earliest performances of what we would call oratorios: André Maugars (c. 1580–1645), a visiting French viol player, attended a service at the Oratory of the Most Holy Crucifix, attached to the church of San Marcello in Rome. According to Smither, special services—ostensibly unrelated to the Liturgy of the Hours—occurred every Friday in Lent at this institution.³²⁸ At one such service, Maugars heard two “histories” sung from a loft in the chapel, accompanied by two choirs of instruments divided on separate platforms below; the first history narrated an Old Testament story, the second, one from the New Testament, and

³²⁵ Smither, *A History*, 418–19.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 3–4.

³²⁷ *Ibid.*, 3–4.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 207–208.

sandwiched between them was a sermon.³²⁹ This bipartite construction would become fairly standard for oratorios. In the histories, “each singer represented a personage of the story and expressed perfectly the force of the words [... in] *musique récitatif*”, which Maugars tells us is “not at all in use in France” during the time of his account (1639).³³⁰

This particular practice of performing music outside of the formal church liturgy in smaller, more private oratorios has its roots in the spirituality of Philip Neri (1515–1590), who, though not himself a Jesuit, was like “a bell calling men into the Society of Jesus yet remaining outside.”³³¹ Giacomo Carissimi (1605–1674), strongly associated with the Jesuits and their German College in Rome, became one of the leading composers of this genre in the mid-seventeenth century. It appears uncertain which of Carissimi's dramatic Latin works were written for the Oratory of the Most Holy Crucifix, though he certainly was attached to the institution as its music director from 1658 to 1660.³³² By this point, oratorios were presented outside the period of Lent, their traditional season of performance. Graham Dixon maintains that a Lenten text should still have weight in determining whether a work is, indeed, defined as an oratorio, and he only classifies twelve of Carissimi's sacred works as such.³³³ Smither, whose criteria are listed above, stipulates only that the work be in one or two parts and, rather arbitrarily, at least 16 minutes in duration; his reckoning of Carissimi's total oratorios is 33.³³⁴ This discrepancy shows the flexible application of the term “oratorio” in modern writing, and I will follow

³²⁹ Smither, *A History*, 211.

³³⁰ *Response faite à un curieux sur les sentiment de la musique de l'Italie* (1639), repr. in Ernest Thoinan, *Maugars* (London: H. Baron, 1965), 29–30; Cited in and translated by *ibid.*, 211.

³³¹ Smither, *History*, 41. He remarks that this image is Igantius of Loyola's.

³³² Graham Dixon, *Carissimi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 32.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 33.

³³⁴ Smither, *A History*, 224.

Smither and err on the side of inclusivity in classifying sacred, unstaged dramatic works as “oratorios.”

The performance circumstances of the oratorio expanded over Carissimi's career, with Latin dialogues at times substituting for items of the liturgy during the Mass, particularly the Gradual and the Offertory.³³⁵ This practice was particularly irksome for Pope Alexander VII, who banned such substitutions in a decree of 1657.³³⁶ The oratorio texts always derived from the Bible or the *vitae* of the saints, but they were usually heavily paraphrased and embellished. Carissimi, in his capacity of *maestro di capella* at the German College and its church of Sant'Apollinare, had employed oratorios during Mass on several occasions before the Papal ban.

The musical materials of Carissimi's oratorios drew upon the contemporaneous styles of recitative and aria from opera and the cantata. However, while the importance of the chorus had diminished in Italian opera somewhat by mid-century, it endured in the oratorio. These choruses were largely homophonic, syllabic, and simple enough for the boys of the college to perform. The solo parts, by contrast, were more ambitious: the highly artful declamation required in recitatives and the frequent employment of coloratura in arias demanded professional voices. The splendor of the music at the chapel of the German College had reached such a height that an annual report censured Carissimi for neglecting to teach the boys music; because of the extensive use of professionals (which also cost a great deal of money), the boys were free to pass the time

³³⁵ Smither, *A History*, 218.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*

inappropriately or even leave services early.³³⁷ These grievances only made the practice of performing oratorios during Mass more troublesome.

The oratorio continued to flower in Rome in the 1660s, and it was certainly there that Charpentier became aware of the genre. Very little is known about Charpentier's time in Rome, as documentation of his trip does not survive. However, Patricia Ranum has put forth a conjecture regarding Charpentier's introduction to Carissimi in Rome:

Charpentier's sister Élisabeth was assisted at her wedding by one Marie Talon, whose husband Daniel Voisin was the nephew of Pierre de Verthamon, a Parisian-born Jesuit who became secretary to the General of the Society in Rome; he "did not lack the means to facilitate Marc-Antoine Charpentier's contacts with the famed chapel master

[Carissimi], and he can be presumed to have done so."³³⁸ The *Mercure galant* of January 1678 reports that Charpentier met with Carissimi frequently while he visited Italy.³³⁹

According to Sébastien de Brossard, Charpentier memorized some of Carissimi's oratorios, which allowed him to retain his knowledge of the style despite the German College's injunction against the publication of Carissimi's works.³⁴⁰ A copy of

Carissimi's *Jephte* also exists in Charpentier's handwriting.³⁴¹

³³⁷ Smither, *A History*, 218.

³³⁸ Ranum, *Portraits*, 105.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 117, and *Mercure galant*, Jan. 1678, 231. See also note 9 to Panel 5 (598), where Ranum lists four other instances where the *Mercure galant* connects Charpentier with Carissimi.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 118.

³⁴¹ F-Pn Vm. 1477. See H. Wiley Hitchcock, "Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Mémoire and Index," *Recherches sur la musique classique française* 23 (1985): 7. Despite the aforementioned contemporary references to Charpentier's connection with Carissimi, some have questioned whether Charpentier actually took lessons with him. Jean Lionnet, for instance, suggests that the *Mercure galant* may have "drawn attention to Carissimi essentially because he was without a doubt the only Roman composer whose name the French public was aware of. Charpentier himself never said that he had worked with the great master." ("Les chroniqueurs du *Mercure Galant* [...] ont attiré l'attention sur Carissimi essentiellement parce qu'il était sans doute le seul compositeur romain dont le public français connaissait le nom. Charpentier lui-même n'a jamais dit qu'il avait travaillé avec le grand maître.") See Jean Lionnet, "Charpentier à Rome," in *Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Un musicien retrouvé*, edited by Catherine Cessac (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2005), 74. What is more, Lionnet points out that Charpentier's age (he was at least twenty years old when

Charpentier was the only seventeenth-century French composer who left a significant body of oratorios. As in the case of the Italian repertoire of Latin-texted dramas, Charpentier used a variety of terms to describe these pieces—“*historia*”, “*motet*”, “*canticum*”, “*dialogus*”—all of which H. Wiley Hitchcock categorizes as “dramatic motets.”³⁴² Hitchcock avoids the term “oratorio” because Charpentier’s works were not performed in oratories; he also dismisses the French term “*histoire sacrée*”—used by Duron and others—as “an indefensible overgeneralization.”³⁴³ Using the same criteria applied to Carissimi’s works, Smither nevertheless uses the term “oratorio” for Charpentier’s sacred dramatic works and gives their total number as 22.³⁴⁴ Hitchcock divides Charpentier’s oratorio output into three main categories: *historiae*, *cantica*, and *dialogi*.³⁴⁵ The *historiae* are the longest and require the largest forces, often with double chorus and sometimes two four-part string ensembles (or at least one choir and an instrumental trio). Though the composer only used the term “*historia*” once (for *Historia Esther*), Hitchcock notes that 13 other works are comparable in the aforementioned aspects.³⁴⁶ Charpentier employed the term *canticum* far more frequently than *historia*—six times in total—and Hitchcock classifies other works as such as well.³⁴⁷ These require

he was in Rome) would have precluded the possibility of Carissimi taking him on as an apprentice (74). Lionnet then points out concordances between some of Charpentier’s works and those of other, less prestigious Roman composers, such as Domenico Mazzocchi and Bonifacio Graziani, suggesting that Charpentier absorbed a variety of influences while in Rome, of which Carissimi’s music was just one aspect (77).

³⁴² Hitchcock, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 52–53. In his *Catalogue raisonné* (Paris: Picard, 1982), Hitchcock describes 35 of Charpentier’s works as “dramatic motets” (37).

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, 52–53.

³⁴⁴ Smither, *A History*, 422. This number is maintained in the entry on Charpentier in the *NGD*.

³⁴⁵ Hitchcock, “The Latin Oratorios of Marc-Antoine Charpentier,” *The Musical Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (Jan., 1955): 43–44.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 43.

³⁴⁷ These are *Canticum in Nativitatem Domini* (H. 393), *In Honorem Caeciliae, Valeriani, et Tiburtii Canticum* (H. 394), *Canticum in Honorem Beatae Virginis Mariae* (H. 400), *In Nativitate DNJC Canticum* (H. 414), *In Nativitate Domini Canticum* (H. 416), and *Canticum pro pace* (H. 392).

fewer singers and instrumentalists and are shorter, “more reflective, [more] lyrical, and less dramatic” than the *historiae*, in Hitchcock’s words.³⁴⁸ The *dialogi*, as the name suggests, are generally dialogues for two or more soloists without the dramatic framework provided by any narration. They are of the same scale as the *cantica* in terms of length and required forces. Cessac also uses the term “oratorio” to categorize a large number of Charpentier’s works; she follows Hitchcock’s division of the oratorios into the three aforementioned subcategories.³⁴⁹

The above discussion serves to show the breadth of terminology employed for sacred dramatic works. Given the rather vague status the term “oratorio” now has for us, we may turn to Sébastien de Brossard, who in his 1702 *Dictionnaire* defines it as

a species of *Spiritual Opera*, or a weaving together of *Dialogues, Recits, Duos, Ritornellos, Choruses, etc*, whose subject is taken from Scripture or the history of some saint. It could also be an allegory of one of the mysteries of religion, or some moral point, etc. Its music must be enriched by all that the finest and most learned art has. The words are almost always Latin and are ordinarily taken from Holy Scripture. There are several of them whose words are in Italian, and one could fashion some in French. Nothing is more common in Rome during Lent than these sorts of *Oratorios*. One was just presented to the public by Sieur *Lochon* [Jacques-François Lochon] wherein there are great beauties; it is for four voices and two violins.³⁵⁰

Brossard’s term “spiritual opera” might cause us to question the identity of *David et Jonathas*, given that it is indeed an opera with a sacred subject, containing dialogues, recits, choruses and all of the components Brossard mentions. Moreover, Brossard does

³⁴⁸ Hitchcock, “The Latin Oratorios,” 43. Hitchcock notes that Brossard, in his *Dictionnaire* of 1703, equates the term “canticum” with “motet.”

³⁴⁹ Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 270–271.

³⁵⁰ Brossard, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. “Oratorio.” Translation mine. “C’est un espece d’Opera *spirituel*, ou un tissu de *Dialogues*, de *Recits*, de *Duos*, de *Trios*, de *Ritornelles*, de *Grands Chœurs*, &c. dont le sujet est pris ou de l’Ecriture, ou de l’Histoire de quelque Saint ou Sainte. Ou bien c’est une Allegorie sur quelqu’un des mysteres de la Religion, ou quelque point de Morale, &c. La Musique en doit être enrichie de tout ce que l’art a de plus fin & de plus recherché. Les paroles sont presque toujours Latines & tirées pour l’ordinaire de l’Ecriture Sainte. Il y en a beaucoup dont les paroles sont en Italien, & l’on en pourroit faire en François. Rien n’est plus commun à Rome sur tout pendant le Carême que ces sortes d’*Oratorio*. On en vient de donner un au Public du Sieur *Lochon* où il y a de grandes beautez, il est à quatre Voix & deux

not mention the element of staging—that is, whether the absence of staging is normal for a work called “oratorio.” He allows for French texts in addition to Latin. Thus, based on Brossard’s description of oratorios as “spiritual operas” alone, one might consider whether *David et Jonathas* can be described as such. The following analysis of the opera as juxtaposed to *Mors Saülis et Jonathae* will show the ways in which the boundary between oratorio and opera is upheld and blurred.

Charpentier’s oratorio *Mors Saülis et Jonathae* and *David et Jonathas* compared

The mere fact that *David et Jonathas* is a sacred drama could be grounds to consider the work as oratorio-like. Although oratorios were not staged in the seventeenth century, one can nevertheless see features of the work that further strengthen its ties to the oratorio genre. Cessac notes that “[v]arious aspects of *David et Jonathas*, including the prevailing arioso style, the importance of monologues, the physical absence of chorus, and an overall static tone, place the work between oratorio and opera.”³⁵¹ Cessac takes this point further, asserting that “there is even more action in the oratorio *Mors Saülis et Jonathae* than in the opera *David et Jonathas*.”³⁵² Action takes two forms in *Mors Saülis*: dialogue between characters (including the chorus), and the use of descriptive instrumental music and the chorus to create atmospheric effects. The lack of a narrator—a typical feature of an oratorio—can partially explain the large amount of dialogue that carries the story in *Mors Saülis*. Cessac’s point that *David et Jonathas* has an “overall static tone” is largely due to the high proportion of monologue, which results in less dialogue. This disparity will be examined in more detail in Chapter 3. More

Violons.”

³⁵¹ Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 195.

pertinent here is Cessac's point about the "physical absence of the chorus" being a genre-bending feature: Table 2.1 lists three scenes (the first of which containing two separate choral passages) in *David et Jonathas* where the chorus sings from offstage. In two of these instances, the chorus describes soldiers either running toward battle or revelling in victory. The depiction of a battle through musical means, particularly in using the chorus to represent the voices of fighting soldiers, is a frequent occurrence in the oratorio, one that happens in both *Mors Saülis* and Carissimi's *Jephthe*. Naturally, in an oratorio that has no visual dimension, this technique is the only way to create the atmosphere of battle, whereas in opera, visual spectacle is not only possible but of paramount importance, particularly in the *tragédie en musique*. As Harris-Warrick has observed, the chorus functions in that genre like "societies that are visible *and* audible for as much as a third of each opera."³⁵³ Because *David et Jonathas* conveys the atmosphere of a battle only in the auditory dimension, it could be said to borrow a technique from the oratorio. We shall examine this in greater detail, after discussing the various functions of the chorus in *Mors Saülis*. While the presence of the offstage chorus does blur genre boundaries between opera and oratorio in *David et Jonathas*, a complicating factor in this hybridity is the highly contrasting musical styles between the works. More in-depth examination of the music and the role of spectacle in *Jonathas* belies any strong connection to the Italian oratorio tradition, at least in terms of style. Upon analyzing Charpentier's harmonic language, recitative style, treatment of dissonance, and handling of melismas between the two works, one will see how Charpentier drew upon two very different musical idioms:

³⁵² Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 284.

³⁵³ Rebecca Harris-Warrick, "Lully's Onstage Societies," in *Opera and Society in Italy and France from Monteverdi to Bourdieu*, ed. Victoria Johnson, et. al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 53.

the rather old-fashioned Italian language of Carissimi, and the quite modern style of Lully. This is not to say, of course, that Charpentier’s own voice is absent in these two works—quite the contrary. Charpentier’s style is unique, and yet, he most certainly paid homage to his antecedents in the two genres in which he worked to set this story.

Table 2.1. Instances of offstage chorus in *David et Jonathas*

Location	Participants	Comments
II.2 (two instances)	Chœurs de la Suite de David & de Jonathas, qu'on entend & qu'on ne voit point. [Choruses of the followers of David and Jonathan, whom one hears but does not see.]	The Chorus assures David and Jonathan that, in this time of peace, they should cease to fear, as everything follows their wishes. It also responds to Joadab's attempt to goad David back to war, noting that a true hero only fights a war to bring about peace.
IV.3	Chœur d'Israelites & Philistins, qu'on entend & qu'on ne voit point. [Chorus of the Israelites and Philistines, whom one hears but does not see.]	The Chorus portrays soldiers in the distance (out of sight) that are running toward battle, whether to triumph or otherwise. Jonathan, who is in the middle of a lament over the coming war, hears them and rebukes them, calling them “barbarians.”
V.3	Chœur de Philistins, qu'on entend & qu'on ne voit point. [Chorus of the Philistine, whom one hears but does not see.]	The Philistines can be heard in the distance proclaiming their victory in battle, while in the foreground, Jonathan lies on the ground, dying.

The Origins of Mors Saülis et Jonathae

Before embarking on analysis, we must first consider the original performance circumstances of *Mors Saülis et Jonathae*. This work belongs to the category of “historia” in Hitchcock’s and Cessac’s classification scheme, despite the fact that Charpentier did not use that term to describe it. There is no genre descriptor—only the title of the story—provided at the heading of the work in the manuscript, which is

preserved in Charpentier's *mélanges autographes*. These were a series of notebooks sold by his nephew Jacques Édouard to the King's library in 1726, long after the composer's death.³⁵⁴ Charpentier numbered these notebooks—he called them “cahiers”—in two series, one using Arabic numerals, the other using Roman numerals. His reason for organizing his works in this fashion remains elusive, though Ranum has hypothesized that the cahiers with Arabic numerals contain only compositions for his primary employers, the Guises, at least until the end of his tenure in their house in 1688.³⁵⁵ *Mors Saülis* and all of his other oratorios are transmitted in the Arabic-numbered notebooks, which suggests that he composed them all for the Guises. However, when his nephew Édouard sold the manuscripts to the King's collection, he also provided his own index of the works held therein, a “mémoire des ouvrages de musique latine et françoise de défunt Mr. Charpentier.” In this index, Édouard described *Mors Saülis* as a “grand motet ou dialogue, piece pour les Jésuites en tragédie.”³⁵⁶ Ranum clarifies this apparent discrepancy by arguing that whenever Charpentier composed for the Jesuits, the request had to be submitted to his main patrons, the Guises, and he would use a Roman-numbered notebook to keep the piece separate from those that were technically the Guises' property.³⁵⁷ Since this is not the case here, the oratorio commission likely came from the Guises themselves, but was performed in one of the main Jesuit chapels in Paris, either the church of St. Louis, the Jesuit Novitiate, or the chapel at the Collège de Clermont.³⁵⁸ As such, one of the Fathers attached to one of these institutions may have

³⁵⁴ Hitchcock, “Mémoire,” 5.

³⁵⁵ First advanced in Patricia Ranum, “A sweet servitude: A Musician's Life at the Court of Mlle de Guise,” *Early Music* 15, no.3 (August 1987): 357.

³⁵⁶ Hitchcock, “Mémoire,” 16.

³⁵⁷ Ranum, *Portraits*, 559–560.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

supplied the text, though it remains anonymous. We know nothing of the work's performance circumstances, but Ranum makes a plausible suggestion that since the Guises had in the past held private devotions at Jesuit institutions, the Jesuits would have thought of a performance of one of Charpentier's works as a generous offering from the powerful noble house.³⁵⁹

Édouard's index and Charpentier's own numbering system give some indication of the chronology of his works; these resources allow H. Wiley Hitchcock to suggest that *Mors Saülis* was written in the early part of the 1680s.³⁶⁰ Cessac more precisely places *Mors Saülis* in either 1681 or 1682 due to its location in the 32nd cahier.³⁶¹ Ranum goes even further, however, in surmising that the work was performed in July of 1681, given that the final chorus opens with a direct quote from 2 Samuel 1:21, the Old Testament reading proper to the sixth Sunday after Pentecost: “Montes Gelboë nec pluvia nec ros descendant super vos!” [“Ye mountains of Gilboa, let there be no dew, neither let there be rain, upon you!”].³⁶² Moreover, the Old Testament reading for the previous Sunday tells the first part of the narrative, meaning that the work could possibly have substituted for either of these readings in an actual service. This would not be surprising, as it echoes Carissimi's practice at the German College of performing oratorios during Mass, as discussed above. Table 2.2 gives a synopsis of the plot.

³⁵⁹ Ranum, *Portraits*, 559–560.

³⁶⁰ Hitchcock, *Les Œuvres de Marc-Antoine Charpentier. Catalogue Raisonné* (Paris: Picard, 1982), 300. Hitchcock gives a full description of Charpentier's works' chronology in 23–36.

³⁶¹ Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 434. On the chronology in general, see 414–417. For a summary of attempts to chronologically order Charpentier's works, see Shirley Thompson, “Reflections on Four Charpentier Chronologies,” *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 7, no. 1 (2001); <http://sscm-jscm.org/v7/no1/thompson.html>.

Table 2.2. Plot synopsis of *Mors Saülis*

Before the events of the oratorio: Saul, king of Israel, having defied God in battle and lost His blessing, grows suspicious of David, whom God has marked as the next king of Israel. David, having been chased away from Israel, joins the Philistines, the Israelites' enemies. David's might in battle arouses the jealousy of both Saul and the Philistine generals. Jonathan, Saul's son, acknowledges that David has God's blessing, and Saul grows wary of David and Jonathan's loyalty. Saul therefore attempts to call out to the Lord, who ignores Saul due to his disobedience (1 Samuel 15-1 Samuel 28).

Participants

Action

Part I

Narrative Chorus	The Philistines and Israelites explain that Saul fearfully goes to consult a witch to divine his fate, receiving no answer from his prayers to God.
Witch, Saul	The witch summons Samuel (includes the <i>symphonie de l'enchantement</i>)
Witch, Saul, Samuel	The witch's summons are at first unsuccessful. She expresses her frustration and tries again. Samuel appears and confirms that Saul and his son Jonathan shall die, since Saul had disobeyed God's orders.

Part II

Narrative Chorus	The battle that Saul engenders to jealously pursue David is underway. The chorus tells us that Jonathan, Saul's son, has been killed.
Saul and the Soldier	Saul, mad with grief, demands that a soldier kill him. The battle rages around them. We sympathize with the soldier, who is torn between obeying his king and committing the sin of murder.
Narrative Chorus	We are told that the soldier obeyed Saul and killed him. He seeks out David.
David and the Soldier	David interrogates the soldier, who confirms that Saul and Jonathan are dead.
David's lament	David laments the loss of Jonathan and Saul, and condemns the soldier to death for his sinful action of killing Saul.
Chorus	The multitude echoes David's lament.

The functions of the Chorus

Cessac describes *Mors Saülis* as the “most theatrical of all Charpentier's *historiae*.”³⁶³ The abundance of action in the work stems from three aspects: its heavy use of dialogue, a chorus portraying members of the multitude who interact with the main characters, and the use of instrumental music to represent activities happening in real

³⁶² KJV

time, such as the summoning ritual in Part I, and the battle in Part II. Rather than relying on an *historicus*, or narrator, a common fixture in the Italian oratorio texts, *Mors Saülis* uses the chorus—or soloists culled from the chorus—to advance the plot. Charpentier in fact employs two choruses, one representing the Philistines, the other the Israelites. The story begins, as does that of *David et Jonathas*, with Saul's appeal to a witch to summon Samuel's ghost in order to divine his fate. The divided chorus sets the scene after a brief martial prelude, with the choruses portraying the respective points of view of each camp:

A - Philistines

The Philistines having congregated against Israel,

B- Israelites

Saul collected his forces

A- Philistines

*And, observing their camp from Mount Gelboa,
Fear arose within him and his heart was afraid.*

B- Israelites

He consulted the Lord,

All

*Who did not respond, neither in dreams nor prophecies.
Under cover of night, dressed in the cloak of a foreigner,
He went to a woman oracle at Endor.³⁶⁴*

Thus, the Philistines emphasize Saul's enmity and his fear, while the Israelites describe only the mundane facts such as their army having been marshalled by Saul and his entreaty to God. Jean Duron has emphasized that the function of this narrative chorus is

³⁶³ Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 284.

³⁶⁴ “Cum essent congregata ad praelium agmina Philistaeorum contra Israel, coëgit quoque Saül exercitum suum, et aspiciens de Monte Gelboë castra eorum, timor irruit in eum, ac toto corde expavescens, consuluit Dominum quo illi non respondente nec per somnia et sacerdotes, neque per prophetas. Accessit de nocte, veste amictus aliena, ad mulierem habentem pythonem in Endor.”

akin to that of the chorus in the prologues to Greek tragedies.³⁶⁵ Accordingly, he notes that Cessac's description of the work as particularly dramatic is bolstered by the oratorio's use of the chorus as both narrator and participant in the vein of the ancient Greeks.³⁶⁶ A final role played by the chorus is to provide an elegy at the end of the piece, a kind of collective mourning for the deaths of Saul and Jonathan; this important moral role of the chorus also appears in the *tragédie en musique*, as we shall explore later.³⁶⁷

Apart from the fact that the narrators are the supernumeraries of the story, this same chorus also participates in the action of the plot. At the beginning of the second part, the chorus describes—again from two different vantage points—how Jonathan was slain among the Philistines. Then, the Israelites explain that one of their own soldiers happened upon Saul, mad with grief over his son's death. Saul demands that his own soldier and ally kill him. This soldier, naturally, recoils from the idea of slaughtering his own king. Saul acknowledges the battle continuing around them, at which point the chorus interjects “ad arma! Ad arma!” (“to arms! to arms!”) in order to suggest a battle surrounding this poignant dialogue. The passage references the *stile concitato*, employing frequent repeated pitches in sixteenth and eighth notes in a manner described earliest in Claudio Monteverdi's *Madrigali Guerrieri et Amorosi* (1638).³⁶⁸ Charpentier, having

³⁶⁵ Duron, "Marc-Antoine Charpentier : *Mors Saulis et Jonathae*," 226.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 225.

³⁶⁷ On the chorus as a representation of the mourning public, see Olivia Bloechl, "Choral Lament and the Politics of Public Mourning in the *Tragédie en musique*," *The Opera Quarterly* 27, no. 4 (2011): 341–378.

³⁶⁸ In his preface to this work, Monteverdi describes three musical styles that express the passions of an agitated, soft, or moderate species (“*concitato*, *molle*, & *temperato*”). Monteverdi notes that the bellicose *concitato* style is best expressed by employing semibreves divided into semiquavers, percussively rearticulated, thereby producing spondaic or pyrrhic patterns—that is, two equal poetic feet of long (at the semibreve level) and short syllables (at the semiquaver level), respectively. He also notes that the vocal parts in this style should be in a high range. Charpentier's reference to this style is loose, since he does not use running semiquavers/sixteenth notes (the pyrrhic rhythm described by Monteverdi), but rather a mixture of repeated eighth notes and sixteenth notes. The voice parts are not particularly high relative to their usual range.

copied Carissimi's *Jephte*, had a clear precedent in the use of this style in that work, which employs a chorus of soldiers crying "fugite" ("flee") using agitated, repeated eighth notes and sixteenth notes just as in *Mors Saülis*.

Charpentier uses other methods to convey the bellicose atmosphere beyond the reference to the *conciato* style: the highest violin line uses the first five notes of the D major scale in imitation of a trumpet, and the bass leaps in octaves, fourths, and fifths, much like the natural trumpet's restriction to fourths and fifths in the lower part of its range. Though the overall key of the passage is G-major, cadences on D and C are significant, as Charpentier associated these keys with martial music in his treatise on composition; these are also the keys in which trumpets, inevitably evoking martial music, were most commonly pitched in the seventeenth century.³⁶⁹ Saul's pleas to the soldier take place in the same tempo and movement as the battle-cries of the chorus (see Example 2.1). The result is highly dramatic: Duron notes that such an extensive use of the chorus to portray a multitude engaging in the action of the story is unmatched in any of Charpentier's *historiae*.³⁷⁰ He does point out a similar use of the chorus as an interruption in other works: Jonathan has a monologue in the fourth act of *David et Jonathas*, within which soldiers call each other to prepare for battle in the background.³⁷¹

³⁶⁹ On Charpentier's "key feelings," see Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 406–407.

³⁷⁰ Duron, "Mors Saulis et Jonathae," 228.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 229.

Example 2.1. The chorus simulates the chaos of battle in Part II of *Mors Saülis*.

The musical score consists of two systems of staves. The first system includes Violons (Violins), SOPRANO, ALTO, TENOR, BASS, Saül, and Basse continue. The second system continues the same parts from measure 5. The lyrics are in French and describe the chaos of battle.

System 1:

- Violons:** Two staves of music.
- SOPRANO:** ad ar-ma ad ar-ma ad ar - ma
- ALTO:** ad ar-ma ad ar-ma ad ar - ma
- TENOR:** ad ar-ma ad ar-ma ad ar - ma
- BASS:** ad ar-ma ad ar-ma ad ar - ma
- Saül:** cru-de-le bel-lum un-di-que sac-vit Im-pi-us hos-tis un-di-que
- Basse continue:** Musical accompaniment with figured bass notation: ♯ 4 3 ♯6

System 2 (starting at measure 5):

- SOPRANO:** ad ar-ma ad ar-ma ad ar - ma
- ALTO:** ad ar-ma ad ar-ma ad ar - ma
- TENOR:** ad ar-ma ad ar-ma ad ar - ma
- BASS:** ad ar-ma ad ar-ma ad ar - ma
- Saül:** fur-it mi-nat clan-gor, un-di-que ter-ret Mi-li-tum cla-mor un-di-que
- Basse continue:** Musical accompaniment with figured bass notation: ♯ ♯ ♯ ♯ 4 3 ♯ 6 ♯ ♯ ♯ 4 3 ♯

9

ad ar - ma ad ar - ma ad ar - ma

ad ar - ma ad ar - ma ad ar - ma

ad ar - ma ad ar - ma ad ar - ma

ad ar - ma ad ar - ma ad ar - ma

so - nat Pe - ri - cu - lum est in mo - ra. A - ge ci - to, ur - get

12

Ad ar - ma ad ar - ma ad ar - ma ad ar - ma ad ar - ma

Ad ar - ma ad ar - ma ad ar - ma ad ar - ma ad ar - ma

Ad ar - ma ad ar - ma ad ar - ma ad ar - ma ad ar - ma

Ad ar - ma ad ar - ma ad ar - ma ad ar - ma ad ar - ma

ho - ra

4 3 # # ♯ 4 3 ♯

The multifaceted function of the chorus in *Mors Saülis*—as narrator, as a crowd, and as a moral commentator—recalls its many roles in the *tragédie en musique*. It is only the narrative role that does not appear in opera. Rebecca Harris-Warrick has described

how the French opera stage is a “crowded” place—representing an entire world of various populations, each of which has its own place in the larger social order that the opera projects.³⁷² Catherine Kintzler goes further in describing the varied functions of choruses: “commentary”, “the voice of suitability and propriety”, a “picturesque or entertainment function”, and what she terms “suspensive”—where the chorus and protagonist disagree on the proper course of action.³⁷³ In each of these cases, the chorus functions as a collective *inside* the drama; therefore, the purely narrative choruses in oratorio are a fixture not present in opera. Kintzler emphasizes that these functions of the chorus are possible in opera only because one both sees and hears the crowds, whereas in spoken tragedy, we neither see nor hear them; we only hear *of* them by way of the main characters.³⁷⁴ This is an important point for a consideration of genre, as there are three instances in which the livret of *David et Jonathas* tells us that “one hears but does not see” the chorus (see Table 2.1). Cessac suggests that this is one reason why the work straddles the genre distinction between opera and oratorio.³⁷⁵ The element of seeing the crowds onstage, as Harris-Warrick and Kintzler suggest, is an indispensable aspect of the spectacle of French opera. Since the livret of *David et Jonathas* meticulously specifies each instance where the chorus is offstage, it stands to reason that it was visible by default. However, the frequency with which the unseen chorus is employed is remarkable. Of the twelve choral passages, it is offstage in four of these and is used in a similar fashion to “Ad arma!” in *Mors Saülis* (see Table 2.1).³⁷⁶ Across two scenes of Act

³⁷² Harris-Warrick, “Lully’s on-stage societies,” 53.

³⁷³ Catherine Kintzler, “Le Peuple in French opera, 1673–1764,” in Johnson, et. al, *Opera and Society in Italy and France from Monteverdi to Bourdieu* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 80–82.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 79.

³⁷⁵ Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 195.

³⁷⁶ Compare this proportion—4 unseen out of 12 total—to the ratio in *Médée*: only 2 out of 8 total.

II, David and Jonathan's retainers call to them from offstage to join them in a more private place for them to enjoy the pleasures of peace. In Act IV, soldiers call each other to arms amid Jonathan's anguished monologue lamenting that he and David must go to battle on opposite fronts—this, as noted above, particularly resembles “Ad arma!” Finally, in Act V, offstage Philistine soldiers celebrate their victory over Saul's forces as Jonathan, dying, awaits David to discover him.

The dramatic situation in this case is similar to Act I of Lully's *Thésée*, when offstage choruses simulate the cries of far-off battle and shout “victory” by the sixth scene. Similarly, in *Bellérophon*, a chorus of people “behind the theater” expresses both their horror at Bellérophon's battle with a Chimaera, and ultimately sing with joy at his victory (IV.7). Thus, the offstage chorus has a precedent in Lully's operas, though the amount of action in the Lully examples greatly outweighs those in *David et Jonathas*. In the aforementioned example from *Thésée*, sounds of battle are heard from within a temple where conversations between the princess Æglé, Cléone, and Arcas take place in the midst of them. Plot details are advanced and clarified while the battle rages on behind the scenes, as we discover that Æglé is in love with Thésée, and that Cléone and Arcas are romantically involved. In Act IV of *David et Jonathas*, the choral interjections interrupt Jonathan's reflective monologue, not a dialogue which advances the plot. In the example of *Bellérophon*, the actual battle between the hero and the monster takes place onstage, for which Lully provides descriptive instrumental music. The commentary of the chorus comes from out of sight, but there is no less action depicted as a result of this fact. What is more, battles involving crowds are simulated onstage in the in *Alceste* (II.3–5), where soldiers storm a fortress, both the besieged and the assailants being represented by

Armide, to continue comparison, contains no unseen choruses.

the chorus. These examples from Lully's operas serve to illustrate how important the visual dimension is, and even in instances where some part of the action is relegated to wings of the stage, there is still action taking place onstage as well. Thus, Cessac's point about the offstage chorus in *David et Jonathas* ties in with her argument about the lesser importance of action in that work: some of the most action-laden parts of the story—the battles—are not shown but take place only in the listener's imagination through medium of music alone. Thus, the chorus operates in these instances of the Jesuit opera much like it does in the oratorio *Mors Saülis* to convey an atmosphere of battle, whereas one would expect in a *tragédie en musique* to see more action taking place onstage.

The dramatic participation of the chorus in *Mors Saülis* and the frequent use of offstage chorus in *David et Jonathas* therefore blur the genre boundaries between the two works. In the *tragédie en musique*, the visual presence of the chorus forms a part of the overall spectacle, and this spectacle is thus diminished in the instances in *David et Jonathas* where the audience does not see the chorus. Of course, the chorus is not the only contributor to the onstage multitude in the *tragédie en musique*: dancers, troupes of followers, and the main characters themselves inhabit the visual dimension lacking in the oratorio. As a counterpoint to the preceding discussion, the following section will discuss ways that *David et Jonathas* makes use of the possibility of visual spectacle, also comparing how instances of magic, violence, and death are treated in the oratorio *Mors Saülis*, where no visual dimension is present to convey these ideas.

The Use of Visual vs. Imagined Spectacle

The prologue of the opera and the first part of the oratorio both tell the story of Saul's visitation of the witch at Endor. By conjuring the ghost of Samuel, the witch divines Saul's fate to die alongside his son for his having turned his back on God. One important difference between Charpentier's respective settings of this scene concerns his treatment of instrumental music. The only instrumental passage in the oratorio version of this scene consists of a "symphonie de l'enchantement" that acts as a prelude to the witch's invocation:

*Let the shadowy ether
Envelop this place with terrible darkness;
Let the winds refrain from their gusts.
While I speak,
Hasten here, you infernal denizens!
Hear the horrid songs that have been readied!
And faithfully perform at my request,
That I may prevail!³⁷⁷*

The symphony sets a grim atmosphere, being cast in F-minor—which Charpentier thought of as "dark and plaintive"—and in a very slow 3/1 meter.³⁷⁸ Charpentier evidently first chose the more common 3/2 time signature before deciding to emphasize the slow tempo by amending it in the top staff of the manuscript (see Example 2.2). Carissimi, Charpentier's teacher, had associated 3/1 with the *stylo ecclesiastico*, thus lending this passage a ritualistic gravity through the choice of time signature.³⁷⁹ While

³⁷⁷ "Æther umbrosus nigro velamine. Hunc cingat locum atra caligine. Venti quiescant a suo flamine, dum alloquar. Et vos inferni cives accurrite! Horrendos cantus prompti percipite! Et quod requiram fideles facite." My thanks to Dr. Alexander Fisher for his assistance in translating this passage.

³⁷⁸ On the associations Charpentier had with tonalities, see the reproduction of his compositional treatise in Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 407. I use the phrase "F-minor" for the sake of convenience. Although I later argue that *Mors Saülis* uses a more modal approach to harmony, this passage operates fairly tonally.

³⁷⁹ Giacomo Carissimi, *Ars cantandi, das ist: Richtiger und ausführlicher Weg die Jugend aus dem rechten Grund in der Singkunst zu unterrichten* (Augsburg: Daniel Walder, 1708), 15. This treatise exists

“infernal citizens” are called by the witch, there is no way for them to appear in any way other than in the listener's imagination.

Example 2.2. The “Symphonie de l’enchantement” in Part I of *Mors Saülis*



In the operatic version, the witch's incantation is quite similar in its imagery, but the use of instrumental music is much more robust and tied to certain stage directions in the livret. The witch sings

*Retire, frightful thunder.
Horrors, calm yourselves. Winds, place yourselves under my laws,
Such that nothing trouble the earth here:
I desire to make everything down to hell hear my voice.*

*What do I hear? Under my steps the earth is already trembling.
Everything obeys me; everything cedes to my victorious charms.
Spirits that my order brings together,
Come, come, demons; follow my furies.³⁸⁰*

only in posthumous German reprints such as the one cited here (See *NGD*, “Carissimi.”) Carissimi advises 3/1 for “slow compositions and serious works in the *Stylo Ecclesiastico*” (“Wird in langsamen Compositionen und ernsthaften Materien in dem *Stylo Ecclesiastico* gebracht”), and states that 3/2 is “somewhat more brisk than the former” (“ist etwas frischer [...] als der vorig”). Translations adapted from George Houle, *Meter in Music, 1600–1800* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), 26.

³⁸⁰ Bretonneau, David et Jonathas, 4–5. “Retirez-vous affreux Tonnerre. / Orages calmez-vous. Vents

In this case, a stormy 5-bar passage of rapid scales precedes the witch's order for the winds to calm themselves; the blustery scales clearly represent the winds that cease at her command. After the first four lines of the invocation, a slow passage for muted strings in F minor represents the calming of the elements around the witch.³⁸¹ This has obvious similarities with the oratorio setting, both in the choice of key and the atmosphere created by the music when the enchantress gains control of her surroundings (see Example 2.3). A series of rapid repeated notes in the muted strings portrays the trembling of the earth that the witch describes as her spell becomes successful. According to the livret, a troupe of demons appears at the end of the second cited quatrain of the invocation. The strings then remove their mutes and play a bourrée-like passage, suggesting that the demons dance as they "present themselves to the witch." The demons remain onstage until the witch has successfully summoned Samuel's ghost. Several interludes by the strings suggest that they dance between her recitations (See Example 1.2 in the previous chapter).

soumis à mes loix, / Que rien ne trouble icy la Terre: / Je veux jusqu'aux Enfers faire entendre ma voix.
 [...] Qu'entends-je? Sous me pas déjà la terre tremble. / Tout m'obéit; tout cède à mes charmes
 Vainqueurs. / Espirits que mon ordre rassemble, / Venez, venez Démons; secondez mes Fureurs."

³⁸¹ On Charpentier's use of mutes, see Shirley Thompson, "A Mute Question: Charpentier and the *sourdines*," in *Marc-Antoine Charpentier: un Musicien retrouvé*, edited by Catherine Cessac (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2005), 183–97.

Example 2.3. *David et Jonathas*. Prologue, Scene 2

The image displays a musical score for the Prologue, Scene 2 of *David et Jonathas*. It features four staves of instrumental music (treble and bass clefs) and a vocal line with French lyrics. The score includes fingerings (e.g., 4, 5, 6, 1, 2, 3, 4, 3, 7, 6), dynamic markings (e.g., *La Pythonisse*, *sourd*), and a key signature of one flat (Bb). The lyrics are: "Re-ti-rez vous af-freux ton-ner-re! O-ra-ges cal mezvous! Vents, sou-mis a mes loix, que rien ne trou-ble i-cy la ter-re. Je veux jus-qu'aux En-fer faire en-tend-re ma voix." The instrumental parts consist of complex rhythmic patterns, while the vocal line is more melodic and includes a *sourd* section.

The inclusion of the atmospheric “*simphonie de l'enchantement*” in the oratorio recalls the preludes of Lully's operas by which he sets the scene. Smither observes that Charpentier's use of such instrumental music in his oratorios exceeds the typical practice

of Carissimi and the other Italian composers of the seventeenth century.³⁸² This fact suggests the influence of operatic thinking on Charpentier's conception of *Mors Saülis*, and indeed we see an affinity between its language, and to some extent its music, in the analogous portion of *David et Jonathas*. However, we can infer from the greater extent of instrumental interludes in the opera that stage action played a role in creating the overall infernal atmosphere of this scene.

The supernatural—or *merveilleux*—is a crucial component of the *tragédie en musique*; it is a required element, making the inclusion of the witch's scene an important aspect to the construction of *David et Jonathas* and its participation in the genre.³⁸³ Here is another difference between opera and oratorio: magic can by no means be considered a genre requirement for oratorio. Moreover, as Kintzler has opined, “opera is not satisfied with the imaginary: it is obliged to represent.”³⁸⁴ It follows, therefore, that stage machinery played a huge role in the spectacle of opera in France, since magical appearances by supernatural beings, transformations of the set at the wave of a magic wand, and other such effects had to be actually witnessed by the audience. Cessac has noted the lack of machines in *David et Jonathas* as one of the ways in which the work defies the conventions of the *tragédie en musique*.³⁸⁵ However, the prologue—the only place in the opera where magic appears—suggests the possibility for the use of stage machinery to facilitate the sudden appearance and disappearance of both the Witch's retinue of demons and the ghost of Samuel. The use of the stage directions “appear” and

³⁸² Smither, *A History*, 426.

³⁸³ See Naudeix, *Dramaturgie*, 62–76, and Burgess, “Ritual,” 84–87, and Ch. 5.

³⁸⁴ “L’opéra français, hyper-théâtre et hypo-théâtre,” *Les papiers du collège international de philosophie* 16 (1992): 24. Cited in and translated by Downing Thomas, “Opera Dispossession, and the Sublime: The Case of *Armide*,” *Theatre Journal* 49, no.2 (May, 1997):170.

³⁸⁵Cessac, “Tragédie latine,” 213.

“disappear” do not necessarily require machines, but their use is not out of the question.³⁸⁶ All evidence for stage machinery at the Collège de Clermont is indirect, either from descriptions in the ballet synopses or passing references by Jesuit writers such as Ménestrier and Le Jay, but scholars such as Judith Rock and Robert Lowe have accepted that stage machinery was in use.³⁸⁷ Evidence for the employment of machines in *David et Jonathas* is therefore equally indirect and in any case points to their much more restrained employment than in Lully’s operas. Nevertheless, there is no question that the element of visual spectacle is of paramount importance in *David et Jonathas*, irrespective of the issue of machines.³⁸⁸

Another important moment of visual representation occurs in the second part of the oratorio and the fifth act of the opera: these scenes focus on the death of Saul and Jonathan, though the manner in which the two works tell the story differs. Most notably, both Saul and Jonathan appear wounded on stage in the opera, and Jonathan dies in the sight of the audience. By contrast, in the oratorio, the audience only experiences Saul’s insistence that a soldier kill him (although the scene ends before this occurs). As in Scripture (2 Samuel 1), this soldier informs David of the deaths, and they are not portrayed in real time. The oratorio is therefore faithful to the Scriptural telling of the story, while the opera takes liberties to increase the opportunity for spectacle. Kintzler

³⁸⁶ The Livret (1688), specifies three such instances of appearance and disappearance: (5–6).

³⁸⁷ Ballets such as Le Jay’s *Ballet de l’esperance* (1709) describe the appearance of characters in cloud machines (see Rock, “Terpischore,” 232 and Boyssse, *Le théâtre*, 231). Le Jay also cites examples of the rapid scene changes employed at the college which Lowe sees as evidence of stage machinery (Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 72–73). Works such as *La France victorieuse* (1680) also uses the word “appear” to describe the actions of Gods (5–6); Apollo and the muses “leave from Parnassus” at a certain point, suggesting the possibility of descent in a machine (4). Ménestrier describes machines as essential for ballets, suggesting that they would be no less so on the Jesuit stage (*Des ballets*, 218–219).

³⁸⁸ There were some performances of Lully’s operas at Versailles that took place without machines. One has to wonder therefore, to what extent they can be considered a crucial genre element. See William Brooks, “Lully and Quinault at Court and on the Public Stage, 1673–86,” *Seventeenth-Century French*

has suggested that *lyric* tragedy shows the violence and death typically “avoided” or “sublimated” by *spoken* tragedy.³⁸⁹ The idea of impending death is what arouses the most sympathy in the audience, giving spoken tragedy emotional and moral potency. Writers of spoken tragedies such as Racine and Corneille embraced the ideas of Aristotle’s *Poetics*, who had certain suggestions regarding the employment of death and violence for its efficacy:

Tragic fear and pity may be aroused by Spectacle; but they may also be aroused by the very structure and incidents of the play—which is the better way and shows the better poet. The Plot in fact should be so framed that even without seeing the things take place, he who simply hears the account of them shall be filled with horror and pity at the incidents. [...] The tragic pleasure is that of pity and fear, and the poet has to produce it by a work of imitation; it is clear, therefore, that the causes should be included in the incidents of his story. Let us see, then, what kinds of incident strike one as horrible, or rather as piteous. In a deed of this description the parties must necessarily be either friends, or enemies, or indifferent to one another. Now when an enemy does it on enemy, there is nothing to move us to pity either in his doing or in his meditating the deed, except so far as the actual pain of the sufferer is concerned; and the same is true when the parties are indifferent to one another. When the tragic deed, however, is done within the family [...] these are the situations the poet should seek after.³⁹⁰

Thus, in spoken tragedy according to Aristotle, violence should be committed among loved ones offstage and recounted later for the listener to imagine. Saul's infidelity to God causes his son Jonathan to be thrown into the battle that kills him; in the oratorio, as Aristotle suggests for a spoken tragedy, we hear the story recounted but do not witness it in real time. Since spectacle is tantamount in opera, onstage death does occur, in contrast to Aristotle's suggestions.³⁹¹ Geoffrey Burgess has contended that Kintzler's observations regarding the greater frequency of violence in lyric tragedy are true but not universal: He points out that “certain types of violence were consistently

Studies 10 (1988): 111.

³⁸⁹ Kintzler, *Poétique*, 229–230.

³⁹⁰ *The Rhetoric and the Poetics of Aristotle*, translated by W. Rhys Roberts and Ingram Bywater (New York: Random House, 1984), 239–240.

relegated to the wings and these acts took on a special function. All acts of violence perpetrated against innocent victims are either circumvented [...] or consummated out of sight.”³⁹² Moreover, he states that “none of the innocent victims who are sentenced by an oracle to die are sacrificed, either on- or off-stage.”³⁹³ Oddly, *David et Jonathas* presents an exception: Jonathan was presaged by the witch of Endor to perish along with Saul, and indeed he does so. Despite this transgression from typical practice—and true to Burgess' description of the normal treatment of violence in the *tragédie en musique*—the fatal blows of both characters occur without our seeing them. Thereafter, the “victims [...] enter wounded to sing their final words before the audience.”³⁹⁴

Naturally, the method of recounting the fatal moment after the fact is the only option possible in the unstaged oratorio. However, the much more spectacular treatment of these characters' deaths in *David et Jonathas* was a choice made by Bretonneau to embrace the dramatic possibilities of the *tragédie en musique*, rather than satisfying the expectations of spoken tragedy. Even in the play *Saül* which accompanies the opera, the treatment of the characters' deaths is the same, and we see Jonathan expire onstage (see below). The Jesuits clearly felt that the spectacle of witnessing the death of Jonathan in David's arms created a greater sense of pity than would have been afforded by Aristotle's theoretical preference for offstage action.

The moral lesson of the story—that disloyalty to God brings about horrid ramifications—is all the more poignant when we witness David and Jonathan's love for one another at the end of Jonathan's life. They sing:

³⁹¹ For example, Atys dies onstage in *Atys* (V.6), and Phaëton dies onstage in *Phaëton* (V.8).

³⁹² Burgess, “Ritual,” 487.

³⁹³ Ibid.

³⁹⁴ Ibid. This is precisely what happens to Sangaride in *Atys* (V.3).

DAVID

What? Prince, I'm losing you!

JONATHAN

*The day that I see again,
If I never find a friend so faithful,
Would be still more fatal for me.*

DAVID

Ah! Live!

JONATHAN

I cannot.

DAVID

*David, David himself
is lost to the transports of an extreme agony.*

JONATHAN

*Despite the rigors of my fate,
At least I can tell you once more that I love you.*

DAVID

Heaven! He's dead.³⁹⁵

Thereafter, Saul returns and stumbles around the stage, having received his fatal blow. He mocks David for having usurped his throne and then leaves the stage to avoid giving David what he thinks is satisfaction at witnessing his death:

SAUL

*Let's play at a spectacle so sweet.
Your King dies, and his death is going to insure you the Empire.
What am I saying? How the ingrate escapes my advance
In this last effort... Ah! Perfidious ...*

DAVID

He's dying!

SAUL

No, at least hide my trespass from his eyes.

³⁹⁵ Bretonneau, *David et Jonathas*, 38–39. “DAVID: Quoi, Prince, je vous perds! JONATHAS: Le jour que je revoi, / Si je ne retrouvois un Ami si Fidelle, / Seroit encor plus funeste pour moi. / DAVID: Ah! Vivez. JONATHAS: Je ne puis. DAVID: David, David lui-mesme a ceder aux transports d’une douleur extrême. / JONATHAS: Malgré la rigueur de mon sort, / Du moins je puis vous dire encor que je vous aime. / DAVID: Ciel! Il est mort!”

He is taken away.³⁹⁶

This incident reinforces not only the emphasis on spectacle in this work, but also the wickedness of Saul. One might pity him in the oratorio, as, mad with grief, he asks the soldier to put him out of his misery. That element of the plot is absent from the opera, however, having been witnessed in the play *Saül*. The moral lesson of the opera truly derives from seeing the problematic actions of the forsaken king.

Thus, when one compares the common scenes between the oratorio and the opera, the possibilities allowed by the visual dimension in an opera make it somewhat problematic to compare the amount of “action” in *Mors Saülis* than in *David et Jonathas*. That word can mean too many different things. In an oratorio, it can only mean the advancing of the plot through dialogue and the portrayal of activity through instrumental music—in lieu of narration that merely describes the story. In an opera, action can also take place through dialogue and be underpinned by instrumental music, though there can also be stage action, evidence for which we can only know by the use of stage directions in the livret. As we have seen, the additional dimension for action provided by the stage makes it rather problematic to compare the amount of action between the two works. The use of descriptive instrumental music in the witch's scene, and the simulation of the battle surrounding Saul's impending death both lend *Mors Saülis* a highly dramatic tone, yet the limitations of that unstaged genre separate it from the emphasis on spectacle in at least the first of these analogous scenes in *David et Jonathas*. The relegation of the action of a battle to the wings in *Jonathas*, echoes the practice in the oratorio. Thus, *Mors Saülis*

³⁹⁶ Bretonneau, *David et Jonathas*, 40–41. “SAUL: Jouis d’un spectacle si doux. / Ton Roi meurt, & sa mort va t’assurer l’Empire / Que dis-je? Quoi l’ingrat échappe à mon courroux! / Dans ce derrier effortah! Perfide..... DAVID: Il expire! / SAUL: Non, du moins dérobez mon trépas à ses yeux. [On le retire.]”

can therefore be said to be a somewhat operatic oratorio, and *David et Jonathas* might be called a somewhat “oratorical” opera, though the hybridization of both is limited by the presence of the stage.

Both works also participate in the conventions of Classical tragedy to some extent. As noted above, Duron sees the threefold function of the chorus in *Mors Saülis* as fulfilling the expected functions defined by D’Aubignac in Classical tragedies: they narrate between scenes to fill in the story between dialogues, and yet they also interact with the main characters both to portray soldiers in battle and to provide a sort of collective moral commentary at the end in the form of elegy.³⁹⁷ In the case of *David et Jonathas*, as we have seen, the chorus does not provide these same functions, but the opera references the procedures used in ancient tragedies, as Cessac has pointed out, by maintaining the unity of place and of the absence of the *merveilleux* (outside of the prologue).³⁹⁸ The Classical unities of place, time, and action were not expected to be maintained in the *tragédie en musique*, and it was expected that the supernatural was expected to supplant verisimilitude.³⁹⁹ *David et Jonathas* could indeed be said to maintain unity of time and place: it unerringly takes place near the mountains of Gelboë, and the scope of the events, from David’s return to the final battle, could reasonably take place within twenty-four hours.⁴⁰⁰ Nothing supernatural occurs outside of the prologue. The action primarily has to do with David and Jonathan’s issues of loyalty: to each other, to Saul, but ultimately, to God. There are no extensive subplots. This further contributes the hybrid nature of this

³⁹⁷ Duron, “Marc-Antoine Charpentier,” 225–227.

³⁹⁸ Cessac, “Tragédie Latine,” 211.

³⁹⁹ Kintzler has systematically shown the “inversion” of the rules of Classical spoken tragedy in lyric theater. See *Poétique*, 276.

⁴⁰⁰ It is Aristotle who originated the requirement that a tragedy take place “within a single circuit of the sun.” *Poetics*, 230.

work, as it operates somewhat under the precepts of a spoken tragedy while—as an opera—it is of course entirely sung. The appearance of music and dances for their own sake—that is, outside of any dramatic motivation—obviously draws more upon the *tragédie en musique* than the spoken tragedy.⁴⁰¹

It is to the music then that we should now turn in order to examine where it fits within the highly complex system of generic overlaps one sees in *David et Jonathas* and *Mors Saülis*. Although he was a highly individual composer, Charpentier nevertheless acknowledged his forebears in the forms in which he wrote. Certain elements of Carissimi's oratorio style carry through into Charpentier's works, and some of Lully's procedures in the *tragédie en musique* necessarily inform Charpentier's conception of that genre. In addition, Charpentier's experience writing musical dramas in the 1670s and 1680s for both the Comédie-Française and the Guise household also may have contributed to the composer's approach in setting a story to music.

Charpentier's Varied Approaches to Harmony

An analysis of the different musical styles employed by Charpentier can begin with harmony. The harmonic languages employed in *Mors Saülis* and *David et Jonathas* differ to a certain extent, with the oratorio retaining features more common in modally-conceived compositions—features that do not appear in the opera. I will go as far to argue here that the harmonic language of *David et Jonathas* is more tonal than not on the basis of how cadences to secondary key areas are handled. Likewise, I will show how the

⁴⁰¹ Cessac, "Tragédie latine," 211. Kintzler notes that music and dance can appear in spoken tragedies but that they exist where one would expect them to occur in situations where one naturally would sing and dance. In opera, by contrast, that realism is not required. See *Poétique*, 281.

large-scale tonal plan used in some passages of *Mors Sæuilis* indicates an indebtedness to pre-tonal ideas about the organization of harmony.

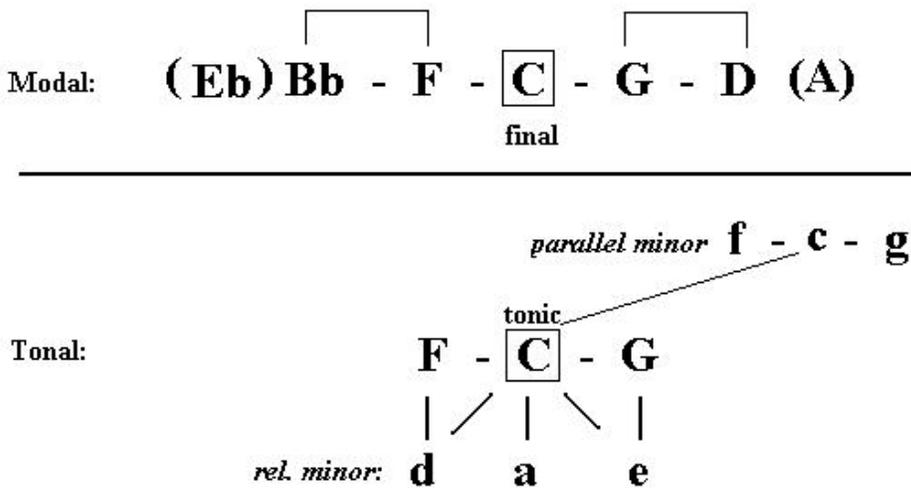
To frame this argument with some context, we may turn to the work of Henry Burnett and Roy Nitzberg, who have described in detail the fine barrier between “modal” thinking and “tonal” thinking in the works of mid-seventeenth-century composers.⁴⁰² Though it may be futile—and indeed a disservice to the music—to attempt to categorize works as either “modal” or “tonal”, in the case of Charpentier, passages and entire pieces can be best described as operating under one or the other way of reckoning. More Italianate works such as his oratorios often include some sections that draw upon older, more modally-conceived expressive devices. By contrast, Charpentier tends to use a more decidedly tonal language in his works composed in a French genre (such as the *tragédie en musique*). Of course, “modal” and “modality” as harmonic concepts are misnomers, as modal identities stem from horizontal—not vertical—pitch relationships.⁴⁰³ However, the term is useful here to indicate a compositional logic not dependent upon the chords available in a given “key”. Without the limits of a key or a hierarchical system of chord relationships, a composer may use a major or minor triad built on any tone in the *naturalis* hexachord—C, D, E, F, G, or A. Harmonic progressions can proceed freely around the circle of fifths in either direction (towards the “flat” side or the “sharp” side), as no key is present to set boundaries. In their observations of mid-century Italian music, Burnett and Nitzburg find that cadences—or even just “internal motions to” particular harmonic areas—tend to occur towards harmonic destinations symmetrically balanced

⁴⁰² Henry Burnett and Roy Nitzberg, *Composition, Chromaticism, and the Developmental process* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007).

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, 97.

around a modal final in modally-oriented seventeenth-century music.⁴⁰⁴ That is, if the modal final is C with a major third, harmonic destinations on the circle of fifths on either side of C will be equally viable: thus, one might hear cadences in both F and B-flat on the “flat” side of C, or one might hear cadences in G or D on the “sharp” side of C (See Example 2.4). These destinations differ from those expected in a tonal context, namely, in the case of C-major: the relative minor (a), the subdominant (F), the dominant (G), and less frequently, the supertonic (d) and the mediant (e). Naturally there is some overlap between the two systems, but the hierarchy of relationships found in a tonal system is difficult to discern in modal practice.⁴⁰⁵ For example, a cadence on B-flat would be considered quite distant as a harmonic destination in the key of C-major, but as Example 2.4 shows, it is not so distant if the only concern is proximity within the circle of fifths.

Example 2.4. Modal vs. Tonal distribution of cadential possibilities



⁴⁰⁴ Burnett, *Composition*, 97.

⁴⁰⁵ For a general introduction on the intersection between modality and tonality, see Gregory Barnett, “Tonal organization in seventeenth-century music theory,” in *Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, edited by Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 407–455.

Using the opening chorus of *Mors Sæuilis* as an example, we find an instance of this kind of modal harmonic reckoning. Charpentier's choral style echoes Carissimi's in its favoring of a fairly rigid, syllabic homophony. He breaks this up slightly at the word “timor” (“fear”), at which point the various voices break into imitative entries on a “trembling” monotone; each voice then commences a series of dissonant suspensions to underscore Saul's fear (see Example 2.5). The harmony at this point turns away from the vibrant C-major opening, moves through an E-flat major sonority, and cadences on B-flat at the end of the phrase, an unlikely destination were this a tonal context. Building a major chord on E-flat particularly exposes this fact, as in order to do that, Charpentier employs an expressive device associated with modal music of earlier in the century: Charpentier uses the *mollis* hexachord, which allows for E-flat, pushing beyond the *naturalis* hexachord, which does not. This aspect too deserves some explanation.

Burnett and Nitzburg, following Eric Chafe, suggest that hexachords operate within part of a “transposable” system by the early seventeenth century.⁴⁰⁶ This is an extension of the medieval conception of the gamut that had formed the foundation for thinking about pitch well into the Renaissance. In a *naturalis* hexachord system, then, there are three hexachords which give the pitches available to a composer: the *naturalis* at the center (C, D, E, F, G, A), the *mollis* to the “flat” or “subdominant” side (F, G, A, B-flat, C, D), and the *durus* to the “sharp” or “dominant” side (G, A, B, C, D, E). In this system, as in the Guidonian gamut, B-flat is the only official accidental, but the long tradition of *musica ficta* allows for F#,C#, and G# to appear either in instances where they act as leading tones or as a *tierce de Picardie*. Since Charpentier exceeds the

⁴⁰⁶ Burnett, *Composition*, 43–50, in particular. They indicate their indebtedness to Chafe, *Monteverdi's Tonal Language* (New York, 1992).

boundaries of this system by using an E-flat, he enacts a “transposition” wherein the *mollis* hexachord (starting on F) becomes the new center of the system. Thus, the whole system is transposed down a fifth, and the hexachord to the subdominant or flat side of the system is now B-flat, C, D, E-flat, F, G.⁴⁰⁷ E-flat then becomes an available pitch.

Example 2.5. The opening chorus of *Mors Säuilis*

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with five staves. The top two staves are vocal parts (Soprano and Alto), the middle two are vocal parts (Tenor and Bass), and the bottom staff is the figured bass. The lyrics are in Latin and are repeated across the staves. The first system is labeled 'Chorus A' and 'Chorus B'. The second system is labeled 'A'. The third system is labeled '19'. The figured bass includes numerical figures such as 6, 6, 4, 3, 7, 6, 5, 6, 7, 6, 6, 6, 2, 6, 7, 4, 2, 7, 4, 3.

Chorus A Chorus B

Cum es-sent con-gre-ga-ta ad prae-li-um ag-mi-na phi-li-stae o-rum con-tra Is-ra-el co-ë-git quo que Sa-ül

Cum es-sent con-gre-ga-ta ad prae-li-um ag-mi-na phi-li-stae o-rum con-tra Is-ra-el co-ë-git quo que Sa-ül

Cum es-sent con-gre-ga-ta ad prae-li-um ag-mi-na phi-li-stae o-rum con-tra Is-ra-el co-ë-git quo que Sa-ül

Cum es-sent con-gre-ga-ta ad prae-li-um ag-mi-na phi-li-stae o-rum con-tra Is-ra-el co-ë-git quo que Sa-ül

6 6 4 3 2

10 A

u-ni-ver-sum e-xer-ci-tum su-um e-tas pi-ci-ens de mon-te gel-bo-ë cas-tra e-o-rum

u-ni-ver-sum e-xer-ci-tum su-um e-tas pi-ci-ens de mon-te gel-bo-ë cas-tra e-o-rum

u-ni-ver-sum e-xer-ci-tum su-um e-tas pi-ci-ens de mon-te gel-bo-ë cas-tra e-o-rum

u-ni-ver-sum e-xer-ci-tum su-um e-tas pi-ci-ens de mon-te gel-bo-ë cas-tra e-o-rum ti-mor ir-ru-it

7 6 5 6 7 6 6 6 2

19

ti-mor ir-ru-it in e-um ti-mor ir-ru-it in e-um

ti-mor ir-ru-it in e-um in e-um

ti-mor ir-ru-it in e-um ti-mor ti-mor ir-ru-it in e-um

in e-um ti-mor ir-ru-it in e-um in e-um

6 7 6 7 6 6 4 2 6 7 4 2 7 4 3

⁴⁰⁷ Burnett, *Composition*, 44-45.

Of course, one can transpose the system up as well, taking the *durus* hexachord into the central position, which allows for the use of D#. Such shifts of the whole gamut system to allow for more available flats or sharps most often came about for expressive purposes, often triggered by emotionally poignant words in the text. *Mollis* shifts, as the name suggests, often arose as the result of some sort of “soft” emotion—sadness, especially. Here the trigger is the passage “he [Saul] was afraid”, the sudden appearance of E-flat at the word “timor” (“fear”) in m. 18 appropriately suggesting Saul's cowardice in his refusal to accept his fate.

The larger harmonic framework of the chorus also confirms a more modal arrangement of harmonic destinations. Charpentier traverses around the circle of fifths unencumbered by key restriction; the successive phrases begin and end on the chords as follows: C-C, G-G, d-F, E-flat-B-flat, B-flat-G, C-D, D-C. The significant arrival and departure points are indeed symmetrically arranged around the central pitch C. As noted above (see again Example 2.5), the symmetry of fifths around the principal tone of the piece is a feature common to modally-conceived works. The symmetrical arrangement of harmonic destinations occurs in the last chorus of *Mors Saülis* as well as the first. There is a cadence on B-flat major in the overall context of the C major in the chorus “O montes Gelboë,” as in the opening chorus.

A similar symmetry of structurally significant harmonies can be seen in a passage from Carissimi's *Jephte*, which Charpentier evidently knew well, given that he made a copy of it (see above). Example 2.6 shows a scene structure that contains an equally symmetrical distribution of significant chords. Remarkably, the harmony at the boundary between the recitative and the 3/2 air sinks a whole step from G to F. This same tonally

weak motion of a descending whole step occurs on the boundary of the third and fourth phrases of Charpentier's opening chorus. These twin instances of the same progression speak to their construction outside of the norms of tonality, as the step down to a pitch center outside of the key—if one sees the tonal center as a key—occurs at such a structurally important phrase boundary. While both examples suggest a pre-tonal conception of harmony, Carissimi does not exceed the limits of the *naturalis* hexachord, whereas Charpentier does.

Example 2.6. The symmetrical arrangement of tonal areas in *Jephte*

The musical score for 'Jephte' is presented in eight systems, each with a vocal line and a bass line. The tonal areas are labeled with letters: G, F, C, A, D, D, A, G. The lyrics are: 'Jephte. In-ci-pi-te in tim-pa-nis et psal-li-te in cim-ba-lis in-ci-pi-te in tim-pa-nis et psal-li-te in cim-ba-lis et psal-li-te in cim-ba-lis Him-num can-te mus vir-gi-nes et mo-du-le mur-can-ti-cum et mo-du-le mur-can-ti-cum lau-de-mus re-gem cae-li-tum lau-de-mus bel-li prin-ci-pem qui fi-li-o-rum Is-ra-el vic-to-rem du-cem red-di-dit qui fi-li-o-rum Is-ra-el vic-to-rem du-cem red-di-dit vic-to-rem du-cem red-di-dit.' The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures, and fingerings.

While Carissimi and the mid-century Italians maintained a more modal approach to the flexible, expressive use of harmony, Lully had settled on a more tonal harmonic organization, particularly in the *tragédie en musique*.⁴⁰⁸ Jean Duron, after an extensive analysis of *Atys* (1676), declared that “Lully understood more than all others—before all others?—the significance of tonality and of tonal trajectory.”⁴⁰⁹ Carissimi (b. 1605) belonged to a previous generation of musicians, and Charpentier’s study with the older master seems to have encouraged a more archaic approach to harmony, with harmonic shifts not used by Lully. This is not to say that the legacy of modal thinking was absent in Lully’s era in France: as late as 1667, Guillaume Nivers mentions in his *Traité de la Composition de la Musique* eight tonalities, relating them back to the 12-mode system understood by Marin Mersenne, Zarlino, and Glarean.⁴¹⁰ Even French theorists who later settled on two archetypal modes (major and minor) thought of the Dorian—rather than Aeolian—as the paradigmatic minor (see below). This Dorian minor led to some harmonic colors that are unusual in later tonal music, even occasionally in Lully’s pieces.⁴¹¹ In spite

⁴⁰⁸ Albert Cohen points out that Lully’s ascendance to power in the court of Louis XIV coincided with a shift in the authorship of music treatises: Around 1670, treatises were more commonly written by practicing musicians concerned with practical music and less by academics concerned with ancient writers’ ideas and theoretical issues such as harmonic proportion (such as Marin Mersenne). See “Survivals of Renaissance Thought in French Theory 1610–1670: A Bibliographical Study,” in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music*, edited by Jan LaRue (New York: Norton, 1966), 85.

⁴⁰⁹ Jean Duron, “Réflexion sur Lully, architecte de la tonalité,” *Avant scène opéra* 94 (1987): 81. “Lully a compris plus que tout autre—avant tout autre?—l’interêt de la tonalité et du parcours tonal.”

⁴¹⁰ Guillaume Nivers, *Traité de la composition de musique* (Paris: Ballard, 1667), 18–19. The fourth tonality, based on E with no flats or sharps in the key signature, is a combination of modes 3 and 4 and allows only a plagal cadence on the tonic. On the transition from modal to tonal thinking in France, see Robert Frederick Bates, “From Mode to Key: A study of seventeenth-century French liturgical organ music and music theory,” PhD diss., Stanford, 1986. A more concise discussion of the emerging point for the fully transposable 2-mode system in France is given in Joel Lester, *Between Mode and Keys* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1989), 97–101. See also Elissa Poole, “The *Brunetes* and their Sources: A study of the Transition from Modality to Tonality in France,” *Recherches sur la musique française classique* 25 (1987): 187–206.

⁴¹¹ Gérard Geay gives an example in Lully’s *Acis et Galatée* (1687, III.7), in which the harmony passes from iv to II in a minor key, and thus the Dorian raised sixth appears on the supertonic, which then moves to V. While this is clearly an artefact of modal thinking, the tonal drive is nevertheless present, and the flexibility of the 6th scale degree in minor keys as either raised or not is present in the melodic minor

of this, I am inclined to agree with Robert Wienpahl, who opined that Lully “understood tonality” due to “the extent of using the relative major and minor, [and] the juxtaposed tonic minor.”⁴¹² The frequent use of relative and parallel major/minor relationships bespeaks a hierarchical relationship between keys.

Without references to the practices of the French, Burnett and Nitzburg attribute the emergence of common-practice tonality especially to composers active in the 1670s and 80s in Rome, Venice, and Bologna, as the thriving instrumental music traditions in those cities required a system of hierarchical tonal organization to support larger scale instrumental forms; they argue that textless music from earlier in the century had limits as to its potential length and breadth due to the inability of modal harmony to support extended forms with a goal-oriented harmonic scheme.⁴¹³ The composer that Burnett and Nitzberg associate with tonality’s solidification is Corelli, attributing this partly to his heavy reliance on dance movements in his sonatas; dance “always manifested an inherent tonal structural coherency since its inception,” particularly due to the predominance of binary form and clear phrasing.⁴¹⁴ I would go further to suggest that this association

scale. See Gérard Geay, “La musique française du XVIIe siècle: était-elle tonale?” in *Problèmes théorétiques de la musique baroque française*, edited by Zoïa Gliadechkina (Moscow, 2013), 71.

⁴¹² Robert Wienpahl, “Modality, monality and tonality in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: II,” *Music & Letters* 53, no. 1 (1972): 70.

⁴¹³ Burnett, *Composition*, 90. Many would consider this an overly simplistic view of the relationship between developing tonality and instrumental music, but their point is well taken.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 91. Gregory Barnett has discussed the endurance of modal ideas in the music of Corelli and other composers of the Bolognese instrumental school. In particular, he has discussed how the myriad of keys used by these composers can be related to the 8 *church keys*, or transposed 8 modes explained by various theorists. (This is similar to Nivers’ system cited above.) Particularly, he sees an enduring species of Phrygian a-mode pieces (transposable—a holdover from Church modes 3 and 4). He cites an example of Corelli (op. 1, no. 4), which ends with a Phrygian cadence. Remarkable though this is, the rest of the piece operates very tonally, with strong dominant-tonic drive made by sequences (movement 1, mm. 16–18, among several others), cadences on the relative major C and the dominant E, and a fugue with a tonal answer to its subject (movement 3). Moreover, the very tonal idea of transposing the thematic material of the piece into related keys is very salient, as in the fourth movement, the Gavotte-like subject reappears in the second half of the binary form in the dominant, returning at the very end in the tonic. Only the final cadence defies tonal norms. This piece is therefore a remarkable example of how tonal and modal precepts

between dance and tonality may have allowed the French to write audibly tonal music in their dances and binary-form *airs de cour*, even preceding the point when theorists generally acknowledged a two-mode major/minor system.⁴¹⁵

In his unpublished compositional treatise for the Duc de Chartres, Charpentier indicates that he conceived of only two types of modes, those with a major third above the final (of which C is the archetype), and those with a minor third above the final (with D being the archetype).⁴¹⁶ This treatise, hailing from later in his career, shows his acknowledgement of the modernity of the French style, an approach he seems not to have used uniformly in the genres he learned in Rome.⁴¹⁷ While Charpentier does not discuss how to or where to modulate in his treatise, a more extensive work by Charles Masson sheds light on common French practice at the time.

Masson's *Nouveau Traité de la Regles pour la Composition de la Musique* was first printed in 1694, dedicated to Philippe III d'Orléans, the Duc de Chartres, the same recipient as Charpentier's treatise.⁴¹⁸ Masson took over the post of *maître de musique* at the Jesuit church of St. Louis after Charpentier left it in 1698.⁴¹⁹ Thus, the two composers

can coexist, but I would hesitate to say the piece as a whole does not operate on tonal principles simply due to its final cadence. See *Bolognese Instrumental Music, 1660–1710* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), Ch.6.

⁴¹⁵ In her above cited study on the *Brunetes*, Elissa Poole shows how the tonal language of earlier airs was modernized by publisher Ballard in his 1703 collection. However, certain examples of this modernization are not necessarily taking a *modal* piece and making it *tonal*. She cites a Sarabande by Chambonnières wherein Ballard eliminated what she described as a cadence on the mediant. As Nivers shows (18–19), the mediant—even in modes with a major third above the final—is considered an essential tone of the mode, whereupon a cadence could be made. However, in the Chambonnières example, whose final is F with a major third, the “cadence” made on the mediant is a half cadence (which Poole concedes), and is a passing gesture where the A chord then functions as a dominant of d minor. Ballard later simplifies this harmonization, eliminating any A chords, but I would not see any problem in calling the original version tonal, reading the A chord as a dominant of the relative minor d in the context of F major (see Poole, 204–205).

⁴¹⁶ See Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 404. Cessac provides a translation of Charpentier's treatise, whose source was a copy made by Étienne Loulié in 1702.

⁴¹⁷ See Ranum, *Portraits*, 409–410. Charpentier's treatise likely hails from the early 1690s.

⁴¹⁸ From the dedication (n.p.)

⁴¹⁹ At least, we can infer this from the description of Masson on the title page as “Maître de Musique

were active in the same circles and likely knew each other personally. Masson, like Charpentier, describes two archetypal modes, the major (built on C), and the minor (built on D); and both composers describe how these can be transposed to any pitch.⁴²⁰ Both indicate that cadences should occur on the tonic and dominant in major keys, and on the tonic, mediant (relative major), and dominant in minor keys.⁴²¹ Charpentier stops there, noting only that cadences on any other harmony are “outside the mode,”⁴²² but Masson is more thorough in his explanation. He writes that “throughout the course of a piece, one may make cadences on all of the chords of the mode that one is dealing with, provided that they are prepared.”⁴²³ He later gives examples demonstrating how to cadence on any natural scale degree (except vii in the major or ii in the minor). One proceeds from either the major mode C or the minor mode d by introducing an appropriate accidental a bar or two before the cadence.⁴²⁴

Jean-Philippe Rameau, whose *Treatise on Harmony* (1722) arguably went further than any prior work to codify tonal practice, continues from Masson’s discussion of cadential possibilities to arrange modulation hierarchically, describing the process of adding flats or sharps to facilitate the transition from the initial tonic to tonicize any scale degree of the original key (except the leading tone in a major key or the second scale degree in a minor key).⁴²⁵ Rameau’s hierarchical relationship of keys is evident from his

de la Cathédrale de Châlons, en Champagne, & de S. Louis de la Maison Professe des R. P. Jesuites.” It was the Duc de Chartres who secured Charpentier’s position.

⁴²⁰Masson, *Traité*, 10; Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 406–407.

⁴²¹ Masson, *Traité*, 22; Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 408.

⁴²² Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 408.

⁴²³ Masson, *Traité*, 26.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*, 55–58.

⁴²⁵ As Joel Lester puts it, “eighteenth-century harmonic theory—largely Rameauian theory and its legacy—transformed earlier thinking about how pitches interacted, and laid the groundwork for conceptualizations about harmony, voice-leading, and the forces that give directionality to tonal music, leaving a profound legacy of solutions and challenges that still reverberate today.” See “Rameau and

statement that “it is better to pass from the initial key to the key of the dominant than any other key”; further, “it is better to pass from a major key to the key of its sixth note than to the key of its mediant, while it is better to pass from a minor key to the key of its mediant than to the key of its sixth note. The less good is not, however, forbidden.”⁴²⁶ We see in these statements the privileged relationship between the tonic, the dominant, and the relative major/minor key.

In order to demonstrate that *David et Jonathas* operates in a largely tonal harmonic language, we can examine extended passages that are tonally closed (i.e., that begin and end in the same tonality), to track where Charpentier makes cadences. I have included the overture and the major choral passages in my analysis since they are the most extensive tonally closed passages where several internal cadences must be made. Whereas his placement of cadences in *Mors Sæuilis*, particularly in the choruses, includes pitches outside of what we would expect in a key, the same is not true in *David et Jonathas*. Table 2.3 gives examples of some of the most extensive closed forms, showing their starting tonalities (in parentheses), their major cadences, and the measure numbers where they take place from Duron’s edition of the score. I do not include Phrygian or half cadences in the table.⁴²⁷ Although Rameau’s treatise was published some thirty-four years after *David et Jonathas* was premiered, his ideas are nevertheless useful to show

eighteenth-century harmonic theory,” in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, edited by Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 774. Thomas Christensen describes Rameau as “the founder of tonal harmonic theory.” *Rameau and Musical Thought in the Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1. Rameau’s ideas about modulation are summarized in Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Treatise on Harmony*, edited and translated by Philip Gossett (New York: Dover, 1971), 267–269.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 267–268.

⁴²⁷ Charpentier addresses these in his compositional treatise, noting that they correspond to the punctuation marks of colon, semicolon, question mark, or comma in speech. See Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 407.

that Charpentier was using the functional tonality that Rameau would later codify.⁴²⁸

Following Rameau's aforementioned ideas about modulation, the dominant and relative major/minor keys are privileged destinations for the composer to make cadences in tonal music. Table 2.4 summarizes the percentage of cadences Charpentier makes on the various scale degrees in Table 2.3. As one would expect in a tonal piece, cadences on the tonic are the most numerous, followed by the dominant and the relative major or minor.

Table 2.3. The distribution of cadences in *David et Jonathas*⁴²⁹

	Ouverture
Cadence	(g) d :|| (g) c Bb g
Measure	1 17 19 39 47 84
	"Du Plus Grand des Heros" (I.1) – air and chorus
Cadence	(D) A G e^ D || (D) A G e^ D D D
Measure	1 14 22 26 31 1 14 30 34 39 50 55
	"Non, non, il reste de la Terre" (I.1) – chorus
Cadence	(D) D A D b D A D
Measure	1 21 29 31 50 61 69 71
	"Goutez, goutez, les fruits" (I.4) – air and chorus
Cadence	(D) G G e D || (D) G A D D D
Measure	1 8 11 16 26 27 35 39 45 49 55
	"Tout suit vos vœux" (II.2) – chorus
Cadence	(G) a D G G
Measure	1 22 31 38 46
	"Achevons" (III.4) – chorus
Cadence	(F) Bb c C C F F
Measure	1 8 13 22 31 33 35
	"Courons" (IV.5) – chorus
Cadence	(D) A A e^ A b^ e^ D D
Measure	1 12 17 26 33 40 42 49 56
	"Victoire!" (V.3) – chorus
Cadence	(C) d^ G C C
Measure	1 14 16 20 24
	"Jamais amour plus fidelle" (V.4) – chorus
Cadence	(g) Bb Bb d^ g d^ Bb Bb g^ Bb g g
Measure	1 22 24 36 44 57 69 73 86 93 96 100
	"Du Plus Grand" (V.6) – chorus
Cadence	C G C G G a a^ d^ d^ G C G G a a^ d^ d^ G C
Measure	1 11 23 36 39 55 62 66 70 80 92 104 112 128 135 139 144 157 169

⁴²⁸ Rameau applied his ideas routinely to seventeenth-century repertoire, for example his analysis of Lully's *Armide* (II.5) in his *Nouveau système* (1726). See Christensen, *Rameau*, 120.

⁴²⁹ A caret (^) indicates a Picardy third on the cadence. (But the lowercase letter indicates that the music preceding the cadence was minor).

Table 2.4. Cadential destinations in Table 2.3 by percentage

tonic	34%
dominant	29%
relative maj./min.	15%
subdominant	9%
supertonic	13%

There is one cadence destination that deserves special mention, and that is the cadence on the minor dominant in the chorus “Achevons” (III.4), which Charpentier casts in F major. Both E-flat and A-flat are introduced as accidentals. This shift to the flat side of the spectrum, unlike such shifts in *Mors Saülis*, can be explained in terms of tonality. The introduction of E-flat in m. 5 is followed closely by a cadence in B-flat, the subdominant. In m. 15, A-flat is introduced, but in this case, this chord is used in passing as flat-VI in C minor, as a cadence on the dominant C major follows closely (see Example 2.7). This example serves to show the difference of underlying thinking: the harmonic destinations used in the context of any key in *David et Jonathas* are those expected of hierarchical tonal thinking. As evident in Table 2.4, cadences in tonally closed airs, choruses, and dances in the work occur on the subdominant, dominant, relative major/minor, and occasionally the supertonic. The tonicization of the dominant minor (as in “Achevons”) is a common feature of tonal French music (though the modal mixture is simply used to reinforce the drive toward the new key.) Anthony describes this as a sort of “bi-modality” often used by French composers in the late seventeenth century.⁴³⁰ Rameau even mentions the possibility of tonicizing the dominant minor, writing that “when during a piece we wish to change the dominant of a major key into a tonic note, the key of this dominant should naturally be major, although it may sometimes be made minor, if proper

⁴³⁰ Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, 180.

judgment is exercised.”⁴³¹ Such cadences are therefore allowable in a tonal language, and do nothing to lessen what we have shown as the strong presence of tonal thinking on the part of Charpentier in *David et Jonathas*.

Example 2.7. The chorus “Achevons” in *David et Jonathas* (III.4)

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system (measures 1-8) features five staves: Dessus de Violon (treble clef, F major), Haute-Contre de Violon (alto clef, Bb major), Taille de Violon (alto clef, Bb major), Basse (bass clef, Bb major), and Basse continue (bass clef, Bb major). The vocal parts enter with the lyrics: "A-che-vons a-che-vons le suc-cess pas-se nos 4re es-pe-ran-ce". The second system (measures 9-12) features five staves: Soprano (treble clef, C major), Alto (alto clef, C major), Tenor (alto clef, C major), Bass (bass clef, C major), and Basse continue (bass clef, C major). The vocal parts enter with the lyrics: "Mal-gré le droits que nous a-vons tra-his que nous a-vons tra-". The third system (measures 13-16) features five staves: Soprano (treble clef, C major), Alto (alto clef, C major), Tenor (alto clef, C major), Bass (bass clef, C major), and Basse continue (bass clef, C major). The vocal parts enter with the lyrics: "hit joü-is-sons des dou-ceurs d'u-ne he-reu-se van-gean-ce".

⁴³¹ Rameau, *Treatise*, 267.

Charpentier's Recitative Style

In addition to his harmonic language, Charpentier also takes different approaches to recitative in his Italianate oratorios and the French opera *David et Jonathas*. Naturally, the difference of language (Latin vs. French) has profound effects on recitative, as its substance so intimately derives from spoken or declaimed language. The style employed by Charpentier in *Mors Saülis*, as expected, has features in common with that of Carissimi. One melodic feature common to the two composers' styles stands out in particular: over a dominant-tonic or predominant-dominant motion in the bass, the singer often descends from scale degree $\hat{4}$ or $\hat{2}$ and anticipates either scale degree $\hat{3}$ or $\hat{1}$; the bass then moves and the singer ascends a third to either scale degree $\hat{5}$ or $\hat{3}$. This ascent of a third in either case has a very distinct sound (see Example 2.8 for occurrences of these features in Carissimi's *Jephte* and *Mors Saülis*). Charpentier, as with his approach to modal harmony, consistently deployed this melodic feature in the recitatives in his oratorios, but this motive ($\hat{4}-\hat{3}-\hat{5}$ or $\hat{2}-\hat{1}-\hat{3}$) does not occur in *David et Jonathas* or his other French recitatives of the 1680s.

Despite this melodic affinity, Smither discusses ways in which Charpentier's recitative style differs from that of Carissimi's oratorios: Charpentier's recitatives, he writes, "employ the triadic and sequential melodic patterns prominent in Carissimi's music, but they share with Lully's recitatives their tendency to include a greater variety of note values, a wider range of pitch, and a greater number of large intervals than do the recitatives of [...] Carissimi."⁴³² To that I would add that Charpentier's basses tend more toward stepwise motion and feature more rapid harmonic rhythm. Both Carissimi's and

⁴³²Smither, *A History*, 425.

Charpentier's recitatives employ long strings of repeated notes, sometimes taking up an entire measure, as Example 2.8 shows. Lully tends not to remain on one note to such an extent, and, as we shall see, neither does Charpentier in his French recitatives.

Although the work is designated as a *tragédie en musique*, the recitative employed in *David et Jonathas* does not resemble the recitatives of Lully on paper. Lacking are the frequent changes in meter used by Lully.⁴³³ This feature derives from the precedent set by the *air de cour* and of the *musique mesurée* of the first half of the century; it was designed to allow utmost fidelity to the natural rhythm of the spoken declamation of lyric poetry. Perhaps due to the lack of fluctuating meters, Cessac says that *David et Jonathas* has an “absence” of recitative.⁴³⁴ She speaks of a “prevailing *arioso* style,” presumably including the declamatory passages under this umbrella term.⁴³⁵ However, *arioso* generally refers to writing that is “songlike, as opposed to declamatory,” and “in regular tempo” but perhaps lacking as much text repetition or formal structure as one might expect in an air.⁴³⁶ Though the amount of declamation seems low in this work (a fact we shall examine in the next chapter), there are certainly passages which the style overwhelmingly leans toward the declamatory over the tuneful.

⁴³³ On the nature of Lully's recitative, see Lois Rosow, “French Baroque recitative as an expression of tragic declamation,” *Early Music* 11, no. 4 (Oct. 1983): 468–479.

⁴³⁴ Cessac, “Tragédie Latine et Tragédie en Musique,” 213.

⁴³⁵ Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 195. Cessac does not define what she considers “arioso” in this work, nor does she give a musical example to illustrate that vocal medium.

⁴³⁶ See, for example, Julian Budden, et. al., *NGD*, “Arioso.”

Example 2.8 Recitatives from *Jephte* (above), and from *Mors* (below), showing melodic affinities.

monotones -->

Tenor

Si tra-di-de-rit Do-mi-nus fi-li-os Am mon in ma-nus me-as qui-cum-que pri-mus dedo-mo

Continuo

5 G: 2 - 1 | 3

me-a oc-cu-re-rit mi-hi, of-fe-ram il-lum Do-mi-no in ho-lo-cau-stum.

monotones

9 monotones --> C: 4 - 3 | 5

Cum vi-dis-set Jeph-te, qui vo-tum Do-mi-no vo-ve-rat, fi-li-am su-am ve-ni-en-tem in oc-cur-sum,

14 9 7 6^b 4

prae do-lo-re et la-chri-mis sci-dit ve-sti

b 6^b 5 4 3

F: 2 - 1 | 3 *B Maga*

Saul O mu-li-er sus-ci-ta mi-hi in py-tho-ne quem di-xe-ro ti-bi Quis quis nam est il-le quis nam est

5 6 5 3 4

8 *Saül* *Maga*

il-le quem sus-ci-ta-bo ti-bi in-di-ca-in-di-ca mi-hi Sa mu-e-lem Sa-mu-e-lem Jam e-go no-vi jam ex

5 6 7 6

14 monotones

e-o no-tum est mi-hi quod Sa-ül quod Sa-ül tu-ip-se es qua-re qua-re sic in-si-di-

14 2

18 F: 4 - 3 | 5

a-ris a-mi-mae an-cil-lae tu-ae num quid e-ra sis-ti de-ter-ra tu-a ma-gos om-nes et ha-ri-o los

b 7 6 7 6

We must pause here to acknowledge the immense difficulty one often has in attempts to classify French recitatives, given the variety of approaches composers took with them. At times, finding a clear boundary between recitative and air seems impossible. When one includes the idea of *arioso*, the effect is to create even more confusion than clarity, because *arioso* is an Italian term, and French music lacks the lucid style distinctions found in Italian vocal music. As the anonymous English translator of François Ragueneau's *Parallèle des italiens et des français en ce qui regarde la musique et les opéras* states in a footnote to his translation, “there is so little difference between [French] Recitative (if it may be called by that name) and their Aria's [that] they can hardly be distinguish'd” from one another.⁴³⁷ The zeal for taxonomy that overtook France in the mid-eighteenth century led writers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Pierre Estève, and François-Jean de Castellux to attempt a classification for recitatives, including such terms as *récitatif simple* (or *ordinaire*) and *récitatif mesuré*, the latter approximating the term *arioso*.⁴³⁸ Sébastien de Brossard defines *arioso* as “in the same movement that one sings an air.”⁴³⁹ Thus, the principal defining feature is that one beats time in *arioso*. James Anthony opines that there are passages in French operas having no meter fluctuation which might be best described by this term.⁴⁴⁰ The difficulty in this case is that Anthony presumes that recitatives that maintain a constant meter would therefore be performed in *tempo*.

⁴³⁷ François Ragueneau, *A Comparison Between the French and English Musick and Opera's* (London, 1709), 35. Anonymous translation. I use this edition because the translator's annotations give another layer of perspective.

⁴³⁸ See Charles Dill, "Eighteenth Century Models of French Recitative," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 120, no. 2 (1995): 232–250 for a thorough history of the origins and conflicts between the usage of such terms often applied casually today to the music of Lully.

⁴³⁹ Brossard, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. “Arioso.”

⁴⁴⁰ Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, 82.

Given Charpentier's Italian training, it is perhaps no surprise that changes of meter do not occur in his recitatives, as the Italians generally wrote their declamations in common time. Interestingly, Masson observes in his aforementioned treatise that "the measure of four slow beats is used ordinarily in the recitative of a motet, of an opera, and sometimes for choruses. In the recitative of a motet, one beats time, but in that of an opera one does not, because the one who beats the measure is obligated to follow the voice in order not to encumber the bass."⁴⁴¹ Masson's training is unknown, but he seems to write assuming that French music is the "norm", as he gives several examples from Lully's operas, knowing that his readers would know them well.⁴⁴² Given his French perspective, it is somewhat strange that he claims that common time is the typical meter for recitative, especially given his apparent knowledge of Lully's operas.

Like Masson, Sébastien de Brossard notes that recitative differs from other styles of singing because one does not beat time in that style. He defines recitative in his

Dictionnaire as

a manner of singing which more closely resembles declamation than song, as if one declaimed while singing, or if one sang while declaiming; therefore, one devotes more attention to express the passion than to following a regular measure exactly. Nevertheless, one notates these sorts of songs in regular measure, but as one has the liberty to alter the beats of the measure and make some longer than others, one ordinarily places [the word] "Recitatif" above the basso continuo [staff] in the score, so that the accompanists can follow the singer instead of whoever beats the measure. [...] One often finds the words *a tempo* or *a tempo giusto* after a recitative in Italian music, which mark that it is necessary to beat time justly and make all of the beats equal, as opposed to recitative where one

⁴⁴¹ Masson, *Nouveau Traité*, 7. "La mesure à quatre tems lents sert ordinairement dans le recitatif d'un Motet, d'un Opera, & quelquefois dans les Chœurs. Dans le recitatif d'un Motet on bat la Mesure, mais dans celui d'un Opera on la néglige, parce que celui qui bat la Mesure est obligé de suivre la voix afin de ne la bas gêner."

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, 21. Additionally, in discussing which intervals one can use in creating melodies he remarks that "the Italians use almost all of the intervals [even the false ones that he advises against], as much in their vocal music as in the instrumental; I believe that one may imitate them in instrumental music, but not in vocal music." This remark clarifies his beliefs on style.

considers expression more than the correctness or equality of the beats of the measure.⁴⁴³

Thus, the primary factor in describing a passage as recitative is determined by performance practice, that is to say, whether or not the singer and the ensemble beat even time. Given that recitatives in seventeenth-century French sources are seldom marked as Brossard describes, we can only guess where performers interpreted the rhythm strictly or not. In the score, however, we can evaluate whether the rhythms seem more “declamatory” than “songlike.” If one singles out passages in *David et Jonathas* which have rhythms strongly derived from speech, are accompanied by continuo alone, and have bass lines tending toward static rhythm or motion that irregularly follows the singer's line, one can safely say that there are indeed recitatives in this work. Following these fairly loose stipulations on style, about 244 bars of recitative occur in this opera, though they appear in short bursts averaging around 8 bars in length. Table 2.5 shows each passage that I deem to qualify as recitative.

⁴⁴³ Brossard, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. “Tempo”, §3. “C’est une maniere de chanter qui tient autant de la *Declamation* que du *Chant*, comme si on *declamoit* en *chantant*, ou si l’on *chantoit* en *declamant*, par consequent ou l’on a plus d’attention à exprimer la *Passion* qu’à suivre exactement une mesure réglée. Cela n’empêche pas qu’on ne note ces sortes de Chants en mesure réglée, mais comme on a la liberté d’alterer les temps de cette mesure, & d’en faire quelques-uns plus longs ou plus courts que les autres, cela fait ordinairement qu’on met en partition la Basse-Continuë du *Recitatif* au-dessous, afin que l’Accomagnateur puisse suivre plutôt celui qui chante, que celui qui bat la mesure.” (“*Recitativo*.”) “On trouve souvent après le *Recitatif* des Italiens, ces mots, à *Tempo*, ou à *Tempo giusto*, qui marquent qu’il faut battre la mesure *juste* & en rendre tous les *Temps* bien *egaux*, au lieu que dans le *Recitatif* on a plus d’égard à l’*expression* qu’à la *justesse* ou l’*égalité* des *Temps* de la mesure.”

Table 2.5 Recitative distribution in *David et Jonathas*. Pg. Ref. For edition (ed. Duron).

Act	Scene	Pg. (Duron)	Length (mm.)
Prologue	1	14	4
	2	18	4
	3	20	7
		22	12
		25	11
		30–31	7
		32–33	5
		35	8
	4	36–37	7
	5	41	6
I	2	99 (measured)	
	4	118	13
II	2	153	8
		156	8
III	1	196	6
		199	4
		202	7
	2	210	7
		213	5
	3	223	4
		226	15
IV	2	258	6
		264	4
	3	271	5
	4	280	3
	5	283	5
V	1	310 (measured)	
	2	315	19
		321	2
		323	14
		327	4
	4	335	5
	5	352	21
	355	7	
TOTAL			244

One can surmise that Charpentier's Italian training is a factor in his choice of common time for recitatives as opposed to Lully's changing meters. Charpentier would have learned recitative style first and foremost from Carissimi; we have already seen how Charpentier's recitative bears likeness to Carissimi's in his oratorios. When setting French

verse to recitative, however, Charpentier had to observe a factor absent from the process of setting Latin prose: the rhymes of the couplets and quatrains of Bretonneau's poetry needed to fall on strong beats. The changing meters in Lully's recitative allows him to place the end rhymes of each line on a metrically strong beat while giving him the freedom to use a succession of mostly eighth or sixteenth notes to mirror the rhythm of speech. Regardless of the number of syllables in each line, he could therefore use musical notation to build the accent structure of the poetry into the performance. Charpentier's French recitatives also carefully place the end rhymes of lines on strong beats of the measure. However, since he opts for common time in his recitatives, he must either lengthen certain syllables beyond their pronunciation in ordinary speech or use some sort of filler ornament to “take up the slack”, as it were, in each measure; this gives him control of where to place the last syllable of each line effectively. Example 2.9 gives two recitatives from the prologue of *David et Jonathas* which demonstrate this technique.

Example 2.9. Recitative from the prologue of *David et Jonathas*

D \flat : 5 - 3 - - 5 | 1 D \flat : 4 - - 5 | 3 filler ornament

La Pythonisse
Et vous que j'ai for- més, ve nez, nū-a- ges som- bres dans vos voil - es é - pais en - se- ve- lir... ces lieux.

[...]

⁶ Accent displaced for exclamation E \flat : 2 - 3 - 4 | 3 c: 6 - 5 - 4 - 3 | 2 filler ornament

Quoi! je par - le & l'En - fer au- tre- fois si fi - dèle Com- men- ce en ce mo- ment à ne plus... m'ê- cou - ter!

Charpentier's earliest opportunities to experiment with setting French verse to music were in the *intermèdes* to Molière's works of the 1670s.⁴⁴⁴ After Molière's death, Charpentier continued to write music for the late playwright's troupe, continuing to do so after it was absorbed into the Comédie-Française in 1679. Many of these works had a decidedly pastoral character, following words that Molière put into one of his own character's mouths, Monsieur Jourdain in *Les Bourgeois Gentilhomme*: "Why is it always shepherds? One sees only them above all else." To this a dancing master replies: "When we make individuals speak in music, it is very essential for the sake of verisimilitude that we give it to those who tend their flocks. Song has always been the domain of shepherds; it is hardly natural for princes or the *bourgeois* to sing their passions."⁴⁴⁵ The *pastorale* genre was also a favorite of the Guise household, being well suited to the intimate concerts that Mademoiselle de Guise put on "almost every day."⁴⁴⁶ These *pastorales*, mentioned in the last chapter, often had conflated genre labels: For example, Charpentier labels *Actéon* (1684) both "Opéra" and "Pastorale en musique" in his manuscript.⁴⁴⁷ The *intermèdes* written for Molière's troupe have little recitative, given the plethora of spoken dialogue in the plays that surround them, and yet even in the *pastorales* for the Guises that are through-composed, Charpentier used relatively little recitative as well. However, there is some opportunity to examine his approach in these works to set French texts in a declamatory style.

⁴⁴⁴ See Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, Ch. 3, and Powell, *Music and Theatre*, Ch. 17.

⁴⁴⁵ Molière, *Le bourgeois-gentilhomme* (Paris: Bureaux de la Publication, 1869), 18–19. "Jourdain: Pourquoi toujours des bergers? On ne voit que cela partout. Le Maître a Danser: Lorsqu'on a des personnes à faire parler en musique, il faut bien que, pour la vraisemblance, on donne dans la bergerie. Le chant a été de tout temps affecté aux bergers; et il n'est guère naturel, en dialogue, que des princes ou bourgeois chantent leurs passions."

⁴⁴⁶ These words were Donneau de Visé's. See Ranum, *Portraits*, 189, and on the subject of the Guise's musical establishment in general, 189–201.

⁴⁴⁷ Charpentier, *Mélanges Autographes*, Cahier XXI, 30v.

A relatively early example of Charpentier's approach to French recitative from his *Petite Pastorale* (1676) shows his indebtedness to Carissimi (see Example 2.10). This work was likely part of the festivities given by Charpentier's patroness Madame de Guise to celebrate the baptism of Philippe II d'Orléans.⁴⁴⁸ One will note that the common melodic figure in *Mors Saëllis*, the descending second-ascendingthird gesture, appears in this example. The appearance of the word "haleines" ("breaths") triggers a long rest for text painting purposes, although the speech-like rhythm is disrupted by both the long dotted quarter note on the syllable "lein" and the rest itself. Yet, we see in the ninth bar of Example 2.10 the erasure of a flag to set the second syllable of "concerts." Charpentier obviously set this syllable to a dotted eighth note at first, whose rapidity would have more closely emulated spoken rhythm. But to fill out the bar and ensure that the rhyming word "oiseaux" lands on the strong beat to balance "eaux" in m.5, he extends the length of "concerts" to a dotted-quarter note. He is therefore conscious of the placement of rhymes on strong beats in this example but has to compromise the speech-like rhythm expected in recitative in order to accommodate the accent structure of common time and his desire to paint the text.

⁴⁴⁸ See Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 101.

Example 2.10. Recitative in the *Petite Pastorale* (1676), H479

Bb: 2 - 1 | 3

ames ten dref accents des nymphes des fontaines sortirent ou ce

C: 3 - 5 | 1

mout de ceux qui s'offrent avec charmes sephins rebrindrons leurs halei nes

inserted rests stem erased

et lon non pendit plus des concerts de joyeance ad cest trop de flatter aurrois tu le con

By 1681—the same year as *Mors Saülis*—we see in incidental music for *Endimion* a similar approach (see Example 2.11). This work was premiered by the Comédie-Française; little is known about it (the play not having survived), though the work has a clearly pastoral nature.⁴⁴⁹ The end rhymes “languers” (line 1)/“rigeurs” (line 4) and “severe” (line 2)/“mistere” (line 3) land squarely on beat 1 of each. The “metrical slack” in this case is taken up gracefully by very brief decorative figures on the syllables “si” (bar 4) and “reux” (bar 6). We see Charpentier employing a similar procedure in the recitatives from *David et Jonathas*, taking as an excerpt the witch’s recitatives from the prologue (Example 2.9). Such decorations mean that the rhythm does not derive absolutely strictly from speech, but the overall priority of this passage is nevertheless to maintain a

⁴⁴⁹ See Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 85. Endimion was a shepherd enamored of Diana, goddess

declamatory style that aligns the poetic structure with the natural accent structure suggested by a measure in common time.

Example 2.11. Recitative in music for the play *Endimion* (IV.1), (1681), H502

expressive accent displacement
↓

Mais je de-vrois col - ler mes se - cret - tes lan - geurs si la di - es - se he -
las qui nous est si se - ve - re ve - noit a pe - ne - trer ce dan - ge - reux mi -
ste - re que ne crain - drois je pas de ces ju - stes ri - geurs

Laura Naudeix notes how Lully's recitative “owes much to the art of the Italian recitative of Carissimi.”⁴⁵⁰ As Le Cerf tells us, Lully said that “my recitative is only made for speaking. I want it to be completely smooth.”⁴⁵¹ Le Cerf continues on the origins of Lully’s recitative, that “he heard *la Chanmêlé* [an actress at the Comédie Française] declaim, he held onto her tones, and then gave them the grace, harmony and degree of force that they must have in the mouth of a singer.”⁴⁵² Lully therefore wished to

of the moon.

⁴⁵⁰ Naudeix, *Dramturgie*, 255.

⁴⁵¹ Le Cerf, *Comparaison*, vol. 2, 204. “Mon Récitatif n'est fait que pour parler, je veux qu'il soit tout uni.”

⁴⁵² Ibid. “Il écoutoit déclamer la Chanmêlé, retenoit ses tons, puis leur donnoit la grace, l'harmonie & le degré de force qu'ils devoient avoir dans la bouche d'un Chanteur.”

approximate the nature of speech as closely as possible, subordinating the music to the text completely.⁴⁵³ For Charpentier, however, an approximation seems to have been close enough, as the above examples show.

Although Charpentier did not adopt Lully's changing meters in the recitatives of *David et Jonathas*, he did absorb certain melodic figures into his style that have a strong affinity with Lully's. I have tracked the most common of these recurring melodic figures listed as follows:

1. the scale degrees $\hat{5}-\hat{3}-\hat{5}|\hat{1}$, where degree $\hat{1}$ occurs on a strong beat
2. the pattern $\hat{2}-\hat{3}-\hat{4}|\hat{3}$, where degree $\hat{3}$ occurs on a strong beat
3. the pattern $\hat{4}-\hat{5}|\hat{3}$, where degree $\hat{3}$ occurs on a strong beat, and
4. a descending scale $\flat\hat{6}-\hat{5}-\hat{4}-\hat{3}|\hat{2}$ or $(\hat{4})-\hat{3}-\hat{2}-\hat{1}|\hat{7}$, outlining a tritone in either case.⁴⁵⁴

These particular melodic gestures have been marked in the previous Examples 2.3, 2.9, 2.10, and 2.11. These sorts of arpeggios and scales take the place of the longer streams of monotones that Carissimi uses. Lois Rosow has referred to Lully's cliché-ridden recitative as “Lullian singsong” and has shown how the melodic patterns themselves may originate in singsong-like declamation of seventeenth-century French spoken tragedy.⁴⁵⁵ Example 2.12 shows a recitative from the second act of Lully's *Armide* with such melodic gestures marked. The two composers also share a tendency to place exclamations such as “Quoi!” (“What!”) or “Mais” (“but”) on a weak beat, as Charpentier does in Example 2.9 and 2.11. This is a common technique of Lully's to use misplaced accent as an expression of surprise, a technique that Charpentier used as well. By tracking these common melodic patterns, it appears that Charpentier had at least heard enough of Lully's recitatives to

⁴⁵³ For a detailed discussion of the relationship between Quinault's poetry and Lully's recitatives, see Rosow, “French Baroque recitative.”

⁴⁵⁴ There are more such patterns, but these are some of the most frequent to my ears. Aside from their frequency, I selected these patterns arbitrarily.

⁴⁵⁵ Rosow, “French Baroque recitative,” 472–474.

absorb some of their melodic tendencies if not their fundamental workings dependant on fluctuating meter. However, his approach is different in French recitatives, such as those in *David et Jonathas*, from the Latin recitatives in his oratorios. Besides the *Petite Pastorale*, I can find no example of the descending second/ascending third figure in his French recitatives.

The aforementioned patterns common to Charpentier and Lully's works appear far less frequently in *Mors Saiilis*, despite the fact that he used them in *Endimion* in the same year. These stylistic differences must therefore be deliberate. To a certain extent, Charpentier maintained stylistic features of his teacher Carissimi in the Latin oratorios, while he chose melodic features of Lully's recitative style in his French theatrical music. But on the whole, it seems as though Charpentier's recitative in *David et Jonathas* is a hybrid, in that it maintains the common-time meter of Carissimi's recitatives and yet shows that melodic features typical of Lully's recitatives were absorbed by Charpentier's style. This process of absorption seems to have been a gradual one that emerged out of Charpentier's experimentation with French recitatives in his stage works for the Guises and the Comédie-Française.

Example 2.12. Recitatives in Lully, *Armide*, II.1, showing stereotyped melodic gestures

The musical score consists of five systems, each with three staves: Renaud (top), Artemedore (middle), and Basse Continûe (bottom). The music is in common time (C) and features various rhythmic patterns and melodic gestures. The lyrics are in French, and the figured bass notation is provided for the Basse Continûe part.

System 1: Renaud is silent. Artemedore and Basse Continûe play. Lyrics: In - vin - ci - ble He - ros, c'est par vos - tre cou - ra - ge Que j'é - cha - pe aux ri -

System 2: Renaud is silent. Artemedore and Basse Continûe play. Lyrics: gueurs d'un fu neste es cla - va ge. A présece ne reuxe cours Puis je medis pen - ser de vous sui vretou - jours?

System 3: Renaud is silent. Artemedore and Basse Continûe play. Lyrics: pla - ce Aux lieux d'où mon mal - heur me chas - se. Le fier Ger - nand m'a con - traint a pu - nir Sa te - me - rai - re au

System 4: Renaud is silent. Artemedore and Basse Continûe play. Lyrics: da - ce: D'u - ne in di - gne pri - son Go - de - froy me me - na - ce Et de son Camp m'o - bli - ge à me ban -

System 5: Renaud is silent. Artemedore and Basse Continûe play. Lyrics: nir. Je m'en e - floi - gne a - vec con - train - te. Heu - reux si j'a - vois pû con - sa - crer mes ex - ploits à de li - vrer la Ci - té

23 2 d: 5 - 3 - 5 | 1 ->

Sain-te Qui ge-mit sous de du - res loix: Sui-vez, sui - vez les Guer-riers qu'un beau ze - le Pres se de sig - na -

6 6# 6 6

27 1

ler leur va-leur & leur foy: Cher-chez cher - chez u-negloi-re im-mor - tel-le, Je veux dans mon e - xil n'en-ve-lo-per que

6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6

32 4

moy.

Sans vous, que peut-on en-tre pren - dre? Ce - luy qui vous ban - nit ne pour-ra se de - fon - dre De sou-hai

6 6 6 #

38

a: 4 - 3 - 2 - 1 | 7

ter vos-tre re - tour, S'il faut que je vous quit te au mois ne puis-je ap-pren - dre En quels lieux vous al-lez choi - sir vos-tre se

4 6 5 6 # 6# 6 6# 4 #

44

G: 2 - 3 - 4 | 3

jour. S'il faut que je vous quit te au mois ne puis je ap-pren - dre En quels lieux vous al-lez choi - sir vos-tre se-jour.

6 6 6 4

Other French Features in David et Jonathas

Beyond the use of harmony and recitative, there are instances in *David et Jonathas* in which Charpentier downplays the ordinarily prominent Italian traits of his style.⁴⁵⁶ Two of the most common elements associated with Italian music include frequent use of dissonance and melismas. As François Ragueneau observes, the Italians

venture the boldest cadences, and the most irregular dissonance [...] Let a Frenchman be set to sing one of these dissonances, and he'll want courage enough to support it with that resolution wherewith it must be sustain'd to make it succeed; his ear being accustom'd to the most soft and natural intervals, is startled at such an irregularity; he trembles and is in a sweat whilst he attempts to sing it; whereas the Italians, who are innur'd from their Youth to these Dissonances, sing the most irregular notes with the same assurance that they would the most beautiful.⁴⁵⁷

Sieur de Grimarest remarks on the excess of melisma belonging to the Italian style: he states that he should

warn the composer not to match the meaning of a word in an affected way. It is not obligatory to put melismas on words like *coulez* (flow) and *volez* (fly) or long-held notes on *éternelle* or *repos*. It is not these words on their own [...] that express the thought, but rather the whole phrase. Such musical distractions change the sentiment and denote someone who is a composer rather than a thinker. We must, however, concede something to the composer in allowing him to demonstrate his skill in the choruses, especially on words where the beauty of the vocal lines can support melismas and long-held notes. Yet the frequent and ill-judged use of such features is pernicious, and I do not understand why composers who are otherwise very skillful have latterly taken it into their heads to apply an Italian style of music to French words, in placing roulades on syllables without reason or sentiment.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁶ On the differences between French and Italian music, see Georgia Cowart, *The Origins of Modern Musical Criticism: French and Italian Music 1600–1750* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981). Italian music flourished particularly in the courts of the king's brother, his nephew, and his son. See Don Fader, "'The Cabale du Dauphin'"; Don Fader, "Music in the Service of the King's Brother: Philippe I d'Orléans (1640–1701) and Court Music outside Versailles," *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 19, no. 1 (2013); <http://sscm-jscm.org/jscm-issues/volume-19-no-1/music-in-the-service-of-the-kings-brother-philippe-i-dorleans-1640-1701-and-court-music-outside-versailles/>; Don Fader, "Philippe II d'Orléan's 'chanteurs italiens', the Italian Cantata and the goûts-réunis under Louis XIV," *Early Music* 35, no. 2 (May, 2007): 237–249.

⁴⁵⁷ Ragueneau, *A Comparison*, 15–19.

⁴⁵⁸ Grimarest, *Traité du Récitatif* (Paris: Jacques le Fevre and Pierre Ribou, 1707), 210–211. Translated by Caroline Wood and Graham Sadler, *French Opera Reader* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), 59. "Je crois devoir avertir le Compositeur, de ne point chercher avec affectation à convenir par sa musique à la signification d'un terme. Ce n'est point une regle de mettre des roulades sur ceux-cy, par exemple,

Grimarest's advice seems to warn against two degrees of transgression here: the worst thing one can do is to place melismas on any syllable irrespective of meaning, as the Italians do; slightly less bad but still ill-advised is to place a melisma on a seemingly deserving word for text painting purposes simply for convention's sake. He states that it is "not obligatory" to engage in such text painting, as if to express exasperation with how routinely French composers had come to place melismas on a choice few words. We turn now to *David et Jonathas* to examine how Charpentier treats both dissonance and melismatic writing in this work.

Charpentier generally uses dissonance more liberally than does Lully, particularly in terms of seventh chords. Ninths and augmented fifths also occur fairly frequently, but in *David et Jonathas*, these intervals are most concentrated in instrumental passages and in the plaintive monologues. Reducing his reliance on these types of dissonances seems not to have been a concession to the French style that Charpentier was willing to make (of course, it merits reiteration that Lully uses such dissonances, but less often). One instance does point to a relative amount of moderation regarding dissonance: we may compare the analogous scenes in the opera and in the oratorio *Mors Saülis* where the chorus laments the deaths of Saul and Jonathan. This is the emotional climax of the story, and Charpentier treats it appropriately in both works. In the oratorio, the expression of dismay at this unfortunate moment incorporates the choice of an intense dissonance by

coulez, volez; des tenues sur les suivants, éternelle, repos. Les termes seuls [...] n'expriment point un sentiment; mais l'expression entière, & ces divertissemens de musique alterent la passion; & désignent plus le Musicien, que l'homme d'esprit. Cependant, il faut donner quelque chose à celui-là, & lui permettre de faire paroître son art dans les Chœurs; & sur des termes, où la beauté du chant peut souffrir des tenues; ou des roulades: Mais l'usage fréquent & mal entendu en est tres-vicieux; & je ne comprends pas comment des Compositeur, tres-habiles d'ailleurs, se sont avisés dans ces derniers tems, d'appliquer de la musique composée dans le goût Italien, sur des paroles Françaises, dont ils font roules les silabes sans raison, & sans sentiment."

Charpentier to set the word “acerba” (bitter) in the phrase “O sors infelix et acerba!” (“O unhappy and bitter fate!”—See Example 2.13). Charpentier places an augmented sixth and an augmented octave here, a combination described in a brief note in the margins of his compositional treatise as “very plaintive.”⁴⁵⁹ Charpentier’s use of this chord here underscores the lengths to which he felt free to go to express the text strikingly. In the opera, we actually witness the death of Jonathan, who dies in the arms of David. The oratorio follows the Bible more closely, in which David learns of both deaths from a messenger and is not present during them. Despite this more vivid dramatic handling of the situation in the opera livret, Charpentier sets the analogous line to “O sors infelix” in the opera much more subtly: David sings “Jamais amour plus fidelle et plus tendre / Eut-il un sort plus malheureux?” (“Has ever so tender and faithful a love had so unhappy a fate?”) The chorus echoes David’s line, and the strongest dissonances used are a single ninth on the word “fidelle”, and a seventh on “sort” (see Example 2.14). This seventh occurs at a Phrygian cadence which punctuates the question, a quite common place for a seventh to occur—even in French music. The effect of this passage is equally as moving as in the oratorio, though much less shocking, since the expressive use of dissonance is much more restrained.

⁴⁵⁹ Reprinted in Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 399. This note appears in Étienne Loulié’s copy of the treatise (F-Pn Res. Vm 260), the main source used by Cessac in her reproduction. No copy survives in Charpentier’s hand. Cessac notes that there is another extant copy (F-Pn n.a. Fr. 6355), which lacks this note, so it may or may not have been Charpentier’s remark.

Example 2.13. Choral outburst “O Sors infelix et acerba!” in *Mors Saülis*, highlighting #8, #6 chord

Touttes les voix

O sors sors in - fe - lix et a - cer - ba

O sors sors in - fe - lix et a - cer - ba

O sors sors in - fe - lix et a - cer - ba

O sors sors in - fe - lix et a - cer - ba

O sors sors in - fe - lix et a - cer - ba

7 #6

Example 2.14. Chorus in *David et Jonathas*, V.4, demonstrating more restrained dissonances

Ja - mais a - mour plus fi - del - le et plus

Ja - mais a - mour plus fi - del - le et plus

Ja - mais a - mour plus fi - del - le et plus

Ja - mais a - mour plus fi - del - le et plus

ten - dre Eu - t-il un sort plus mal - heu - reux

ten - dre Eu - t-il un sort plus mal - heu - reux

ten - dre Eu - t-il un sort plus mal - heu - reux

ten - dre Eu - t-il un sort plus mal heu - reux

Charpentier also demonstrates an awareness of French restraint regarding the use of melismas in *David et Jonathas*. Table 2.6 lists every melisma of more than 5 notes in the opera, along with the words set in this method. The rest of the text setting is almost entirely syllabic. Also included in Table 2.6 is the one example of a long-held note used on account of very literal text painting (*repos*, just the example Grimarest gives). The melismas are not limited to choruses, as Grimarest suggests that they should be. However, the words on which they occur appear in melismatic settings in various Lully operas as well, thus demonstrating Charpentier’s knowledge of French practice in this matter. The only word treated thus for which I cannot find a similar example in Lully’s work is “trompettes”, which occurs several times set to long melismas in the final chorus of *David et Jonathas*. In the text of that chorus—”Du plus grand des héros / Chantons, chantons la gloire / Trompettes et tambours annoncez sa victoire” (“Of the greatest of heroes, sing, sing the glory; Trumpets and drums announce his victory”)—the word that Lully would ordinarily give to a melisma would be “victoire.” Charpentier seems to have displaced the customary roulade to “trompettes” to avoid placing it on the final syllable of the couplet, but the end result is the same: it is a victorious flourish.

Table 2.6. Words privileged for melismatic setting

Word	Location in <i>David</i> (Act, Sc.)	Example in Lully's oeuvre
tonne/tonnere	P.5, I.1	<i>Isis</i> , I.7
brisez/chaines	I.1	<i>Roland</i> , I.1; <i>Armide</i> , I.2
voler/volage	I.1; II.1; II.3	<i>Armide</i> , P.
trionphez/triomphe	I.4; IV.4	<i>Roland</i> , I.1; (triomphe) <i>Armide</i> , I.3
repos	II.1	<i>Roland</i> , P.
guerre	II.2	<i>Thésée</i> , P.
gloire	V.3	<i>Roland</i> , V.4
trompettes	V.5	(see explanation above)

Example 2.15. Italianate style of setting words “doloris” (Charpentier) and “holocausti” (Carissimi)

Charpentier: Excerpt of David's Lament from *Mors Saulis* expressive rests

Carissimi: Excerpt from *Abraham et Isaac*

The image contains two musical excerpts. The first is by Charpentier, titled 'Excerpt of David's Lament from *Mors Saulis*'. It features a vocal line in 3/2 time and a basso continuo line. The lyrics are 'a - mo - ris me - i non e - rit fi - nis nec fi - nis e - rit do - lo - - -'. Above the vocal line, there are fingering numbers: 5, 6, 7, 6, 5. Below the vocal line, there are 'expressive rests' indicated by a downward arrow. The second excerpt is by Carissimi, titled 'Excerpt from *Abraham et Isaac*'. It features a vocal line in 3/2 time and a basso continuo line. The lyrics are 'Pro - vi - de - bit Do - mi - nus ho - lo - cau - sti vic - ti - mam'. Above the vocal line, there are fingering numbers: 5, 6. Below the vocal line, there are 'expressive rests' indicated by a downward arrow.

Mors Saulis also demonstrates a predominantly syllabic style, yet the distribution of exceptions to this norm encompasses a bit more variety. Words which receive melismas for pictorial treatment include “furoris” (“fury”), “inflagranti” (“in blazing”), “premit” (“pressing” [in pursuit]), and “velociores” (“quicker”). However, two deviations from the primarily syllabic style stretch out syllables for more subtle reasons—the words “nocte” (“at night”), and “doloris mei” (“my pain”). The latter example incorporates a quite Italianate device of breaking up the vocal line with rests over one syllable, as if to emulate the voice breaking in a sigh of agony (what would in rhetorical terms be called *suspiratio*).⁴⁶⁰ The inclusion of an ascending diminished fourth in the melody underscores

⁴⁶⁰ Dixon, *Carissimi*, 35. I have avoided discussing rhetoric in this thesis, as it is in some ways problematic to discuss French music in rhetorical terms. See Jonathan Gibson, “A Kind of Eloquence Even in Music’: Embracing Different Rhetorics in Late Seventeenth-Century France,” *The Journal of Musicology* 25, no. 4 (Fall 2008): 394–433. Gibson concludes that “rhetorical figures and the *dispositio* should not dominate our discourse, for they can hardly be said to have dominated the discourse in seventeenth-century France” (430).

the anguish of the singer. Example 2.15 shows this passage along with a similar setting of the word “holocausti” (“of the holocaust”) by Carissimi in *Abraham et Isaac*. No passage like either of these appears in *David et Jonathas*, further pointing to Charpentier’s avoidance of overly Italianate musical devices in that work.

The foregoing analyses show that Charpentier consciously employed two different musical languages associated with the respective genres in which he wrote. His style, even when obviously drawing upon French models, could never completely sound like Lully’s, due to his Italian training and his penchant for using techniques that would seem shocking to the French. Nevertheless, I hope to have shown how Charpentier keenly drew upon aspects of Lully’s music in *David et Jonathas*. Musical style and the judgment of style—which required good taste—was bound up in the larger issue of *honnêteté*, as Don Fader has shown.⁴⁶¹ We turn now to an examination of the intersection of these two broad concepts.

Honnêteté: Musical Taste, Morals, and Love

For the Jesuits to appeal to their audience, many of whom belonged to the court, it was of paramount importance that Charpentier’s style show at least a strong awareness of Lully’s methods, if not an outright attempt at emulation. That the Collège catered so strongly to the children of the courtiers demanded this preference for the French style—because that amounted to good taste. Courtiers’ behaviors were strongly associated with two related concepts, *galanterie* and *honnêteté*, which we ought now to define, especially as both a *galant homme* and an *honnête homme* were required to exhibit good taste.

⁴⁶¹ Don Fader, “The *Honnête homme* as Music Critic: Taste, Rhetoric, and *Politesse* in the 17th-Century French Reception of Italian Music,” *The Journal of Musicology* 20, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 3–44.

Le Cerf's disgruntlement with the lack of *galanterie* in *David et Jonathas* has already been explained very briefly; however, the concept deserves a closer look. Antoine Furetière's *Dictionnaire Universel* (1701) gives a vague definition of this elusive term, which is a “polite, joyful, and pleasant manner of doing and of saying things.”⁴⁶² He gives a second definition, which describes *galanterie* as “love, a morsel of love [amourette], passion, attachment for a person.”⁴⁶³ After this, Furetière cites several authors to give examples of the term in current use, as is his practice with each entry. He cites Antoine Gombaud, Chavalier de Méré, who explains that

A *galant* man is nothing other than an *honneste* man, a bit more sparkling or more cheerful than ordinarily, and who knows how to make sure that everything suits him. In any case, one benefits most by being able to be both [galant or honnête] as one deems fit, and I have seen *honnestes* men very much encumbered with ladies, who did not know where to insinuate themselves into conversation, even though they had sensible things to say to them.⁴⁶⁴

This description necessitates that we have a working definition for “honnête”, which Furetière defines as “that which merits esteem, praise, and which is reasonable, and in accordance with good morals, conforms to honor, and to virtue.”⁴⁶⁵ An ease in communications between genders does not factor into *honnêteté* as it does with *galanterie*. Seifert notes that throughout Méré's many writings, he draws “binaries, such as playful/serious, surface/depth, and worldly/retiring” between the *galant* and the *honnête* man, but that both species are “reducible to an *art de plaire*”, or art of

⁴⁶² Furetière, *Dictionnaire*, second edition (Rotterdam: Leers, 1701), vol. 2, s.v. “Galanterie.” “Maniere polie, enjouée, & agreable de faire, ou de dire les choses.”

⁴⁶³ Ibid., s.v. “Galanterie.” “Amour, amourette: passion, attachement pour une personne.”

⁴⁶⁴ Méré, *Les conversations*, vol. 1, (Paris: Éditions Fernand Roches, 1930), 20. “Un galant homme n'est autre chose qu'un honneste homme un peu plus brillant ou plus enjoué qu'à son ordinaire, et qui sçait faire en sorte que tout luy sied bien. A tout hazard on tire un grand avantage de pouvoir estre l'un et l'autre comme on le juge à propos, et j'ay vû d'honnestes gens bien empêchez avec des Dames, et qui ne sçavoient pas où s'insinuër dans leur conversation, quoy qu'ils eussent à leur dire des choses de bon sens.”

⁴⁶⁵ Furetière, *Dictionnaire*, second edition, vol. 2., s.v. “Honnesteté.” “Ce qui merite de l'estime, de la loüange, qui est raisonnable, & selon les bonnes mœurs, conforme à l'honneur, & à la vertu.”

pleasing.⁴⁶⁶ The stronger association of *galanterie* with amorous intrigue and courtship caused it to have an association with vanity and the potential to draw men away from their moral foundations and potentially become effeminate. Part of becoming a *galant homme* required spending time in the company of women; Seifert cites medical writer Jacques Ferrand, who believed that women's colder, wetter humors could sap the power of men's hotter, drier humors, leading to an increase in melancholy and a decrease in rational abilities.⁴⁶⁷

For the Jesuits and their students, the company of women needed to be avoided within the college; therefore, the potentially problematic effects of *galanterie* did not pose much of a threat. However, the problem of *galanterie* had to be confronted if operas were to be performed at the school. Opera's strong association with *galant* ideals contributed much to its moral questionability. The earliest detractors of French opera compared it unfavorably with tragedy, expecting this new theatrical form to adhere to the same rules as its parent. Those who saw no value in it objected to its vapid attempts to amuse the senses rather than to instruct. Charles de Saint-Évremond, for example, laments that music is detrimental to tragedy, writing that “the ears are delighted” but “the mind is not satisfied” when music plays too great a role.⁴⁶⁸ Jouvancy opines that tragedy's goal is to “instruct those of princely and noble birth” on how to act according to their high stature.⁴⁶⁹ On the same note, Antoine-Louis le Brun explains that “the object of

⁴⁶⁶ Seifert, *Manning the Margins*, 40–41; the term *art de plaire* originated in Faret's early essay *L'Honeste homme, ou l'art de plaire a la court* [1630], repr. Madrid and Paris: Agrupacion de Amigos del Libro de Arte, 1932.

⁴⁶⁷ See *Traité de l'essence et guérison de l'amour ou de la mélancolie érotique*, repr. Jacquin, 2001, 69, 73; Seifert, 68–69.

⁴⁶⁸ “Sur les Operas,” 82, cited in and translated by Thomas, 33. It is noteworthy that Saint-Évremond was once a student at the College de Clermont, though his early birthdate (1613) places his studies there well before the period of operatic experimentation at the school (1684–88).

⁴⁶⁹ Lozier, “Method,” 72.

tragedy is terror and compassion, that of comedy instruction and moral reform, but one would not know how to say precisely what that of opera is, which up to the present has hardly been more than the amusement of the leisurely spectator or the lover of music.”⁴⁷⁰ The appeal to pleasure alone did not trouble le Brun, for whom, as Downing Thomas observes, “opera was an aesthetic free-for-all, a world of pleasure with few or no rules—and so much the better.”⁴⁷¹ Devout individuals such as the Jansenist Arnauld, however, feared the ability of music to “ignite the passions and to convey into the hearts of the spectators the lewd morals of the verses.”⁴⁷² As we have already seen in the opinion of Jouvancy, the element of profane love was not to appear in the Jesuits' tragedies, yet opera follows different rules. In the words of Cowart, Lully's operas set up a “tension” between “the demands of pleasure and power, love and glory.”⁴⁷³ When the Jesuits opted to begin performing operas, they had to contend with this requirement of love, and if no females appeared on stage and profane love was forbidden, how then could appropriate plots for opera be generated? As we shall see, the Jesuits worked around this problem by substituting other forms of love that allowed for a similar conflict between this most tender passion and duty, an adaptation of the main conflict presented in Quinault's works. As we shall examine, they managed to avoid *galant* intrigues in their operas by substituting familial love and camaraderie—among other bonds—for the romantic.

Le Cerf's desire for an element of *galanterie* in *David et Jonathas* stems from Quinault's appeal to salon culture in his operas, an appeal that had underpinned even his

⁴⁷⁰ Charles Le Brun, *Théâtre lyrique* (Paris: Ribou, 1712), 12–13. Translation mine. “La Tragédie a pour son objet la terreur & la compassion; la Comedie a pour le sien l’instruction, & la réforme des mœurs: mais on ne sçavoit dire précisément quel est celui de l’Opéra, qui n’a gueres été jusqu’à présent, que l’amusement d’un spectateur oisif, & amateur de la Musique.”

⁴⁷¹ Thomas, *Aesthetics*, 32.

⁴⁷² Antoine, Arnauld, *Lettres* (Nancy: Joseph Nicolai, 1727), vol. 7, 26, cited in and translated by Thomas, 34. For more on the lewd morals of opera, see Thomas, notes 41 and 42 to Chapter 1.

earliest literary works before his collaborations with Lully.⁴⁷⁴ As Patricia Howard has noted, salon culture allowed free-thinking women an opportunity to discuss their lot and to engage in “the scientific revolution, by trying to apply scientific principles to the only area in which they had expertise, the phases and refinements of the passions.”⁴⁷⁵ While the salon could provide the setting for women to speak freely among themselves, it also acted as a sort of heterosocial laboratory wherein the ideals of *galanterie* were explored. These ideals survive in such writings as those of Madame de Scudéry, or in those of *galant* men such as the Comte de Bussy-Rabutin. Seifert has shown how Scudéry gives “female agency” to the ideals of the *honnête homme* or the *galant homme*, discussing that women can shape men to make them more suitable to the company of women.⁴⁷⁶ The ideals of the salon, however, took on a decidedly masculine perspective under the quill of male writers, Quinault included. Howard notes how Quinault adopted the salon tendency to contrast stereotyped qualities associated with the female/male binary as follows respectively: “refinement with strength, complexity with simplicity and—deplorably—passion with reason.”⁴⁷⁷ According to Howard, Quinault draws upon these ideals to create three “tiers” of female characters: the goddess whose considerable power is nevertheless “negated” by the male immortals; the “heroine” who acts as a “pawn” in a male-dominated struggle; and the fickle “hedonist” who embraces “the pleasures of love while rejecting its pains or commitments.”⁴⁷⁸ Elsewhere, Howard shows how Quinault's women

⁴⁷³ Cowart, *The Triumph*, 126.

⁴⁷⁴ See Patricia Howard, "The Influence of the *Précieuses* on Content and Structure in Quinault's and Lully's *Tragédies Lyriques*," *Acta Musicologica* 63, no. 1 (Jan. 1991): 58.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁶ Seifert, *Manning the Margins*, 118. (See Ch.4 more generally.)

⁴⁷⁷ Howard, "The Positioning of Woman in Quinault's World Picture," in *Jean Baptiste Lully: Actes de colloque*, edited by Jérôme de la Gorce and Herbert Schneider (Laaber, 1990), 194.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 194–195. Junon in *Cadmus* is a good example of the first category, Andromède in *Persée* the second, and Céphise in *Alceste* the third.

uphold salon values by creating characters who have alternate roles to play in love than the married woman: the prude and the coquette.⁴⁷⁹ While such alternate female paradigms could be construed as a female resistance to the patriarchal society of the *ancien régime*, such roles are also portrayed as the object of heterosexual masculine desire in Bussy-Rabutin's *Maximes d'amour*:

Silvander, uncertain
Which he would like better, the Coquette or the Prude,
And being unable to finally choose,
Asks me which victory
Would be most in accordance with my desire
You want me to tell him I believe
The Prude gives more glory,
The Coquette more pleasure.⁴⁸⁰

Bussy-Rabutin's discussion of either woman as the object of potential victory speaks to their ultimate role as equal objects of masculine desire. Such relationships fuel the amorous world of Quinault's characters, and it is precisely this kind of portrayal of heterosexual desire—even when unfulfilled—to which Jouvancy would object on the Jesuit stage. Though I have mentioned a few instances in which females were portrayed by the schoolboys onstage, Quinault's coquettes and prudes are absent, as are the *galant hommes* whose desires they inflame.

While there may have been moral perils associated with *galanterie*, the related concept of *honnêteté* seems altogether compatible with Christian ideals. Jean-Pierre Dens notes that theorists of the *honnête homme* approached the concept from either a secular or

⁴⁷⁹ Howard, "The Influence of the Précieuses," 60.

⁴⁸⁰ Bussy-Rabutin, *Histoire amoureuse de France* (1666), 2. "Silvandre dans l'incertitude, / Quelle il aymeroit mieux, la Coquette, ou la Prude, / Et ne pouvant enfin se resoudre à choisir, / Me demanda quelle victoire / Seroit plus selon mon desir; / Voulez vous luy dis-je me croire, / La Prude donne plus de gloire, / La Coquette plus de plaisir."

sacred point of departure.⁴⁸¹ Seifert observes a greater prominence of Christian perspectives applied to the *honnête homme*, especially from the 1680s onward.⁴⁸² Even the early work of Nicolas Faret, cited above, describes “Christian virtues” as “true ornaments of the soul [...] which comprise all morality.”⁴⁸³ Thus, theatrical works imbued with the ideals of *honnêteté* could potentially be compatible with the Jesuits' priorities of edification. Indeed, Faret's description of the knowledge expected of the well-equipped courtly gentleman matches Jouvancy's discussion of the core subjects that the Jesuits taught: dance for grace of the body (Faret, 48; Jouvancy, 64), knowledge of history (Faret, 62–63; Jouvancy, 88–94), good writing ability (Faret, 67; Jouvancy, 133–135), knowledge of poetry (Faret, 67; Jouvancy, 69), and good speaking skills with proper tone of voice, gestures, and expressions (Faret, 185–186; Jouvancy, 61–64).

Despite these similarities, Don Fader has pointed out that the Jesuits stood in antithesis to the *honnête homme*, given their emphasis on education in the Classics, on Greek and on Latin, and particularly on the potential for rhetoric in debate; Faret criticized such things as *savant*.⁴⁸⁴ The emphasis on persuading one's audience, rather than pleasing them, drove a division between the goals of Jesuit education and the *honnête homme*. Yet since the Jesuits educated the children of the court's most prominent members (see Chapter 1), it stands to reason that their ideals and the ideals of *honnêteté* should have some common elements. Jouvancy's harsh comment that “our theatres should not strive to give any delight whatsoever, but only that delight of a learned and

⁴⁸¹ Jean-Pierre Dens, *L'Honnête homme et la critique du goût*, repr. Lexington, KY: French Forum, 1981, 25.

⁴⁸² Seifert, *Manning the Margins*, 25.

⁴⁸³ Faret, *L'Art de plaire*, 71.

⁴⁸⁴ Fader, “The *Honnête Homme* as Music Critic,” *The Journal of Musicology* 20, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 11. Faret, *L'Art de plaire*, 59.

select spectator” cannot be taken seriously.⁴⁸⁵ If the Jesuits truly believed that their theatrical works should not be pleasurable, they would not have bothered creating lavish operas in the vernacular, modeled on the *tragédies en musique* at court.

An important component of being *honnête* had to do with the possession of good taste. The fact that Italian-trained Charpentier composed *David et Jonathas* must have prevented Le Cerf from accepting it as a good opera. As Fader has shown, there was a strong link between the ideals of the *honnête homme* at court and musical taste. Fader cites a comment by Le Cerf which compares Italian music to a coquette bedecked with copious make-up and gaudy fashions, whereas French music Le Cerf likens to a modest, neatly dressed woman with natural grace.⁴⁸⁶ Italian music, with its adventuresome harmonies and emphasis on displaying the technical skills of performers, lacked the qualities of restraint that went hand in hand with *honnêteté*. The learned use of rhetorical devices which permeated Italian music helped contribute to the perception of its being *savant*. While the *honnête homme* had to have some knowledge of rhetoric to use rhetorical figures of speech in his effort to speak eloquently and please his companions, these had to be used diligently and appear to occur naturally, just as ornamentation in French music had to be employed thus.⁴⁸⁷ The staunchest proponents of French music—such as Le Cerf—considered Charpentier's compositions far too inundated with “learned” Italian traits, particularly because of their heavy use of dissonance, counterpoint, and adherence to Italian models.⁴⁸⁸ This, of course, is a stereotype, and in reality, Charpentier was a versatile composer whose music spans a spectrum of Italianate and French

⁴⁸⁵ Lozier, “Method,” 76.

⁴⁸⁶ Fader, “Honnête Homme,” 5–6.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 12, 20.

⁴⁸⁸ See, for example, the many criticisms of *Medée* presented by Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*,

influence, as we have seen. The Italianate oratorio *Mors Saülis* exhibits far more of the damning traits of Italian excess than *David et Jonathas*, as evidenced in the analyses above. Indeed, Brossard's comment that oratorios ought to "be enriched by all that the finest and most learned art has" connects that genre with both the Italianate and the *savant*.⁴⁸⁹ The marked stylistic differences between an oratorio like *Mors Saülis* and *David et Jonathas* shows a reduction of such "learned" Italian traits. Thus, we can see both Charpentier and the Jesuits attempting to satisfy the element of taste for the *honnêtes hommes* at court. More difficult, however, was the element of courtly love, which was truly incompatible with the aims of Jesuit theater.

Substitutes for Romantic Love

Given Jesuit uneasiness with depicting romantic love on stage, attempts to develop a form of the *tragédie en musique* devoid of "profane" love had to substitute another type. As Kintzler has shown, appropriating drama to be sung in its entirety required what she calls a *pathétisation* of theater, meaning that the moral concerns of tragedy were replaced by the mechanical manipulation of the passions in Cartesian terms due to the effects of singing.⁴⁹⁰ Instead of being moved by the mere situations that drama could present, the spectator's pathos could be aroused by the music, which particularly required the "tender passions."⁴⁹¹ We shall see how the Jesuits furnished "tender passions" to arouse the sympathies of their audience without recourse to the romantic.

338–344.

⁴⁸⁹ Cited above, note 31.

⁴⁹⁰ Kintzler, *Poétique*, 361.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid. Kintzler cites Pierre Perrin, whose works represent the earliest essays of lyric theater. Perrin remarks that "to make my discourse for music beautiful, appropriate for singing, and *pathétique* [...] I have always chosen tender passions that touch the heart for the material [of my works]" (Avant-propos to *Recueil des paroles de musique*, MS. BnF 2208, fol. 4, cited in Kintzler, 361. Translation mine.)

The earliest operatic work presented at Louis-le-Grand with an extant livret is *Demetrius* (1685), whose text is anonymous; the lost music was composed by Claude Oudot.⁴⁹² Like *David et Jonathas*, the work was performed alongside a spoken tragedy in Latin. The livret avoids the genre label “tragédie en musique”, opting instead to declare itself “tragédie pour servir d’intermèdes à la piece latine.” The superficial structure, unlike *David et Jonathas*, does not follow the expected five acts with a prologue; rather, its author calls its six subsections “intermèdes.” Since there are six, one of the *intermèdes* must have come before the Latin tragedy and another after, as there are only four gaps between the five acts of the Latin play. The printed synopsis tells us that the plots of the two intertwined works are roughly the same—not a continuous story but the same episodes distributed differently. We read:

Philippe, King of Macedonia, mistaken by the false accusations and the intrigues of his eldest son, Persée, kills his second son Demetrius who has just won a great victory. The subject is the same as that of the Latin piece: we have only changed in the course of the outline the order of certain circumstances, to which we have added some others which do not deviate from the subject but which can give more place for spectacle and to the beauty of the music.⁴⁹³

Demetrius therefore exceeds the role played by the ballet *intermèdes* at Louis-le-Grand previously, as it is a self-contained work with a cohesive plot. Without the music, however, it is difficult to fully evaluate how much *Demetrius* resembles the French operas of Quinault and Lully. The livret, however, gives some clues regarding characteristic dramatic devices that appear in several of Lully's works.

⁴⁹² F-Pn Yth 4565.

⁴⁹³ *Demetrius*, 3. “Philippe Roy de Macedoine trompé par les fausses accusations & par les intrigues de Persée l’aîné de ses deux Enfants, fair mourir Demetrius son second fils qui venoit de remporter une grande Victoire. Le Sujet étant le même que celui de la pièce Latine: on a seulement changé dans la conduite du dessein l’ordre de quelques circonstances, auxquelles on en a ajouté quelques autres qui sans s’écarter du Sujet pouvoient donner plus de lieu au spectacle & aux beautés de la Musique.”

The first scene finds King Philippe distressed, knowing that one of his sons means to betray him to his enemies; he shows his awareness of his son's plans in a monologue. Immediately thereafter, he falls asleep and experiences several dreams that appear onstage as allegorical characters. The inclusion of this scene allows for a musico-dramatic device popularized in Lully's works, a *sommeil*, or sleep scene.⁴⁹⁴ In fact, the manner in which this scene is conducted strongly resembles the fourth scene in Act III of *Atys*. At first, the livret calls the dreams pleasant (*agréables*), for they sing their intentions of easing the King's worries: "O how everything yields to the pleasure of a profound peace / Be gone from here, fatal alarms / O! How a gentle sleep has such appeal / O! How a gentle sleep has such charms."⁴⁹⁵ These peaceful sentiments give way to agitation provided by *songes funestes*, or "fatal dreams." The regularity of 12 syllable and 8-syllable lines as in the above example dissolves into shorter lines of 6 or even 4 syllables, with lines split at times among various outbursts between the different dreams. The *songes funestes* tell the sleeping Philippe to "tremble" and to "fear" ("crains") and the chorus finishes by asking "Do you see the tempest / that prepares itself? [...] What carnage! / How it rages!"⁴⁹⁶ The form and content of the poetry here suggests another stereotyped musico-dramatic device from the French opera repertoire—the *tempête*.⁴⁹⁷ Though no music survives, one can imagine the typical orchestral sonority which accompanies a scene such as this, with rapid scales in the strings depicting raging winds amid short outbursts from the astonished singers (the prologue to *Amadis* contains such an example, as does *Cadmus et Hermione* and *David et Jonathas*). The scene concludes as Philippe awakes; in another monologue,

⁴⁹⁴ See Wood, *Music and Drama*, 327.

⁴⁹⁵ *Demetrius*, 7. "Que tout cede au plaisir d'une profonde paix / Loin d'icy funestes allarmes / Ah! qu'un doux sommeil a d'attraits! / Ah! qu'un doux sommeil a de charmes!"

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 11. "Vois tu la tempeste / Qui s'apprête? [...] Quel carnage! / Qu'elle rage!"

he wonders if he had just experienced a premonition: “Perhaps this terrible dream / Is a secret notification that the gods are giving me.”⁴⁹⁸

We must pause here to note the plurality of gods derived from pre-Christian, pagan histories. The author takes this story from the fortieth book of Titus Livius' *History of Rome*, which is perplexing for a number of reasons. Jouvancy had suggested that all Jesuit theater pieces draw upon “the most rich treasury of sacred literature or of the annals of the church.”⁴⁹⁹ Additionally, history did not serve as a source for French opera plots.⁵⁰⁰ As Louis de Cahusac notes,

[Quinault] pushed history aside, which already had the [spoken] Theater, and which comported a truth, too well known, with personages too serious, and with actions too much resembling daily life, such that, in the customs handed down to us, song, music and dance would form a ridiculous disparity with them.⁵⁰¹

The Jesuits obviously disagreed with this point. What they had created in *Demetrius* was indeed a historical tragedy set to music with superficial features of the *tragédie en musique*, including one component which most certainly would eliminate verisimilitude: allegorical characters, such as the aforementioned personified dreams. Cahusac notes that, for Quinault, “the supernatural was the foundation stone of the edifice, and fable—or imagination—furnished him with the sole materials he believed he had to employ in order to build it.”⁵⁰² The Jesuits knew that fantastic elements had a crucial role to play in the

⁴⁹⁷ See Wood, *Music and Drama*, 308–309, and 334.

⁴⁹⁸ *Demetrius*, 12. “Peut-être ce song terrible / Est un avis secret que me donnent les Dieux.”

⁴⁹⁹ Lozier, “Method,” 75.

⁵⁰⁰ While figures such as Roland were somewhat based in history, the highly romanticized version of the story was filtered through Ludovico Ariosto’s telling of the story in *Orlando Furioso*. The source of such a tale really must be seen as Medieval epic poetry as opposed to a source which presents history as plainly as possible.

⁵⁰¹ Louis de Cahusac, *La danse ancienne et moderne* (La Haye: Jean Neaulme, 1754), vol.3, 65. “Il en écarta l’Histoire qui avoit déjà son Théâtre, & qui comporte une vérité, trop connue, des personnages trop grave, des actions trop ressemblantes à la vie commune, pour que, dans nos mœurs reçues, le Chant, la Musique & la Danse ne forment pas une disparate ridicule avec elles.”

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, 64–65. “Le merveilleux fut la pierre fondamentale de l’édifice, & la Fable, ou l’imagination lui fournirent les seuls matériaux qu’il crut devoir employer pour le bâtir.”

spectacle that French opera audiences had come to demand.⁵⁰³ The incongruous union of serious tragedy with mythology and music was to be overlooked in order to unite the moral grounding of tragedy with the superficial wonders of opera that enticed audiences.

A mythological element in *Demetrius* occurs in the third intermède. King Philippe continues to wrestle with the insistence of his son Persée that Demetrius conspires against him. In his desperation, he consults an oracle of Apollo. As we have already seen in the previous chapter, the oracle scene constitutes another stereotyped musico-dramatic ingredient in the *tragédie en musique*. If a political reading of this type of scene in the prologue of *David et Jonathas* seems plausible, in *Demetrius* the oracle functions only as a requisite occurrence of the supernatural. The oracle tells Apollo to “speak through her voice”, and she then goes into a trance. Apollo, speaking through her, foreshadows the moral lesson of this work, saying “O! Unhappy father, that your fate is pitiable! / That you believe most in fear / is the least of your misfortunes.”⁵⁰⁴ Remarkably, this oracle is called “La Pythie”, the name given to Apollo's oracle in Lully's *Bellérophon* (III.4–5)—see Chapter 1 on the significance of this name. According to La Pythie—and as the printed synopsis in the livret tells the audience—Philippe will indeed give into his fear and weakness and kill his innocent son. This oracle scene does not occur in Titus Livicus' version of the story and is doubtless one of the elements added to “give more place for spectacle”, as the Jesuits indicated was the reason for their modifications of the plot.

⁵⁰³ Méneestrier states that “As theatrical works set to music are made more for pleasure and diversion more than instruction, we seek in them more of the fantastic than verisimilitude.” (“Comme les pieces de Theatre composées en Musique, sont plus faites pour le plaisir & le divertissement que pour l’instruction, on y cherche plus le merveilleux que le vraisemblable.”) *Des representations*, 170.

⁵⁰⁴ *Demetrius*, 25. “Ah! pere infortuné que ton sort est à plaindre! / Ce que tu crois le plus à craindre / Est le moindre de tes malheurs.”

Another element necessary for a lyric rendition of this story is a loving bond that is broken due to death. The love between the father and his sons is present in the original story. Philippe's love for his sons comes forth both when he reluctantly orders Demetrius' death and when he learns that Persée has in fact been lying to him. His grief at having given the order of execution to an innocent doubles his horror at himself. The author also includes another element of love, however, meant to intensify the emotional impact of Demetrius' death. A captive foreigner from Thrace had formed a strong bond with Demetrius during his campaign, and while Demetrius waits in prison for his execution, he is reunited with his dear friend, Philotas. When Demetrius informs Philotas of his impending death, Philotas himself dies at the same time, of grief.⁵⁰⁵ The inclusion of this affection seems only to have arisen to intensify the audience's pity for the loss of innocent life—one lost at the hands of a father who had given into fear, and of a brother who had given into jealousy.

The moral message of this opera recalls Jouvancy's account of Aristotle's thoughts on the purpose of tragedy, which is to instruct the audience not to give into “depraved affections” such as fear and envy.⁵⁰⁶ Philippe suffers by having to live with the knowledge that he killed his innocent son. The clear moral message and the use of a plot taken from history make *Demetrius* more closely resemble spoken tragedy, but the presence of love at the forefront of the story and the inclusion of music, dance, and the supernatural suggest the heavy influence of opera. Moreover, the use of characteristic musico-dramatic devices borrowed from Lully and Quinault indicates an effort on the part of the Jesuits to appeal to courtly tastes. However, they did so without recourse to opera's potential pitfalls—its

⁵⁰⁵ The livret does not specify how Demetrius is killed, but Livicus (40.24) tells us that he was poisoned at a banquet, which would explain his gradual death here.

dubious morality and the frivolous portrayal of love. In this story, these loves are in a sense “pure”, as in the love between a father and a son, or as in camaraderie and friendship.

The next Jesuit opera with an extant livret, *Celse Martyr* (1687), also includes an element of a pure love, that is, maternal love for a son. Like *David et Jonathas*, this work is by Bretonneau and Charpentier, but the score is unfortunately lost. As in *Demetrius*, the story revolves around a tyrannical figure who sees fit to kill his son out of suspicion. In this case, it is Marcien, the pagan Roman governor of Antioch, who discovers that his son Celse has converted to Christianity. The story comes from the history of the early Church, during Emperor Diocletian's reign of terror and his attempt to expunge Christians from the realm.⁵⁰⁷ Unlike *Demetrius*, the work *does* receive the genre marker “tragédie en musique”, though it retains the description “pour servir d'intermèdes a la Pièce Latine.” The work has no prologue but does have five acts, which must therefore each either precede or follow the acts of the Latin play. The primary love in this work is between Marcien's wife, Marcionille, and her son Celse. Clearly, the Jesuits saw fit here to overrule their own proscriptions against female roles (although a male must have played Marcionille). Celse's brother Tullus also becomes a victim, opting to die along Celse's side rather than to lose him. They accept their fate happily, singing: “Death has charms / Why so many tears? / It is to glory that I run.”⁵⁰⁸ The father Marcien admits his love for Celse too but concedes that it cannot stop him from carrying out his duties. He sings: “In this sad moment it is the only choice to take / Everything demands their death / I cannot defend it

⁵⁰⁶ Lozier, “Method,” 74.

⁵⁰⁷ The source of this story is Laurentius Surius, *De probatis sanctorum*, tome 1, 199–211. The library at Louis-le-Grand definitely had a copy of this book, according to the library catalog (233).

⁵⁰⁸ “La mort a des charmes / Pourquoi tant de larmes ? / C'est à la gloire que je cours.” *Celse*, 14.

any longer / A love that has for too long triumphed over duty / Despite the vain efforts of a heart still too tender / The duty to [punish] his turn [to Christianity]/ Triumphs over Love.”⁵⁰⁹ Marcionille, having secretly converted to Christianity too, dies of grief. Thus, the moral conflict between love and duty in this work is complicated by the presence of the “right” kind of duty—that is to say Christian duty. Celse must be willing to overcome his mother's love for him and die for his faith; Marcien, whose duty is to wickedly persecute Christians, allows his blind devotion to the emperor to overrule his paternal affections.

Fewer typical features from the *tragédie en musique* occur in this work: in the first act a celebratory *fête* takes place for the emperor's army, which has just won a battle against the Christians. In it, a juxtaposition of the glory of war and the pleasures of peace takes place. Although the score by Charpentier is lost, this alternation between choirs of combatants and shepherds recalls the prologue to *Thésée*. It also includes a chorus of echoes to celebrate the charming respite of peace: even in silence, one may enjoy the company of one's echo with which to sing. An echo effect occurs in *Isis* (I.5), and may have given some inspiration for the inclusion here. Nothing in the way of the supernatural occurs in this opera, weakening its ties to the norms of the *tragédie en musique* of Lully and Quinault.

We have seen thus far how the essential component of love found its way into Jesuit operas to give emotional interest to the stories without recourse to the “profane love” that Jouvancy found so troublesome. We must now address Le Cerf's criticism that *David et Jonathas* does not exhibit *galanterie*, by examining the role of love in that story.

⁵⁰⁹ "En ce triste moment c'est le seul choix à prendre / Tout demande leur mort, je ne puis m'en défendre / L'amour a trop long-temps triomphé du devoir / Malgré les vains efforts d'un coeur encore trop

The intersection between love and morality can be examined in light of *honnêteté*, as we have already seen.⁵¹⁰ Tied into this idea are elements of propriety, sexuality, and taste which can help us more fully understand the cultural context of a work like *David et Jonathas*.

David and Jonathan's Relationship: Two Interpretations

That King David in particular exhibits *honnête* qualities can be seen by comparing some of his actions with the expectations laid out by Faret: Firstly, he remains fiercely loyal to God. As Faret explains, among the many qualities required of an *honnête homme* is the belief in God: "it is the fear of God which is the beginning of true Wisdom, which comprises all of the precepts that philosophy has given us to live well. It is this fear which makes us bold in danger that fortifies our hopes."⁵¹¹ Secondly, he is courageous. Faret demands that "it is necessary to have without a doubt a bold heart and a solid resolution to die a thousand times than to consent to cowardice."⁵¹² As an illustration of both of these points, we can look to David's monologues when he acknowledges his and Jonathan's danger from Saul (I.3):

*You can, O God that I adore,
Sensitive to our misfortunes, stop the progress [of the forthcoming battle],
At least, even at the cost of my days,
Give Jonathan the security that I beg.*⁵¹³

tendre / La devoir à son tour / Triomphe de l'amour." *Celse*, 14.

⁵¹⁰ For example, Nicolas Faret, *L'art de plaire* (1630); Armand de Gérard, *Le Caractère de l'honnête homme* (1682); Joachim de la Chétardie, *Instructions pour un jeune seigneur ou l'idée d'un galant homme* (1683); Jacques Goussault, *Le Portrait de l'honnête homme* (1689); and several works by Antoine Gombaud.

⁵¹¹ Faret, *L'Art de plaire*, 72. "Aussi est-ce la crainte de Dieu qui est le commencement de cette vraye Sagesse, qui comprend tous les Preceptes que la Philosophie nous a donnez pour bien vivre: C'est cette crainte qui nous rend hardis dans les dangers, qui fortifie nos esperances."

⁵¹² *Ibid.*, 89. "Il y faut bien sans doute un coeur hardy et une ferme resolution de mourir plustost mille fois, que de consentir à un lascheté."

⁵¹³ Bretonneau, *David et Jonathas*, 12. "Tu peux encor, Dieu que j'adore/Sensible à nos malheurs en arrester le cours./Du moins, mesme au prix de mes jours,/ Accorde à Jonathas le secours que j'implore."

Willing to die for Jonathan, David does not hesitate to take up arms when honor demands it, as in Act IV, when Saul prepares to slaughter the Philistines. To do so, he must master his passions. According to Faret, “One of the most important and most universal maxims that one must follow [...] is to moderate one’s passions.”⁵¹⁴ At the end of David’s second monologue, he quells his fear through his faith:

*Ready to see all of Israel armed against me,
Lord, it is only You that David seeks to please.*⁵¹⁵

At the brink of entering battle as he discusses with Jonathan their fate, both David and Jonathan cease their complaints of potentially losing one another and pledge to do their utmost to keep each other alive, after which David chastises Jonathan for weeping (IV.2): “In this moment you want to redouble my torment through your tears?”⁵¹⁶

While these elements demonstrate the presence of *honnête* morals in *David et Jonathas*, another important component to *honnêteté* was careful speech, the aim being to please one’s company. The foremost writer on *honnêteté*, the Chevalier de Méré, associated the delicate command of language as a learned trait resulting from a courtly male lover’s desire for a woman; in attempting to woo her, he learned to emulate her refinement of speech.⁵¹⁷ Accordingly, Seifert sees heterosocial exchanges of paramount importance to the development of *honnêteté*, yet he also shows that homosocial interactions also play a considerable role. He cites an example wherein Blaise Pascal apparently underwent a conversion from dry mathematician to sparkling conversationalist

⁵¹⁴ Faret, *L’Art de plaire*, 133. “L’une des plus importantes et des plus universelles maximes que l’on doit suivre [...] est de moderer ses passions.”

⁵¹⁵ Bretonneau, *David et Jonathas*, 28. “Prest à voir contre moi tout Israël armé, / Seigneur, c’est à Toi seul que David cherche à plaire.”

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 30. “En ce moment voulez-vous par vos pleurs redoubler mon tourment?”

simply by spending time with Méré and an unnamed male companion.⁵¹⁸ As an extension of this story, Seifert claims that Méré “intimates that *honnêteté* is compatible not only with male homosociality, but with male same-sex desire as well. If only allusively and by reference to historical personages, he displays a consciousness of the continuum that exists between the homosocial construction of *honnêteté* and male homosexual desire.”⁵¹⁹ This Seifert claims based on positive descriptions Méré makes of both Classical and contemporary men who were both good examples of *honnêtes hommes* and well-known practitioners of same-sex relations.⁵²⁰ The continuum between homosocial interactions and homosexual desire is an important one for us to conceive of as we evaluate the nature of love in the all-male world of *David et Jonathas*.

It may come as a surprise to raise the issue of same-sex desire in the context of *honnêteté* and the moral uprightness expected in the Jesuit theater, particularly as sex acts between same-sex companions were punishable by death in seventeenth-century France. Jeffrey Merrick and Bryant Ragan quote several authors who cite the Scriptural proscriptions for homosexual sex acts.⁵²¹ Jean Eudes, in his 1648 *Avertissements aux confesseurs missionnaires*, advises confessors not even to mention the matter if it can be avoided:

I speak of the sodomitical sin, about which the prudent confessor must question only males or females whom he observes, males or females, to be wholly surrendered to disgraceful passions, for this sin is committed not only between men but also between women, when they engage in dreadful lewdness in the

⁵¹⁷ Seifert, *Manning the Margins*, 48.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 48–49.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, 49–50. One such example is Théophile, a French poet from the previous generation (b. 1590), whose homoerotic poetry and well-publicized trials for sodomy made him a well-known icon of sexual libertinism. See Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2003), 333–334. Seifert notes how Méré had great admiration for him, despite his infamous character.

⁵²¹ See Jeffrey Merrick and Bryant Ragan eds., *Homosexuality in Early Modern France* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 14–25.

manner of copulation, about which decency and discretion forbid discussion, about which Saint Paul nevertheless speaks in Romans 1.⁵²²

Despite the official hostility toward homosexual activity in both the law and Church doctrine, contemporary accounts inform us that such activity commonly transpired among certain courtiers. Louis Compton cites the follow account by Roger de Bussy-Rabutin:

The facility of all the women had made their charms so scorned by young men that they were hardly held in regard any more at court; debauchery reigned there more than in any other place in the world, and though the King had professed many times an inconceivable horror for these sorts of pleasures, it was only in this that he could not be obeyed.⁵²³

Crompton concludes that “for the historian of morals and of homosexuality, [the *grand siècle*] is an age of great ironies, embracing at the same time pious conformity and extreme freedom.”⁵²⁴ One limitation on the “freedom” exercised by those engaging in same sex activities had to do with status. The Duchess d'Orléans, second wife of Philippe d'Orléans—who was the king's brother and was well-known to pursue men sexually—describes how high status often privileged those who engaged in same-sex relations from punishment:

Those who have this vice [inclination towards sodomy] and believe in the Holy Scripture imagine that it was only a sin when there were still few people in the world and what they did could be injurious to the human race, in that it prevented more humans from coming into being. But since the world has been fully populated, they regard this only as an amusement, but they keep it secret as much as they can so as not to make the common people angry by it. But among persons of rank, they talk openly about it, regard it as a witticism, and know very well how to say that our Lord God hasn't punished anyone for it since Sodom and

⁵²² “De peccato Sodomitico loquor, de quo prudens Confessarius debet tantum interrogare eos vel eas, quos vel quas animadvertit in passiones ignominiae prorsus traditas, eos, iniquam, vel eas, hoc enim peccatum committitur non solum inter viros, sed etiam inter mulieres, quando in forma copulae horrendas exercent impudicitias, quas pudor & prudentia vetant dicere, de quibus tamen loquitur: D. Paulus. Rom 1.” (repr. 1666), 218; cited in and translated by Merrick, *Homosexuality*, 5.

⁵²³ Bussy-Rabutin, *Histoire amoureuse des gaules*, vol. 3, 356–357, repr. Paris: P. Jannet, 1858, edited by Ch.-L. Livet. Cited in and translated by Compton, 340.

⁵²⁴ Crompton, *Homosexuality*, 339.

Gomorrah. You'll find me knowledgeable on this subject.⁵²⁵

The Duchess was indeed knowledgeable, as she watched her husband take several male lovers; given that he was the second highest rank of nobility, the King did nothing to stop his activities.⁵²⁶ All of this goes to show the amount of importance that status had on the matter: as long as one were of sufficiently high rank, one could pursue such illicit relations without fear of retribution.

We have already examined the types of love that occur in the extant operas performed at Louis-le-Grand prior to *David et Jonathas*. Now we come to a more complicated relationship: that of David and Jonathan. From a modern perspective—and potentially from an early modern perspective—it is possible to read their relationship as having an element of homoerotic desire, given the intensity of their bond and of the privileged position that their relationship holds in the story. In lieu of a heterosexual, *galant* love which complicates the plot, we have the deep and intimate love of these two title male characters. We must pause here to acknowledge that David had several wives, including one of Saul's daughters.⁵²⁷ Saul's daughter Michal is renamed Seila and appears in the play *Saül* that accompanies *David et Jonathas*, yet in the opera she is absent.⁵²⁸ The fact that David had wives does not preclude the possibility of his relationship with Jonathan as having been something more than platonic friendship, especially from an

⁵²⁵ Letter to Amalie Elisabeth of 13 December 1701, cited in and translated by Merrick, *Homosexuality*, 126. Original repr. in *Briefe der Prinzessin Elisabeth Charlotte von Orleans an die Raugräfin Louise 1676–1722*, edited by Wolfgang Menzel (Stuttgart, 1843), 62. “Die von dem laster seindt undt die H schriefft glauben bilden sich ein daß es nur sünde geweßen wie noch wenig leütte in der Welt wahren undt waß sie thetten den Menschlichen geschlecht schaden konte in dem es behindert mehr menschen zu werden aber nun daß die Welt ganz peuplirt ist halten sie es nur vor ein divertissement halten es aber heimlich so viel sie können den gemeinen man nicht daduch zu ärgern aber unter leütte von qualitet reden sie öffendtlch davon halten es vor eine gentilesse wißen auch woll zu sagen daß seyder sodom und gomora unßer herr gott Niemandt drumb gestrafft hatt, Ihr werdet mich gelehrt finden in diesem Text.”

⁵²⁶ See Crompton, *Homosexuality*, 340–343.

⁵²⁷ See 1 Samuel 26:41–44.

early modern perspective. After all, well-known individuals who engaged in same sex relationships, such as the aforementioned Philippe d'Orléans, had wives and produced children as their duty required. Naturally, any sort of sexual component to the relationship between David and Jonathan would not have been part of the official interpretation of the Scriptural story on the part of the Jesuits. I would like therefore to advance two interpretations of their relationship: an official version that spoke to the moral purpose of David and Jonathan's commitment to one another for political and spiritual reasons, and a reading that some might have understood as potentially erotic.

One aspect affording these dual readings is the multiple connotations of the word “fidelle”, or “faithful”. Furetière defines the word as “that which has fidelity; that which observes exactly a promise; that which holds to the promised faith; he who does well his duty”; he gives examples describing faith to one's king, to one's lover, to one's friend, and to God as the word is used to describe the Hebrews throughout the Bible.⁵²⁹ As in modern English, to be faithful can mean having spiritual faith, general loyalty, or trust in a lover's commitment. In Act I, scene 3, David points to this ambiguity when he sings:

*Jonathan has seen me renew many times
A thousand vows of a mutual love:
Alas, he was always faithful;
I, only I, can violate them.⁵³⁰*

This language speaks to the intensity with which the librettist Bretonneau describes the pair's relationship, using language hedging on that reserved for marriage. However, David most definitely refers to the spiritual covenant that the two make with each other in

⁵²⁸ According to the printed synopsis, Seila is absent from the new play *Saul* used for the 1706 revival of *David et Jonathas*. No female characters are present in either work.

⁵²⁹ Furetière, *Dictionnaire*, 2nd ed., Vol. 1, 911.

⁵³⁰ Bretonneau, *David et Jonathas*, 12. “Jonathas tant de fois me vit renouveler / Mille sermens d'une amour mutuelle: / Helas il fut toûjours Fidelle, / Moi seul je puis les violer!”

1 Samuel 20, which happens before the events of the opera begin. In this covenant, Jonathan declares his loyalty to the house of David, acknowledging that he is God's chosen leader for Israel, thereby forfeiting his allegiance to his father Saul and his own right to the crown. The language even in Scripture suggests ambiguity between personal affection and political devotion: "And Jonathan caused David to swear again, because he loved him: for he loved him as he loved his own soul."⁵³¹ Anthony Heacock explains that the word used here for love in the original Hebrew, *'ahab*, "has a multitude of meanings" but "outside of the highly eroticized Song of Songs, the overwhelming emphasis of *'ahab* is on the relationship between Yahweh and Israel."⁵³² He asserts that in the Biblical telling of this story, Jonathan's love for David seems unrequited, and that as a consequence, this fact "supports the conventional interpretation of Jonathan's feelings for David [...] as political loyalty more than personal love."⁵³³ In the above passage from *David et Jonathas*, Bretonneau disagrees with the idea that Jonathan's love for David was not returned, as it was "mutual." However, Bretonneau's apparent reference to the covenant allows this strong language to have an explanation other than the more superficial. Heacock cites David Damrosch, who explains that the use of marital language was frequently employed in "the political rhetoric common to ancient Near Eastern treaties."⁵³⁴ Thus, if one accepts this assertion of Damrosch, the language here suggests a metaphorical reading for their love as a political union. The Jesuit theologian Nicolas Serarius interprets their covenant as "a most honorable covenant of friendship" and compares it to the covenant made between the Lord and Abraham to give Israel to the

⁵³¹ 1 Samuel 20:17.

⁵³² Anthony Heacock, *Jonathan Loved David: Manly Love in the Bible and the Hermeneutics of Sex* (Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2011), 11.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, 13.

Jews (Genesis 15:17).⁵³⁵ Thus, Serarius views their pledge of loyalty as a deeply spiritual one, almost as though Jonathan were making a covenant with God through David. The comparison to the gift of Israel to Abraham's descendents also connotes the political overtone suggested by Damrosch. Given that the scene of the covenant does not appear in the opera or the play *Saül*, however, the audience must know the biblical backstory sufficiently well to make that interpretation.

In spite of the political interpretation, the placement of a chaconne in Act II offers a further chance to read the title characters' relationship as potentially erotic. This occurs at the moment when David and Jonathan are reunited for the first time in the opera after David's return from war with the Philistines. As Geoffrey Burgess has noted, "with only two exceptions, all the chaconnes and passacailles in Lully's *tragédies* are celebratory and represent the restitution of order performed as part of a heroic marriage—the nucleus of the drama in which *Gloire* and *Amour* are symbolically reconciled."⁵³⁶ The exceptions that he mentions come from *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673), Lully's first opera, and *Armide* (1686), his last, which Burgess identifies as "seductive" instead of "celebratory."⁵³⁷ Elsewhere, Burgess has argued that the chaconne represents "the representation and operation of the power of the sovereign," due to the "binarism of subjugation and empowerment" symbolically represented by the freedom of endless variation ordered by the relentless cycle of the ground bass.⁵³⁸ I shall examine this latter component in the next chapter, but for now, I will examine the erotic elements associated with the chaconne.

⁵³⁴ Heacock, *Jonathan Loved David*, 18.

⁵³⁵ Nicolas Serarius, *In libros Regum*, 80.

⁵³⁶ Burgess, "Ritual," 582.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁸ Burgess, "The Chaconne and the Representation of Sovereign Power in Lully's *Amadis* (1684) and Charpentier's *Médée* (1693)," in *Dance & Music in French Baroque Theatre: Sources and Interpretations*,

This dance indeed celebrates David's twin duties to love and glory, as evidenced by the conversation that introduces it:

JONATHAN

*Conqueror, nothing can resist your arms.
I see you again showered with new glory.
But may I flatter myself
To see you returned faithful?*

DAVID

*I can, in the middle of combat,
Feel fickle victory around me.
Would that Heaven while raging abandon me to the storm;
Everything could change for me; I would not change.*

[The chaconne begins]

DAVID AND JONATHAN

*Let us taste, taste the charms
Of a kind peace.
Cares and Alarms
Cease forever.
Let us taste, taste the charms
Of a kind peace.*

ONE from JONATHAN'S RETINUE

*All in life ends.
Winter has its rigorous weather
by a Happy spring
Followed:
You alone, tender friends, are always constant.
Let us taste, taste the charms, etc.*

CHORUS

*Let us taste, taste the charms, etc.*⁵³⁹

The term “faithful”/”fidelle” here seems to have been employed with the possibility of

ed. Sarah McCleave (London: Institute of Advanced Music Studies, 1998), 83.

⁵³⁹ Bretonneau, *David et Jonathas*, 18–19. “JONATHAS: A Vostre bras Vainqueur rien ne peut résister. / Je vous revoi comblé d’une gloire nouvelle. / Mais puis-je me flatter, / De vous revoir fidelle? DAVID: Je puis au-milieu des combats / Epouver à mon tour la Victoire volage. / Que le Ciel en couroux m’abandonne à l’orage; / Tout changeroit pour moi; je ne changerois pas. / DAVID ET JONATHAS: Goutons, goutons le charmes / D’une aimable Paix. / Les soins & les allarmes / Cessent pour jamais. / Goutons, goutons les charmes/ D’une aimable Paix. [UN de la suite de Jonathas.] Tout finit dans la vie. / L’Hiver a son temps: / D’un heureux Printemps / Sa rigueur est suivie: / Vous seuls, tendres Amis, soiez toujours constans. CHŒUR Goutons, goutons, etc.”

dual interpretations: Jonathan's question seems relevant to both David's loyalty to God and to his loyalty to the covenant that he and Jonathan have made together, transferring the power of the heir of Israel to David. David's comment that, whatever happens, he would remain true, seems to indicate that the "faith" in this case concerns more than his and Jonathan's relationship. However, there is also a seductive element to this *chaconne*, which is one of its potential dramatic roles in the works of Lully, as Burgess has shown.⁵⁴⁰

Three shepherds sing "venez, venez tous avec nous jöür des plaisirs les plus doux"/ ("come, come all with us, to enjoy the sweetest of pleasures.") In the English translation the potential seductive connotation is clear, yet in French the term "jöür" can also refer to orgasm.⁵⁴¹ This alternate meaning existed in contemporary sources as well, as Furetière's fifth definition of the word suggests: "To have the carnal company of a woman."⁵⁴² What is more, this passage was the only significant portion of text eliminated in the 1706 reprisal of *David et Jonathas* at Louis-le-Grand: one wonders if the potential for a sexual reading of the language proved intolerable for the Fathers who revived the work.

One possible foil to the sexual interpretation to David and Jonathan's relationship concerns a musical detail: Jonathan's vocal range is *dessus*, meaning that in the all-male context of the Jesuit stage, the part had to have been taken by a boy whose voice had yet to change. David's voice type is *haute-contre*, the typical heroic voice type of a very high

⁵⁴⁰ Burgess, "Ritual," 582.

⁵⁴¹ I do not, of course, mean to suggest that the word "pleasures" could not refer on the surface to innocent pleasures such as singing and dancing, but these often were insinuated to go hand in hand with less innocent pleasures: in the *Ballet des fêtes de Bacchus* (1651), characters range from quite tame and elevated such as Apollo and the muses to much more raucous such as Gaming (le Jeu), and Debauchery (la Desbauche). See Cowart, *The Triumph*, 1.

⁵⁴² Furetière, *Dictionnaire* (Rotterdam: Leers, 1690), Vol. 2, 383. "Avoir la compagnie charnelle d'une

tenor. One may interpret the employment of a younger boy to play Jonathan as a mark of his purity and sexual innocence. If so, the intensity of the language between the two characters could instead be explained as a metaphor for *agape*, or the sort of unconditional Christian love as God has for the Israelites—a love that is blind to appearances such as the sex of the two characters. Jonathan's devotion to David is thus analogous to David's devotion to God, in the same way that the erotic imagery of the *Song of Songs* is sublimated by its re-appropriation as a symbol of divine love.⁵⁴³

Yet, the potential for sexual desire between two males—one represented onstage by an older boy and the other by a younger—cannot be completely eliminated on account of age.⁵⁴⁴ It is worth noting that the February entertainments supplied by Louis-le-Grand were given by the *seconde classe*, or those students immediately below the students of rhetoric, the final echelon of their education.⁵⁴⁵ According to DuPont-Ferrier's history of the school, the range of ages in this class were 13 to 20 in 1677, and 12 to 20 in 1692, the only two years that such data apparently exists.⁵⁴⁶ The idea of homosexual desire was strongly associated in France with Classical models, such as the veritable institution of pederasty and myths such as Ganymede and Jupiter, and Patroclus and Achilles. In these stories, there is always a younger, subservient member and an older, hierarchically

femme.”

⁵⁴³ There was substantial literature on the exegesis of the *Song of Songs* published in the seventeenth century. See for example Thomas Brightman, *A Commentary on the Canticles, or the Song of Solomon*, (Amsterdam: Thomas Stafford, 1644); Hanserd Knollys, *An Exposition of the first Chapter of the Song of Solomon* (London: W. Godsid, 1656). Knollys describes the book as “a Spiritual Song touching Christ and his Church [... that] doth celebrate the mutual nuptial loves of Christ and his Spouse” (1).

⁵⁴⁴ It is worth mentioning that boys' voices broke later in life prior to the twentieth century. The *NGD* describes famous composers such as Purcell, Bach, and Haydn having fine soprano voices until 14, 15, and maybe even 17, respectively.

⁵⁴⁵ It is possible that the main roles of the opera were taken by soloists from the Chapelle Royale—an adult playing David and a page playing Jonathan. See Duron, “Marc-Antoine Charpentier,” 259, especially note 97, where Duron points to evidence that this was the practice in the opera *Demetrius*. Even in this case, the age difference may have been roughly the same as if two students—one older and one younger—performed the roles.

superior member (e.g., mortal vs. god, or servant vs. master). Works such as Plato's *Symposium* outlined the social dynamics of actual pederasty in Greece.⁵⁴⁷ The choice of an older boy to play David, whose voice type belonged to the most revered characters of the *tragédies en musique*, and a younger to play Jonathan, could also serve to highlight the expected roles of a same-sex sexual dynamic in France at the time. Elisabeth Charlotte's correspondence again proves helpful as she remarks that among the several different sexual appetites at court, the older men who pursued male "youths from seventeen to twenty-five [...] are the most numerous."⁵⁴⁸ To the courtiers who desired younger male companions, they may have seen the same sort of desire reflected onstage here.⁵⁴⁹

The multiplicity of potential interpretations of David and Jonathan's love only augments its prominent position in the opera. Whether or not audience members interpreted their relationship to have an erotic component, its purpose as a substitution for *galant* love cannot be questioned. The two characters' commitment to one another is extreme and contrasts with the *galant* relationships of Quinault's characters, who often are fickle of heart.⁵⁵⁰ Given the spiritual nature of David and Jonathan's love for one another, the avoidance of "profane love" that Jouvancy had advised is upheld, and yet the intensity of their bond makes this love a worthy substitute for the romantic entanglements in Quinault's works. Le Cerf was certainly correct about the lack of *galanterie* in this

⁵⁴⁶ DuPont-Ferrier, *Collège*, vol. 3, 231.

⁵⁴⁷ Heacock, *Jonathan loved David*, 79.

⁵⁴⁸ Cited in and translated by Crompton, *Homosexuality*, 344.

⁵⁴⁹ Julia Prest notes how a description by Loret of the beauty of a cross-dressed boy in the Jesuit play *Méhémet* (1656), borders on the homoerotic. See *Cross-Casting*, 52–53.

⁵⁵⁰ The language of Céphise in *Alceste*, for example, illustrates this fickleness (I.4): (to her suitor Straton) "If I change lovers, what do you find so strange there? Is it surprising to see a woman who changes?" ("Si je change d'amant, / Qu'y trouves-tu d'étrange? / Est-ce un sujet d'étonnement / De voir une fille qui change?")

piece, but, as we have seen, the related concept of *honnêteté* could function here as an alternate masculine and moral paradigm not incompatible with the homosocial—and perhaps homosexual—nature of David and Jonathan's relationship.

The prominent position held by this relationship and of a conflict between love and duty are necessary components for a *tragédie en musique*. I have shown some ways that the book of 1 Samuel makes clear the intense bond of the title characters of this opera, and yet details such as the depiction of Jonathan dying in David's arms strays from the Biblical narrative. While the focus is overwhelmingly on the characters' love in *David et Jonathas*, the oratorio *Mors Saülis et Jonathae* refuses a voice to one of its title characters: Jonathan is mentioned but never sings. David's lament for Saul and Jonathan in 2 Samuel 1:17–27 is paraphrased at the end of the oratorio, but David himself only sings of Jonathan. The chorus takes over when Saul is mentioned as the object of equal mourning. David's discussion of Jonathan paints a string of rather contradictory images:

*I grieve over you, my dear brother Jonathan.
Jonathan, to all eyes popular and loveable,
Jonathan whose wonderful face surpassed all,
Jonathan, beautiful and desirable.
I grieve over you my dear brother Jonathan.
As a mother loves her only son,
So did I cherish you.
And as much was my love, so is my grief.
My love will never cease,
Nor shall my sadness.
I grieve over you, my dear brother Jonathan.⁵⁵¹*

The author discusses the brotherly affection of the characters, likens it to a mother's love, and yet insists that David mention the physical beauty of Jonathan. Neither of the latter elements appears in the Biblical passage upon which David's lament is based. The

⁵⁵¹ “Doleo super te, mi care frater Jonatha, Jonatha oculis omniis gratiose et amabilis, Jonatha praestanti vultu admirabilis, Jonatha formose et desiderabilis. Doleo super te, mi care frater Jonatha. Sicut enim mater amat unicum filium suum, ita te diligebam, mi care frater Jonatha. Et sicut amor meus, sic dolor

relationship is therefore kept abstract and ambivalent, unconcerned as oratorio is with vividly portraying love between its characters.

Throughout this chapter, we have seen how *David et Jonathas* blurs genre boundaries by deviating from the aesthetic principles of the *tragédie en musique*. Contrary to Le Cerf's claims, I have argued that the work exhibits a strong moral foundation. It therefore operates more like a spoken tragedy or an oratorio in terms of its moral underpinning: spectacle is an important—but not *the most* important—aspect of the work. As a Jesuit product, the message of the work concerning the importance of fidelity to God and to one's loved ones is clear. This element, along with the avoidance of female roles, empties the work of the *galant* intrigue present in Quinault's works, as Le Cerf's complaint indicates. The opera, like the earlier Jesuit operas we have examined, represents a compromise on the part of the Jesuits to adhere to their goal of edification while creating a product that superficially functioned like Quinault and Lully's operas. The use of stock musical-dramatic devices, the predominantly French musical style, and the emphasis on the duality of glory versus love pandered to French expectations of what the *tragédie en musique* ought to look and sound like, even if its focus more on the dimensions of faith rather than *galant* intrigue caused it to differ from the model works presented at court. If the pendulum of compromise did not swing far enough toward the aesthetics expected of the staunchest Lullists such as Le Cerf, it nevertheless met with some success, as the quote

meus; Amoris mei non erit finis, nec erit doloris mei. Doleo super te, mi care frater Jonatha.”

from the *Mercure galant* that begins this study suggests: “It could not have received greater applause than it did.”⁵⁵²

⁵⁵² *Mercure galant*, 1688, 317–319.

Chapter 3.

Musical and Dramatic elements compared across Three Operas

The previous two chapters have explored how *David et Jonathas* interacts with the political and aesthetic norms of the *tragédie en musique*. What follows will focus on the musical and dramatic components of that genre, juxtaposing Charpentier's work with those of Lully and Quinault. The large-scale form of *David et Jonathas* consists of five acts preceded by a prologue, as do Lullian works, but, as Catherine Cessac has pointed out, certain smaller-scale formal features either are lacking or are present in lesser concentration—namely recitative, dance, and the use of machines.⁵⁵³ The more modest role played by these elements leads her to exclude the work from the genre of *tragédie en musique*. While her reasons to do this are understandable, my aim here is to illustrate both its dependence on the *tragédies en musique* and its indebtedness to other genres, particularly in this chapter, the *intermède* and the pastorales for the Guises that trained Charpentier to set dramas to music. Benjamin Pintiaux has opined that “the *tragédie en musique* repertory [...] formed a kind of collective, ‘open’ work, always with precise points of reference but in a perpetual state of evolution.”⁵⁵⁴ Pintiaux claims this due to the “inevitable” reuse of décor, costumes and other visual elements between works on the Académie stage,⁵⁵⁵ and I feel that the recurrence of musico-dramatic conventions also plays into this collective work concept. An examination of the distribution of musical subgenres within *David et Jonathas* will allow us to compare it in more detail to the typical features of Lully's operas in a more quantified way.

⁵⁵³ Cessac, “Tragédie latine,” 211 and 213.

⁵⁵⁴ Benjamin Pintiaux, “*Médée* within the Repertory of the *tragédie en musique*: Intertextual Links and the ‘Posterity’ of Charpentier’s Opera,” in *New Perspectives on Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, ed. by Shirley Thompson (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 252.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

First, this chapter will explore the distribution of musical subgenres in this piece relative to Lully's *Armide* (1686) and Charpentier's *Médée* (1693), the latter of which was Charpentier's only opera for the Académie Royale de Musique. *Armide* represents Lully here because of its close temporal proximity to *David et Jonathas*. I include *Médée* because its generic identity is unquestionable, as it was presented by the Académie, which insisted that Charpentier follow its prescriptions, at least insofar as to appease its members.⁵⁵⁶ Comparing *David et Jonathas*, *Médée*, and *Armide* will allow us to discover which features of Charpentier's operas—whether on the Jesuit stage or that of the Académie—consistently differed from Lully's due to the varying priorities of the two composers. In addition, the comparison shows how this opera's function as an *intermède* affects its constituent musical subgenres. Next, the chapter will examine the function of recitative and air relative to their use across the three operas. Charpentier devoted much attention to long stretches of orchestra-accompanied monologue in both of his operas, pushing beyond Lully's treatment of soliloquy both in the extent and freedom of the musical setting. Because these monologues are instances where *David et Jonathas* deviates most strongly from Lully's works, this element deserves special attention. Lastly, this chapter will discuss a common aspect of all three works—the inclusion of a chaconne or passacaille as a large-scale organizational feature. Demonstrating the varying nature and dramatic functions of these dances in each work will show where the compositional priorities of Lully and Charpentier differ or are similar. I take a quantitative approach here following the robust use of statistics in Wood's *Music and*

⁵⁵⁶ Pintiaux, in "Médée within the repertory," takes a similar position, highlighting the ways that *Médée* interacts with the genre of tragédie en musique "from the inside" of the genre (252), in order to show how it drew upon models such as Lully's *Thésée* and *Armide* (which also prominently feature the sorceress character) and went on to influence later operas.

Drama in the Tragédie en Musique. I find that the reduction of the musical elements to percentages and ratios most clearly shows the extent to which *David et Jonathas* participates within the genre of *tragédie en musique*. Further, the differences between *David et Jonathas* and *Médée* indicate how flexibly Charpentier adapted his methods to set two highly dissimilar livrets.

The Distribution of Musical Sub-genres

Beyond the issue of compositional style, the fact that *David et Jonathas* was first presented interwoven with the Latin play *Saül* necessarily informed the conception of the work by Charpentier and Bretonneau. For the February theatrical productions given at the Collège de Clermont between 1684 and 1688, *tragédies en musique* replaced the ballets that had for so many decades functioned as *intermèdes* to the Latin tragedies written by the Jesuit fathers. Since the *tragédie en musique* tells a continuous story, however, the relationship between the drama of the spoken tragedy and that of the interwoven lyric required more common elements than the inclusion of a ballet did. The episodic nature of ballet—that is, its succession of *entrées* that are often only vaguely thematically connected—makes it a more suitable genre to function as an *intermède*.⁵⁵⁷ By contrast, the plot overlap between the tragedy and the *tragédie en musique* was more concrete, so determining how to arrange the same tale through two different means required some attention. The authors focused on characters and events in the opera that most allowed the music to enhance the spectacle and underlying passions of the story, particularly that of

⁵⁵⁷ The fairly detachable nature of ballet *entrées* is further evidenced by their reassembly into concerts of “fragments”—pastiches consisting sometimes of works by Lully and others over forty years old by the time of their reuse. *Tragédies en musique* were not pilfered for material in the same way. See Harris-Warrick, *Dance and Drama*, 289–290, and her Appendix 2, which lists these concerts of fragments and

love, as demonstrated in the previous chapter. Since spoken declamation far more efficiently conveys the text of the story than song, the operas had less of an obligation to convey the action, the task usually delegated to recitative.⁵⁵⁸ Therefore, less recitative was necessary in the Jesuit operas in general, yet enough of the plot was conveyed in each of the operas so as to make them dramatically self-contained. The result is that the Jesuit operas can be considered complete in terms of plot—operas in every sense—and yet they devote less time to action and more to the inner drama of the characters and to those components usually most concentrated in the *divertissements* of French operas: dance, chorus, and air. That the *divertissement* elements were largely inherited from the *ballet de cour* only makes this preference for spectacle more logical since these operas replaced the Jesuits' ballet *intermèdes* in the winter performances of the mid 1680s.⁵⁵⁹ Further, Charpentier's own experience writing *pastorales* for Mademoiselle de Guise's household entertainments may also have contributed to the stronger representation of *divertissement* elements, as will be explored in more detail later.

indicates their components.

⁵⁵⁸ On the theoretical problems between spoken declamation and lyric tragedy, see Kintzler, *Poétique*, 359–394.

⁵⁵⁹ Norman makes the connection between the ballet *intermèdes* inserted into Italian operas performed in France with the development of the *divertissements* within the *tragédie en musique*. See *Touched by the Graces*, 42.

Table 3.1. Musical elements by percentage of total bars ⁵⁶⁰

Instrumental	Dance	Recit	Metrical Recit	Air	Chorus
<i>Armide</i>					
8%	19%	16%	4%	39%	14%
<i>David et Jonathas</i>					
13%	12%	7%	10%	39%	19%
<i>Médée</i>					
10%	15%	17%	8%	33%	16%

The paucity of recitative in *David et Jonathas* naturally makes it less resemble a work of Lully's. As Caroline Wood has observed regarding Lully's works, "the music was never allowed to dominate the drama."⁵⁶¹ As I will demonstrate, this was the greatest reason that Charpentier's operas differed from those of Lully. Table 3.1 gives the percentage of bars taken up by each of the following components in the three operas surveyed here: recitative, airs, dances, instrumental music, and chorus. The sixth category, metrical recitative, is the term used here to describe passages that are highly declamatory but suggest that they must be performed in relatively strict tempo, unlike recitative. These passages may or may not be tonally closed, and they generally employ

⁵⁶⁰ Duets are counted as airs. Any larger vocal ensemble are counted as chorus. The boundary between "air" and "metrical recitative" is often hard to articulate. I weighed three elements: lyricism (which is admittedly hard to define), tonal closure (preferable for an air), and formal text repetition (resulting in a form such as aba or abb, again preferable for "air"). The division between "dance" and "instrumental" relies on either named dances or binary- or rondeau-form structures named "air" for certain characters listed as *dansants* in the livret (e.g., "air pour les démons", where the livret specifies "démons dansants" in the scene). If the score contained a verbal instruction to repeat a previous passage of music that was not written out, I did not count the reprise. Likewise, in passages that have a repeat indicated by a repeat sign, I only counted the bars that comprise them once. The decision to exclude repeats is not a perfect one: part of the rationale behind my decision was to privilege the amount of original material the composer provides as opposed to the total time the audience witnesses each musical subcategory. If I had aimed to show the latter, working off of recording timings rather than bars might have been preferable, but in that case, repeats are sometimes cut. (And, of course, tempo variations between recordings make this method unreliable.) Whenever there are discrepancies between printed sources regarding whether repeats are written out or indicated in text or by repeat sign, I followed the earliest printed source. Regarding significance, I consider 5% or more to be quite significant. Most statistics texts suggest that this percentage is the most common choice for a level of significance. See, for example, Schuyler Huck, *Reading Statistics and Research* (Boston, MA: Pearson, 2008), 163.

⁵⁶¹ Wood, *Music and Drama*, 15.

little text repetition.⁵⁶² As discussed in the previous chapter, this study follows contemporary descriptions that indicate that recitatives were not performed in a measured fashion. Given that French classification schemes for recitatives came a generation or two after the period in question here, I will not use them, preferring the simple distinction of “recitative” (unmeasured) and “metrical recitative” (measured).⁵⁶³

Table 3.2. Poetic analysis of each work⁵⁶⁴

	<i>Armide</i>	<i>David et Jonathas</i>	<i>Médée</i>
Total length in lines	835	495	1159
Total length in bars	3740	3554	5193
Ratio of bars to lines	4.5:1	7.2:1	4.5:1
Avg. length of scene (lines)	36	19	31
% dialogue lines	61%	51%	70%
% monologue lines	9%	23%	3%
% lines in divertissements	30%	25%	27%
% lines set in recitative(†)	54%	33%	63%
% lines set as air	32%	43%	27%
% lines set as metrical recit	14%	24%	10%
	(*) Statistics for <i>Armide</i> (recit, air, met. Recit.) from Wood, 53 (†) Lines for choruses disregarded.		

⁵⁶² James Anthony has pointed out the need for an intermediate category between air and recitative (he calls it air-recitative). His criteria for this are similar to mine (which I give in note 5), weighing the issue of tonal closure, text repetitions, and a consideration of whether the text is “action-oriented or more contemplative.” He states that defining these hybrid passages is “not *entirely* arbitrary” (emphasis mine), implying that it must to some degree come down to a judgment call. See “The Musical Structure of Lully’s Operatic Airs,” in *Jean-Baptiste Lully: Acts du colloque*, ed. Jérôme de La Gorce and Herbert Schneider (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1990), 66–67.

⁵⁶³ For a concise description of the evolution of terminology surrounding French recitative, see Charles Dill, “Eighteenth-Century Models of French Recitative,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 120, no. 2 (1995): 232–250. Many writers followed the terminology employed by Rousseau in his *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1768), under the entry on “recitative”, 399–405. Wood, in *Music and Drama*, uses the term “metrical recitative” in alternation with “air/recitative”, I follow her by using only the former of these terms because I find the latter a bit cumbersome.

⁵⁶⁴ In his *Catalogue Raisonné* (Paris: Picard, 1982), H. Wiley Hitchcock gives the total length of *David et Jonathas* as 3524 bars (358), and *Médée* as 4238 (361). The number for *Médée* is certainly wrong, as Hitchcock breaks the bar counts down by scene; adding these yields a total of 5138. Even still, I acknowledge that my counts and his counts are slightly off from one another. Checking Hitchcock’s bar counts per scene shows that, at times, his are one or two off from my count, which may partly explain the discrepancy. I consistently count first and second endings whereas Hitchcock does not. Moreover, since my total is derived from the concatenation of the counts broken up by genre, a bar here or there may have been counted twice in my methodology due to a dovetail between one passage and the next. Because the total numbers are so high, however, a few bars’ difference here or there does not dramatically affect the statistics that I derive from these counts, and both of our methods may be slightly flawed.

One will immediately notice that the greatest portion of each work in Table 3.1 consists of air across all three works. Table 3.2 puts this into better context, breaking down the works by the nature of their poetic lines. One of the most striking aspects of *David et Jonathas* is the ratio of music (in total number of bars) to poetry (in total number of lines). While *Armide* and *Médée* feature roughly the same ratio (4.5 bars per line of poetry), *David et Jonathas* has 7.2 bars of music for each line of poetry. The livret is only slightly longer than half of *Armide* (495 lines vs. 835), yet the number of measures in the two works is almost equal. Therefore, Charpentier put forth an effort to construct an opera on the same musical dimensions as one of Lully's works, even though Bretonneau's livret is not of the same dimensions as one of Quinault's.⁵⁶⁵ The shorter livret in the Jesuit work is partly due to its lesser employment of dialogue, as shown by Table 3.2. One will also note a clear correlation between the percentage of dialogue lines and lines set as recitative across all three works. There is also a correlation between the amount of monologue with the degree of metrical recitative employed. The next section will explain this element more thoroughly.

The percentage of poetic lines devoted to *divertissement* is also remarkable: the three works are within a 5% range, though Bretonneau provided the least text for that portion of *David et Jonathas*, with only 25%. However, *Armide* and *David et Jonathas* contain the close to the same percentage of *music* in the two genres most associated with *divertissements*, chorus and dance: adding these categories from Table 3.1 yields a sum of 31% for *David et Jonathas* and 33% for *Armide*.⁵⁶⁶ Thus, we see how the amount of

⁵⁶⁵ And Thomas Corneille must be said to be quite long-winded, with *Médée* having nearly 4/3 the number of lines as Quinault's *Armide*.

⁵⁶⁶ Despite the fact that airs form a significant part of the music in *divertissements*, my tabulation of air also includes those from dialogue and monologue scenes, so I do not include that portion here.

music Charpentier provides outweighs the analogous amount of text. Another aspect that increases the disparity of *divertissement* in *Jonathas* is the inclusion of multiple *divertissements* in a single act. Whereas in Lully’s works the *divertissement* generally appears only once per act, Acts I and V in *Jonathas* employ two, at either end of the acts. Table 3.3 shows the distribution of the *divertissements* across the three works considered here. One will note the lesser role played by dance in *Jonathas*.

Table 3.3. Divertissement structures in the three operas⁵⁶⁷

<i>Armide</i>	Type	Structure	<i>D&J</i>	Type	Structure	<i>Médée</i>	Type	Structure
I.3	Fête		I.1	Fête		I.6	Fête	
		March			March			Air (Un corinthien)
		Air (Hidarot)			Air (un de peuple)			Chorus (repeat of air)
		Chorus			Chorus (repeat of air)			Air (Oronte)
		Rondeau			Air (un berger)			Chorus
		Sarabande			Chorus (shepherds)			Chorus
		Chorus en rondeau			Air (un guerrier)			Rondeau
II.4	Pastoral				Chorus*			Second Air (dance)
		Air (Nymphé)			Duet (2 captifs)			Duet (en Sarabande)
		Chorus (Bergers)			Air (un guerrier)			Sarabande
		Premier Air (dance)			Chorus (reprise)*	II.7	Parnassian	
		Second Air (dance)	I.4	Fête				Prelude
		Air (Bergère)			(Dialogue: Achis, David)			Chorus
		Second Air (reprise)			Air (Achis)			Air (un Argien)
		Premier Air (reprise)			Chorus			Chorus
		Air (Bergère)			Duet (2 captifs)			Air (L'Amour)
		Chorus (reprise)			Chorus			Dialogue (L'Amour, Creuse)

⁵⁶⁷ The “types” of the divertissements used here are based on Wood, *Music and Drama*, 248. I separate her rather vague “Human” category into “fête”, “martial”, and “lament”, depending on the dramatic situation. Her “magic” category I call “infernal.” “Pastoral” requires shepherds or nymphs. “Parnassian” requires allegorical characters who celebrate the pleasures of love.

<i>Armide</i>	Type	Structure	<i>D&J</i>	Type	Structure	<i>Médée</i>	Type	Structure
III.4	Infernal				Menuet			Chaconne
		Prelude	II.3	Pastoral				Passacaille
		Met. Rec. (La Haine)			Dialogue: Jonathan, David			Suite de la Passacaille
		Ritournelle			Chaconne	III.6–7	Infernal	
		Air (La Haine)	III.4	Martial				Dialogue (Médée, Jalousie)
		Chorus (repeat of air)			Air (Joadab)			Chorus
		Premier Air (dance)			Chorus (repeat of air)			Dialogue (Médée, Jalousie)
		Air (La Haine)			Gigue			Premier Air (dance)
		Chorus (repeat of air)	IV.5	Martial				Invocation (Médée, Jalousie)
		Chorus			Dialogue (Joadab, Achis)			Second Air (dance)
		Second Air (dance)			Air (Achis)			Duet (Jalouise, Vengeance)
		Dialogue (La Haine/Armide)			Chorus (repeat of air)			Chorus (repeat of duet)
		Passepiéd			Rigaudon	IV.7	Infernal	
IV.2	Pastoral				Bourrée			Prelude
		Chorus	V.4	Lament				Air (Médée)
		Gavotte			Dialogue (David, Jonathan)			Premier Air (dance)
		Canaries			Air (David)			Chorus
		Recit. (Ubalde/Le Chevalier)			Chorus			Dance for the Phantoms
		Air (Lucinde)	V.6	Fête				Duet (Phantoms)
		Chorus (repeat of air)			March			Chorus
		Divertissement ends			Dialogue (David, Achis)			Ritornelle
V.2	Parnassian				Prelude	V.3	Lament	
		Passacaille			Chorus			Dialogue (Creuse, Cleone)
								Chorus

Referring back to Table 3.1, the role played by instrumental passages outside of dance—préludes and ritournelles—is greater in Charpentier’s works, particularly in

David et Jonathas, which also features a greater proportion of chorus than either other work. Bretonneau used the chorus frequently, and Charpentier employs in their musical setting a great deal of text repetition, though Lully often does this as well for rhetorical emphasis. One can compare, for instance, the copious repetition of text in moments of heightened spectacle, such as in the panegyrical choruses in the prologue to *Armide* and in the first act of *Jonathas*. The average length of each chorus in *Armide* is roughly 41 bars, and in *Jonathas*, 44; therefore, the scale of the choruses between the two works is about the same. There are, however, two very long choral sections over 100 bars long in Act V of Charpentier's Jesuit work, the first extending David's lament over Jonathan (V.4), and the second acting as the fête for David's coronation. The latter sets only four short lines (two of which have only 5 and 6 syllables), though the words are repeated and rearranged in the livret as a rhetorical effort to emphasize them:

Du plus grand des Heros, chantons la gloire.
Trompettes & Tambours
Annoncez sa victoire.
Que toujours sous ses loix on passe d'heureux jours.
Chantons, chantons as gloire;
Annoncez sa victoire
Trompettes & Tambours.

(To the greatest of heroes, let us sing, let us sing of his renown.
Trumpets and drums
Announce his victory.
Would that we always pass our days in happiness under his laws.
Let us sing, let us sing of his renown;
Announce his victory
Trumpets and drums.)⁵⁶⁸

Charpentier sets these lines with the form shown in Table 3.4, stretching them out as much as possible. The extent to which Charpentier lavishes this text with music exceeds any such effort in the choruses of *Armide*. The second half of this chorus consists of a

varied repetition of the first half, and it is this sort of large-scale repetition which points to a disproportionate relationship between the music and the text. A similar procedure is adopted in the chorus “Que d’épais bataillons” in *Médée* (I.6), which Wood has analyzed.⁵⁶⁹ This chorus also employs a two-part parallel structure, with the music of the first half subjected to variation in the second half while still being recognizable. It too has a text consisting of only six lines. Such a treatment of choruses, therefore, is one of the ways that Charpentier lavishes the text with a generous musical setting.

Table 3.4. Structure of the Chorus “De plus grand des heros” (V.6)⁵⁷⁰

Forces:	Inst. Prelude	Achis	Petit choeur	Vlins.+cont	Achis	Petit choeur	
Text:		“Du plus grand”	“Chantons”		“Que toujours”	“Chantons”	
Music:		A	B	B'	C	B''	
Tonality:	C	→ G G →	→ a	a → a^	→ d^ → V/G	→ G → C	
Bars:	[23]	1–16	17–33	34–41	42–49	50–72	
Forces:	Grand choeur	Inst.	Petite choeur	Inst.	Grand choeur	Inst.	Grand choeur
Text:	“Du plus grand”		“Chantons”		“Que toujours”		“Chantons”
Music:	A'	X	B	B'	C'		B''
Tonality:	C → G	G	→ a	a → a^	→ d^ → V/G	→	→ G → C
Bars:	73–84	85–91	92–108	109–116	117–121	122–129	130–152

Though the representation of *divertissement* elements is nearly equal by percentage between *Armide* and *David et Jonathas*, as stated above, chorus forms much more of the bulk of it in the Jesuit opera. Dance takes up only 12% of the music of *Jonathas*, compared to the 19% of *Armide*. Part of this difference has to do with the inclusion of a chaconne or passacaille in the two works: both operas use one of these dances, whose endless variations provide structure for the large part of a scene, but the

⁵⁶⁸ Bretonneau, *David et Jonathas*, 42.

⁵⁶⁹ Wood, *Music and Drama*, 149.

⁵⁷⁰ In all of the charts provided, the tonality is listed with a capital letter (e.g., A), for major keys and a lower-case letter (e.g., a) for minor keys. A caret (^) indicates a Picardy third at the final cadence of the

passacaille in *Armide* is longer than the chaconne in *David et Jonathas* (309 vs. 245 bars, respectively).⁵⁷¹ Additionally, there are 15 shorter dances in *Armide* excluding the passacaille, whereas there are only 4 in *Jonathas* (see Table 3.5). *Médée* also features far more individual dances, with 13.

Table 3.5. The named dances in *David et Jonathas*

Location	Dance	Length	Potential dancers
I.4	Menuet	32 bars	Troupes of Warriors and of Captives
II.3	Chaconne	281 bars	Troupes of the escorts of David and Jonathan
III.4	Gigue	32 bars	Troupe of Joadab's followers
IV.5	Rigaudon	20 bars	Troupes of Israelites and Philistines
IV.5	Bourrée	20 bars	

Moreover, neither the livret nor the surviving score clarifies whether the dances in *Jonathas* were, in fact, danced. Their placement at the end of acts could mean that they functioned as entr'actes to transition from the opera back to the Latin play.⁵⁷² Presumably, some manner of scene change and blocking had to happen to effect this process, and the dances could have covered any noise or tedium of it.⁵⁷³ Given the strong emphasis on ballet training at the school, however, the pupils may have actually danced during these pieces, but the livret does not offer any form of the word “danser.” Nevertheless, there is always some crowd onstage at the end of the scenes where these dances occur (see again Table 3.5), so it logically follows that they could have been choreographed. The bodies

section. An arrow (→) indicates a modulation in progress.

⁵⁷¹ I consistently counted the chaconnes and passacailles across all three works as one unit under the category “dance”, despite the fact that individuals and the chorus sing during within these forms. The instruction in the score for the reprise of the passacaille in *Armide* is not counted here, as I consistently discounted reprises.

⁵⁷² Cessac believes this was their function. See “Tragédie latine,” 207.

⁵⁷³ For an overview of the staging of Jesuit theatrical works, see François Dainville, “Décoration Théâtrale dans les Collèges des Jésuites au XVIIe siècle,” *Revue d'Histoire du Théâtre* 3, no. 4 (1951): 355–374. Dainville notes that very specific descriptions of scene changes in the printed synopses of Jesuit tragedies are very rare, though there is one example that he cites showing different sets for each act (362). It was typical practice to use two different casts for the spoken tragedy and the ballets or operas. See Boyse, *Théâtre*, 113–366.

required were present, in any case.

As Rebecca Harris-Warrick has observed, dance in the *tragédie en musique* serves a range of functions, from the purely celebratory to the representation of crucial plot elements conveyed through dance and pantomime.⁵⁷⁴ Though not explicitly specified in any of the extant sources, there are places where dance could have been employed in *David et Jonathas* according to usual practice in the *tragédie en musique*.⁵⁷⁵ There are passages in the prologue which are not named dances but rather stretches of instrumental outbursts which punctuate the witch's invocations as she attempts to conjure the ghost of Samuel (see Chapter 1, Ex. 1.2). These may have been danced by the troupe of demons mentioned in the livret as participants in the scene.⁵⁷⁶ The livret specifies in P.3 that the demons “present themselves” to the witch and thereafter become “prostrated”, after which they “demonstrate [...] that nothing is appearing” when the first summoning attempt fails.⁵⁷⁷ Moreover, it was common practice to alternate singing and dancing in the extended choruses of celebratory fêtes such as those present in Act I of this opera, with the instrumental interludes of the choruses choreographed.⁵⁷⁸ This indeed may have been the case in *Jonathas*, though in Lully and Quinault’s operas the livret typically specifies participants in the scene *who sing* and those *who dance*, none of whom were required to do both. The chorus was essentially immobile around the perimeter of the stage while the

⁵⁷⁴ Harris-Warrick, “‘Toute danse doit exprimer, peindre...’ Finding the Drama in the Operatic Divertissement,” *Basler Jahrbuch für Historische Musikpraxis* 23 (1999): 195.

⁵⁷⁵ I did not, of course, count these passages toward the percentage of dance, given the lack of evidence that they were danced. Likewise, in the choruses of *Armide* and *Médée* where dance could have occurred, I did not count instrumental passages toward “dance.” I only counted named dances and “airs” for dancing.

⁵⁷⁶ This is a common dramatic device found in many operas, including the prologue to *Cadmus et Hermione*. Harris-Warrick also mentions the ubiquity of dancing demons in infernal scenes (“Toute danse,” 195).

⁵⁷⁷ Bretonneau, *David et Jonathas*, 6.

⁵⁷⁸ Harris-Warrick, “Toute danse,” 194. See also Harris-Warrick, *Dance and Drama*, 45–58.

dancers acted as “their moving surrogates.”⁵⁷⁹ Such a distinction between the participants is not mentioned in *David et Jonathas*. Both the terms “troupe” and “chœur” are used to describe the crowd of people onstage, but there is no obvious distinction that these words describe dancers and singers, respectively. However, it is possible that the chorus members danced (breaking the usual rules followed on the stage of the Académie), or that the usual division of singers and dancers was maintained in these scenes. There is at the very least a stage direction in I.4 describing that a chorus of David’s captives sing “*while placing* [en mettant] their chains at David’s feet.” This stage direction suggests a chorus that both sings and moves, as opposed to one removed from the action, but it is unclear. Regardless, dance would have been a welcome component to the celebrations in Act I and Act V during the instrumental interludes Charpentier provides.

Ménestrier mentions David’s triumphant return to Israel in 1 Samuel 18 as an occasion where the Bible condones dance:

One must be either in bad humor or ignorant to write as some have done, that it is crime that a Christian should dance. Holy Scripture is not as severe as these ill-humored people; it does not condemn it as an abuse. The dances done around the Golden Fleece, and those of the daughter of Herodias are the criminal dances that it defends, but those of the Jewish women on the return of Saul and David, after the defeat of the Philistines, were an innocent dance, that the Book of Kings specifies as a glorious thing to the memory of David.⁵⁸⁰

This celebration of 1 Samuel 18 seems to be the one upon which Bretonneau modeled those of Act I, even though it occurred before David’s defeat of the Amalekites, which the livret specifies is the reason for the *fête*. That defeat of the Amalekites described in 1

⁵⁷⁹ Harris-Warrick, “Toute danse,” 193.

⁵⁸⁰ Ménestrier, *Des ballets anciens et modernes*, 14–15. “Il faut être ou de mauvaise humeur, ou ignorant pour écrire comme ont fait quelques-uns, que c’est un crime à un Chrétien de danser. L’Ecriture Sainte n’est pas si severe que ces chagrins, elle n’en condamne que l’abus. Les dances faites autour du Veau d’or, & celles de la fille d’Herodias sont des dances criminelles qu’elle defend, mais celles des femmes Juives au retour de Saül & de David, apres la défaite des Philistins, fut une dance innocente, que l’Histoire des Rois a remarquée comme une chose glorieuse à la memoire de David.”

Samuel 30 is a grim story, and no subsequent celebration is mentioned in Scripture. Thus, given the liberty taken with the story here to insert a *fête*, the potential for dance was certainly present. Though dance plays a more modest role in this opera, it at least gives a nod to the role it plays in Lully's *tragédies en musique*. In both the infernal scene of the prologue and the celebratory *fêtes*, dance—if it occurred—would play an important dramatic function cited by Harris-Warrick, which is the representation of an individual's power, either evil (the witch) or good (David), to “put all these bodies into motion.”⁵⁸¹

The strong representation of chorus, air, and instrumental music in *David et Jonathas* (see again Table 3.1), though partly arising out of the work's *intermède* function, may also stem from Charpentier's experience writing *pastorales*. As a genre, the *pastorale* could take on many different forms. John Powell traces its development in France starting from a Renaissance literary movement to its strong influence on the first French operas, such as those of Pierre Perrin (see Chapter 1).⁵⁸² The loose theoretical stipulations on what the *pastorale* genre entails are obvious from D'Aubignac's description of it:

The *pastorale* took on a mixture of serious and light-hearted things, as it suffered the mixture of people of quality and more rustic crowds [...] It was nothing but a little piece of poetry called *Idylle* or *Eclogue* made up of fifty or sixty lines at the most, sung or recited by a single man, sometimes by two, and rarely by many: In it, one saw shepherds, hunters, fishermen, gardeners, laborers, satyrs, and nymphs, and in the end, all sorts of rural inhabitants. One heard only the *plaintes* of lovers, the cruelty of the shepherdesses [...] and a thousand other little sweet and entertaining adventures.[...] It was also a dramatic poem governed by the rules of the theater, where the satyrs are mixed with heroes and illustrious persons, representing together serious incidents with buffoonery and other ridiculous actions.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸¹ Harris-Warrick, “Toute danse,” 199.

⁵⁸² Powell, *Music and Theatre*, 160–229, 293–320. Powell cites the interest in *pastorale* literature beginning with French translations of works such as Torquato Tasso's *Aminta* (1585), and Giambattista Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* (1585), among others (160).

⁵⁸³ D'Aubignac, *Pratique du théâtre*, vol. 2, 130. “La *Satyrique* ou *Pastorale* portoit un mélange de choses serieuses & de bouffonnes, comme elle avoit souffert le mélange des personnes de condition & des

Reflecting this description of the *pastorales* of the ancients, modern French pastoral dramas ranged from short, intimate works to fully staged works performed on the stage of the Académie Royale. Regardless of the scale of the works, the most important features were the types of characters (those listed by D'Aubignac) and the prominent position held by love in the story. As Harris-Warrick puts it, "'Pastorale' designated a realm and type of character; as a genre it also indicated a work with a continuous storyline, but whose structures could vary from one act to five."⁵⁸⁴ The *pastorales* Charpentier composed for Mlle de Guise leaned toward the shorter side: they were conceived in a few scenes that nevertheless abound with musical ingenuity, to be brought to life by the comparatively modest resources of her *music* (that is, versus those of the Académie).⁵⁸⁵

One such piece was *Actéon* (1684), whose exact performance circumstances are not known. It is not even clear to what extent the work was staged.⁵⁸⁶ This work exemplifies many elements of the *pastorale*, and Charpentier's experience composing it just four years before *David et Jonathas* may have influenced his approach to the latter. The work indeed revolves around nymphs and takes place in a rustic setting. What is more, Powell has identified the importance of the chorus to the seventeenth-century

gens de la Campagne, des Heros & des Satyres: [...] ce n'étoit rien qu'une petite Pièce de Poësie nommée *Idille* ou *Eglogue* composée de cinquante ou soixante vers au plus, chantée ou recitée par un homme seul, quelquefois par deux, & rarement par plusieurs: Là se voioient des Bergers, des Chasseurs, des Pêcheurs, des Jardiniers, des Laboureurs, des Satyres, des Nymphes, & enfin toutes sortes de personnes champêtres: Là ne s'entendoient que plaintes d'Amans, que cruauté de Bergeres [...] & mille autres petites aventures douces & divertissantes. [...] L'autre étoit un Poëme Dramatique conduit par les regles du Theatre, & où les Satyres principalement furent mêlez aux Heros & aux personnes illustres, representans tous ensemble des Incidens graves & sérieux avec des fouffonneries & autres actions ridicules."

⁵⁸⁴ Harris-Warrick, *Dance and Drama*, 207.

⁵⁸⁵ The Guise musical establishment consisted in 1684 of eleven singers, many of whom doubling as maids and ladies in waiting, along with a core trio of two treble viol players, two flutes, and continuo. See Ranum, *Portraits*, 196–201.

⁵⁸⁶ The score notes that the work is set "in the valley of Garagaphie", and it also mentions that the title character appears as a stag after his transformation by Diana. These details suggest some elements of staging, but *Actéon* also describes seeing his transformation in a pool, suggesting that the action partially

French *pastorale*, whose purpose is “to affirm as a group the normative values of this pastoral utopia.”⁵⁸⁷ As the emphasis is on the songs that shepherds were wont to sing, Charpentier’s characters sing predominantly in air, emphasizing “songishness” over declamation. It also seems that Charpentier merely had a personal preference for air over recitative as a vocal medium. Table 3.6 gives an analysis of the percentages of musical subgenres in the work. One will note, as in *David et Jonathas*, the importance of air, chorus, and instrumental music. Charpentier’s experience composing in this genre may have influenced which modes of musical expression he emphasized in his Jesuit opera.

Table 3.6. The distribution of musical subgenres in *Actéon*.

Instrumental	Dance	Recit	Metrical Recit	Air	Chorus
24%	3%	6%	3%	33%	31%

Some of the idiosyncrasies of *David et Jonathas* have now been explained, particularly with regard to dance and chorus. A more profound difference between *Jonathas* and the other works considered here is the treatment of the vocal writing, between recitative, metrical recitative, and air. The next section examines this difference.

Monologue and Power, both over Self and over the Supernatural

As Table 3.1 shows, *David et Jonathas* employs a greater amount of metrical recitative than *Armide* or *Médée*. This results from the preponderance of monologues in Charpentier’s and Bretonneau’s collaboration. As Wood has discussed, metrical recitative—particularly with orchestral accompaniment— lends itself well to soliloquy,

took place in the listeners’ imagination.

⁵⁸⁷ Powell, *Music and Theatre*, 179.

because it combines the “expressive flexibility of recitative with the ability of the orchestra to underline the dramatic nature of the situation.”⁵⁸⁸ Orchestra-accompanied recitative naturally must rely on more of a steady pulse than continuo-accompanied recitative, due to the need to coordinate the entire orchestra with the singer. Though the singer may employ some flexibility, the orchestra cannot follow the fluctuating beat of recitative with the ease that the smaller continuo group can. Therefore, the practice of maintaining a regular beat is more likely when the orchestra accompanies declamatory passages.⁵⁸⁹ Of course, not all monologues are delivered in metrical recitative; some are carried by unmeasured recitative or air; in the latter case, they are replete with formal text repetition and some form of recurring musical idea. Though she calls it a “natural” choice for monologue, Wood states that metrical, orchestra-accompanied recitative is not the “automatic” selection for Lully.⁵⁹⁰ One could say, however, that it is much more so for Charpentier. The abundance of monologue in *David et Jonathas*—and the disproportionate music-to-text ratio in these scenes as in others—is one of the most divergent traits separating the work from other *tragédies en musique*. However, the procedures used by the two composers do have one similarity, which is that profuse emotion brings about disruptions in musical unity and form. It is the greater degree to which Charpentier’s music responds to the emotional demands of the drama that sets him apart from Lully, particularly in *David et Jonathas*.

Blake Stevens has discussed how the idea of monologue in opera is an element of

⁵⁸⁸ Wood, *Music and Drama*, 214. Wood uses the term “air/recitative” interchangeably with “metrical recitative”, whereas I use only the latter.

⁵⁸⁹ The examples of orchestra-accompanied recitative in the works examined here frequently do not merely use the orchestra as “punctuation” as in the Italian-style *recitativo accompagnato* emerging at the end of the seventeenth century. Instead, the strings often play even homophonically with the singer, making a pulse nearly non-negotiable.

⁵⁹⁰ Wood, *Music and Drama*, 214.

genre that one can consider outside of musical subtypes such as air and recitative.⁵⁹¹ He acknowledges, however, that the term “monologue” did not come into common use in connection with opera until the eighteenth century, though Ménéstrier first mentions it in his *Des Representations Anciens et Modernes* (1681), where he comments that

The Italians love the monologue very much, or rather the recitation of an individual, because they choose an excellent voice, which is sustained in concert by theorbos and harpsichords. The variety of passions that they express in these prologues shows everything that recitative music can do, and that is where they create their ultimate efforts to succeed.⁵⁹²

Ménéstrier therefore notes that in Italian practice at least, continuo-accompanied recitative is the normal choice of medium for monologues. However, Stevens goes on to mention Le Cerf de Vieville, who in his *Comparaison* references Lully's monologues such as “Bois épais” from *Amadis* (II.4) and “Enfin il est en ma puissance” from *Armide* (II.5).⁵⁹³ Le Cerf, as Stevens points out, does not use the term “monologue,” referring to the scene in *Amadis* as simply “air.”⁵⁹⁴ The disparity in terminology here between Ménéstrier and Le Cerf arises from the variety of musical techniques composers such as Lully and Charpentier used to set monologue scenes, with the boundary between recitative and air often becoming quite fluid.

⁵⁹¹ Blake Stevens, “Monologue Conflicts: The Terms of Operatic Criticism in Pierre Estève and Jean-Jacques Rousseau,” *The Journal of Musicology* 29, no. 1 (Winter 2012): 8.

⁵⁹² Ménéstrier, *Des representations*, 213–214. “Les Italiens aiment fort le Monologue ou le recit d’un seul, parce qu’ils choisissent une excellente voix, qui est soutenuë d’un concert de Tuorbes & de Clavessins. La variété des Passions qu’ils expriment en ces Prologues, fait voir tout ce que peut la Musique recitative, & c’est là qu’ils font leurs derniers efforts pour réussir.”

⁵⁹³ Stevens, “Monologue,” 10.

Table 3.7. Monologues across the three operas

Act/Sc.	Character	Length (bars)	# of poetic Lines			
David et Jonathas						
P.1	Saul	87	15			
P.3	(Witch)	153	27	Invocation		
I.3	David	139	18			
III.2	Saul	148	16			
IV.1	David	55	9			
IV.3	Jonathas	142	22			
V.1	(Jonathas)	38	4			
Total		718	111			
Avg. Length		117	18	Bars per line:		6.5
Armide						
II.3	Renaud	111	11			
II.5	Armide	98	29	Invocation		
III.1	Armide	33	13			
III.3	Armide	33	9			
V.5	Armide	117	24			
Total		392	86			
Avg. Length		78	17	Bars per line:		4.6
Médée						
III.3	Médée	94	20			
III.V	Médée	42	2	Invocation		
IV.9	Creon	49	15			
V.7	Jason	13	5			
Total		198	42			
Avg. Length		50	11	Bars per line:		4.7

An examination of Charpentier’s monologues confirms that he preferred a more fluid approach than Lully. These passages often wander in tonality and regularity of meter and tempo, employing the orchestra to create an atmosphere through textures and rich harmonies that underpin the singer's inner psyche. Table 3.7 shows the length and frequency of monologue scenes in the three operas considered here. The frequency of monologues is of course the result of the respective librettists' choices, while the composer determines length of the corresponding musical passages. The average number of bars per musical line is an approximate measure of the extent to which the composers

⁵⁹⁴ Stevens, “Monologue,” 12.

used (written out or varied) repetition, instrumental passages, or other means of elongating the musical setting of the poetry. This number is highest in *Jonathas* (6.5 bars per line), whereas in *Médée*, Charpentier set his monologues much more efficiently. This is especially true for the monologues of the male characters, Creon and Jason (see Table 3.8): Jason delivers his soliloquy (V.7) entirely in continuo-accompanied recitative, while Creon's is in orchestrally-accompanied metrical recitative. Neither employs textual repetition. The orchestra gives only a short prelude to Creon's monologue, with no further interpolations on its own; it functions primarily as a harmonic frame around Creon's recitative. Jason's monologue occurs after he has witnessed the death of his beloved Créuse, and Creon's arises when he is left alone with horrible visions cast in his mind by Médée's sorcery. Because both characters are in altered mental states caused either by grief or magic, they are beyond reason and, in the moment, powerless. Though the dramatic context (Jason's in particular) might have warranted more extensive musical treatment in these monologues, Charpentier keeps the scenes relatively brief and opts for recitative as the primary musical medium.

Table 3.8. Structure of Monologues in *Médée*

	Médée							
Scene	III.3	Médée						
Genre	AIR							
Forces	orch.	voc+orch				voc+cont	voc+orch	
Bars	1–5	6–35	36–40	41–45	46–60	61–65	66–78	79–94
Tonality	d → d	d → d	d → F	F → C	C → F	F → V/d	V/d → V/d	V/g → V/d
Meter	3/2		3	3/2	3	3/2	ç 3/2	
Form		aba						a'
Scene	III.5	Médée						
Genre	<u>PRELUDE</u>	<u>MET REC</u>						
Forces	orch	voc+orch	Orch					
Bars	1–27	28–37	38–43					
Tonality	g → g	g → Bb	Bb → Bb					
Meter		2						
Form								
Scene	IV.9	Créon						
Genre	<u>MET REC</u>							
Forces	orch	voc+orch						
Bars	1–11	12–49						
Tonality	F → F	F → F						
Meter	ç	Mixed						
Form								
Scene	V.7	Jason						
Genre	<u>RECIT</u>							
Forces	voc+cont	Orch						
Bars	1–7	8–13						
Tonality	F → F	F → Bb						
Meter	mixed	C						
Form								

Médée, however, has two far more extensive monologues. Whereas the ratio of music to text for the male characters' soliloquies is 3.1 bars per poetic line, Médée's monologues double that, at 6.2 bars per poetic line, by virtue of much greater use of the orchestra. Most notably, Charpentier bookends the two lines that Thomas Corneille provides for her invocation of demons (III.5) with long orchestral passages, which function primarily to set up an affect of astonishment in the audience. Example 3.1 gives

the orchestral prelude to the incantation “Black daughters of [the River] Styx, frightful divinities, leave your awful prisons” (“Noires filles du Styx, Divinitez terribles, / Quittez, quittez vos affreuses prisons”). The low tessitura of the string parts, along with the specific color added by the bassoons, helps to intensify the dissonances due to the low register.⁵⁹⁵ The use of a dominant chord over a tonic pedal in m. 3 creates a biting trio of dissonances that, instead of resolving back to the tonic minor chord, resolve to V7/iv chord, which then resolves expectedly to a iv chord. That iv chord, however, is in second inversion, setting up the expectation for a cadence, but, while creating the expectation for the root position dominant in c minor, it resolves unexpectedly back to a 5-3 minor chord on the tonic. A long silence follows the subsequent Phrygian cadence, as though to express the shocked stillness that would follow this astonishing progression of harmonies. That shock suggests the musical embodiment of the horrible magic that Médée is summoning: I read it to represent not only the listeners' horror at such bold harmonies, but also the spectator's horror in witnessing a demonic ritual. In the next passage, the rhythms become fitful, as if to represent the trembling of a fearful body (mm. 17–21), only to be capped off by more restless dissonances over a dominant pedal (mm. 22–25). When Médée sings her lines, the harmonies beneath echo the beginning of the scene: the pedal in fact is another way of portraying the frozen body when filled with fear. This all goes to show the extent to which Charpentier employs the orchestra so vividly to inspire a particular mood in the audience. The choice to decorate Médée's simple invocation with such extensive and elaborate atmospheric effects demonstrates Charpentier's awareness that music can transcend the boundaries of the text in the expression of drama.

⁵⁹⁵ The use of soprano (c1) clef instead of the typical French violin clef (g1) for the topmost line may even indicate that the top *two* lines are to be played by divided *Haute-contres de violon* (the highest of the

Example 3.1. Médée's monologue "Noires filles" (III.5), continued on next page

PRELUDE.

Bassoon

Basse Continue

10

19

Fingerings: 9/7[#]/4, 7[#]/3[#], b6/4, 5/3, 7, 6, 7, 6, 5, #3

Fingerings: 7, 6, 5/3, 6/4, 5/4, 7[#]/3, 5/4, 3/2, 6, #6, b

Fingerings: b, 5/3#, 6/4, 5/3#, 9/7[#]/4, 7^b/5, 6/4, 5/4, 3

three violas), instead of the *dessus*.

MEDÉE

Noi - res fil - les du Styx Di - vi - ni - tez ter - ri - bles, Quit - tez, quit - tez vos a -

Sourdines.

Sourdines.

Sourdines.

Sourdines.

Bassons & Basse-continuë

freu - ses pri - sons.

fort

fort

fort

fort

fort

Médée's other monologue “Quel prix de mon amour?” (III.3) has already been thoroughly analyzed by Downing Thomas.⁵⁹⁶ Both he and Geoffrey Burgess describe Médée’s musical persona as “excessive.”⁵⁹⁷ Thomas interprets Charpentier's adventurous harmonies to represent Médée's status as being both foreign with reference to the other characters and as being foreign to the rational world due to her supernatural abilities; he then argues that one can see a parallel between Médée and Charpentier, since Charpentier was Italian-trained and wielded a musical language thought by French commentators to be irrational in its extremes.⁵⁹⁸ His larger purpose aside, his analysis confirms that both of Médée's monologues use a harmonic palette and orchestral techniques that transcend the practices of Lully. My analysis therefore agrees with him.

⁵⁹⁶ Thomas, *Aesthetics of Opera*, Ch. 4.

⁵⁹⁷ Burgess, “Ritual”, 370.

⁵⁹⁸ Thomas, *Aesthetics of Opera*, 135.

Table 3.9. Monologue structures in *Armide* (continued on next page)

	Armide											
Scene	II.3	Renaud										
Genre	<u>AIR</u>											
Forces	orch	voc+orch	orch	voc+orch	orch	voc+orch	orch	voc+orch	orch	voc+orch	orch	
Bars	1–20	21–30	31–36	37–41	42–47	48–57	58–63	64–77	78–83	84–90	91–111	
Tonality	g → g	g → Bb	Bb → Bb	Bb → c	c → c	c → d	d → d [^]	V/g → Bb	Bb → g	g → g	g → g	
Meter		3										
Form	a		b		b	x-(b')	b	x-(b')	b	x-(b')	a	
Scene	II.5	Armide										
Genre	<u>PRELUDE</u>	<u>RECIT</u>	<u>AIR</u>									
Forces	orch	voc+cont	orch	voc+orch								
Bars	1–20	21–71	72–90	91–120								
Tonality	e → e	e → e	e → e	e → e								
Meter		2	mixed	3								
Form				aabcc								
Scene	III.1	Armide										
Genre	<u>AIR</u>											
Forces	orch	voc+orch										
Bars	1–7	8–32										
Tonality	d → d	d → d										
Meter	C	mixed										
Form	a	aba										

Scene	III.3	Armide			
Genre	<u>AIR</u>				
Forces	orch	voc+orch			
Bars	1–10	11–33			
Tonality	D → D	D → D			
Meter	C				
Form	a	a'ba'			
Scene	V.5	Armide			
Genre	<u>MET REC</u>		<u>PRELUDE</u>	<u>AIR</u>	<u>PRELUDE</u>
Forces	orch	voc+orch	orch	voc+orch	orch
Bars	1–17	18–50	51–65	66–102	103–115
Tonality	g → g	g → g	G → G	G → G	G → G
Meter		2 mixed		2	
Form					

Each of the monologues in *Armide* shows a greater sense of unity in tonality and meter—and more regular employment of formal repetition—than those of Charpentier (see Table 3.9). Three of the scenes—II.3, III.1, and III.3—are set entirely in air, and the meter and the flow of the music do not change within the scene at all. Renaud's soliloquy, wherein he has fallen under Armide's enchantments and remarks on his charming surroundings, shows a remarkable sense of motivic unity. The orchestral prelude repeats at the end of the air, and an orchestral refrain in each case confirms the key into which Renaud modulates after each vocal phrase, the refrain being a literal transposition in each new key. Halfway through the air, Renaud also begins to sing music that has much in common motivically with the refrain. The sense of unity is thus increased, although Lully's goal may not have been strictly formal and motivic coherence: the gradual poisoning of Renaud's music with the music of his surroundings can also represent Renaud's greater and greater bewitchment. This technique is a much subtler way of showing the effects of magic than Charpentier employed in *Médée*. Whereas Charpentier emphasizes magic's being contrary to reason with his adventurous harmonies and formless metrical recitative, Lully here integrates the idea of enchantment within a highly architectural air. Both the choice of air as the medium is remarkable, in addition to the choice to set that air in a quasi-rondeau structure.

The other two air-monologue scenes in *Armide*—both belonging to the title character (III.1 and III.3)—demonstrate Lully's interest in musical unity in this work regardless of dramatic motivations. In both of these scenes, the orchestral prelude borrows the musical material of the air; in fact, in III.1, the melody of the prelude is a

completely literal pre-rendering of Armide's vocal line. In III.3, the prelude starts the same but then deviates only slightly. There is an emphasis on unity due to these features. Both airs are then in ternary form. Modulations away from the tonic key are closely related and brief (so much so that I did not see any reason to separate out the phrases and list their cadences in Table 3.9). Despite the similarity in form of these airs, their dramatic situations are quite different: In the first, Armide laments that she has fallen in love with Renaud, in spite of her best efforts to hate him. In the second, she summons the allegorical character Hatred to her aid, hoping to help dispel her affections.

While the aforementioned monologues of Armide pursue logical form seemingly for its own sake (irrespective of the dramatic situation), others—such as in II.5 and V.5—include a greater variety of musical forms reflecting Armide's varying states of self-control. These scenes convey less of a sense of unity, which makes dramatic sense, given Armide's clear derangement. The monologue in II.5, "Enfin il est en ma puissance," was much analyzed by eighteenth-century commentators.⁵⁹⁹ Armide has Renaud in her grasp and makes to stab him but hesitates, as she realizes that she indeed loves him. What she perceives as her weakness unsettles her. This flux of passions—vengeance, uncertainty, self-disgust—can most effectively be rendered in recitative. The air that concludes this scene, tonally closed and replete with formal repeats, shows Armide's return to self-control. She summons her demons to demonstrate her power and to "hide her feebleness." The air, with its measured predictability, aptly expresses her return to control over herself and her resolve not to give into her heart.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁷⁵See Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Observations sur notre Instinct pour la Musique* (Paris: Prault, Lambert, Duchesne, 1754), 70–108, which in part responded to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Lettre sur la Musique Française* (1753), 79–91.

⁶⁰⁰ See Burgess, "Ritual," 366. I am indebted to Burgess for the correspondence between musical unity

The species of vocal music employed by Lully in these foregoing monologues easily falls into either category of recitative or air, but the idiom used in the last scene of the opera, V.5, is less easy to classify. The orchestra accompanies all of the music in this scene, including Armide's recitative in bars 18–50. The fluctuating meters typical of Lully's recitative are present, but several stretches of common time or **2** pass without any alterations. The use of the full orchestra encourages a steady pulse, and the passage is tonally closed, though there is no formal text repetition. For these reasons, I classify it as metrical recitative, instead of recitative or air. Remarkably, this is the only monologue passage that Lully sets using metrical recitative in *Armide*. The passages labeled “air” in bars 66–102 (see Table 3.9, V.5) do not possess any formal repetition, but there is much localized repetition of a few words, and the orchestra, not the singer, controls the rhythmic content of the passage. Lully has reserved metrical recitative for this climax of emotion, where Armide has abandoned reason and opts to destroy her palace. Thus, a similar correlation between self-control and musical form can be observed between *Médée* and *Armide*, though Lully prefers to employ repetitive forms in monologues more for their own sake and forsakes them only in the most extreme of dramatic situations.

and clarity of form with the power of the character.

Table 3.10. Monologue Structures in *David et Jonathas* (continued on next page)

	David et Jonathas										
Scene	P.1	Saul									
Genre	<u>MET REC</u>	<u>RECIT</u>	<u>MET REC</u>								
Forces	voc+orch	voc+cont	voc+orch	orch							
Bars	1–57	58–61	62–81	81–87							
Tonality	g → g	Eb → c	V/F → g [^]	V/c → g							
Meter	♩	C	6\8								
Form	sm. rep.										
Scene	P.3	Pythonisse									
Genre	<u>PRELUDE</u>	<u>RECIT</u>				<u>AIR</u>	<u>RECIT</u>				
Forces	orch	voc+cont	orch	voc+cont	orch	voc+cont*	voc+orch	voc+cont	orch	voc+cont	orch
Bars	1–5	6–13	14–22	23–33	34–44	45–67	68–104	105–108	109–111	112	113–118
Tonality	Bb → Bb	Bb → F	F → F	Db → Bb	Bb → Bb	Bb → Eb	Eb → (Eb)	Ab → c	c → V/F	V/F	V/F → (F)
Meter		2 C		2 C	2		3\2	C	3\2	C	4\8
Form							aba'				
							(*) incl. orch. interjections				
Scene	P.3 (continued)										
Genre				(<u>AIR</u>)	<u>RECIT</u>						
Forces	voc+cont	orch	voc+cont	voc+orch	orch	voc+cont					
Bars	119–120	121–126	127–128	129–137	138–145	146–153					
Tonality	F → F	F → F	F → Eb	Bb → Bb	g → g	Eb → d					
Meter	C	4\8	C	3\2	3\2	C					
Form				a'							

Scene	I.3	David		
Genre	<u>PRELUDE</u>	<u>MET</u> <u>REC</u>	<u>AIR</u>	<u>AIR</u>
Forces	orch	voc+orch	voc.+cont.	voc+orch
Bars	1–19	20–74	75–101	102–139
Tonality	e → e	e → G	G → e^	A → A
Meter	3\2			3 3\2
Form		sm. rep.	abb'	cdd'

Scene	III.2	Saul								AIR?		
Genre	<u>PRELUDE</u>	<u>MET</u> <u>REC</u>			<u>RECIT</u>			<u>AIR</u>	<u>RECIT</u>	<u>MET REC</u>	<u>MET REC</u>	
Forces	orch	voc+orch	voc+orch	voc+orch	voc+cont	orch	voc+cont	voc+trio	voc+cont	voc+orch	voc+orch	
Bars	1–18	19–28	29–36	37–60	61–67	68–77	78–84	85–99	100–104	105–121	122–148	
Tonality	c → c	c → V/c	V/c → Bb	Bb → c	Ab → Eb	Eb → Eb	Bb → Bb	f → f	f → V/c	V/c → Eb	Eb → c	
Meter	♩			2♩	C		2♩		3C	3\8		2
Form			aa'	bb'b''				cdd'		eff'	gg' +sm.rep.	

Scene	IV.1	David	
Genre	<u>MET REC</u>		<u>AIR (?)</u>
Forces	voc+trio		
Bars	1–21	22–30	31–55
Tonality	d → a	F → V/d	V/d → d
Meter	♩	3\2, C	3
Form			abb'

Scene	IV.3	Jonathas						
Genre	<u>AIR</u>		<u>[CHOR]*</u>	<u>RECIT</u>	<u>MET REC</u>	<u>RECIT</u>	<u>AIR</u>	<u>AIR</u>
Forces	orch.	voc+orch		voc+cont	voc+trio	voc+cont	voc+trio	voc+orch
Bars	1–10	11–47	[48–55]	56	57–61	62–65	66–97	98–142
Tonality	a → a	a → e^	[e → A]	d	d → V/d	V/d → d	C → V/a	a → a^
Meter	♩			C	3\2	C	3\2	♩
Form		aba'	*Offstage				cdd'	aba'a''

Charpentier's settings of the monologue scenes in *David et Jonathas* include far more variety of musical procedures than those of Lully or of his own *Médée*; his utmost concern is localized expression of the text. Where musical repetitions are created, they are due to Bretonneau's employment of text repetitions in the livret. The fact that there are more monologue scenes in this work is, of course, under the librettist's control. Since the play *Saül* carried a great deal of the story in spoken declamation, the opera could focus on what it does best: the portrayal of passions and the generation of spectacle. Saul's monologues, P.1 and III.2, contain the most varied music, as Table 3.10 shows. In the opening scene of the prologue, Saul delivers his lines over an unsettled accompaniment of strings bowing chords in groups of two, creating a trembling effect to underscore Saul's fearful state. A brief burst of continuo-accompanied, unmeasured recitative spills into an air-like close to the scene in rapid 6/8. No large-scale text repetition occurs, however, and each small section after m. 57 is tonally open, which is the point where Saul's emotional state reaches a peak of confusion. The three sections correspond to the three emotions experienced by Saul: in the first section (mm. 1–57) he tries in vain to hear God's voice respond to him. His realization that heaven remains silent is given in recitative (mm. 58–61), and he suddenly resolves to turn to infernal forces to help him understand his fate in the reckless 6/8 passage (mm. 62–81).

Saul's second monologue (III.2) allows him to vent his frustration at David, who has tried to negotiate peace between the Philistines and Israel. Saul knows that this potential peace would set David in a position of great power, as David has ties to both the house of Israel and that of the Philistine king, Achis. The scene begins with an imitative

prelude in the strings, the extent of which exceeds any such writing that one would find in Lully's operas. It is in fact a five-voice fugal exposition laden with suspensions, one of which being a highly unusual 9th suspension wherein the 9th is in the bass (the figure is 7/2). This dissonance in the bass, a G in the context of an f minor sonority, does not resolve down to F but rather falls down to C with no true resolution. It is in examples such as this where Charpentier's Italian training might explain his harmonic adventurousness. The chord in itself is foreign to French sensibilities: Masson stipulates that when there is a second against the bass, the other parts form a fourth and a sixth (the figure being 6/4/2); he does not allow a seventh in combination with a second against the bass.⁶⁰¹ Ragueneau's comment that the Italians employ the "most irregular dissonance" is appropriate to recall here; Charpentier routinely describes dissonances in his compositional treatise unmentioned by writers such as Masson, and he concludes by saying "experience teaches more than all the rules."⁶⁰²

In the previous chapter, I argued that Charpentier uses a much more French style in this opera than in his oratorio *Mors Saülis et Jonathae*. Localized dissonances such as this rogue 9th do not change the overall French flavor of the work, yet Charpentier must have felt that, in order to capture Saul's emotional state, it was necessary here to employ the richer palette of expressive harmony afforded by a more Italianate approach. As Downing Thomas has connected overtly Italianate passages in *Médée* with Médée's foreignness and irrational magical powers, I would argue that Charpentier here employs extreme music for the expression of extreme emotions.⁶⁰³ Irrational harmonies stand in

⁶⁰¹Masson, *Nouveau Traité*, 96–97.

⁶⁰² Ragueneau, *A Comparison*, 15; Charpentier's treatise cited in and translated by Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 410.

⁶⁰³ Thomas, *Aesthetics*, 145–146.

for Saul's loss of reason here, yet the fugal nature of the prelude imparts a certain aspect of control that mirrors Saul's ability to anchor himself most on his hatred of David.

A fluctuation between air, recitative, and metrical recitative follows Saul's various states in III.2. He first hates David, feels betrayed both by him and God, laments Jonathan's allegiance to David, and yet ultimately rescinds an earlier malediction for his son, since he acknowledges the goodness in him. It is in this last state that Saul's music is the most lucid: a tonally closed F-minor *petit air* in the abb' form—so often used by Lully—carries this sentiment. As Saul returns to expressing his fear of David's secret desire to see him dethroned, the formal clarity dwindles. The scene does, however, return to the tonic of C-minor as Saul remarks, “And since it's necessary to die, we shall die nobly.” His resolve coincides with the return of the tonic. Hence, it is the drama, not musical form, that governs this scene. Small fluctuations of mood generate subtle shifts in key, movement, and texture that form a fluid mass quite unlike the formally coherent structures of Lully. Even Armide at her most distressed does not come at all close to the variety of musical style that Charpentier employs for Saul.⁶⁰⁴

David's two monologues, I.3 and IV.1, display far less musical variety than those of Saul. The first allows David to express his frustration at his difficult dual status as an ally of the Philistine King Achis and as a member Saul's house. David expresses these thoughts in a tonally open passage with no large-scale formal repetitions. Though the meter is a steady 3/2, the declamation guides the rhythm; therefore, I classify it as a

⁶⁰⁴ I have refrained from overtly discussing gender in this analysis, having discussed it in the previous chapter, but it is worth mentioning that the irrational nature of Saul's music in some ways feminizes him by the seventeenth-century tendency to link masculinity with order and reason. After all, it is for the woman, Médée, that Charpentier reserves his most formless and varied music, whereas the male characters in *Médée* do not reach the same degree of variety. Moreover, David and Jonathan here represent a more masculine paradigm than Saul, at the very least showing some sort of formal coherence in each of their monologues. On the connection between gender, reason, and the *tragédie en musique*, see Howard, “The

metrical recitative. A brief air in menuet rhythm follows this (mm. 75–101), and though it is tonally open, text repetitions give a formal structure. This air marks a point where David accepts that it is likely either he or Jonathan will die if war breaks out between the two tribes. Thereafter, David appeals to God to spare Jonathan instead of him. This sentiment takes the form of a true, tonally-closed air in abb' form (mm. 102–139), with the vocal writing more melodious than the first section of this scene (see Example 3.2). The air is in the key of A-major, and thus, the original key of the scene, E-minor, does not return. These features all make this passage stand out. This moment reaffirms David's faith, as he acknowledges that God is the only force to which he can appeal. The calm and sincere affect portrayed by the languid held notes, many of them suspensions, contrasts wildly with the raucous 6/8 passage wherein Saul had turned to black magic for security.

A shadow of the pattern set by scene I.3 appears in IV.1. David again appeals to God, first to acknowledge that he knows God is aware of his difficult conflict of interest between the two houses (and between his duty and his love for Jonathan.) The choice of key, D-minor, is significant here, as Charpentier describes it in his compositional treatise as “grave and pious” (*grave et dévot*).⁶⁰⁵ Charpentier's choice of vocal medium for mm. 1–30 is metrical recitative accompanied by instruments (though in this case, only the *petit chœur* of the violins). This terminates in an air as does the monologue in I.3, and though it does not start on the tonic, the anacrusis on the dominant of D-minor leads directly into the home key; thus one could consider this air tonally closed. Using the tonally closed

Influence of the *Précieuses*,” particularly 62; and, Patricia Howard, “The Positioning of Woman.”

⁶⁰⁵Reprinted in Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 406. (Glasow's translation). One must, of course, be cautious of too frequently trying to apply Charpentier's “key feelings” with each passage of his music, though here, the correspondence is particularly promising.

forms for David's appeal to God confirms his embodiment of reason and his control over his situation, drawing upon Divine strength to guide him in these instances.

Example 3.2. David's air at the end of I.3 (excerpt)

102 (David)

Tou - dans qui j'es - per - ois tou - jours En ce

sourdine

107

tri - ste mo - ment_ mon u - ni - que re - course_ Tu pens en - cor dieu que j'a-

6 6 7
3

113

do - re Sen - si - ble à nos mal heurs en ar - res - ter_ le cours.

9 7 6 6 5
4 4 3

Of the main characters, Jonathas' monologue (IV.3) occupies a middle ground between David and Saul: While there is a fair number of varied musical passages within the scene, a large-scale sense of musical unity is achieved by Bretonneau's use of the same text at the beginning and end of the scene: "Has anyone ever suffered a harsher pain?" ("A-t-on jamais souffert une plus rude peine?"). The orchestral introduction is very much related to Jonathas' opening air, which features the melody and bass splitting apart in extended contrary motion (see Example 3.3). This musically embodies the dramatic situation: Jonathas laments that he is pulled in two different directions, finding it impossible to stay loyal to both David and to Saul. The first air passage (mm. 11–47) terminates on the dominant, meaning that it is not tonally closed, but the lyrical vocal style and the *aba'* form make it more air-like than not. An offstage chorus of soldiers preparing for war interrupts Jonathan's thoughts, and when he begins to sing again, he vacillates between recitative and more lyrical music, depending on the degree of emotion in the text. When he hears the soldiers, he first sings "What fury animates you barbarians?" in recitative, but then the meter changes to 3/2 and the style is much more mellifluous for the line "Ah! Already everyone conspires, and David is going to perish!" When the air from the beginning of the scene returns in m. 98, it is an exact reprise, but a further repetition of the opening line is added to allow the return to the tonic, whereas the first time, the air ended on the dominant. The closure that this brings coincides with Jonathan's acceptance that reconciling Saul and David will be impossible, and that death may result. Both David and Jonathan consistently show courage in accepting their fates, whereas Saul consistently tries to defy his. Charpentier's deep sense of awareness of this dramatic difference is evident through the greater sense of musical unity that pervades the

former characters' monologues compared to the latter.

Example 3.3. Jonathan's air in IV.3 (excerpt)

9 (Jonathas)
A - t-on ja - mais souf - fert a - t-on ja -

15
mais souf - fert u - ne plus ru - de pei - ne

The final monologue to consider in *David et Jonathas* is the Witch's invocation in the prologue. Charpentier shows the Witch's changing amount of control over her power in two contrasting modes of expression, choosing air when the Witch is at her most

decisive. Continuo-accompanied recitative, punctuated by orchestral interjections, is the musical medium for the witch's attempts to quiet the stormy atmosphere around her in mm. 1–67:

*Off with you, frightful thunder,
Horrors, calm yourselves,
Submit yourselves to my laws, etc.*⁶⁰⁶

When the witch has successfully summoned a troupe of demons, she switches to air to assert her power in conjuring up the ghost of Samuel:

*Shadow, shadow, it is I who call you!
In vain in this place
Do you taste the sweetness of eternal peace
Recognize my voice!
Yield to my efforts!
Shadow, shadow it is I who call you!*⁶⁰⁷

As when Armide uses an air for her return to self-control in her monologue (II.5), the Witch here does the same when she exercises the control of her magic. After this, however, almost comically, she switches back to recitative when her efforts fail her the first time, singing:

*What! I speak, and Hell, in the past so faithful,
Begins in this moment no longer to listen to me!
What transport takes hold of me?
Death, cruel death
For the first time has been able to resist me!
It shall never have the authority that may stop you. [The ghost from returning]
Shadow, shadow, it is I who call you!*⁶⁰⁸

⁶⁰⁶ Bretonneau, *David et Jonathas*, 4. “Retirez-vous affreux Tonnerre. / Orages calmez-vous. Vents soumis à mes loix.”

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 5. “Ombre, c’est moi qui vous appelle. / En vain dans le séjour des morts / Vous goûtez les douceurs d’une Paix eternelle: / Reconnoissez ma voix, cedez à mes efforts. / Ombre, c’est moi qui vous appelle.”

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 5. “Quoi, je parle, & l’Enfer autrefois si Fidelle / Commence en ce moment à ne plus m’écouter! / Quel transport me saisit? La mort, la mort cruelle / Pour la premiere fois a pû me resister! / Elle n’a point de loi qui vous doive arrester, / Ombre, c’est moi qui vous appelle.”

With the last line, the music of the previous air resumes, by which point the witch has been successful and Samuel appears, scaring away her demons. The final section of recitative expresses the witch's astonishment as she realizes whom she has summoned:

*A sudden horror made them (her demons) leave this place!
Heaven, oh heaven! What do I see appear?
A God, my Lord, a God presents himself to my eyes!
And I begin, alas, too late to recognize you!*⁶⁰⁹

The choice of recitative or air to set this passage, therefore, depends upon the relative amount of control that the Witch exercises.

The basic premise of the monologue scenes is the same across the three works surveyed here: the more irrational and impulsive the character, the less unified and consistent the music. Where *David et Jonathas* is exceptional is in the degree to which Charpentier follows the subtlest nuances of the text with changes in tonality and meter, with such localized manipulations disrupting musical unity. In *Médée*, we see this to some degree in the title character's first monologue (III.3), though the monologues in that work are much less musically varied than those in *Jonathas*. *Jonathas* therefore operates similarly with respect to an observable link between the exercise of power and musical unity in the *tragédie en musique*, but to a degree that far exceeds Lully's approach in *Armide*. The heavy emphasis on monologue here occurs not only because the opera was first performed interwoven with a spoken play on the Jesuit stage, but also because of Charpentier's musical priorities. The monologue scenes especially reveal how he composed more music relative to the amount of text than Lully does, and they also reveal that he was willing to sacrifice musical unity in order to vividly express the drama using

⁶⁰⁹ Bretonneau, *David et Jonathas*, 6. "Une subite horreur leur fait quitter ces lieux! / Qu'ont-ils veû ... Que vois-je paroître? / Un Dieu, Seigneur, un Dieu se présente à mes yeux! / Et je commence, hélas! Trop tard à vous connoître."

musical means.

The careful attention that Charpentier devoted to the monologue scenes in *David et Jonathas* may also stem from his experience with the *pastorales* he wrote in the years preceding the Jesuit opera. Powell has noted the importance of the lyric monologue to the *pastorale*, often called a *plainte*, which focuses on a character's vacillating emotional state; he writes that "this pastoral commonplace is the ancestor of the monologue air of later French opera."⁶¹⁰ In Charpentier's pastoral opera *Actéon*, we see a monologue by the title character that takes up the majority of the third of the opera's five scenes. It, like the monologues in *Jonathas*, ranges between air and recitative and varies meter, tempo, and tonality to follow Actéon's sentiments. The experience Charpentier acquired while wedding music to drama in these earlier musical dramas helped him hone his abilities that he would use in the larger-scale dramas such as *Jonathas*. That the Jesuit opera devotes more time to monologue than is typical of a *tragédie en musique*—and that Charpentier incorporated a much greater variety of musical styles than Lully employed in such scenes—again speaks to the hybrid nature of this work. The work's function as an *intermède* is a factor here (one will recall the Jesuits' statement in the preface to *Demetrius*: that the emphasis in the operatic *intermèdes* is on those dramatic elements to which the "beauty of the music" can contribute most). However, there is also the precedent for long monologues in Charpentier's *pastorales*, and these may have been influential to the composer's approach in *Jonathas*.

The Chaconne

If the extensiveness of the monologue scenes in *David et Jonathas* is unusual for a

tragédie en musique, then the inclusion of a chaconne points to an element in the work that strengthens its ties to Lully's practice. Though not every Lully opera contains a chaconne or its sister dance, a passacaille, the presence of either dance in eight of his thirteen operas demonstrates their obvious importance to the genre.⁶¹¹ The characteristics of the chaconne and passacaille overlap to a large extent, as both are dances in triple time that are generally structured around a ground bass. Burgess has already thoroughly reviewed the difficulty in distinguishing between them, and for our current purposes, the ambiguity is somewhat irrelevant for our purposes here, since the dances have the same dramatic function in the *tragédie en musique*.⁶¹² Brossard's definitions of the two dances will suffice to illustrate the common ground that they occupy:

CHACONE. It is an air composed atop a ground bass of four measures, ordinarily in triple time, which repeats as many times as the chacone has *couplets* or *variations*, that is to say, different airs composed atop the notes of the bass. One ordinarily passes from the major to the minor mode in these sorts of pieces, and things which would regularly not be permitted in a more free composition are more tolerable because of the constraint [of the ground].

PASSACAÏLLE. This is properly a *chacone*. See *Ciacona*. The only difference is that its movement is ordinarily slower than that of the *Chacone*, the air more tender, and the expressions less lively, and for that reason, *Passacailles* are almost always wrought in minor modes.⁶¹³

Burgess has extensively examined the dramatic functions of the chaconne and

⁶¹⁰ Powell, *Music and Theater*, 173.

⁶¹¹ Either a chaconne or passacaille occurs in the following operas: *Cadmus et Hermione*, I.4 (1673); *Thésée*, V.8 (1675); *Persée*, V.8 (1682); *Phaëton*, II.5 (1683); *Amadis*, V.6 (1684); *Roland*, III.6 (1685); *Armide*, V.2 (1686); *Achille et Polixene*, I.4 and I.5 (1687).

⁶¹² Burgess, "Ritual," 546–552.

⁶¹³ Brossard, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. "CHACONE. C'est un chant composé sur une Basse obligée de quatre mesures, pour l'ordinaire en triple de noires, & qui se repette autant de fois que la *Chacone* a de *Couplets* ou de *variations*, c'est à dire, de chants différens composez sur les Nottes de cette Basse. On passe souvent dans ces sortes de pieces du *Mode majeur* au *Mode mineur*, & l'on tolere bien des choses à cause de cette contrainte, qui ne seroient pas regulierement permises dans une composition plus libre." "PASSACAÏLLE. C'est proprement une *Chacone*. Voyez, CIACONA. Toute la différence est que le *mouvement* en est ordinairement plus *grave* que celui de la *Chacone*, le Chant *plus tendre*, & les expressions *moins vifves*, c'est pour cela que les *Passacailles* sont presque toujourns travaillées sur des *Modes mineurs*." Translation mine.

passacaille within the *tragédie en musique*, concluding that their impetus in Lully's operas is always “celebratory” or “seductive.”⁶¹⁴ As he puts it, “chaconnes and passacailles require peaceful and amorous dramatic situations as well as the presence of noble characters or elemental beings.”⁶¹⁵ The chaconne in *David et Jonathas* fulfills these requirements, as it comes at the first opportunity David and Jonathan have to enjoy the brief peace between the Philistines and the Israelites in Act II. In the previous chapter, I argued that this chaconne has both seductive and celebratory elements as outlined by Burgess. Here, I will discuss how it interacts with the drama by focusing in greater detail on its musical structure. The idea of a ground bass as the underlying feature is challenged by this example, whose bass moves quite freely, particularly in the latter two-thirds of the dance. Compared to the passacaille of *Armide*, this irregularity seems to challenge the Lullian model, yet when the chaconne from Charpentier's *Médée* is brought into the mix, we see that the regularity of Lully's late chaconnes/passacailles has no analogue in Charpentier's *œuvre*. As Raphaëlle Legrand has shown, “with Charpentier, the chaconnes and passacailles are the place to experiment with large-scale instrumental form; the composer seeks to structure these long juxtapositions of phrases always with something new completely neglecting the artifice of the ground bass.”⁶¹⁶ Although Charpentier did not employ the ground bass regularly, his use of the chaconne as a large-scale device to provide coherent musical structure across majority of a scene indicates his indebtedness to Lully, who first set the precedent for this procedure. One other difficulty posed by the

⁶¹⁴ See Burgess, “Ritual,” Table 8.4, 584–585.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 590.

⁶¹⁶ Raphaëlle Legrand, “Chaconnes et Passacailles de Charpentier,” in *Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Un Musicien Retrouvé*, edited by Catherine Cessac (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2005), 305. “Chez Charpentier, les chaconnes et passacailles sont le lieu d’une expérimentation de la grande forme instrumentale; le compositeur cherche à structurer ces longues juxtapositions de phrases toujours nouvelles tout en délaissant l’artifice de la basse obstinée.”

chaconne in *David et Jonathas* is the fact that it is incomplete in the only extant source. Though Jean Duron has offered an editorial completion, I will argue that his solution does not satisfactorily bring the chaconne to a close, as it does something chaconnes do not do, which is to start and end in different keys.

Lully's chaconnes and passacailles, particularly those of the 1680s, demonstrate an obsessive regularity, fully embracing the repeating harmonic pattern that usually organizes these dances. Burgess has discussed how the power of the bass to undergird an endless stream of variation is analogous to the seventeenth-century ideal of “the subject complying to the monarch's will.”⁶¹⁷ Particularly in the chaconne from Lully's *Amadis* (1684), the dance appears at a moment in which the theme of monarchical power has reached an apex, and the chaconne's extreme regularity of phrase structure and relentless drive to the tonic points to the eternal and irrefutable nature of sovereign power by conveying temporal suspension.⁶¹⁸ If the chaconne had so close an association with a royal figure's power in the world of the *tragédie en musique*, particularly in the 1680s, we must investigate how well the chaconne in *David et Jonathas* corresponds to this ideal.

⁶¹⁷ Burgess, “The Chaconne,” 83.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 85; Burgess, “Ritual,” 580.

Table 3.11. The Passacaille from *Armide* (V.2), structure

Text:	-	-	-	-	-	-
Music:	couplets (aa'bb'cc', etc.)	...	...	...	...	...
Bass:	ground	ground ^	ground ^	ground v	ground v	ground v
Tonality:	g	g	g	g	g	g
Length:	24	8	8	4	8	8
Forces:	orch.	trio (fl.)	orch.	orch.	trio	trio
MM:	1–24	25–32	33–40	41–44	45–52	45–52
Text:	-	-	-	-	-	-
Music:	...	...	...	x	couplets	couplets
Bass:	ground (+V/iv)	ground	free	free	ground ^	ground ^
Tonality:	g	g	g → d	→ Bb	g	g
Length:	8	40	10	6	8	8
Forces:	trio	orch.	trio (fl.)	orch.	trio	trio
MM:	53–60	61–100	101–110	111–116	117–124	117–124
Text:	-	-	"Les plaisirs"	"Les plaisirs"	-	-
Music:	...	...(8+8)	... (4+4, 4+4) aa'bb	a'abb	x	x
Bass:	ground ^	ground v (chrom.)	ground	ground	ground	ground
Tonality:	g	g	g	g	g	g
Length:	8	16	16	16	16	16
Forces:	orch.	orch.	haute contre+cont.	chorus	orch.	orch.
MM:	125–132	133–148	149–164	165–180	181–196	181–196
Text:	"C'est l'amour"	"C'est l'amour"	-	-	"Jeunes coeurs"	"Jeunes coeurs"
Music:	couplets (4+4,8+8) cc'dd	cc'dd	x	...	couplets (4+4, 8+8) ee'ff	ee'ff
Bass:	ground v, ground ^	ground v, ground ^	ground ^	ground v	ground	ground
Tonality:	g	g	g	g	g	g
Length:	24	24	8	8	24	24 (+1)
Forces:	haute contre+cont.	chorus	trio (fl.)	orch.	haute contre+cont.	chorus
MM:	197–220	221–244	245–252	253–260	261–284	285–309

As *Armide* represents Lully's style in this chapter, the passacaille from that work deserves some attention. As in the *Amadis* chaconne, the passacaille in *Armide* evinces remarkable regularity. Table 3.11 gives an analysis. The ground bass is nearly always present. Variations might slightly alter the surface harmony, but their derivation from the descending tetrachord present in the first 24 bars is unquestionable (see Example 3.4). Throughout the 309 bars of the passage, there is only one exception to the incessant confirmation of the tonic G-minor: the four-bar phrase structure is extended to a 10-bar modulatory passage in mm.101–110 that cadences in the dominant, followed by a 6-bar phrase that cadences in B-flat. One will note, however, that this 10+6 bar pair of phrases works out to 16, divisible by 4, such that the underlying 4-bar cycle is minimally disrupted by this digression. After the cadence in B-flat, G-minor returns with no transition in the following phrase. The 4-bar phrases are nearly always in pairs, with an antecedent-consequent relationship stemming from almost identical music which starts the first and second phrase of each pair. At times, this relationship shifts to two 8-bar phrases related this way, such as in mm. 133–148. Such coupled four- or eight-bar phrases continue when either the soloist or the chorus sings. The deviations mentioned above do not greatly disturb the highly regular flow of this piece, and the continual sense of gratification reaped from each expected return to the tonic coincides with the dramatic situation that spawns this passacaille: Armide's minions sing and dance in order to placate Renaud while the sorceress ventures into Hell. It is like a drug for the senses: the addictive pull of each cycle entrances the listener as much as it appears to do the same to Renaud. This is why this piece falls into the "seductive" category in Burgess's classification, as the entertainment created by the dance is supposed to occupy him and

Table 3.12. The chaconne in *David et Jonathas* (II.3)

	A					
Text:	"Goutons"	-	"Goutons"	"Les soins"	-	
Music:	a	a'	a	a	a	
Bass	ground	ground	ground	ground	ground	
Tonality:	C	C	C	C	C	
Length:	8	4	8	8	8	
Forces:	Jonathas+cont.	inst. Trio	Jonathas, David, cont.	chorus	orch.	
MM:	1–8	9–12	13–20	21–28	29–36	
	B					
Text:	"Tout finit"	-	"D'un heureux"	-		
Music:	b	c	d	-		
Bass	ground→free	free	free	free		
Tonality:	C → V/a	V/a → V/a	V/a → G	→ G		
Length:	4	4	8	4		
Forces:	bass + trio	trio	bass + trio	trio		
MM:	37–40	41–44	45–52	53–56		
	A'					
Text:	"Goutons"	"Goutons"	"Les soins"	-		
Music:	a"	a	a	a		
Bass	melody	ground	ground	ground		
Tonality:	G → C	C	C	C		
Length:	8	8	8	8		
Forces:	bass + trio	Jonathas, David, bass, cont.	chorus	orch.		
MM:	57–64	65–72	73–80	81–88		
	C					
Text:	"Bergers"	"Venez, venez"	-	"Bergers"	"Venez, venez"	"Cessez"
Music:	e	f	f	e'	f'	g
Bass	free	free	free	free	free	free
Tonality:	C → a [^]	→ d	d	→ V/G	→ g	C
Length:	4	4	4	4	8	4
Forces:	David + cont.	bass + trio	trio	Jonathas+cont.	2 bergers+ cont.	3 bergers + cont.
MM:	89–92	93–96	97–100	101–104	105–112	113–116

(Table 3.12 continued)

Text:	"Cessez"	"Si l'on est"	"Si l'on est"	"Doux repos"	"Doux repos"	"Si l'on est"	"Si l'on est"
Music:	g'	h	h'	g	g'	h	h'
Bass	free	free	free	free	free	free	free
Tonality:	C	→ G	G	C	C	→ G	G
Length:	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Forces:	1 berger + cont.	3 bergers + cont.	1 berger+cont.	3 bergers + cont.	1 berger + cont.	3 bergers + cont.	1 berger + cont.
MM:	117–120	121–124	125–128	129–132	133–136	137–140	141–144
Text:	"Venez, venez"	-	"Venez, venez"	"Venez, venez"	-	-	
Music:	f'	(f)	f''	f'''			
Bass	free	free	free	free	free	free	
Tonality:	→ g	→ C	C → G	→ C	→ V/d	→ d	
Length:	8	4	8	8	24	8	
Forces:	chorus	orch.	chorus	chorus	orch.	trio	
MM:	145–152	153–156	157–164	165–172	173–196	197–204	
Text:	-	-	-	-			
Music:							
Bass	free	free	free	free			
Tonality:	→ V/g	→ g	→ G	→ C			
Length:	12	8	16	5			
Forces:	orch.	trio	orch	orch			
MM:	205–216	217–224	225–240	241–245	(MS ends)		

The chaconne in *David et Jonathas*, by contrast, eschews regularity in favor of closely following the text (see Table 3.12). Whereas the passacaille in *Armide* concentrates the danced portion at the beginning of the scene, here the chaconne begins immediately with the text “Let us enjoy the charms of an agreeable peace / Cares and alarms cease forever” (“Goutons, goutons une aimable paix / Les soins et les alarmes cessent pour jamais”). During the portions concentrated on these sentiments, the ground bass is the most stable, and the key of C remains in full force. Contrasting ideas bring about modulations: first, this occurs when a bass—a member of David's retinue—sings:

*Everything ends in life.
Winter has its turn
Its rigor is followed by a happy spring
Only you, tender friends, may be forever constant.*⁶¹⁹

To set this more serious sentiment, Charpentier begins to break apart the ground bass as a modulation toward A-minor occurs, and when the singer turns to ideas of spring's renewal, a cadence in A-minor never arrives. Instead, the tonality shifts toward G-major. After this, the original text “Goutons, goutons” returns along with the ground bass and the original tonality; only the scoring is altered. Thus, there is a formal overlay in this chaconne, the first section showing a clear ABA' structure. The one constant feature is an adherence to four- or eight-bar phrasing. Either a cadence or a texture change occurs every four or eight bars, this quadruple cycle keeping the chaconne true to itself in lieu of adherence to a ground bass.

At the end of the reprise of the opening text, a new text inspires Charpentier to modulate away from the tonic again, and the ground bass all but disappears. The more

⁶¹⁹ Bretonneau, *David et Jonathas*, 19. "Tout finit dans la vie / L'hiver a son tour / D'un heuereux

seductive idea of the following text signals a turn toward the supertonic (D-minor), and eventually the dominant minor (G): “Shepherds, heaven has finally calmed its fury. / Come, come with us to enjoy the sweetest of pleasures.”⁶²⁰ The ground bass is all but lost by this point. C-major returns intermittently as David, Jonathan, and different combinations of shepherds bandy this text about, but its final statement returns to the tonic. The sense of seduction here is not generated by the obsessive pull to the tonic every four bars as it is in the passacaille to *Armide*. Instead, it is a pull created on a larger scale by hearing the same text sung over several modulations before receiving a satisfying close in the tonic. There follows then an instrumental section of the chaconne that also modulates freely. The ground bass never returns from the opening. The one constant feature, again, is the adherence to four- or eight-bar phrase structure where a cadence or some contrast is introduced at the end of each. Thus, the listener hears the importance of the cycle but the sense is much subtler than the kind of regularity evinced in Lully's later chaconnes and passacailles. In a way, this fact lessens the ties of the chaconne in this work to the idea of monarchical power, but given the chaconne's placement in the middle of the opera before David's coronation, monarchical power does not seem to be the main focus here. The chaconne's symbolism seems more related to the ideas of celebration and seduction discussed in the previous chapter.

printemps sa rigueur est suivie / Vous seuls, tendres amis, soiez toujours constans.”

⁶²⁰ Bretonneau, *David et Jonathas*, 19–20. “Bergers, le ciel enfin a calmé son couroux / Venez, venez

Table 3.13. The chaconne in *Cadmus et Hermione* (I.4)

Text:	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Music:	free						
Bass:	ground	ground	Ground	Ground	ground	ground	
Tonality:	C	C	C	C	C	C	
Length:	32	8	12	8	8	4	
Forces:	orch.	trio	Orch.	Trio	orch.	trio	
MM:	1–32	33–40	41–52	53–60	61–68	69–72	
Text:	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Music:							
Bass:	ground	ground ^	Ground ^	Ground ^	ground ^	ground v	ground
Tonality:	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
Length:	12	8	8	8	8	8	41
Forces:	orch.	trio	Orch.	Trio	orch.	trio	orch.
MM:	73–84	85–92	93–100	101–108	109–116	117–124	125–165
Text:	“Suivons”	...	...	“Quand l'amour”	...	“Suivons”	
Music:	a	...		B	...	a	
Bass:	ground	ground ^	Ground v	Ground / free		ground	
Tonality:	C	C	C	→ d	→ C	C	
Length:	8	8	4	6	5	16	
Forces:	voc. Trio	...	Solo voc.	...	...	voc. Trio	
MM:	166–173	174–181	182–185	186–191	192–196	197–212	
Text:	“Deux amants”	...	...	“Suivons”	“On n'a rien”	...	“Suivons”
Music:	c	...	...	A	d	...	a
Bass:	ground ^/ free		Free	Ground	free	free	ground
Tonality:	C → a	a → G	G → C	C	→ a	→ C	C
Length:	4	4	4	16	5	7	16 (+1)
Forces:	solo voc.	...	...	Voc. Trio	voc. Trio	...	...
MM:	213–216	217–220	221–224	225–240	241–245	246–252	253–269

The abundant modulations in the chaconne from *David et Jonathas* are one of the most striking differences between it and the example from Lully, though Lully's earlier chaconnes, such as that found in *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673), shows a bit more variety in the handling of the tonality. A danced passage opens the chaconne (Table 3.13), and throughout, as in the passacaille from *Armide*, the ground bass is always discernible, even when varied. The phrasing is unerringly divisible by four. No modulation occurs in the instrumental portion of the chaconne, the key of C remaining in full force throughout all

vous avec nous jouir des plaisirs les plus doux”).

165 measures. One will note by this number that an extra bar is added to the 41 instances of the ground bass (41x4=164); the instrumental section ends with a full measure of the tonic chord before the voices come in to continue the chaconne (see Example 3.5). This kind of full stop in m. 165 does not separate the instrumental and vocal portions of the passacaille in *Armide*: the motion never ceases. During the vocal portion, however, we see something quite different in *Cadmus*: Lully overlays a rondeau structure onto the vocal chaconne, with the refrain taking the form of a 16-bar trio of voices with continuo accompaniment. In the refrain, the ground bass is still discernible even though it is varied, and the key of C remains unchanged. In each intervening contrasting episode, however, the ground bass and the regularity of phrasing dissolves in order to follow the declamation of the text. Modulations to D-minor, A-minor, and G-major appear. The refrain, however, always reaffirms both the ground and the regularity of the previous instrumental chaconne.

Example 3.5. The cadence separating the instrumental and vocal chaconne sections in *Cadmus et Hermione*

The musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is for the 1st African (1er AFRIQUAIN), the second for the 2nd African (2de AFRIQUAIN), the third for ARBAS, and the bottom for the basso continuo. The instrumental section ends with a cadence in measure 165, marked with a trill (tr) and a fermata. The vocal section begins with the refrain 'Sui-vons, sui-vons l'A-mour, lais-sons - nous en - fla-mer,' which is repeated by all three vocalists. The basso continuo line provides a varied ground bass accompaniment, with fingerings indicated by numbers 1-7. The score is in 3/4 time and the key of C major.

Table 3.14. The chaconne in *Médée*

Text:	-	-	-	-	-	-
Music:	couplets (4+4) (aa'bb', etc)	x	x	couplets	x	x
Bass:	ground, ground ^	free	free	ground (simplified)	free	free
Tonality:	A	A → E	→ A	A	→ f# → E	→ D
Length:	16	8	8	8	8	12
Forces:	orch.	trio	orch.	orch.	trio	orch./trio
MM:	1–16	17–24	25–32	33–40	41–48	49–60
Text:	-	-	-	"Chi teme"	-	"Son gusti"
Music:	couplets	...	...	aabb' (5+5, 5+9)	x	c
Bass:	free	free	free	free	free	free
Tonality:	D → A	A	A	A	A	A → f#
Length:	16	4	4	24	4	12
Forces:	orch.	trio	orch.	Italian + cont.	trio (fl.)	Italian, fl., cont.
MM:	61–76	77–80	81–84	85–108	109–112	113–124
Text:	"Ma solo pensando"	"Chi teme"	"Son gusti"	"Ma solo pensando"	"Chi teme"	
Music:	d	abb'	c	d	abb'+coda	
Bass:	free	free	free	free	free	
Tonality:	f# → E	A	→ f#	f# → E	A	
Length:	11	18	12	11	21	
Forces:	Italian + cont.	Italian+cont.	chorus	chorus	Italian, chorus	
MM:	125–135	136–153	154–165	166–176	177–197	

One will note a similar procedure in the chaconne in Charpentier's *Médée* (Table 3.14). After a danced opening section, a vocal passage in rondeau form follows. As in the chaconne from *Cadmus*, the regularity in phrase structure of the opening instrumental portion relaxes when control shifts to the singer and to the text. This piece is, however, a bit more complicated in terms of large-scale structure: while most chaconnes venture into the parallel major or minor as Brossard mentions (see above), in the case of *Médée*, Charpentier actually labels the minor episode "passacaille." Chaconnes do tend to be in major keys and passacailles in minor, but when an episode in the parallel key occurs, it is not usually labeled as the sister dance as it is here. What is more, there follows a "suite de la passacaille", a final danced portion of the complex scene, which begins in A-minor and terminates in A-major. The passacaille here shows even greater variety in its phrase structure, even in the untexted portions, though regularity returns in the "suite de la passacaille." Burgess has argued that the chaconne complex in *Médée* "signals the dismantling and deconstruction of sovereign authority" because of its highly irregular nature.⁶²¹ The degree to which the example in *Médée* deviates from Lully's procedures is significant, but, as Burgess concedes: "It might seem that, by pitting the chaconne scene in *Médée* against a chaconne from a late *tragédie en musique* by Lully, I am denying the uniqueness of Charpentier's compositional style."⁶²² This uniqueness is precisely what I am attempting to show in these analyses. One further chaconne of Charpentier, an example from the short opera *Les Arts Florissants* (1684), shows similar freedom to the approach to the form. I will not give a detailed analysis in prose here, but will include

⁶²¹ Burgess, "The Chaconne," 83.

⁶²² *Ibid.*, 90.

another table in the Appendix for the interested reader. This chaconne also allows free modulations, eschews any ground bass, and incorporates a vocal refrain not unlike the one in *Cadmus*, though, as is usual for Charpentier, the repeats are varied slightly.

These comparisons demonstrate that Lully, even in his earlier and less regular chaconnes such as that in *Cadmus*, conceives of the cyclical nature of these dances as highly essential. Charpentier, on the other hand, approaches the chaconne and passacaille with more freedom. He employs modulations more freely, deviates from—or even outright avoids—the ground bass, and opts for more varied phrase structures than those based on 4- or 8-bar cycles. However, this is all done to a matter of degree, as the preceding analyses show. In the case of *David et Jonathas*, the variety of techniques employed does not undermine the ability of the chaconne to organize a large-scale scene. Though the lack of the ground bass undermines the chaconne’s ability to represent monarchical power in Burgess’s argument, the regularity of phrasing in that particular example recalls Lully’s later works and successfully acts as a unifier in the same way that one sees in the Florentine’s operas.

The idea of unity, and particularly tonal unity, has already been a factor under consideration here with the chaconne. One problematic aspect concerning tonal unity must be addressed considering Jean Duron’s edition of *David et Jonathas*. The chaconne in the sole surviving source ends abruptly mid-phrase (see Example 3.6). The copyist Philidor was evidently drawing on an incomplete source, as he left two blank pages in his copy, presumably hoping to find the end of the chaconne in the future.⁶²³ Duron’s editorial solution was to look to the procedures used in Charpentier’s chaconne in *Médée*

⁶²³ The page numbers in this MS take into account the blank pages. The chaconne ends on page 130, and the next page continuing the opera is numbered 133. This suggests that Philidor used the same

to invent a conclusion.⁶²⁴ Duron's ending to the chaconne, however, is on the dominant G relative to the chaconne's tonic of C. He justifies this by pointing to the other acts' beginning and ending in the same key—Act I in D-major, Act II in G-major (with his editorial ending), Act III in F-major, Act IV in D-minor/D-major, and Act V in C-major. Since Act II begins in G, he felt that it should end in G.⁶²⁵ However, this would mean that the chaconne would not be tonally closed in C. I can find no example of a chaconne by Charpentier—or by anyone else—that ends in a different key than it begins.⁶²⁶ As we have seen, the obsessive pull toward the tonic constitutes an essential component to the dance, either by constant reiteration or by frequent modulations. Moreover, all evidence is that the chaconne was in the process of moving back toward the key of C when it was interrupted (note the F-naturals in the *dessus de violon* and bass staves near the end of Example 3.6). Thus, Duron's solution is problematic. I have offered another possibility based on *Médée* and the chaconne in *Les Arts Florissants* that ends in the key of C (see Appendix 3).

pagination as his source, and those two numbered pages are missing in the original.

⁶²⁴ See the notes to his critical edition.

⁶²⁵ The beginning of Act III is seemingly missing, as well: The prelude which opens the act ends in F but begins in B-flat. Philidor did not mark the music that begins Act III with any indication of the new act beginning (as he did in the other acts). Thus, his source may have been missing the beginning of Act III. The *dessus de violon* staff begins with a quarter note which has two stems, one upward and one downward, suggesting that before where the MS begins, there were two violin parts that converge at the beginning of the measure. Indeed, later in the prelude, there is a trio section which ends, and one sees the same notational procedure, where the two *dessus de violons* of the petit choeur converge on a single staff when the *grand choeur des violons* comes back in. Duron's solution for the beginning of Act III was to borrow music from later in the prelude (which is in F) and reproduce it at the beginning. This seems to be a reasonable solution. Remarkably, however, in the 1988 recording by Les Arts Florissants (HMC 901289.90), director William Christie opted to begin where the MS begins, ignoring Duron's editorial insertion even though the group cites Duron's reconstruction as their main source for the score. In the same recording, Christie opts for a different reconstruction of the chaconne ending that concludes in C. It is worth noting that in *Médée*, the acts do not begin and end in the same key, making Duron's comment perplexing "at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century, the act forms a whole of one same tonality." This is his rationale for ending the Chaconne in G.

⁶²⁶ Legrand examines all of Charpentier's chaconnes and passacailles: *Le malade imaginaire* (H. 495), *Circé* (H. 496), *Vénus et Adonis* (H. 507), *Le rendez-vous de Tuileries* (H. 505), *Les arts florissants* (H. 487), *David et Jonathas* (H. 490), and *Médée* (H. 491), in "Chaconnes et Passacailles."

Example 3.6. The interrupted end to the chaconne in *David et Jonathas* (II.3)

The placement of the chaconne in *Jonathas* at the end of Act II gives it a different dramatic function than that of the passacaille in *Armide*, whose position in the second scene of Act V makes it more of a final chance for a public spectacle before the decidedly un-celebratory ending to that opera (where Armide brings about the destruction of her palace). However, the placement of the chaconne in the middle of the opera echoes its location in *Médée* and even *Cadmus et Hermione*. The variety of placement therefore corresponds to the varied functions the chaconne can have in a *tragédie en musique*. In the case of *Jonathas*, it offers dramatic respite, and it appears in the only location of the story where the outlook of the characters is sufficiently peaceful to make the chaconne dramatically viable. Though the chaconne in *Jonathas* does not follow the Lullian model, we have seen how Charpentier's other chaconnes also strayed from the regularity employed by Lully. It nevertheless functions within the overall opera very much as expected given its dramatic motivation and its successful unification of a large portion of a scene with a repetitive pattern of phrase structure.

Through these analyses of large- and small-scale musical structures, Charpentier's unique compositional priorities have become apparent. Both in monologue scenes and in his chaconnes, variety is more important to him than regularity and form. He himself states that in music, "diversity alone makes for all that is perfect in it, just as uniformity makes for all that is dull and unpleasant. Changes in tempo and mode are very good and contribute marvelously to the diversity that music demands."⁶²⁷ We have seen how Lully sought uniformity in many instances, whether in the regular forms he often adopted in his monologue scenes, or in the strict adherence to the ground bass in the chaconnes and passacailles. Despite Charpentier's differing priorities from Lully and the special performance circumstances of *David et Jonathas*, the Jesuit opera nevertheless shows indebtedness to Lully's works. Commonalities span all of the works considered here, such as the structural techniques which underpin the spectacular music of a divertissement, the flexibility of vocal medium to reflect a character's loss of control, and the dramatic organizational power of the chaconne. Though recitative and dance are present in *David et Jonathas* in smaller quantities, where they appear, they function very much as expected relative to the Lullian model. Compositional style may in some ways separate *David et Jonathas* from a work like *Armide*, but as evident from *Médée*, Charpentier opted to use harmony and orchestration to the fullest expressive extent in any *tragédie en musique*, at the expense of staying within the bounds of Lully's style.

Over the course of the last three chapters, we have seen how *David et Jonathas* at one moment looks and sounds very much like one of Lully's operas, and at the next,

⁶²⁷ Taken from his compositional treatise to the Duc de Chartres. See Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 406.

flouts even the most fundamental aspects of how Lully's operas operate. This is to be expected in a work that draws upon some elements of the *tragédie en musique* and adapts them to the priorities of the Jesuits, by the pen of a composer with radically different training and musical strengths than Lully. What I hope to have shown, however, is that by comparing Charpentier's first full-length opera with those of Lully, layers of meaning emerge that would otherwise be lost in the political, aesthetic, and dramatic aspects of the story. What Charpentier, Bretonneau, and the Jesuits created was a work that adopted many superficial features of Lully and Quinault's works—triumphant celebrations, love conflicting with duty, demons and magic—all on a grand scale. This they appropriated to their desire to edify by telling a story about the consequences of faithlessness in God. As such, *galant* love would have been a distraction, and only a minimal amount of the supernatural could be included without straying from the Biblical source of this tale. In these ways this work diverges from the *tragédies en musique* of Lully; however, one can see both why the change is necessary and how Lully's operas still provide inspiration. Only by considering *David et Jonathas* as a participant with the *tragédie en musique* genre can we show how cleverly the work adapts a familiar generic framework.

Epilogue and Conclusions

After *David et Jonathas*, the theater of the Collège de Clermont ceased to produce regular *tragédies en musique* as it had done each Carnival season from 1684 to 1688. In fact, for three years afterward, no sources survive that indicate any sort of musical component to the Carnival productions at the school, although the summer performances continued as usual with a tragedy paired with a ballet.⁶²⁸ In 1692, the anonymously authored tragedy *Sophronus* included *intermèdes* that were sung and danced, but from 1693 to 1696, extant sources survive only for one theatrical work given at the school each year.⁶²⁹ This dearth coincides almost exactly with the worst years of fighting in Louis XIV's Nine Years' War (1688–1697), and it is possible that the king's lack of interest in art and diversion of resources to the military contributed to the reduction in performances of this period.⁶³⁰ Indeed, Lowe reports a handwritten note on the extant synopsis of the pastorale ballet *Romulus* (August, 1693) that states that no ballets at all were given at Clermont in 1694 due to the “bad year.”⁶³¹ According to John Lynn, France saw in the years 1693 and 1694 “one of its worst famines on record.”⁶³² After this war's completion, however, a resurgence in the theatrical activities at the school took place, some years seeing more stage works performed than even the usual two.⁶³³ The Jesuits employed none other than André Campra, who at the time was *maître de musique* at Notre-Dame, on at least five occasions to compose the ballets.⁶³⁴

⁶²⁸ Boyssse, *Le Théâtre*, 196–197; Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 181.

⁶²⁹ Boyssse, *Le Théâtre*, 198–204; Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 181–182.

⁶³⁰ On this war, see John Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, 193–257.

⁶³¹ Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 181, citing F-Pn Rés. Yf 2814 and 2815.

⁶³² Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, 241.

⁶³³ Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 183–186.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*, 183–186.

As discussed above, *David et Jonathas* was revived in 1706, with a new version of the tragedy *Saül*, the opera being reorganized into three larger acts with very minimal cuts. Duron (and Cessac, following his lead) allege that there were additional reprises of *David et Jonathas* on August 12th, 1715 at the Jesuit Collège d'Harcourt and on September 4th, 1741 at “the Jesuit colleges at Amiens *or* at La Flèche.”⁶³⁵ Neither gives a source for this information.⁶³⁶ H. L. Bouquet's thorough history on the Collège d'Harcourt does not mention *David et Jonathas*, despite including an entire chapter on the theater at the school and several documents pertaining to other works performed there.⁶³⁷ P. Camille de Rachemonteix's history of the college at La Flèche does indeed mention a “Jonathas et David” performed at that school on September 4th, 1741, but it is called “tragoedia”—not *tragédie en musique*. Furthermore, its author is listed as Ludovicus Hovius, and the *dramatis personae* are different than those in Bretonneau's livret.⁶³⁸ The plot synopsis summarizes a different version of the story of the title characters, strongly suggesting that this work had nothing to do with Charpentier's opera.⁶³⁹ However, the one definite reprise in 1706 of *David et Jonathas* is remarkable, particularly since its content was left largely unaltered and yet the play *Saül* was completely replaced.

As to the fate of the autograph manuscript, it was likely still in the possession of the Collège de Clermont at the time of the reprise, but if it was performed at other

⁶³⁵ Duron, ed., *David et Jonathas*, préface. Cessac, in *Marc-Antoine Charpentier* (182) says instead that the 1741 production was at both “Amiens and La Flèche.”

⁶³⁶ Lowe (180) acknowledges surviving programs at the Bibliothèque Municipale d'Amiens (BL 2247) and the Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne (HJr 55, no.4), which may have been consulted by Duron. I did not gain access to these documents, but the online catalogue record at both institutions lists Claude Thiboust as the publisher in Paris and the publication date in 1688. It is possible that the original printed livrets from 1688 were used at a subsequent performances, but I cannot find where Duron sourced such specific dates.

⁶³⁷ H.L. Bouquet, *L'ancien collège d'Harcourt et le Lycée Saint-Louis* (Paris: Imprimeurs de l'Université de la Sorbonne, 1801).

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*, 280–281.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid.*

schools, that may have contributed to its loss. Surprisingly, Peter Holman has discovered an arrangement of the *ouverture* to *David et Jonathas* in a collection of keyboard music copied by the Frenchman Charles Babel and dated 1702.⁶⁴⁰ His son, William Babel, brought the arrangement to England with him, where it resides in the British Library.⁶⁴¹ Holman suggests that this source may have been a copy of an existing arrangement made by someone “in Charpentier’s circle,” though the music of several French composers is represented in the collection by Babel, so he may in fact have been the original arranger.⁶⁴² This discovery at least gives us some hope that the music for *David et Jonathas* was disseminated beyond the college and therefore beyond the one extant copy by Philidor. Perhaps, then, we can hope that other sources may still be found in the future.

Regarding the fate of the Collège de Clermont, the theater continued to produce its semi-annual productions for decades after the reprise of *David et Jonathas*.⁶⁴³ However, the destiny of the Jesuits in France would come to an unkind close in 1762. As explained in Chapter 1, members of the French Parlement looked upon the Jesuits with suspicion due to their loyalty first to Rome and the anti-regalist publications authored by some Society members. Though the Jesuits had received monarchical protection for well over a century since the early 1600s, a series of events occurred that made it such that even this privileged relationship could no longer protect the Society in France. The first of these will sound familiar: in 1757, a rogue assassin named Robert François Damiens,

⁶⁴⁰ Peter Holman, “An English Manuscript of Music by Marc-Antoine Charpentier,” in *Marc-Antoine Charpentier, un Musicien Retrouvé*, edited by Catherine Cessac (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2005), 178.

⁶⁴¹ Ibid. GB-Lbl Add. MS 39569, pp. 88–89.

⁶⁴² Ibid., 182.

⁶⁴³ There were an average of two productions per year from 1710–1758, though some years saw three or more, and others, just one. See Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 186–195.

who just happened to have been formerly employed by the Collège de Clermont, made an attempt on the king's life.⁶⁴⁴ While the Society was implicated, the fatal blow came when a Jesuit missionary to the French Antilles, Antoine Lavalette, made some ill choices in land purchases; Lavalette's mission exported goods back to Europe, but he ultimately became too cavalier with finances.⁶⁴⁵ The massive debt accrued by Lavalette fell upon the Jesuits, and riding the wave of purported villainy placed upon the Society, Parlement dredged up the old anti-Regalist writings of Bellarmine and others, insisting that they be banned.⁶⁴⁶ By 1761, Parlement called for the closure of Jesuit colleges by April 1st, 1762.⁶⁴⁷ From there, it was only a short step to the banishment of the Society from the kingdom on August 6th, 1762.⁶⁴⁸ DuPont-Ferrier describes the aftermath of the order given specifically to the Collège de Clermont to close (May 3rd, 1762):

The rector, Father Frélaux, spent part of the night dictating the letters of notification destined for the families. And it was very necessary, the following afternoon, to inform the pupils that their correspondents or their parents were going to come take them away, as the dissolution of the college had to be accomplished without delay. Some of the families were already arriving. The college, which had until then presented the image of order and calm, gave forth in the hours that followed a spectacle much to the contrary. Above all, books, linens, and clothes were removed by the crowd, from the libraries, the lecterns, [and] the cupboards.⁶⁴⁹

Given this chaotic end for the college and its possessions, it is unsurprising that no musical sources belonging to the school survive besides the copies made for the king's library. We are fortunate, however, that *David et Jonathas*, a work of such quality,

⁶⁴⁴ Bangert, *A History*, 372.

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 373.

⁶⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 374–375.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 375.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 377.

⁶⁴⁹ Dupont-Ferrier, *Collège*, vol. 1, 34–35. “Le recteur, le P. Frélaux, consuma une partie de la nuit à dicter les lettres d’avis destinées aux familles. Et il fallut bien, l’après-midi lendemain, informer les élèves que leurs correspondants ou leurs parents allaient venir les prendre et que la dissolution du collège devait s’accomplir sans retard. Aussi bien, quelques-unes des familles arrivaient déjà. Le collège qui avait, jusque là présenté l’image de l’ordre et du calme, donna, dans les heures qui suivirent un spectacle tout contraire.

survives to attest to the lavish nature of Jesuit theater at the Collège de Clermont, cementing the strong ties between the practices at the school and the court.

Over the course of this study, I have examined how Charpentier's *David et Jonathas* participates with elements of the genre of the *tragédie en musique*, along with elements that are more suggestive of the oratorio, the spoken tragedy, the *intermède*, and the *pastorale*. Whereas scholars such as Duron and Cessac have emphasized the ways in which this work defies genre norms and have opted to place it in its own category, I have nevertheless found it instructive to analyze this opera in light of the genre that its authors ascribed to it. In so doing, I am not attempting to push this work into a box that others have decided does not fit it; rather, following Derrida and Frow, I have embraced the idea that works can freely mix elements of several different genres. I sought to freely explore the extent to which the work interacts with the *tragédie en musique*, even though its hybrid nature distances it in many ways from the model works of Lully. If the scores for the four other *tragédies en musique* presented at the Collège de Clermont in the years 1684 to 1687 were extant, it would be equally instructive to examine how consistently they participate in a genre defined just for them by Duron—the *opéra de collège*. Such an analysis would be even more constructive if the full texts of the operas' paired Latin tragedies survived. If it were possible to fully analyze the intertextual relationship between the works, one could perhaps come to understand the procedure by which the Jesuit fathers interwove Latin tragedy and French opera, thus creating, as Duron describes, an eleven-act *opéra de collège*. With the sources as they are, however, I have opted instead to examine the opera *David et Jonathas* separately from *Saül*, seeking

Partout, les livres, le linge, les vêtements, sortaient, en foule, des bibliothèques, des pupitres, des armoires.”

instead to underline ways that Charpentier and Bretonneau drew upon the inescapable models of French opera at the time, those of Lully and Quinault. Given the use of the term *tragédie en musique* in the printed livret, for instance, the audience then as now might bring with them a particular set of expectations for how the work should unfold. These expectations I have separated into three categories—the political, the aesthetic, and the musical—in order to show the ways *Jonathas* in which upholds or eschews conventional genre elements.

Regarding the political dimension, particularly in the Lully era and immediately after, the *tragédie en musique* was a genre strongly associated with the king and his power. A work from 1688 labeled a *tragédie en musique* would create the expectation for a hero who represents sovereign power to appear in the prologue, as had been the case in all of Quinault's prologues up to that point. Spectators would expect allusions to current events here as well, clothed in gossamer-thin allegory. The prologue to *David et Jonathas*, however, defies this convention. The omission of the hero image, which had had such a predictable appearance in French opera prologues up to Lully's death, is puzzling given the long history of staged works presented at the Collège that honored the king using the same kind of language and imagery as works presented at court. The sacred subject matter cannot even explain this lack, because Quinault's prologues often make no reference to the plot of the main work at all. A purely allegorical prologue unrelated to the main story could have introduced the opera. In light, however, of the turbulence in the 1680s between the king and the Pope, a statement of political dissent seems a reasonable explanation for why the work deviates from the typical function of the prologue in the Lully-era *tragédie en musique*.

Regarding the aesthetic dimensions, two intertwined aspects are essential to the experience of *David et Jonathas*: morality and love. While scholars have cited the complaints leveled at the work by Le Cerf regarding these two issues, none has thoroughly evaluated his criticism.⁶⁵⁰ The Jesuits created an opera which indicated the moral rectitude of acknowledging God's supremacy over the trivialities of human existence and of human-granted authority: Jonathan's love for David represents his acceptance of God's choice for the king of Israel. The prince's willingness to forsake his father's authority and his own right to the crown speaks to the selfless nature of his faith. Moreover, the message that no earthly ruler exceeds God's authority resonates with the political message of the work—a remonstrance to Louis XIV that his willingness to let his ties with Rome deteriorate challenges the patriarchal hierarchy of the world, with God and the Pope above himself. While Jonathan's love for David represents this more spiritual devotion, it is possible that audiences then as now could view their relationship as having an erotic component, given the intensity of Bretonneau's language and the expressiveness of Charpentier's musical setting. Here is where genre participation gives meaning to this particular opera, as the placement of a chaconne during the union of the lovers in the second act allows for a potentially sexual undertone; the chaconne's function in the operas of Lully sets the precedent by always occurring at a point where two lovers are successfully united or where some kind of seduction is at play, as Geoffrey Burgess has noted.⁶⁵¹ The status of homoeroticism as an “open secret” in seventeenth-

⁶⁵⁰ Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 183, and Duron's edition of the score (immediately after the title page) both cite the quote that begins my second chapter.

⁶⁵¹ Burgess, “Ritual,” 582. For example, *Cadmus et Hermione* (I.4) presents a seductive chaconne danced by Africans and Giants to entertain Hermione. *Persée* (V.8) ends with a chaconne celebrating Persée and Andromède's union.

century France supports this dual interpretation of the main characters' love, as same-sex desire and relationships occurred but were largely open secrets among the elite.

Contemporary attitudes, at least to a certain degree, show that same-sex desire may not preclude moral uprightness: the *honnête homme* did not cease to be *honnête* over taking a male lover. Monsieur, the king's brother, is a case in point. Thus, an “official” reason for the characters' affection—the analogy of spiritual devotion—does not preclude other readings of the story. It is the tendency of love to be an important plot element in the *tragédie en musique* that makes it necessary to examine the function of love in this example. Because the Jesuits were uneasy with depicting a heterosexual love story on their stage, their operas had to employ some sort of substitute. The special relationship of David and Jonathan may be the ideal—and perhaps only—biblical relationship that functions so well in the stead of a conventional love story. Its intensity makes it dramatically viable, and its moral purpose as an analogy to faith in God perfectly reconciles the operatic requirement for love with the Jesuits' desire to edify.

The sacred subject matter of *David et Jonathas* blurs the inherent genre boundaries between opera and oratorio, as the former is usually secular and the latter always sacred—at least in the seventeenth century. An investigation into the moral aspects of the work has shown some overlap between the moral and dramatic details of *Jonathas* and Charpentier's oratorio *Mors Saisilis et Jonathae*. However, the musical style ultimately draws sharp divisions between the genres and exposes how Charpentier conceived of them as quite distinct. He drew to some extent on Lully's musical style for his *tragédie en musique* while retaining aspects of his teacher Carissimi's style in the Italianate oratorio. In light of this comparison, the musical aspects of the genre of the

tragédie en musique become all the more important in defining how *Jonathas* participates within it.

To that end, juxtaposing *Jonathas* with two other *tragédies en musique* (*Médée* and *Armide*) demonstrates which generic elements are emphasized in the Jesuit opera. Lully's *Armide* acts as somewhat of a standard against which Charpentier's works can be measured. Including *Médée* in this inquiry has shown that certain elements, such as the more elaborate use of instrumental music and the deeply expressive use of harmony to underpin monologues, are priorities of Charpentier in his approach to opera. Certain musical elements are wanting in *Jonathas* compared to the other operas, most notably recitative and dance. The comparative lack of recitative stems from the fact that *Jonathas* was interspersed with a spoken play. As recitative most commonly provides a vehicle for action through dialogue, it was not as necessary in a work wherein the story was elaborated through a spoken medium. I will here emphasize again that *Saül* and *Jonathas* do not *depend* on one another: they tell the same story from different angles, with the opera emphasizing those plot elements that music most enhances—spectacle and personal introspection. Dialogue and action—and therefore, recitative—do form part of the musico-dramatic fabric of Charpentier's *Jonathas*, simply taking up a smaller percentage of the work than usual. The relative paucity of recitative does indeed distance *Jonathas* from Lully's *tragédies en musique*, but the recitative style, when it occurs, shows a remarkable melodic affinity for Lully's. Likewise, there is a lesser percentage of dance within the work compared to *Armide* and *Médée*, yet dance still functions in *Jonathas* in keeping with generic expectations. Most notably, the inclusion of a long chaconne in the second act operates very much according to the Lullian model, both in terms of its

dramatic function (the union of the main couple) and its ability to organize an entire scene of disparate characters. Musically, Charpentier's chaconnes are far less regular than Lully's, but this is a quirk of his style rather than a peculiarity specific to the chaconne in *Jonathas*.

In sum, I have shown throughout this thesis the stylistic and conceptual debt owed by Charpentier and Bretonneau to Lully and Quinault's model, along with the ways that the model was broken down into various facets—the authors selectively deciding which facets were compatible with their aims. There is no denying that the work is a hybrid whose inner workings cannot be explained with reference to a Lullian model alone. The Jesuits' own musical traditions—with their interest in the oratorio and their history of interweaving ballet *intermèdes* with spoken tragedies—informed the elements that most prominently make up the fabric of *David et Jonathas*. My hope is that this study will be useful as the work is performed and interpreted in the future. By viewing the work as participating within the *tragédie en musique* genre, among others, I have advanced an interpretation of its political meaning, as well as giving some historical insight into the nature of David and Jonathan's relationship. These are important aspects to consider when staging the work and deciding how to present the story to a modern audience. Of course, there is no “correct” interpretation, but I hope that my work can help directors in the future to mull their options with some idea as to the historical situation that produced this opera.

For example, William Christie's 2013 production of the work (Bel Air Classiques BAC093), addresses both the perplexing prologue and the nature of the title couple: Christie opted to move the prologue (since it does not behave like a Quinault prologue) to

a position between the third and fourth acts. While this is a legitimate exercise of artistic license, perhaps my argument of this work's status as a hybrid would make it unappealing in the future to try to "fix" what is not broken—that is to say, to make this work behave like a *tragédie en musique* "should" behave. Christie's production also brings the homoerotic elements to the fore, Christie citing the "sensuality" of the music and the livret.⁶⁵² I hope to have fairly shown how the sources may justify this interpretation.

Beyond generating a reading of this work by examining its genre participation, this exercise also exposes which aspects of the *tragédie en musique* the Jesuits saw as essential to retain, and which could be modified to fit their priorities. Obviously, the secular plot and conventional love story had to be eliminated. Other elements, such as long dialogue scenes, long chains of dances, machines, and panegyrics could be downplayed. But in examining the livrets of the operas presented at the college, superficial musico-dramatic tropes from Lully's operas were indispensable: the *sommeil* or sleep scene, the *tempête*, ritual scenes, magic, and the celebratory *fête* all appear. Love was also indispensable, particularly as it arises within conflict between love and duty, or the pursuit of *gloire* and *amour*. In the case of *Jonathas*, Charpentier tempered the Italian excesses of his eclectic compositional style with some restraint, and there are clear stylistic debts to Lully as I have shown. Parts of Lully's musical language was thus deemed an essential component to the genre as well, at least insofar as possible, given Charpentier's differing priorities and training.

⁶⁵²See the liner notes to the cited production (n.p.).

I will close by returning to John Frow's notion that “texts work upon genres as much as they are shaped by them.”⁶⁵³ Scholars such as Catherine Kintzler, Laura Naudeix, Buford Norman, Downing Thomas, and Geoffrey Burgess, among others, have done much to explain how the genre of the *tragédie en musique* operates. Their work is solidly grounded in the close reading of historical sources, and the citation of certain stylistic norms across the repertoire. Drawing upon their work, as did Cessac and Duron, it is easy to expose how *David et Jonathas* in many ways breaks the mould of the genre. However, genre is not a template. That Charpentier, Bretonneau, and Philidor conceived of this work as a “tragédie en musique”—and labeled it so—invites us to see which elements the work shares in common with other works bearing that label. Perhaps the answer to the question “What is a *tragédie en musique*?” must necessarily address *David et Jonathas*, and by extension, what we know of the rest of the works with that label performed at the Collège de Clermont.

⁶⁵³ Frow, *Genre*, 30.

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**Appendix A. The *Mercure Galant's* Account of *David et Jonathas*
(March 1688, pp. 317–323)**

J'ay a vous parler de trois *Opera*. L'un fut representé aux Iesuites le 28. du mois passé. Comme cela pourra vous surprendre, je m'explique. Le College de Louis le Grand estant remp y de Pensionnaires de la premiere qualité, & qui n'en sortent que pour posseder les premieres Dignitez de l'Estat, dans l'Eglise, dans l'Epée & dans la Robe, il est necessaire que cette jeunesse s'accoutume à prendre la hardiesse & le bon air qui sont necessaires pour parler en public. C'est dans cette veuë que les Iesuites se donnent la peine de l'exercer en faisant représenter deux Tragedies tous les ans. Ils donnent l'une sur la fin de chaque Esté, un peu avant que les Vacances commencent, & elle est représentée dans la court du College, parce que la saison est encore belle. Celle qui paroist sur les derniers jours du Carnaval, se represente dans une des Classes, par les Ecoliers de la Seconde. Ces Tragedies n'estoient autrefois mêlées que de Balets, parce que la danse est fort necessaire pour donner de la bonne grace, & rendre le corps agile; mais depuis que la Musique est en regne, on a trouvé à propos d'y en mêler, afin de rendre ces divertissemens complets. On a encore plus fait cette année, & outre la Tragedie de Saül qui a esté représentée en Vers Latin, il y en avoit une en Vers François, intitulée *David & Ionathas*, & comme ces Vers ont esté mis en Musique, c'est avec raison qu'on a donné le nom d'*Opera* à cet Ouvrage. On ne peut recevoir de plus grands applaudissemens qu'il en a eu, soit dans le Repetitions, soit dans la Representation. [...] La second *Opera* dont il faut que je vous parle, n'est pas nouveau, puis que c'est celuy de *Phaëton*. [...] Je passe au troisiéme *Opera* qu'on represente icy depuis quelques jours. Il est en trois Actes, & intitulé *Flore & Zephire*.

Appendix B. An analysis of the chaconne to *Les Arts Florissants*

Text:	"Charmante paix"	-	"de ces monstres"	-	"charmante paix"	-	
Music:	a	b	c		a	b'	
Bass	free	free	free	free	free	free	
Tonality:	G	G	G → D	D → G	G	G	
Length:	7	4	8	5	7	5	
Forces:	voice+cont.	vlns+cont.	voice+cont.	flutes+cont.	voice+cont.	vlns+cont.	
MM:	1–7	8–11	12–19	20–24	25–31	32–36	
Text:	"charmante paix"	-	"de ces monstres"	-	"charmante paix"	-	"charmante paix"
Music:	a'	b	c'		a''	b''	a'
Bass	free	free	free	free	free	free	free
Tonality:	G	G	G → D	D	G	G	G
Length:	7	4	8	5	7	5	7
Forces:	chorus	vlns+cont.	chorus	vlns+cont.	two voices+cont.	vlns+cont.	chorus
MM:	37–43	44–47	48–55	56–60	61–67	68–72	73–79
Text:	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Music:							
Bass	free	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tonality:	G → e	e → D	D → G	G	G → C	C → G	G
Length:	4	4	8	4	8	8	4
Forces:	vlns+cont.	...	...	...	...	...	...
MM:	80–83	84–87	88–95	96–99	100–107	108–115	116–119

Text:	"les beaux"	"ma ca douce"	"peinture"/"la belle"	...	...	-
Music:	d	d'				
Bass	free	free	free	free	free	free
Tonality:	G → e	e	e → D	D → a [^]	→ D	D
Length:	8	8	8	8	20	5
Forces:	voice+cont.	voice+cont.	2 voices+cont.	...	...	vlms+cont.
MM:	120–127	128–135	136–143	144–151	152–171	172–176
Text:	"charmante paix"	-	"de ces monstres"	"charmante paix"	"charmante paix"	
Music:	a'	b	c'	a'''	a'	
Bass	free	free	free	free	free	
Tonality:	G	G	G → D	D	G	
Length:	7	4	8 (+1)	7 (+1)	7	
Forces:	chorus	vlms+cont.	chorus	two voices+cont.	chorus	
MM:	177–183	184–188	189–197	198–205	206–212	
Text:	-	-	-	-	-	-
Music:						
Bass	free	free	desc. Tetrachord	free	free	free
Tonality:	G	G	G	G	G	G → D
Length:	8	4	8	4	8	3
Forces:	vlms+cont.	...	...	...	...	...
MM:	213–220	221–224	225–232	233–236	237–244	245–247
						248–255

Appendix C. A sample conclusion to the chaconne in *David et Jonathas*

Dessus de violon

Haute-contre de violon

Taille de violon

Basse continue

9

17

25