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RESEARCH ARTICLE

'The pieces that are in the hands of everyone belong to the public': Philippe-Emmanuel de Coulanges, Song Games and Operatic Artefacts in Seventeenth-Century Paris

John Romey

Purdue University, Fort Wayne, IN, USA
Email: john.romey@icloud.com

Abstract

In seventeenth-century Paris, the performance of an opera or other staged spectacle was an interactive event that engendered countless subsequent performative acts. An operatic premiere infused the Parisian songscape with new musical material that reverberated in various social spheres, from the *galant* airs performed by *mondains* at gatherings of literary elites to the ribald songs performed by street singers. The chansons of Philippe-Emmanuel de Coulanges provide a window into the musical games that unfolded across fashionable Paris. These traces of ephemeral song networks illuminate how spectacles had a ripple effect throughout Paris and beyond when individuals performed, manipulated, quoted and parodied operatic artefacts in various social contexts and spaces. The study of the ways in which audiences interacted with operatic music in turn reveals how contemporary spectators understood, listened to and valued a work and its components, as they dissected and reused elements in their quotidian social experiences.

Keywords: Song; *Tragédie en musique*; Salons; Jean-Baptiste Lully; Early Modern France; Coulanges; Sévigné

On 19 January 1674, *Alceste, ou le triomphe d'Alcide*, Jean-Baptiste Lully and Philippe Quinault's second *tragédie en musique*, ignited the imaginations of Parisians. According to Charles Perrault, soon after its premiere at the Opéra, all of Paris became enchanted by the newest spectacle, learned the airs 'by heart' and sang them all over the city.[1] One of

[1] All translations are my own unless otherwise stated. Charles Perrault, *Critique de l'opéra, ou examen de la tragédie intitulée Alceste, ou le Triomphe d'Alcide* (Paris, 1674), 50: 'Seroit-ce à cause qu'elles ne valent rien, que tout le monde les sçait par cœur & les chante de tous côtez'. Prunières attributes the *Critique de l'opéra* to Pierre Perrault. In their critical edition of the letter, Brooks, Norman and Zarucchi attribute it to Charles Perrault. Couvreur rejects the supposition that the *Critique de l'opéra* was written 'à six mains'. Psychoyou suggests that it was 'probably written by four hands, by the two brothers, indeed with the participation of Claude Perrault' (fut probablement écrit à quatre mains par les deux frères, voire avec la participation de Claude Perrault). La Gorce proves that the *Critique de l'opéra* was written by Charles Perrault. Henry Prunières, *Alceste, Œuvres complètes* (Paris, 1932), IX; William Brooks, Buford Norman and Jeanne Morgan Zarucchi, eds., *Alceste: Suivi de la Querelle d'Alceste* (Geneva, 1994), X; Manuel Couvreur, *Jean-Baptiste Lully* (Brussels, 1992), 296–301; Théodora Psychoyou, 'Une académie hors normes: du rapport entre création et théorisation dans la mise en place du canon musical Lully', in *Le prince et la musique: Les passions musicales de Louis XIV*, ed. Jean Duron (Sprimont, 2009), 289–307, at 293, note 20; Jérôme de la Gorce, *Jean-Baptiste Lully* (Paris, 2009), 202.

Figure 1. Portrait of Philippe Emmanuel de Coulanges dressed for carnival, Nicolas Colombel (1690). Oil on canvas. Musée de la ville de Paris, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.

those individuals stimulated by the latest spectacle was Philippe-Emmanuel de Coulanges, a magistrate born into a life of leisure. The diarist Saint-Simon provides a literary portrait of the Marquis de Coulanges: 'a very small man, fat, with a cheerful face, of easy wit, gay, agreeable, who produces only pretty trifles, but who always produces new ones, and off the cuff' (for a visual portrait, see Figure 1).[2] Coulanges filled his idle hours on a quest for diversions with other members of his social circle of urban elites and developed a reputation in fashionable society for his wit and talent as a *chansonnier*, that is for his passion – bordering on an obsession – for composing new texts, at times improvised, to pre-existing tunes. He shared his gift at intimate gatherings of friends as they drank and dined together, as they refined their linguistic skills in *galant* conversations, as they recited poetry, as they read aloud from letters and from voluminous novels, as they

[2] Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1955), 197: 'C'étoit un très petit homme, gros, à face réjouie, de ces esprits faciles, gais, agréables, qui ne produisent que de jolies bagatelles, mais qui en produisent toujours et de nouvelles et sur-le-champ.' Four versions of this portrait, painted by Nicholas Colombel during one of Coulanges's séjours in Rome, survive today. In his *mémoire*, Coulanges describes the portrait as a gift: 'where I am represented, mask in hand, in Hungarian hat and dress' (où je suis représenté, le masque à la main, avec un bonnet et un habit à la hongroise). Louis Jean Nicolas Monmerqué, ed., *Mémoires de M. de Coulanges suivis de lettres inédites de Mme de Sévigné, de son fils, de l'abbé de Coulanges, d'Arnauld d'Andilly, d'Arnauld de Pomponne, de Jean de La Fontaine, et d'autres personnages du même siècle* (Paris, 1820), 218–19.

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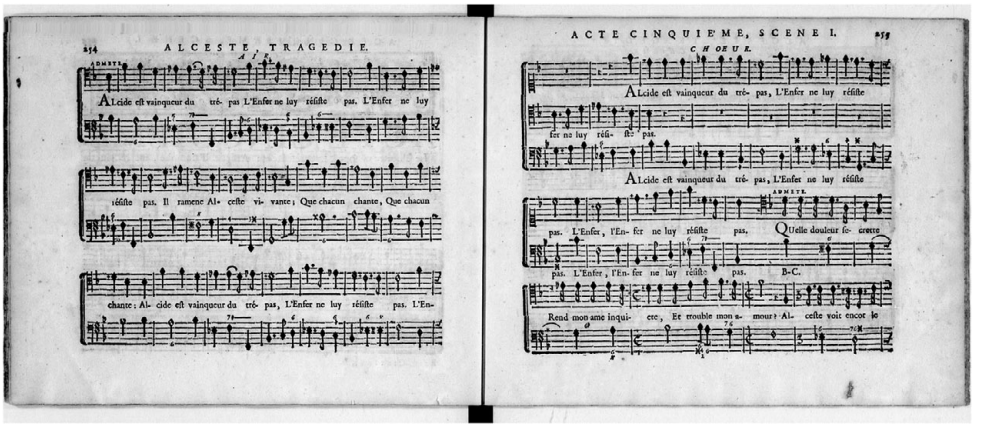

Figure 2. 'Alcide est vainqueur du trépas' Admète's air from act 5 scene 1 of Jean-Baptiste Lully's *Alceste. Alceste, tragédie en musique par Monsieur DE LULLY, Ecuyer-Conseiller-Secretaire du Roy, Maison, Couronne de France & de ses Finances, & Sur-Intendant de la Musique se SA MAJESTÉ. Imprimée pour la premiere fois* (Paris, 1727), 254–5. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

sharpened their wits by playing salon games, and as they attended the Parisian theatres, including the Opéra.[3] Coulanges is neither a historical anomaly nor an exceptional figure; his songs reflect broader social trends in which fashionable Parisians performed, manipulated, quoted and parodied operatic artefacts.

Soon after the premiere of *Alceste*, for example, Coulanges penned a parody of 'Alcide est vainqueur du trépas'.[4] In this air (Figure 2), which opens the final act, a chorus echoes Admète, the king of Thessaly, as he sings in celebration of Alcide's (Hercules's) triumph over death and his restoration of Alceste to the world of the living:

Alcide est vainqueur du trépas,
L'Enfer ne lui résiste pas.
Il ramène Alceste vivante;
Que chacun chante:
Alcide est vainqueur du trépas,
L'Enfer ne lui résiste pas.

[3] Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the words *galant* and *galanterie* carried a variety of meanings. In the second half of the seventeenth century, writers such as Scudéry used the term to indicate the domains under female control. DeJean claims that a *galant* 'was sensitive to the code of living and loving properly dictated by women in the salons, had assimilated from women's conversation the lessons of "galanterie", and thus belonged to that parallel intellectual aristocracy of those who acted nobly whether or not they were of noble birth, and who were considered worthy of assimilation into official aristocracy through marriage'. Joan DeJean, *Tender Geographies: Women and the Origins of the Novel in France* (New York, 1993), 137. See also: Jean-Michel Pelous, *Amour précieux amour galant (1654–1675): Essai sur la représentation de l'amour dans la littérature et la société mondaines* (Paris, 1980), 154–7; Paul Pellisson and Alain Viala, eds., *L'esthétique galante: Discours sur les œuvres de Monsieur Sarasin et autres textes* (Toulouse, 1989), 13–46; Alain Viala, *La France galante: Essai historique sur une catégorie culturelle, de ses origines jusqu'à la Révolution* (Paris, 2015); Alain Viala, *La galanterie: Une mythologie française* (Paris, 2019); Micheline Cuénin, *Roman et société sous Louis XIV: Madame de Villedieu (Marie-Catherine Desjardins 1640–1683)*, vol. 1 (Lille, 1979), 329–44.

[4] Philippe-Emmanuel Coulanges, *Recueil de chansons choisies, divisé en deux parties*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1698), 71; F-Pnm ms. français 12619, 167; F-Pnm ms. français 12687, 253–4. In this article, I identify libraries using sigla standardised by Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM). For sigla resolutions, see rism.info/community/sigla.html (accessed 28 June 2022).

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[Hercules is conqueror of death! Not even Hades holds him back. He returns Alceste to the living; Let us all sing! Hercules is conqueror of death! Not even Hades holds him back.]

Coulanges produced, by preserving 'as much as possible the original rhymes, words, and cadences', the following parodic verse for the air:[5]

Têtu est vainqueur de Brancas,[6]
La Trousse n'y résiste pas,
De lui seul Coulange est contente,
Son mari chante:
Têtu est vainqueur de Brancas,
La Trousse n'y résiste pas.

[Têtu is the conqueror of Brancas! La Trousse cannot hold him back. With him alone [dame de] Coulanges is happy. Her husband sings: Têtu is the conqueror of Brancas! La Trousse cannot hold him back.]

The parody mocks Charles, the Count of Brancas, who was in love with Coulanges's wife, Marie-Angélique de Coulanges, known as a fashionable wit and *épistolière* in her own right. Although Brancas was infatuated with Marie-Angélique, the Abbé Jacques Têtu de Belval deprived him of some unspecified advantage he had while courting her.[7] Coulanges chides Brancas through song in a lighthearted manner that individuals apprised of events in his personal life found droll and charming, especially in a performance originating from this 'fat little man of jovial and spiritual physiognomy'.[8] Coulanges's quick wit, which he used to mock his rivals, served as his passport to fashionable social gatherings.

When Coulanges first performed his parody at a social event, it was likely that his cousin, the celebrated *épistolière* Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, the marquise de Sévigné, witnessed the performance. As long as *Alceste* held the boards of the Opéra and his topical verse did not appear dated to the novelty-obsessed *mondains* (a Parisian sociological group, which included both nobles and upwardly mobile bourgeois, and the ideal of sociability they exemplified), Coulanges could contribute a performance as part of an evening's entertainment.[9] By 29 December of the following year, the charm of Coulanges's verse had not yet been exhausted. In a letter to her daughter Madame de Grignan, Sévigné first relays a bit of gossip about her cousin the Marquis de La Trousse and shapes her own barb by rearranging the text of Coulanges's parodic verse:

[5] Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel: Contenant généralement tous les mots françois tant vieux que modernes, & les termes des sciences et des arts …* (The Hague, 1690), q.v.: 'Parodie. s. f. Plaisanterie poëtique, qui consiste à tourner quelques ouvrages serieux en burlesque, & en affectant d'observer autant qu'il est possible les mêmes rimes, paroles, ou cadences'.

[6] Coulanges, *Recueil de chansons choisis*, vol. 1, 71.

[7] The Abbé Jacques Têtu de Belval socialised both at the court, where he was chaplain to the king, and in fashionable circles in Paris, where he produced light poetry. Bacilly, for example, set his *Airs spirituels* to Têtu's *Stances chrétiennes* of 1669. For Têtu's social circle see Thierry Favier, 'Foyers et dynamique des genres musicaux à la fin du règne de Louis XIV', in *Les foyers artistiques à la fin du règne du Louis XIV (1682–1715): Musique et spectacles*, ed. Anne-Madeleine Goulet (Turnhout, 2019), 227–250, at 239–40.

[8] Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, vol. 5, 198: 'Coulanges étoit un petit homme fort gras, de physionomie joviale et spirituelle'.

[9] For a discussion of the term *mondain*, see Alain Génetiot, *Les genres lyriques mondains (1630–1660): Étude des poésies de Voiture, Vion d'Alibray, Sarasin et Scarron.* (Geneva, 1990), 15–17; Lewis Seifert, *Fairy Tales, Sexuality, and Gender in France 1690–1715: Nostalgic Utopias* (Cambridge, 2011), 68–78.

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La Trousse est vainqueur de Brancas;[10]
Têtu ne lui résiste pas …
De lui seul Coulange est contente;
Que chacun chante.

[La Trousse is the conqueror of Brancas! Têtu cannot hold him back … With him alone, Coulanges is happy. Let everyone sing.]

By referring to Coulanges's chanson as 'last year's song', she suggests that his parody was a memorable manipulation of musical material from *Alceste*, at least within their social circle.[11]

These parodic texts document some of the ways in which *mondains* manipulated an operatic artefact in the ludic culture that flourished in fashionable Paris. The performance of *Alceste* at the Opéra was a measurable success, but as I will argue here, its success should not only be quantified by ticket sales, length of a run and number of revivals. *Mondains* sought to articulate and fashion the latest trends by repurposing material generated by new court and public spectacles, which included all types of ballets, theatre and especially operas. These individuals internalised and reused material from spectacles as a signifier of status, one that could broadcast their privileged identities.[12] They adopted individual tunes for song games that could traverse performance spaces, social networks and rank.

Scholars of early modern France have worked to decentre musical performance from the gravitational pull of Louis XIV's court and the Opéra. They have untangled the layers of meanings bound up with the politics of spectacle and examined the plural sites of French operatic experience within France and outside its borders.[13] Others have illuminated the intertwined musical and literary traditions that unfolded in the egalitarian and ludic social spaces of the Parisian salons.[14] Numerous scholars working on the fairground theatres of the

[10] Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné, *Correspondance II* (*julliet 1675 – septembre 1680*), ed. Roger Duchêne (Paris, 1974), 206.

[11] Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné, *Correspondance II (julliet 1675 – septembre 1680)*, 206: 'je chanterais fort bien le contre-pied de la chanson de l'année passée'.

[12] Many of Lully's operas were revived at the Opéra until the 1770s. Although the political and social reasons why his operas were revived are complex, one possible reason for their continued popularity is that the interactive games of creating parodic texts to his airs also continued far into the eighteenth century. William Weber, 'Learned and General Musical Taste in Eighteenth-Century France', *Past & Present* 89 (1980), 58–85; William Weber, 'The Contemporaneity of Eighteenth-Century Musical Taste', *The Musical Quarterly* 70/2 (1984), 175–94; William Weber, '*La musique ancienne* in the Waning of the Ancien Régime', *The Journal of Modern History* 56/1 (1984), 58–88; William Weber, 'Mentalité, tradition et origines du canon musical en France et en Angleterre au XVIIIe siècle', *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 44/4 (1989), 849–73; William Weber, 'Lully and the Rise of Musical Classics in the 18th Century', in *Jean-Baptiste Lully: Actes du colloque Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Heidelberg 1987*, ed. Jérôme de La Gorce and Herbert Schneider, 581–90 (Laaber, 1990); Solveig Serre, *L'Opéra de Paris (1749–1790): Politique culturelle au temps des Lumières* (Paris, 2011); Herbert Schneider, *Rezeption der Opern Lullys im Frankreich des Ancien Régime* (Tutzing, 1982).

[13] Robert M. Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca, 1973); Georgia Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure: Louis XIV and the Politics of Spectacle* (Chicago, 2008); Geoffrey Vernon Burgess, 'Ritual in the *tragédie en musique*: From Lully's "Cadmus et Hermione" (1673) to Rameau's "Zoroastre" (1749)' (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2000); Olivia Bloechl, *Opera and the Political Imaginary in Old Regime France* (Chicago, 2017); Rebekah Ahrendt, '*Armide*, the Huguenots, and the Hague', *The Opera Quarterly* 28/3 (2012), 131–58; Natasha Roule, 'The Operas of Jean-Baptiste Lully and the Negotiation of Absolutism in the French Provinces, 1685–1750' (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2018); Goulet, ed., *Les foyers artistiques à la fin du règne du Louis XIV (1682–1715).*

[14] For more on music, salons and sociability, see Anne-Madeleine Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité au XVIIe siècle: Les livres d'airs de différents auteurs publiés chez Ballard de 1658 à 1694* (Paris, 2004); Catherine Gordon-Seifert, '"La réplique galante": Sébastien de Brossard's Airs as Conversation', in *Sébastien Brossard, musicien*, ed. Jean Duron (Versailles, 1998), 181–201; Catherine Gordon-Seifert, *Music and the Language of Love: Seventeenth-Century French Airs* (Bloomington, 2011). For more on the salon as a game space, see Anne Duggan, *Salonnières, Furies, and Fairies: The*

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early eighteenth century have further highlighted the roles of song and theatrical opera parody in spaces in which social ranks mixed.[15] Little attention has been paid, however, to the interactive nature of opera and the complex ways in which spectators manipulated operatic artefacts in constructing individual and group identities.

Coulanges's chansons provide a glimpse of the elusive singing culture of *mondains.* His songs appeared in two published collections produced without his participation or permission. Some of Coulanges's parodic songs emerged from salon games in which participants improvised new texts to existing melodies to create musical conversations. Song networks can be expanded by incorporating surviving parodic texts, which are today preserved in hundreds of manuscript *chansonniers*, written for the same airs parodied by Coulanges.[16] Parodies of two tunes from *Isis*, Lully and Quinault's fifth *tragédie en musique*, suggest that melodies achieved various degrees of diffusion. While some tunes remained in privileged *mondain* circles, others became *vaudevilles* – chansons contemporaries described as 'in the mouth of the people' and 'that run through the streets' – and also circulated among the lower ranks, including street singers, servants (such as shop boys, porters, cabaret maids, valets and cooks) and merchants.[17] Further, the contrast between the use and manipulation

Politics of Gender and Cultural Change in Absolutist France (Newark, 2005), 91–103; Stephanie Bung, *Spiele und Ziele: Französische Salonkulturen des 17. Jahrhunderts zwischen Elitendistinktion und belles lettres* (Türbingen, 2013). Over the last decade, ludomusicology has emerged as a vibrant field of enquiry: Roger Moseley, *Keys to Play: Music as a Ludic Medium from Apollo to Nintendo* (Oakland, 2016); for an early modern perspective on musical games, Paul Schleuse, *Singing Games in Early Modern Italy: The Music Books of Orazio Vecchi* (Bloomington, 2015).

[15] The literature about early comic opera and the fairground theatres is vast. For a sampling, see: Charles Mazouer, *Le Théâtre d'Arlequin: Comédies et comédiens italiens en France au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 2002); François Moureau, *De Gherardi à Watteau: Présence d'Arlequin sous Louis XIV* (Paris, 1992); Clifford Barnes, 'Instruments and Instrumental Music at the "Théâtre de la Foire" (1697–1792)', *Recherches sur la musique française classique* 5 (1965), 142–68; Clifford Barnes, 'Vocal Music at the "Théâtre de la foire" (1697–1762), Part I: Vaudeville', *Recherches sur la musique française classique* 8 (1968), 141–60; Judith le Blanc, *Avatars d'opéras: Parodies et circulation des airs chantés sur les scènes parisiennes* (Paris, 2014) (see also the annexes to this volume, published online on the Iremus site: api.nakala.fr/data/11280/f5ad9bd4/2cb25830c948f7fac433c537fe0ebdff32ef35a7); Loïc Chahine, 'Louis Fuzelier, le théâtre et la pratique du vaudeville: établissement et jalons d'analyse d'un corpus' (Thèse de doctorat, Université de Nantes, 2014); Anastassia Sakhnovskaia-Pankeeva, 'La naissance des théâtres de la Foire: influence des Italiens et constitution d'un repertoire' (Thèse de doctorat, Université de Nantes, 2013).

[16] Although there are hundreds of volumes of manuscript *chansonniers* in libraries across France and the United Kingdom, the Clairambault Chansonnier (F-Pnm ms. français 12686-12743) and the Maurepas Chansonnier (F-Pnm ms. français 12616-12659) are two of the most comprehensive *chansonniers* that cover the seventeenth century. For more on the Clairambault–Maurepas volumes, see Paul d'Estrée, 'Les origines du chansonnier de Maurepas', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 3/3 (1896), 332–45; Claude Grasland and Annette Keilhauer, 'Conditions, enjeux et significations de la formation des grand chansonniers satiriques et historiques à Paris au début du XVIIIe siècle', in *Le chant, acteur de l'histoire: Actes du colloque tenu à Rennes du 9 au 11 septembre 1998*, ed. Jean Quéniart (Rennes, 1999), 165–81; Claude Grasland, 'Chansons et vie politique à Paris sous la Régence', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 37 (1990), 537–70; Annette Keilhauer, *Das französische Chanson im späten Ancien Régime: Strukturen, Verbreitungswege und gesellschaftliche Praxis einer populären Literaturform* (New York, 1998).

[17] Pierre Richelet, *Dictionnaire françois, contenant les mots et les choses, plusieurs nouvelles remarques sur la langue françoise* (Geneva, 1680), 508: 'Vaudeville: C'est une sorte de chanson qui est dans la bouche de peuple'. Furetière defined *vaudeville* in 1690 as 'Chanson que le peuple chante'. In the third edition from 1708, he added '& qui court dans les ruës'. Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel, contenant généralement tous les mots françois tant vieux que modernes, et les termes de toutes les sciences et des arts ...* (The Hague, 1690), s.v. 'vaudeville'; Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel, contenant généralement tous les mots françois tant vieux que modernes, & les termes des sciences et des arts ...*, 3rd edn (Rotterdam, 1708), s.v. 'vaudeville'. Philippot le Savoyard, the most lauded street singer in seventeenth-century Paris, describes his audience as including 'un compagnon boulanger' and 'un garçon rôtisseur'. Emile Colombey, *Aventures burlesques de Dassoucy* (Paris, 1876), 86. For more on street singing and the Pont-Neuf as a performance space, see Robert M. Isherwood, *Farce and Fantasy: Popular Entertainment in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New York, 1986), 3–21; Joan DeJean, *How Paris Became Paris: The Invention of the Modern City* (New York, 2015), 21–44; and Nicholas Hammond, *The Powers of Sound and Song in Early Modern Paris* (University Park, 2019), 9–30.

of operatic music by Coulanges with his cousin and confidant Sévigné, a lifelong member of his intimate social network and a prolific writer who occasionally attended the court, delineates a discrete conversational tradition of operatic quotation that operated in parallel to the parodic song tradition. All these types of interactions with operatic music reveal how contemporary audiences understood, listened to and valued a work and its musical components as they atomised works and reused fragments in their daily lives. Finally, an understanding of the interactive nature of opera forces us to reevaluate the documentary evidence of operatic performances from early modern France. Besides providing sociological insights into audience behaviour, reconstructing operatic song games shapes our understanding of how print and manuscript scores and collections of opera airs were used by the early modern consumers who collected them.

Songs owned by the public: Coulanges's *Recueil de chansons choisies*

On 15 November 1694, Coulanges, who was then 61 years old, saw his songs – which had for decades circulated orally, as manuscripts and in letters – appear in print.[18] This publication offers concrete documentation of Coulanges's improvisatory song creation, and his parodic texts open a window into his social world. Simon Bénard published a two-volume collection consisting of 222 chanson texts, most of which were authored by Coulanges.[19] Bénard was the son of a printer–publisher of the same name who had established a shop on the rue Saint-Jacques near the Sorbonne in the Latin Quarter where many book dealers and printers congregated. In the 1670s and 1680s, the elder Bénard had published ecclesiastical works in Latin and programmes for ballets and tragedies performed by students at the Collège de Louis le Grand de la Compagnie de Jésus (renamed the Collège de Clermont de Compagnie de Jésus in 1682 after Louis XIV patronised the school), a nearby Jesuit institution.[20] On 1 May 1684, after seizing a counterfeit edition of Pierre Richelet's *Dictionnaire françois* in Villejuif, Simon I Bénard was murdered, leaving his widow to run the family business until their son was elevated to master printer on 7 August 1691. The son took over operations in January 1694, and on 15 May he published Charlotte-Rose de Caumont La Force's *Histoire secrète de Bourgogne*, one of the first publications to bear his imprint. This novel represents a radical break from his father's academic and Jesuit clientele, and the firm's maiden voyage in publishing *mondain* literature.[21] Three months later, Bénard produced Coulanges's *Recueil de chansons choisies, divisé en deux parties*, a venture that would sell well enough to merit, in 1698,

[18] Songs authored by Coulanges survive in many manuscript *chansonniers.* Besides songs in the Clairambault–Maurepas Chansonnier, other examples include F-Pnm ms. français 12492 and F-Pa ms. 2782. Some manuscripts suggest that *mondain* collectors prized Coulanges's songs, which are often bound together with other *galant* verse, prose and letters. See F-Pm ms. français 15124, F-Pm ms. français 19147, F-Pa ms. 2777-2779, F-Pa 6541-6544.

[19] Coulanges, *Recueil de chansons choisies* (Paris, 1694). The final fifty-two chansons of the second volume, beginning with the parody of the chaconne from Phaëton, were written by other *chansonniers*. The second edition includes an *Avis du libraire sur cette II. partie* that explains how Bénard added additional chansons by others to supplement those by Coulanges. *Recueil de chansons choisies*, vol. 2, (Paris, 1698), 237–8.

[20] For more on the Jesuit productions, see Marie Demeilliez, '"Un plaisir sage et réglé": musiques et danses sur la scène des collège parisiens (1640–1762)' (Thèse de doctorat, Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2010).

[21] Simon I Bénard's shop was in front of Le collège de la Compagnie de Jésus and, after the collège was renamed and moved across the street, in front of Le collège Louis-le-Grand. Between Simon I Bénard's death in 1691 and Simon II Bénard taking over the firm in January 1694, Simon I Bénard's widow continued to operate the shop and mostly published texts in Latin. When Simon II Bénard opened his shop, he relocated down the street on the rue de Saint Jacques 'au dessus des Mathurins, au Compas d'or'. Grivel provides a map of the vendors on the rue de Saint-Jacques in the year 1700 and incorrectly notes that the shop of Grégoire Dupuis is located at Le Compas d'or. The publications of Dupuis from the time locate his shop at la Fontaine d'Or, which was on the other side of the rue de Saint-Jacques just past the rue de Noyers. Grivel does not include the shop of Bénard on any of her maps. Marianne Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe à Paris au XVIIe siècle* (Geneva, 1986), 62.

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a revised and expanded edition containing 392 chansons.[22] Both editions begin with an *Au lecteur* that contains valuable information about *mondain* song cultures, explaining how these two publications came into existence without Coulanges's participation.

The *Le libraire au lecteur* to the first edition of the *Recueil de chansons choisies* provides context for the genesis of the collection. Bénard claims that he collected songs that circulated (literally 'ran') as manuscripts and 'were admired everywhere there were good connoisseurs'.[23] Collectors of songs lent manuscripts to friends and acquaintances to make copies for their personal *cabinets*, and Coulanges's songs survive both as part of manuscript anthologies and as single-author collections.[24] Bénard laments that these sources are 'filled with faults, as usually occurs in handwritten works'; however, by comparing multiple copies of the same text, he was able to rectify many of the errors.

Bénard further asserts that 'What I did to the author is not larceny, although this is done without his participation. The pieces that are in the hands of everyone belong to the public.'[25] According to his reasoning, once the literary products of a *mondain* author circulated as material objects in fashionable society, they were public property.[26] Further, because Bénard published Mademoiselle de la Force's novel and Coulanges's songs in quick succession, he seems to have been targeting a *mondain* readership. Perhaps Bénard used *tout le monde* in the *Au lecteur* as a shrewd marketing tactic to attract socially aspirational readers who sought to participate in the interactive song games of fashionable society or to live vicariously through Coulanges's poetry. Throughout the published volumes, Bénard disguised, if only half-heartedly, the author of the chansons by referring to him as 'Monsieur de C ***'.[27] Potential purchasers would have recognised the author of the chansons, however, because Bénard relied on Coulanges's reputation as a marketing tool for the collection.

Coulanges did not acquiesce to Bénard's assertion of innocence and instead flew into a state of panic and agitation. In a letter to Madame de Coulanges dated 19 November 1694, five days after the initial printing by the Bénard firm, Sévigné reports that 'M. De Coulanges found a great affliction on his return [to Paris]. There appears in the world a printed book of his chansons, and at the head of this book, an admirable encomium of his person.' She claims that 'He is very stricken by this experience', and that she 'aggravated him by not taking it [the affair] seriously'. The cure, in her opinion, is obvious: 'To all this I answer: songs, songs!'[28] She concludes by hoping he composes enough songs to fill another volume, an activity that would restore his jovial constitution.

[22] In 1710, Guillaume Cavelier reprinted this second edition, suggesting that there was still a market for copies. *Recueil de chansons choisies*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1710). Printers published collections of Coulanges's songs as late as 1754. *Chansons choisies de M. de Coulange* (Paris, 1754).

[23] *Recueil de chansons choisies*, vol. 1, aii r: 'elles ont couru, manuscrites, & ont été admirées de tout ce qu'il y a de bons connoisseurs'.

[24] For a study of the collecting practices of one seventeenth-century bourgeois Parisian, see Tom Hamilton, *Pierre de L'Estoile and His World in the Wars of Religion* (Oxford, 2017), 17–46 and 166–94.

[25] *Recueil de chansons choisies*, vol. 1 (1694), aii r-v: 'le plûpart des exemplaires soient remplis de fautes, comme il arrive d'ordinaire des Ouvrages qui courent écrits à la main …'; 'Au reste, ce n'est point un larcin que j'ay fait à l'Auteur, bien que cecy se fasse sans sa participation. Des Pièces qui sont entre les mains de tout le monde appartiennent au Public …'

[26] For an analysis of authorship and author's rights in seventeenth-century France, see Joan DeJean, *The Reinvention of Obscenity: Sex, Lies, and Tabloids in Early Modern France* (Chicago, 2002), 84–121.

[27] Perella highlights the reticence of aristocratic authors to claim authorial status in print. Lisa Perella, 'Bénigne de Bacilly and the *Recueil des plus beaux vers, qui ont esté mis en chant* of 1661', in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, ed. Kate van Orden (New York, 2000), 239–270, at 245. Profiting from the written word could harm an aristocrat's status, and nobles therefore circulated their work as manuscripts or published anonymously. Bacilly, however, contends that despite pretensions to remain anonymous an amateur poet wanted his or her songs published to gain prestige and notoriety as a literary figure. Bertrand de Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter* (Paris, 1679), 29.

[28] Sévigné, *Correspondance III*, 1069–70: 'M. de Coulanges a trouvé une grande affliction à son retour Il paraît dans le monde un livre imprimé de ses chansons et, à la tête de ce livre, un éloge admirable de sa personne … Il est très

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Bénard next provides a brief biographical portrait of Coulanges – presumably what Sévigné referred to as an 'admirable encomium' – including descriptions of his personality and travels, in which he touts his international fame as a *chansonnier* and claims that Coulanges 'is capable of the most serious and most lively conversations'. 'It is good to remark', continues Bénard, 'that some of these songs are impromptus made in conversation, or at the table, glass in hand. They are not less beautiful. Monsieur de C *** is inimitable even in the things that escape him on the spot, and there is no one in these encounters who thinks, nor who expresses himself like he [does].'[29] Coulanges's songs therefore cannot be disassociated from the refined conversational practice developed at the Parisian salons and were frequently acts of improvisation fuelled by libation. Finally, the songs in this collection, claims Bénard, are more effective when they are performed: 'No matter how pleasant these chansons are when we read them, it is quite another thing when we sing them. It is with them as with all works that are made for singing.'[30] Bénard asserts that while song texts circulated in written form, they were best experienced as a performance. The act of singing parodic songs highlights the inherent intertextuality and orality of the practice.

The *Au lecteur* to the second revised and expanded edition from 1698 consists of merely a few paragraphs, but nevertheless provides additional valuable details about Bénard's process in assembling the texts and the steps he took to ensure that Coulanges's songs could be experienced by consumers as musical performances. After extolling the success of the first edition, which he describes as a panegyric to the author, Bénard further explains his methodology for gathering chansons for the collection. In addition to referring to multiple manuscript sources for each song text, he also 'consulted people who have heard of this sort of work'. These editorial advisors lend an air of credibility to Bénard's claim of textual accuracy. 'The airs to which these songs were composed', he adds, 'are known to everyone; we took care to indicate them exactly.'[31] Unlike many of the manuscript *chansonniers* in which *mondains* collected song texts, Bénard's publications identified the pre-existing tunes, in most cases by a title following the phrase *sur l'air*, or 'to the air'.[32] In both editions, although the melodies are not printed, the tune names are indicated to ensure that the purchaser could experience the songs as music and not merely as poetry. The second revised and expanded edition includes many additional chansons, all composed by Coulanges, with the texts from the first edition that were written by other poets removed from the second edition. It seems Coulanges must have heeded Sévigné's advice that he should continue to compose enough chansons to fill another volume. Both editions document an ephemeral performance practice in which parodic songs served as ludic

touché de cette aventure, que j'ai encore aggravée par ne la pouvoir prendre sérieusement. À tout cela je réponds: *chansons, chansons.*'

[29] *Recueil de chansons choisies*, vol. 1 (1694), a iii r: 'il est capable des conversations les plus sérieuses, & les plus enjoüées'; 'Il est bon de remarquer qu'une partie de ces Chansons sont des Impromptus faits en conversation, ou à table, le verre à la main, elles n'en font pas moins belles; Monsieur de C *** est inimitable jusques dans les choses qui luy échapent sur le champ, & il n'y a personne dans ces rencontres qui pense, ni qui s'exprime comme luy.'

[30] *Recueil de chansons choisies*, vol. 1 (1694), a iii v: 'Quelque agréables que soient ces Chansons, lors qu'on les lit, c'est tout autre chose lors qu'on les chante; il en est ainsi de tous les Ouvrages qui sont faits pour le chant.'

[31] *Recueil de chansons choisies*, vol. 1 (1698), a ii–a iii: ' ... & consulté Gens entendus en cette sorte d'Ouvrage, ... '; 'Les airs sur lesquels ces chansons ont été composées sont connus de tout le monde, on a eu soin de les marquer fort exactement.'

[32] The circulation of verses without identifiable tunes had obviously become a problem by 1717 when Ballard published his *La clef des chansonniers.* In the *Avertissement*, Ballard makes clear that he sought to provide a reference collection of melodies so that purchasers could reconnect the tunes to the verses found in the many manuscript *chansonniers* 'now spread across the most famous *cabinets*' (répandus actuellement dans les plus célèbres Cabinets). For a critical edition, see Herbert Schneider, ed., *La clef des chansonniers (1717): Erweiterte kritische Neuausgabe* (Hildesheim, 2005).

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diversions and as tools of self-fashioning when performed at social events attended by other *mondains.*

Musical conversations

In seventeenth-century Paris, *mondains* gathered at salons, where literature, conversation and music comingled. Female hosts and their coteries carved out exclusive social spaces independent from the court in which they could wield power as arbiters of taste. A tradition of *galant* conversation sprouted from the refined modes of social interaction nurtured at salons.[33] The French conversational practice – known throughout Europe as *la conversation française* – in turn served as the foundation for a literary aesthetic. Eric Walter has estimated that by the year 1660 there were approximately forty salons with 800 participants and 200 writers.[34] Attendees gathered to hear literature, from pithy maxims and poems to serially published novels, read aloud (*à haute voix*) and to contribute suggestions for revision.[35] Literature was therefore performative, collaborative, interactive, and integrated into conversational aesthetics. A witty conversationalist, for example, might respond to a question with a quotation from a fashionable poem.[36] Coulanges's songs reflect this tradition through examples of both dialogues and portraits, the two building blocks of salon literature.[37]

Anne-Madeleine Goulet and Catherine Gordon-Seifert have focused attention on the musical practices that unfolded at seventeenth-century Parisian salons. Goulet has demonstrated that musical performance at salons must be understood as a mode of sociability.[38] Gordon-Seifert has shown that *airs sérieux*, the quintessential musical genre of the salons, participated in 'a great literary game' (*un grand jeu littéraire*). She has reconstructed various techniques used to create musical dialogues by substituting new texts to pre-existing songs. One conversationalist might sing a strophe to an air, prompting another to respond by singing a new strophe to the

[33] For more on conversational practice, see Elizabeth Goldsmith, *Exclusive Conversations: The Art of Interaction in Seventeenth-Century France* (Philadelphia, 1988). Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, readers in France had an insatiable appetite for civility manuals. Baldassare Castiglione's *Il cortegiano* was translated into French and published in many editions. French imitations, adaptations and refinements of these guides appeared, like Nicholas Faret's *L'honneste homme ou l'art de plaire à la court* (Paris, 1630). For the effects of the civility literature on musical discourse and practice, see 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 (2003), 3–44; and Michael A. Bane, '*Honnêtes gens*, Amateur Musicianship, and the "Easy Air" in France', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 20 (2014), sscm-jscm.org/jscm-issues/volume-20-no-1/honnetes-gens-amateur-musicianship-and-the-easy-air-in-france-the-case-of-francesco-corbettas-royal-guitars/.

[34] Eric Walter, 'Les auteurs et le champ littéraire', in *Histoire de l'édition française: Le livre triomphant*, ed. Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier (Paris, 1984), 507.

[35] For a discussion of reading aloud in seventeenth-century France, see Philippe-Joseph Salazar, *Le culte de la voix au XVIIe siècle: Formes esthétiques de la parole à l'âge de l'imprimé* (Paris, 1995), 140–53.

[36] DeJean, *Tender Geographies*, 22–4, 74–6; Duggan, *Salonnières, Furies, and Fairies*, 95; Faith Beasley, Salons, *History, and the Creation of Seventeenth-Century France: Mastering Memory* (New Brunswick, 1990), 100–74; Génetiot, *Les genres lyriques mondains*, 179.

[37] Scudéry introduced conversations in her novel *Artamène, ou le Grand Cyrus* (1649–53) and codified the portrait in *Clélie, histoire romaine* (1654–60). DeJean, *Tender Geographies*, 51–9. According to Duggan, the result of creating literature based on *galant* conversations and stringing together these building blocks was to halt the forward movement of a story: *Salonnières, Furies, and Fairies*, 55–9. For a study of lyric genres of the *mondains*, see Génetiot, *Les genres lyriques mondains.* Some manuscript sources label some of Coulanges's songs as 'Portrait'. See F-Pnm ms. 2777.

[38] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité.*

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same air.[39] As Coulanges's chansons and manuscript *chansonniers* attest, an identical process unfolded using tunes from spectacles and *vaudevilles* as parodic vehicles for ludic musical conversations.

Musical portraits have received less attention than musical dialogues, but Anne Duggan has established that literary portraits were exchanged between salon participants as a kind of currency.[40] In seventeenth-century France, a literary portrait was more than a verbal description of a person's physical characteristics. In an age in which physiognomy – the art of judging character from physical, especially facial, characteristics – was a thriving pseudo-science, contemporaries believed that portraits provided evidence of the immutable psychological and character traits of an individual.[41] A portrait could therefore provide a window into an individual's soul.[42] The musical portraits composed and performed at salons, like the portrait songs produced by Coulanges, also functioned as a type of currency or gift exchange.

Three consecutive song texts published in both editions of the *Recueil de chansons choisies* demonstrate how Coulanges created musical conversations. All three texts are set to the same tune, identified as 'Je suis une fois en débauche'. Although no tune identified by that name survives, a manuscript copy of the third text in this musical conversation identifies the tune as 'Joconde', a well-known *vaudeville* (Figure 3) favoured in salon circles.[43] It is probable that 'Je suis une fois en débauche' and 'Joconde' were two names for the same tune. The first text is described as 'to Mademoiselle de Scudéry, on her convalescence'. Scudéry, a leading writer in her day, hosted one of the most influential salons, known as the Société du Samedi (Saturday Society), at her home in the Marais. She invented the *roman à clef* – a genre of novel that fused 'history' (that of the Persian Wars or the foundation of the first Roman republic) with the stories circulating in French high society – in which she was known as Sapho, a pseudonym used in the context of both her fictions and in the game space of the salon. In a single strophe Coulanges trumpets the return of Scudéry's health after she had recovered from a fever:

Sapho, j'ay long-temps hésité,
Mais il faut que je chante
Le retour de vostre santé,
Ce beau sujet me tente;
Quand la fièvre vous fait souffrir,
Ce n'est qu'une querelle:
Hé quoy jamais peut-on mourir
Quand on est immortelle?[44]

[39] Gordon-Seifert, '"La réplique galante"', 181–3; Gordon-Seifert, *Music and the Language of Love*, 230–6. See also Anne-Madeleine Goulet, 'Les divertissements musicaux du samedi', in *Madeleine de Scudéry: Une femme de lettres au XVIIe siècle. Actes du Colloque international de Paris (28–30 juin 2001)*, ed. Delphine Denis and Anne-Elisabeth Spica (Paris, 2002), 203–16. For more on how the performance of poetry was also a component of conversational practice, see Génetiot, *Les genres lyriques mondains*, 171–81.

[40] Duggan, *Salonnières, Furies, and Fairies*, 107–13.

[41] For a case study of the use of physiognomy in seventeenth-century France, see Peter Sahlins, 1668: *The Year of the Animal in France* (New York, 2017), 199–236. For more on literary portraits in the seventeenth-century French tradition, see: Catherine J. Lewis Theobald, 'The Pose in Prose: The Literary Portrait and the Early French Psychological Novel' (PhD diss., University of Colorado Boulder, 2004); Erica Harth, 'The Ideological Value of the Portrait in Seventeenth-Century France', *L'Esprit Créateur* 21 (1981), 15–25; Nina Ekstein, 'Women's Images Effaced: The Literary Portrait in Seventeenth-Century France', *Women's Studies* 21 (1992), 43–56.

[42] At the salon of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, individuals participated in a salon game in which guests created self-portraits. Martin Porter, *Windows of the Soul: Physiognomy in European Culture 1470–1780* (Oxford, 2005), 215.

[43] F-Pnm ms. français 19147, fol. 209r.

[44] *Recueil de chansons choisies*, vol. 1 (1694), 94; (1698), 256.

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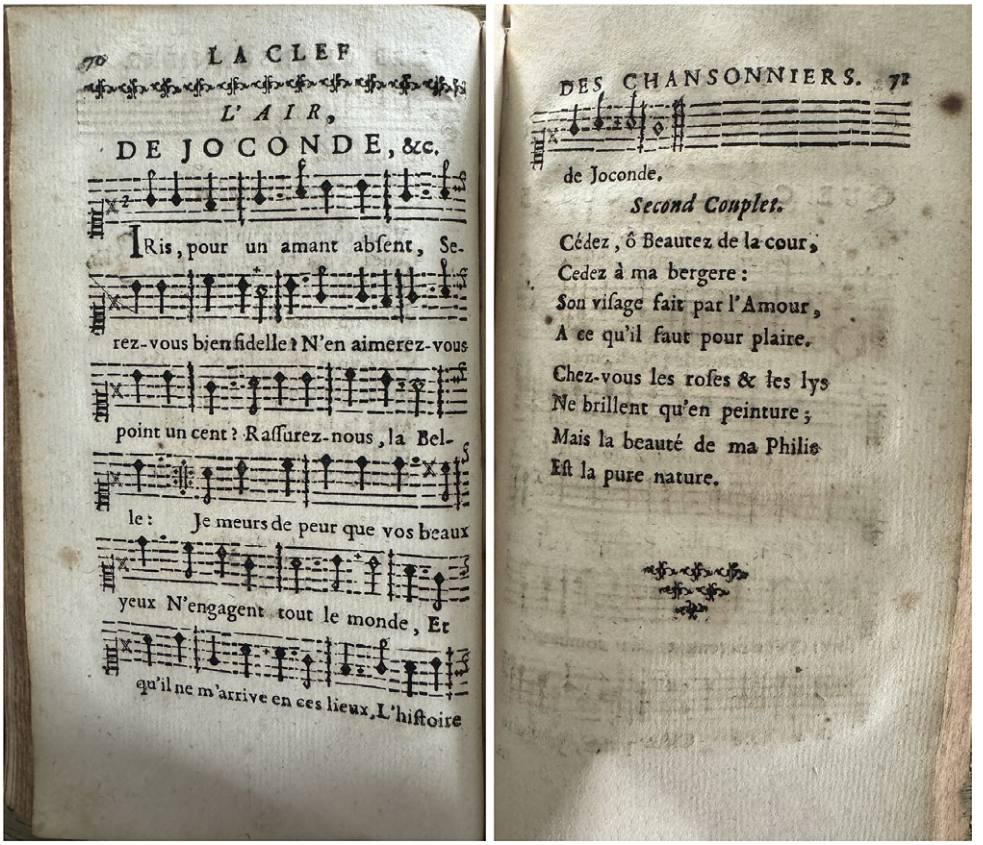
70 LA CLEF

L'AIR,

DE JOCONDE, &c.

IRis, pour un amant abſent, Se-
rez-vous bien fidelle? N'en aimerez-vous
point un cent? Raſſurez-nous, la Bel-
le: Je meurs de peur que vos beaux
yeux N'engagent tout le monde, Et
qu'il ne m'arrive en ces lieux, L'hiſtoire

DES CHANSONNIERS. 71

de Joconde.

Second Couplet.

Cédez, ô Beautez de la cour,
Cedez à ma bergere:
Son viſage fait par l'Amour,
A ce qu'il faut pour plaire.
Chez-vous les roſes & les lys
Ne brillent qu'en peinture;
Mais la beauté de ma Philis
Eſt la pure nature.

Figure 3. 'L'air de Joconde, &c.' in *La clef des chansonniers*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1717), 70–1.

[Sapho, I have long hesitated, but I must sing of the return of your health. This beautiful subject tempts me. When fever makes you suffer, it is just a quarrel. Ah! Can we never die when we are immortal?]

Scudéry responded in kind with a strophe of her own invention sung to the same tune with which Coulanges addressed her:

Vous loüez trop flatteusement
Une pauvre mortelle,
Je sçay bien qu'en Vers quand on ment
Ce n'est que bagatelle:
Mais pour ne vous rien déguiser,
Je ne sçaurois me rendre,
Car il faudrait pour m'appaiser,
Le portrait d'Alexandre.[45]

[45] *Recueil de chansons choisies*, vol. 1 (1694), 95; (1698), 257.

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[You are too flattering! A poor mortal, I know well that in verse when we lie, it is only a trifle. But to hide nothing from you, I would not know how to surrender because it would take the portrait of Alexander to appease me.]

Scudéry was flattered, the intent of Coulanges's verse, but preferred that he send a portrait of the current pope, Alexander VIII. Coulanges continues this musical dialogue with a third strophe:

Sapho, qui va trop loin se perd,
Je crains un labyrinthe,
Le chemin ne m'est pas ouvert
Pour aller à Corinthe;
Vous demandez de ma façon
Le Portrait du Saint Pere,
Pour chanter le grand Ottobon,
Il faudrait un Homere.[46]

[Sapho, he who goes too far is lost. I fear a labyrinth. The path is not open to me to go to Corinth. You ask of me for the Portrait of the Holy Father. To sing of the great Ottoboni, it would take a Homer.]

In other words, he humbly declines to comply with Scudéry's request, suggesting that the creation of a portrait of Pietro Vito Ottoboni (the birth name of Pope Alexander VIII) would take a great poet like Homer, someone with skills far greater than Coulanges possesses.

Scudéry and Coulanges created a utilitarian musical conversation that incorporated the two building blocks of salon literature. In 1689 Coulanges accompanied his friend and protector, the Duc de Chaulnes, on a diplomatic mission to Rome for the conclave that elected Pope Alexander VIII.[47] Scudéry was therefore requesting a musical and literary portrait based on Coulanges's experiential knowledge of the new pope; this musical dialogue unfolded through a series of letters while Coulanges was in Rome and Scudéry was recovering from her illness in Paris. Alexander VIII only lived for sixteen months after ascending to the papacy, and Coulanges remained in Rome for two years following this initial diplomatic mission, long enough to witness the conclave that elected Pope Innocent XII on 12 July 1691. This musical dialogue flattered a friend and prominent Parisian literary figure and functioned as a means of information exchange about French involvement in consequential European political negotiations.

The *Recueil de chansons choisies* includes at least three other musical dialogues. In the first, Coulanges and François Adhémar de Monteil, the Comte de Grignan and son-in-law of Sévigné, create a musical dialogue using the *vaudeville* 'Joconde'.[48] In the second, Coulanges reports to Elisabeth Le Féron, the Duchesse de Chaulnes, again using the tune 'Joconde', about a visit from Catherine Descartes, a poet, daughter of Pierre Descartes and niece of the philosopher René.[49] The Duchesse de Chaulnes responds using the same tune, and Catherine

[46] *Recueil de chansons choisies*, vol. 1 (1694), 96; (1698), 258.

[47] Coulanges penned a memoir about his travels to Rome for the conclaves that elected Alexander VIII and Innocent XII. This memoir circulated in manuscript copies and was published in the nineteenth century. Monmerqué, ed., *Mémoires de M. de Coulanges.*

[48] *Recueil de chansons choisies*, vol. 2 (1698), 19–23.

[49] *Recueil de chansons choisies*, vol. 1 (1698), 200–5. For the discussion and dissemination of Descartes's philosophical ideas at the Parisian salons, see Sahlins, *1668*, 304–6; Erica Harth, 'Cartesian Women', *Yale French Studies*

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Descartes, as the third conversationalist, concludes the conversation with her own parodic text. An example of using an operatic air as a vehicle for a musical conversation begins with Coulanges singing a parodic text to 'Enfin grace au dépit', an air from Act I scene 5 of *Alceste*, before an unidentified second conversationalist responds by crafting new verse to the same tune.[50] These musical conversations chronicle a salon game that showcased a participant's wit and ability to improvise verse to musical and poetic models.

A manuscript collection of Coulanges's songs preserves an additional example of a musical salon game, in this instance using the tune known as 'contrevéritez'. 'Les contrevéritez de la cour' or 'Counter-truths of the Court' first emerged as a literary genre that circulated as satirical political pamphlets published in 1620 and 1652. The former materialised around a wave of criticism of the power held by Charles de Luynes, Louis XIII's favourite, just before his assassination, and the latter was printed as a *mazarinade* during the Fronde.[51] These pamphlets spawned a series of manuscript versions of the 'contrevéritez' genre that circulated in the late 1650s.[52] In 1680, Richelet defined 'Contre-véritez' in his *Dictionnaire françois* as 'A fine satire in prose or verse in which one mocks a person by giving that person qualities he or she visibly does not have.'[53] In the literary genre, participants created satirical anti-portraiture, an inversion of the literary portraits that more commonly served as standard salon fare, of members of the court.[54]

Literary 'contrevéritez' evolved into a parodic musical game in which, after 1668, participants sang anti-portraits to the instrumental 'Air pour les bergers' (Figure 4) composed by Lully for *Le Grand Divertissement Royal* at Versailles.[55] Beginning in 1669 and blossoming in 1670, manuscript *chansonniers* suggest that 'contrevéritez' texts were sung 'to the tune contrevéritez'.[56] Eight-line (or 'octave') stanzas of paired rhyming couplets emerged as a standard form for the musical genre. Some of these *chansonniers* notated melodies, and Lully's dance tune (Figure 5), despite never having received a performance on a public stage in Paris, became known as 'contrevéritez' in fashionable society.[57] The transformation of 'contrevéritez' from a literary to a musical game seems to

No. 80, Baroque Topographies: Literature/History/Philosophy (1991), 146–64. For the influence of female philosophers on Descartes, see Jacqueline Broad, *Women Philosophers of the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 2004), 4–6, 19–20, 155–6.

[50] The verse by Coulanges was published in both editions of the *Recueil de chansons choisies* (1694: vol. 1, 73–4; 1698: vol. 1, 208–9) and survives in a manuscript *chansonnier*. F-Pnm ms. français 15124, fols. 9r-10r.

[51] For more on the *mazarinades* (political ephemera such as pamphlets, placards and songs produced during the Fronde), see: Hubert Carrier, *La Presse de la Fronde (1648–1653): La conquête de l'opinion* (Geneva, 1989); Hubert Carrier, *La Presse de la Fronde (1648–1653): Les hommes du livre (Geneva, 1991); Christian Jouhaud, Mazarinades: La Fronde des mots* (Paris, 1985). For *mazarinade* songs, see John Romey, 'Singing the Fronde: Placards, Street Songs, and Performed Politics', in *Early Modern French Studies* (special issue: Soundscapes) 31/1 (2019), ed. Tom Hamilton and Nicholas Hammond, 52–73; John Romey, 'Court Airs Performed in Seventeenth-Century French Streets', in *Tanz Musik Transfer*, ed. Hanna Walsdorf, Jelena Rothermel and Christoph Koop (Leipzig, 2018), 171–89.

[52] F-Pnm ms. français 12638, 271–4, 275–82; F-LR ms. 673, fols. 79r–79v.

[53] Richelet, *Dictionnaire françois*, 177: 'Satire fine en prose ou en vers où l'on se moque d'une personne lui attribuant des qualitez que visiblement elle n'a pas'.

[54] Duggan has discussed the existence of anti-portraiture in *Salonnières, Furies, and Fairies*, 128–30.

[55] Ballard published a programme for Molière's play and Lully's *intermèdes*, and André Félibien, who was named historiographe du Roi in 1666, published a description of the festivities for the entire fête. *Le Grand Divertissement Royal de Versailles* (Paris, 1668); *Relation de la feste de Versailles du 18e juillet 1668* (Paris, 1668). The Philidor workshop produced manuscript copies of the dance music. 'George Dandin ou le Grand Divertissement Royal de Versailles dancé devant sa majesté le 15e Julliet 1668. Recueilly par Philidor l'aisnée en 1690', F-Pn RES F-526. A seventeenth-century manuscript collection of violin parts for Lully's music refers to the tune that became known as 'Contrevéritez' as a minuet. '[Airs de ballets et d'opéras] partie de dessus de violon', F-Pn VM6-5, fol. 54v.

[56] F-Pnm ms. français 12618, 245; F-LYm ms. 1549, 591–9.

[57] F-Pbh ms. 594, 129r–134r; GB-LBL Egerton 814, 361–2.

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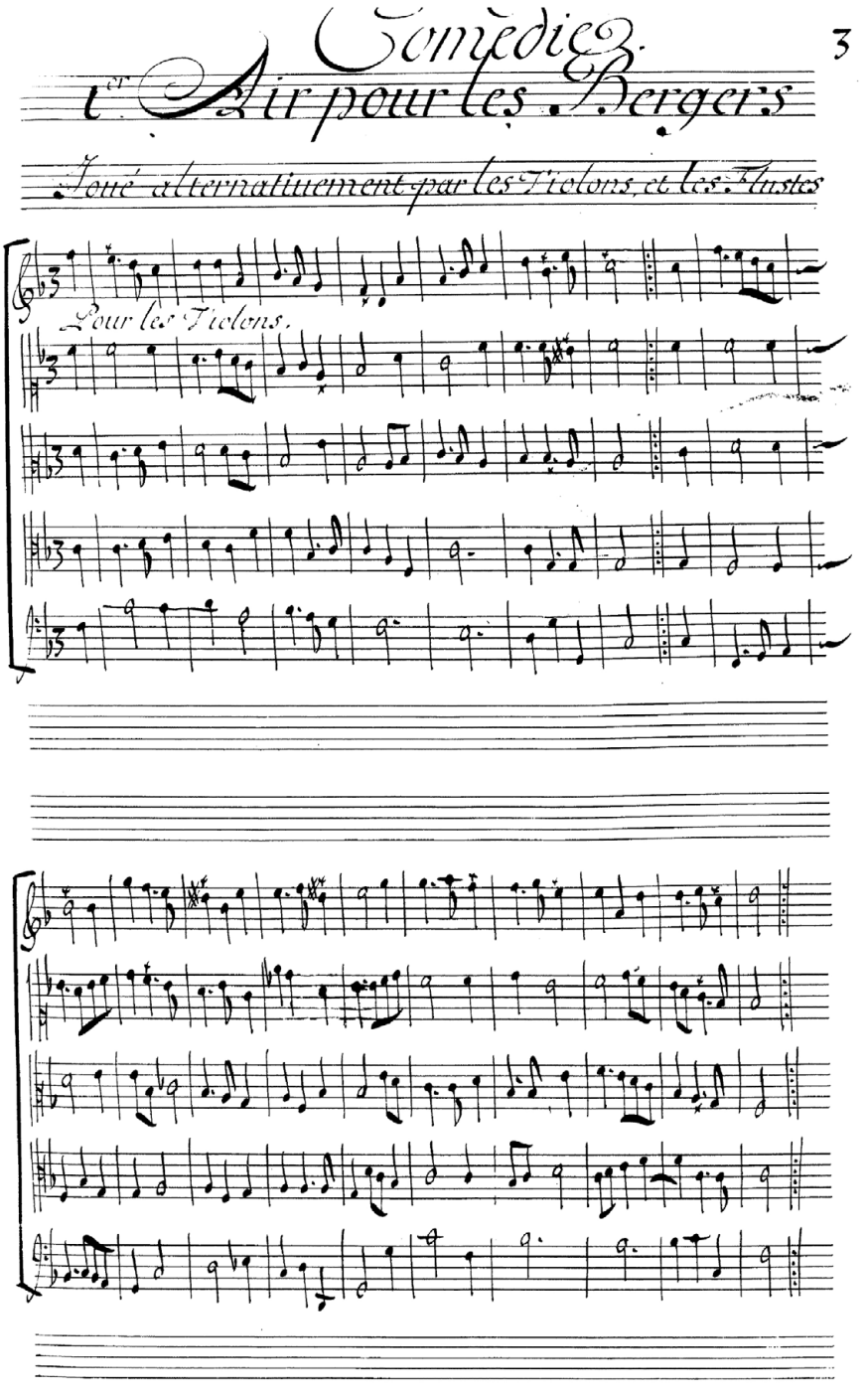

Figure 4. Jean-Baptiste Lully's 'Airs pour les bergers' from the first *intermède* for *Le Grand Divertissement Royal* (1668). Score produced in 1690 by the Philidor workshop as 'George Dandin Ou le Grand Divertissement Royal de Versailles Dancé devant sa Majesté le 15e Juillet 1668. Recueilly par Philidor laisnée En 1690'. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

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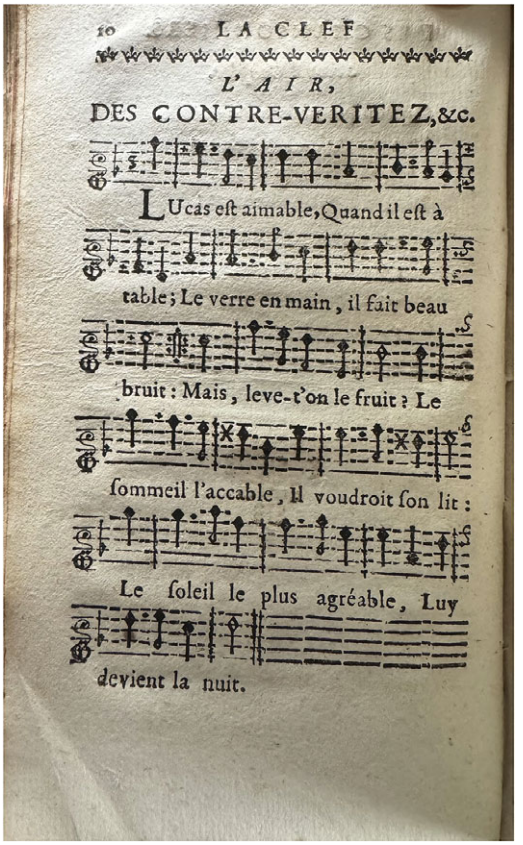
10 LA CLEF

L'AIR,

DES CONTRE-VERITEZ,&c.

Lucas eſt aimable, Quand il eſt à table; Le verre en main, il fait beau bruit: Mais, leve-t'on le fruit? Le ſommeil l'accable, Il voudroit ſon lit: Le ſoleil le plus agréable, Luy devient la nuit.

Figure 5. 'L'air, des contre-veritez, &c.' in *La clef des chansonniers*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1717), 10.

have happened quickly, as there are eight surviving sets from 1669 and another twenty-five from 1670. The popularity of the 'contrevéritez' genre is reflected by the fact that these are some of the most widely copied song texts in the *chansonniers.* One example from 1670, which begins 'Cruſol est trop belle, Briſac naturelle' is documented in at least twenty-two *chansonniers.*[58]

In a representative example of the genre from 1669, a single stanza creates satirical counter-truths for six noble ladies by inverting their character traits:

Crequy est coquette
Et du Flaix follette
Vibraye a grand nombre d'amants
Et pour la Saint Geran
Chacun la rebute
Car elle a cent ans

[58] F-Pnm ms. français 12668, 9; F-Pbh ms. 701, 35; F-Pbh ms. 585, 62v; F-Pbh ms. 594, 131v; F-V Lebaudy ms. 70, 160v; F-V Lebaudy ms. 73, 129; F-V Lebaudy ms. 112, 96; F-Pn Rés. ms. 7(1), 194–5; F-LYm ms. 759, 266–7; F-LYm ms. 1541, 596; F-LYm ms. 1549, 162v; GB-Lbl Egerton 814, 364; GB-Lbl Egerton 1519, 217–18; F-LR ms. 673, 142; F-Pnm ms. français 12661, 727; F-Pn Rés. VmB ms-3, 284; F-Pm ms. 2194, 329; F-Pm ms. 2158, 308; F-Pm ms. 2157, 29r–29v; F-Pm ms. 2198, 334; F-Pm ms. 2167, 448; F-Pm ms. 2193, 311.

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Sully a la mine un peu brute
Maré est sans dents.[59]

[Crequy is a coquette, and du Flaix is a little crazy. Vibraye has many lovers, and as for Saint Geran, everyone rejects her because she is a hundred years old. Sully has a bit of a rough look. Maré is toothless.]

The Marquise de Vibraye, for example, who is described here as having many lovers, was known as a devout woman. We can imagine 'contrevéritez' like this one, freely combined with other stanzas, functioning as a humorous salon game played at an intimate gathering. Individuals could sing 'contrevéritez' to each other, improvise new verses and exchange manuscript copies that they collected for their amusement.

Marie-Catherine de Villedieu, in her fictionalised *Memoirs of the Life Henriette-Sylvie de Molière*, reveals how *mondains* used 'contrevéritez' portraits to spread falsehoods and harm the reputation of a rival. In the novel she recounts a scene in which a spurned lover avenges herself by mocking Sylvie, who is disguised as the prince de Salmes.

> The lady, to avenge herself of this cowardly act by a real act of mockery, decided to have sung about me the craziest *contre-veritez* in the world, which people nonetheless took for the truth. They thought me the most dangerous charmer of the court ... Indeed, in but a few days, I was considered a gentleman so dangerous and so expert in flirtation (we must say, however, Madame, that if all those who have this kind of reputation have it with as little justification as I did, it is truly a shame), and people had such a high opinion of me, that beyond the rumours spreading all the way to the parents of the real Prince, I had to respond to a hundred curious beauties to whom my necessary ingratitude made me so many embarrassing enemies.[60]

The rebuffed lover, in an act of revenge, sang 'contrevéritez' to inflate the reputation of the narrator as a skilled *galant.* This anti-portrait, which other courtiers in the novel interpreted as an accurate portrait, caused the raconteur great frustration in future social interactions.

Coulanges embedded a musical dialogue set to the tune 'contrevéritez' in a series of letters exchanged between himself, who was writing from Rome during the same trip in which he exchanged songs with Scudéry, and Cardinal Mazarin's nephew, Philippe Jules Mancini, the Duc de Nevers.[61] In the second letter, the Duke responds to Coulanges with his own verse set to the same tune, and upon receipt of these verses in Rome, Coulanges responds again with more verses. This dialogue, however, does not participate in the game

[59] F-LR ms. 673, 143r; Vincenette Maigne, ed., *Tallemant des Réaux: Le manuscrit 673 édition critique* ([Paris], 1994), 433–4.

[60] Villedieu, *Mémoires de la vie de Henriette-Sylvie de Molière*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1671–4), 98–9: 'La Dame pour se venger de cette lâcheté par une veritable mocquerie, s'avisa dès le jour suivant, de faire chanter de moi les plus folles contre-veritez du monde, qu'on ne prit neanmoins pas pour telles; on m'y faisoit surpasser le plus redoutable galant de la Cour ... Enfin je passai en peu de jours pour un Cavalier si dangereux & si expert sur la fleurette; (disons cependant, Madame, que si tous ceux qui ont la même reputation, ne le sont pas à la plus juste titre, c'est grand'pitié) & on eut si bonne opinion de moi, qu'outre le bruit qui s'en répandit jusque chez les parens du vrai Prince, j'eus à répondre encore à cent Belles curieuses, dont mon ingratitute necessaire me fit autant d'ennemies tres-embarrassantes.' Kuizenga examines various forms of 'play' throughout this novel. She discusses this passage as a 'game of power' but does not recognise 'contrevéritez' as a singing game based on an air by Lully. Donna Kuizenga, 'The Play of Pleasure and the Pleasure of Play in the *Mémoires de la vie de Henriette-Sylvie de Molière*', in *A Labor of Love: Critical Reflections on the Writings of Marie-Catherine Desjardins (Mme de Villedieu)*, ed. Roxanne Decier Lalanda (Madison, 2000), 147–61. Also Micheline Cuenin, *Roman et société sous Louis XIV: Madame de Villedieu*, vol. 1 (Lille, 1979), 254–9.

[61] 'Recueil de chansons de Philippe-Emmanuel DE COULANGES', F-Pnm ms. français 12746: fols. 93r–95r.

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of creating satirical anti-portraits. The tune is rather used here as a vehicle for information exchange about Coulanges's travels. Musical and literary elements from spectacles therefore circulated in Parisian networks and the circulation could redefine or transform the conception of the original materials. The tune served as a vehicle for the creation of satirical musical anti-portraits and as a vessel for musical–literary dialogues constructed over time and geographical displacement in a series of letters.

From the surviving examples, we might conclude that Coulanges only created musical dialogues when geographical distance between two conversationalists required an exchange of letters. This hypothesis is unlikely, not only because a similar conversational practice unfolded at salons using the *airs sérieux* repertoire, but also because the improvisatory nature of musical exchanges inserted into spoken conversations resulted in fewer documented examples. According to Scudéry, letters are 'conversations between absent persons'.[62] Letters therefore provide evidence of what was a more widespread oral tradition.

Fashionable Parisians used musical dialogues and portraits to forge social bonds through their collaborative participation in collaborative musical–poetic games. Musical dialogues provided a space for virtuosic literary, intertextual and verbal play. Participants demonstrated their quick wit by improvising verse to the same tune to create a conversation in music. Musical portraits were in contrast often panegyric creations aimed at flattery and functioned as a type of currency and gift exchange. When they were not intended as panegyrical monuments, friends could request musical portraits as a window into the soul of a third party, as in the exchange between Coulanges and Scudéry. Both dialogues and portraits encapsulated a mode of *galant* discourse aligned with conversational and epistolary trends.

Traveling tunes from *Isis*

Two melodies from *Isis*, Lully and Quinault's fifth *tragédie en musique*, offer an instructive case study of the ways in which court and public spectacles infused Paris with musical material that circulated in distinct social spaces. The 'Second air pour les muses' from scene 3 of the prologue, for example, only seems to have circulated as a vehicle for parodic texts within the social spaces of the salons and the court. In these circles, the melody, which in the opera was an untexted instrumental dance, became known by the first line from a parodic text that commented on a subversive interpretation of the plot of *Isis.* In contrast, 'Les trembleurs', also known as the chorus of the frozen people from Act IV scene 2, was the most widely recycled tune from *Isis.* Soon after its premiere, it was parodied with an erotic text. It was then parodied numerous times in the salons and in the theatres. The lewd text 'ran' through the streets, and the melody transformed into a *vaudeville*, thereby escaping the confines of the salon.

As is well known, *tragédies en musique* in seventeenth-century France reflected on or were otherwise intertwined with current political events. Operas produced during the reign of Louis XIV were linked to current politics through their panegyrical prologues, which presented allegories that audiences were adept at deciphering.[63] Operatic plots further

[62] In *Clélie* (2e partie, livre III, 1139–40) Scudéry states that 'ces sortes de Lettres restant à proprement parler une conversation de Personnes absentes'. For more on the ways in which letters were viewed as an extension of the art of conversation, see Mireille Gérard, 'Art épistolaire et art de la conversation: les vertus de la familiarité', *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France* 6 (1978), 958–76.

[63] Writing about *Proserpine*, for example, Norman discusses the necessity of showing Proserpine happy with her imposed marriage and new life as a queen because Lully and Quinault anticipated that courtiers would read her abduction by Pluto as a depiction of the forced marriage of Marie-Louis d'Orléans, daughter of Henriette d'Angleterre and Monsieur, the king's brother, to Charles II, the king of Spain, known for his ill-health and physical deformities. The seventeen-year-old Marie-Louise was less than thrilled about leaving the French court. Proserpine's abduction by Pluto, then, could not be seen to represent this arranged royal marriage in a negative light,

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served to aggrandise the crown by depicting heroic characters who represented the Sun King's constructed image on the opera stage.[64] *Mondains* had for decades enjoyed unmasking the identities of living persons who appeared as literary characters depicted using pseudonyms and coded language in *romans à clef.*[65] Audiences both at the court and in Paris were primed to decode the real or imagined hidden meanings of operatic plots.

Awareness of contemporary allegorical interpretations of a *tragédie en musique* is therefore crucial to understanding how audiences perceived a work. Lully and Quinault had previously collaborated on four operas – *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673), *Alceste, ou le triomphe d'Alcide* (1675), *Thésée* (1675) and *Atys* (1676) – each of which enjoyed approbation at court before receiving eagerly anticipated public premieres in Paris. The reception of *Isis* at court, however, was tempered by Louis XIV's displeasure after courtiers interpreted the plot as alluding to a series of improprieties between two mistresses competing for his affections. Some in attendance at the court premiere associated Louis XIV with Jupiter, who as both god of thunder and the king of the gods was a surrogate cultivated by the king's image-makers. Spectators also identified Louis XIV's newest love interest, Madame de Ludres, as Io, the mortal name of the character who transforms into the goddess Isis, and Madame de Montespan, the king's longtime mistress, as Junon. For these spectators, the jealous Junon depicted in the opera reflected Madame de Montespan's recent actions. As the king's affection for her waned, Montespan yearned to humiliate her rival Ludres in the presence of the court.[66]

Contemporaries adopted the coded language from the opera to refer to Ludres in their exchange of gossip. Madame de Sévigné, for example, reported: 'Io went to mass. We have seen her under a cape, but we are unsympathetic to her condition and sadness. She will resume her poor, ordinary life.'[67] In another letter written eight days later, she referred to Madame de Ludres as 'the beautiful Isis' and recounted that she was visiting Madame de Clérambault.[68] Due to this interpretation that spread through court circles, *Isis* became a *succès de scandale* and, regardless of the intentions of Lully and Quinault, courtiers and Parisians alike kept the opera's music alive in parodic song traditions.[69]

especially since *Proserpine* was the first opera for which Quinault created the *livret* after his two-year disgrace from court following the scandal caused by *Isis.* Buford Norman, *Touched by the Graces: The Libretti of Philippe Quinault in the Context of French Classicism* (Birmingham, AL, 2001), 229.

[64] For the construction of Louis XIV's official image by his image-makers, see: Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, 1992); Louis Marin, *Le portrait du roi* (Paris, 1981); Jean-Marie Apostolidès, *Le roi-machine: Spectacle et politique au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1981); Tony Claydon and Charles-Édouard Levillain, eds., *Louis XIV Outside In: Images of the Sun King Beyond France, 1661–1715* (Farnham, 2015). For the king's unofficial image as perceived by his subjects, see Jens Ivo Engels, *Königsbilder: Sprechen, Singen uns Schreiben über den französischen König in der ersten Hälfte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Bonn, 2000). Musicologists have also taken up the topic, particularly in studies of operas produced during the reign of Louis XIV, see: Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King*; Burgess, 'Ritual in the *tragédie en musique*'; Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure.*

[65] Beaussant refers to *Isis* as a work 'à clefs'. Philippe Beaussant, *Versailles, opéra* (Paris, 1981), 114–15.

[66] Isabelle de Ludres was a lady in waiting to Queen Marie-Thérèse and the Princess Palatine Elisabeth Charlotte (wife of Louis XIV's brother Philippe I, the Duke d'Orléans). Her relationship with Louis XIV began in 1675, and, despite Louis XIV's desire to keep the affair a secret, she publicly proclaimed that she would replace Madame de Montespan. Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 186–91.

[67] Sévigné, *Correspondance*, vol. 2, 465: '*Io* a été à la messe. On l'a regard sous cape, mais on est insensible à son état et à sa tristesse. Elle va reprendre sa pauvre vie ordinaire.'

[68] Sévigné, *Correspondance*, vol. 2, 473–4: 'La belle *Isis* est au Bouchet.' For more references in Sévigné's letters, see Philippe Beaussant, *Lully ou le musicien du soleil* (Paris, 1992), 584–7.

[69] The scandal that followed the premiere of *Isis* left Quinault disgraced at court for a period of several years and halted his collaborations with Lully. Several other members of Lully's artistic circle were likewise stigmatised. Before *Isis*, Lully had established a tradition of reopening his Parisian theatre after Easter with the newest *tragédie en musique* that had premiered at court during Carnival. In 1677, however, he revived *Thésée* instead of presenting *Isis*

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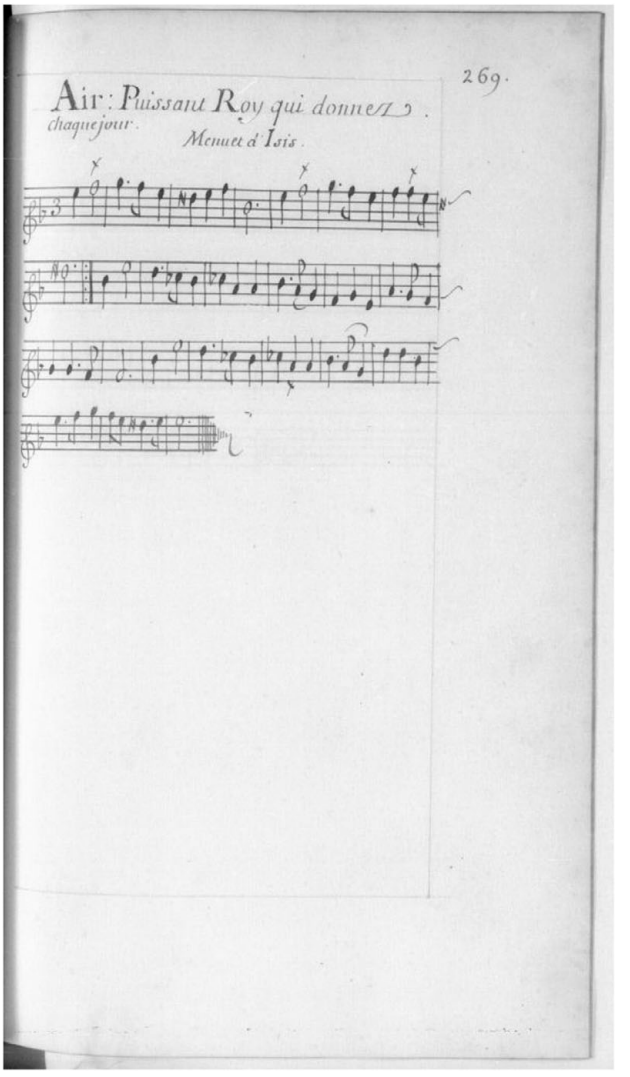

Figure 6. 'Puissant Roy qui donnez chaque jour' from scene 3 of the prologue to *Isis* in the Maurepas Chansonnier, F-Pnm ms. français 12657, 269. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque national de France.

The first parodic text set to the 'Second air pour les muses' (Figure 6) from scene 3 of the prologue of *Isis* reflected on the scandalous interpretation of *Isis* and on the king's decision to retain the services of Lully while forcing Quinault to leave court in disgrace:

Puissant Roy qui donnez chaque jour
De nouveaux plaisirs a votre cour
Sy le ciel qui tousjours vous assiste

to the public. Madame de Ludres was coerced into retiring to a convent in July, thereby resolving the situation at court before Lully ever staged *Isis* for a public audience in Paris. For more on the scandal surrounding *Isis*, see Jérôme de La Gorce, *L'Opéra à Paris au temps de Louis XIV: Histoire d'un théâtre* (Paris, 1992), 61–3; Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King*, 221; and Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 185–212.

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Vous fait regler les choses comme il faut
En songeant a conserver Baptiste
Prenez le soin de nous oster Quinaud.

[Powerful King who gives every day new pleasures at your court. If the heavens that always help you, make you settle things as is necessary, in thinking of saving Baptiste take care to remove Quinault.]

Among other places, this verse survives in Tallemant de Réaux's *chansonnier.*[70] From this point forward *mondains* would refer to the 'Second air pour les muses' as 'Puissant Roy qui donnez chaque jour', at least in part because the instrumental dance had no text in the opera.

Coulanges himself composed at least four texts to the tune 'Puissant Roy qui donnez chaque jour', yet unlike the model parody that lent the tune its name, he never commented on the politics of a court that he rarely attended. Rather, his chansons strengthened his social bonds to other *mondains.* He composed a text, for example, for Mademoiselle Amelot, likely Catherine, daughter of French diplomat and *conseiller d'état* Michael Amelot de Gournay. He wrote another text while *en route* to the countryside chateau of Madame de Louvois, wife of François-Michel le Tellier, Marquis de Louvois, the French Secretary of State for War. The third text is described as 'For Madame La Maréschale de Rochefort about the end of the first year of mourning for her husband'.[71] He composed this chanson for Madeleine de Laval in response to the death of her husband Henri Louis d'Aloigny, known as the Maréchal de Rochefort, who died in a battle at Nancy on 22 May 1676.[72] The song in this instance offered condolences during the customary period of mourning imposed upon a newly widowed woman. The fourth text is described as a 'Couplet made for Coubert, on a painting in a gallery representing the Maréchal de ***'.[73] Although the specific Maréchal that was depicted in the painting remains a mystery, Coulanges penned his verse for Samuel Bernard, the powerful financier whom Louis XIV ennobled as the Count of Coubert. Although Coulanges was never a courtier, he gifted chansons to members of an urban social network that included both upwardly mobile bourgeois and nobles, many of whom held positions or were otherwise influential at the court.

Coulanges's songs functioned as a currency in the same ways in which literary portraits were exchanged between members at salons. Some of these songs Coulanges improvised as contributions to *galant* conversations. Others he birthed 'at the table, the glass in hand', while still others were sent in letters or penned as gifts of gratitude for a host of a social

[70] F-LR ms. 673, 189r; Maigne, ed., *Tallemant des Réaux*, 513. A parodic song that expressed this political agenda might have been penned by a sympathetic writer such as Jean de La Fontaine or some other writer connected to Madame de Montespan, Louis XIV's ostensibly offended mistress who had previously attempted to dethrone Quinault as Lully's preferred collaborator and to replace him with a loyalist such as Jean Racine or Nicolas Boileau–Despréaux. Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 128–9.

[71] *Recueil de chansons choisies*, vol. 1 (1698), 231, 232, 233; *Recueil de chansons choisies*, vol. 2 (1698), 156; F-Pn ms. français 12746, fol. 47v. 'Pour Me la Marychale de Rochefort sur la fin de la premiere année du deuil de son mary' 'POUR MADAME LA MARESCHALE DE R*** Dans son grand deüil'.

[72] Although the Marshall of France's death predated the premiere of *Isis* at court by almost eight months, his widow would have been in deep mourning (*grand deuil*) for at least a year. On mourning widows in early modern France, see: Julie Hardwick, 'Widowhood and Patriarchy in Seventeenth Century France', *Journal of Social History* 26 (1992), 133–48; Jonathan Spangler, 'Benefit or Burden?: The Balancing Act of Widows in French Princely Houses', *Journal of the Western Society for French History* 31 (2003), 65–83; Janine Marie Lanza, *From Wives to Widows in Early Modern Paris: Gender, Economy, and Law* (London, 2016).

[73] *Recueil de chansons choisies*, vol. 1 (1698), 253: 'COUPLET FAIT A COUBERT Sur une Peinture d'une Galerie, representant le Marêchal de ***'.

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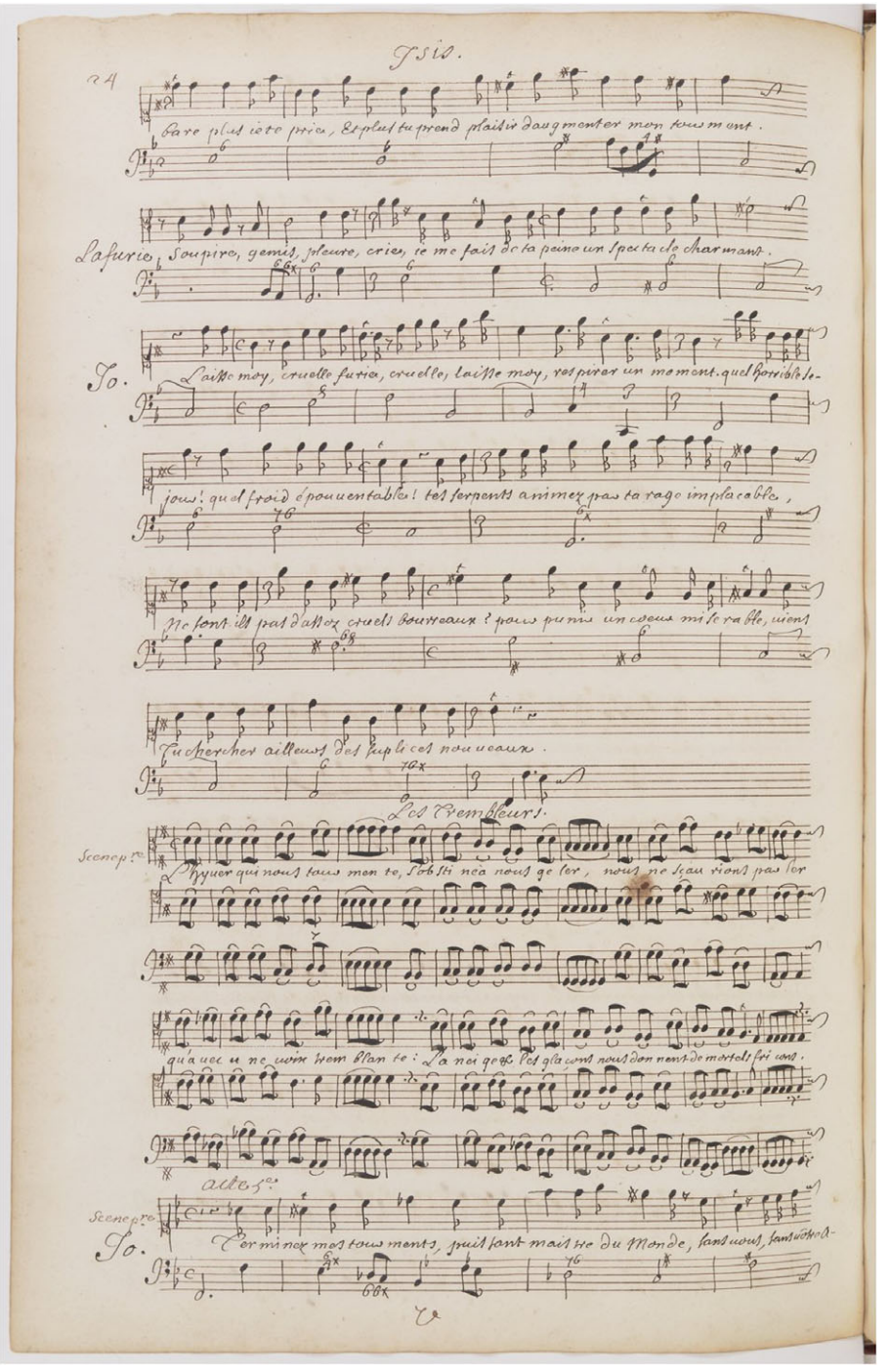

Figure 7. 'Les trembleurs' from Act 4 scene 2 of *Isis* in L. Augier's 'Livre de musique' F-Pn RES F-768. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

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gathering that Coulanges attended.[74] These chansons commended a host, and those gathered could write down the songs for preservation in their *cabinets.*

In contrast to the limited circulation of 'Puissant Roy', 'Les trembleurs' (Figure 7) was by far the most frequently parodied of Lully's tunes from any spectacle, and after the premiere of *Isis* the melody transformed from operatic chorus to *vaudeville.*[75] Musical portraits account for the most numerous type of surviving text set to 'Les trembleurs'.[76] Five song texts survive from 1677, and manuscript *chansonniers* continue to document new texts throughout the following decade.[77] One satirical text from the year of the opera's premiere discusses Louis XIV's affair with Marie Angélique de Scorailles and describes the king as hoping that the child of his mistress does not bear a striking resemblance to his own visage.[78] Coulanges contributed at least two parodic texts set to the tune. In the first, he recounts his recent trip to Genoa. In the second, Coulanges transformed the tune into a jovial drinking song that contrasts the enjoyment of sweet wine with the dangers of becoming afflicted with gout.[79] Given the content of his surviving chansons, it seems that Coulanges would not have directly aided an air from an opera in transitioning into a street song.

Two erotic texts, however, also survive for 'Les trembleurs', both dated to the year of the opera's premiere.[80] One of these texts depicts, in salacious detail, the sexual exploits of Charles Belgique Hollande de la Trémoille, a First Gentleman of the Chambre du Roy and the husband of Madeleine de Créquy (who frequently appeared as a target of the 'contrevéritez' anti-portraits):

Ah que le nez me chatouille
Disoit le bon la Trimouille [*sic*],
Quel plaisir quand il me mouille
Et quand il me fait cela,
J'aime le jus de la Couille

[74] *Recueil de chansons choisies*, vol. 1 (1694), a iii r: '... à table, le verre à la main'.

[75] For more on this tune see: Heinz-Jürgen Winkler, 'Zur Verwendung der Melodie des Instrumentalvorspiels *Les Trembleurs* aus Lully *Isis* im Repertory des *Théâtre de la Foire*', in Herbert Schneider, *Das Vaudeville: Funktionen eines multimedialen Phänomens* (Hildesheim, 1996), 45–73; and Le Blanc, *Avatars d'opéras*, 605–10.

[76] For portraits of military figures, see: F-Pnm ms. français 12619, 391, 405-06, 407-08; F-Pnm ms. français 12640, 50, 147. The Abbé Martinet created a portrait of Madame de Milieu, a widow who remarried (F-Pnm ms. français 12640, 147), to 'Les trembleurs'.

[77] Five texts set to 'Les trembleurs' survive dated to the year of the opera's premiere. The dates of the song texts occasionally conflict between sources. I provide the first line of each text with sources in parenthesis: 'Quand ce grand Prince d'Orange' (F-Pnm ms. français 12640, 50); 'Luxembourg croit que sa gloire' (F-Pnm ms. français 12619, 391; F-Pnm ms. français 12687, 493; F-Pbh ms. 539, 107–8; F-Pbh ms. 701, 54r–54v; F-V Lebaudy ms. 93, 10–11; F-V Lebaudy ms. 99, 7–8; F-Pn Rés. ms. 7(1), 504–5; F-Pa ms. 3287, 33r–33v; F-LYm 1545, 193r–193v; F-LYm ms. 1551, 5r–5v; GB-Lbl Egerton 814, 445–6; GB-Lbl Egerton 1520, 112–13; F-Pnm ms. français 12661, 141–2; F-Pn Rés. VmB ms-3, 354; F-Pa ms. 2783, 251r–252v; F-Pa ms. 3287, 33r–33v; F-Pm ms. 2193, 382–4; F-Pnm ms. français 12619, 351; F-Pnm ms. français 12687, 447; F-LR ms. 672); 'Ça du vin que l'on m'en donne' (F-Pnm ms. français 12619, 405–6; F-Pnm ms. français 12687, 507–8); 'Ha! que ce vit me chatouille' (F-Pnm ms. français 12640, 102; F-V Lebaudy ms. 112, 297; F-Pnm ms. français 12661, 141–2; GB-Lbl Egerton 815, 295–6; F-Pn Rés. VmB ms-3, 511; F-Pnm ms. français 12687, 499; F-V Lebaudy ms. 99, 85; F-Pnm ms. français 12661, 142); 'Ah que le nez me chatouille' (F-Pnm ms. français 12619, 395; F-Pnm ms. français 12687, 499; F-V Lebaudy ms. 99, 85). For the most complete documentation of new texts set to 'Les trembleurs' before Lully's death, see appendix 1 in Romey, 'Popular Song, Opera Parody, and the Construction of Parisian Spectacle, 1648–1713' (PhD diss., Case Western Reserve University, 2018), 345–6. For parodies of 'Les trembleurs' dated to after Lully's death, see Herbert Schneider, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Werke von Jean-Baptiste Lully (LWV)* (Tutzing, 1981), 305–6.

[78] F-Pnm ms. français 12640, 220.

[79] *Recueil de chansons choisies*, vol. 1 (1698), 196–7.

[80] F-Pnm ms. français 12619, 395; and F-Pnm ms. français 12640, 102.

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Et souvent je men barbouille
Un nez ne sort point bredouille
Quand on me le fiche la la la la la.
Un nez bandant
Est bien charmant
Et quiconque dit autrement
Ment, ment, ment ment ment.

['Oh that the nose tickles me', say the right thing, Duke de Trémoille. What a pleasure when he makes me wet, and when he does this to me. I love the juice of the testicle and I often dirty myself. A nose does not come out empty-handed. When I get it ah ah ah ah ah! A horny nose is very charming, and whoever says otherwise is lying, lying, lying, lying, lying!]

The erotic nature of this parodic text was perhaps inspired by Quinault's original verse:

L'hiver qui nous tourmente
S'obstine à nous geler
Nous ne saurions parler
Qu'avec une voix tremblante
La neige et les glaçons
Nous donnent de mortels frissons
Les frimats se répandent sur nos corps languissants;
Le froid transit nos sens
Les plus durs rochers se fendent.

[The winter that torments us persists in freezing us. We can only speak with a trembling voice. The snow and the icicles give us deathly shivers. The wintry weather spreads over our languid bodies; the cold numbs our senses. Even the hardest rocks split.]

Although Quinault's text does not portray the chorus of trembling singers using sexual language, many of the phrases used to describe freezing – 'trembling', 'deathly shivers', 'languid bodies', 'numbs our senses' and 'even the hardest rocks split' – are easily transferrable to an erotic paradigm. It seems, then, that 'Les trembleurs' could have transitioned into a *vaudeville* because of the reinterpretation of Quinault's verse for erotic purposes within the social circles of the salons and the court. Salacious texts circulated more rapidly than elevated verse typical of salon poetry, especially in the streets of Paris where Le Cerf de la Viéville described airs that originate on the Pont-Neuf, or *vaudevilles*, as 'absolutely wicked' (*absolument méchans*). These wicked airs, he claims, circulated from mouth to mouth by the 'rabble' (*la canaille*) and corrupted public taste.[81]

By 1692, 'Les trembleurs' had become a staple of the *vaudeville* repertoire when it began to make appearances on Paris's theatrical stages. In this year the tune first appeared on the stage of the Comédie-Italienne as a parody in Charles Dufresny's *L'union des deux opéras*. The following year it appeared again in *Les aventures des Champs-Élysées*, a comedy written by the unidentified author Mr L. C. D. V. In Dufresny's play, a parody of the plot and music of *Isis* draws out the subversive interpretation of the opera that

[81] (Jean-Laurent) Le Cerf de la Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique françoise*, 2nd edn (Brussels, 1705–1706), 326–9.

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circulated fifteen years earlier after its premiere at court. Pasquariel, performing as Mercury, the messenger of the gods, plays 'Les trembleurs' on a hurdy-gurdy, an instrument associated with blind beggars who performed in the streets. The hurdy-gurdy also served as a sonic echo of the musettes heard earlier in *Isis* during a dance for two shepherds in Act III. In contrast, in the final scene of *Les aventures des Champs-Élysées*, Orpheus responds to Momus, god of satire and mockery, by singing a new text about marriage and cuckoldry to the tune 'Les trembleurs'. In this play Lully's chorus is used as a *vaudeville* and not as part of a theatrical parody of the music, characters and plot from the opera.

In the early eighteenth century the operatic-chorus-turned-*vaudeville* appeared in the repertoires of two genres of early comic opera developed at the fairground theatres: *pièces par écriteaux* (a genre of mute protest theatre in which, in response to theatrical restrictions imposed on the fairground troupes by the official theatres, the audience sang new texts displayed on large placards to *vaudevilles* while the actors resorted to miming their actions) and *comédies en vaudevilles* (spoken prose interspersed with sung *vaudevilles*). Only operatic tunes that had been absorbed into the musical vernacular of the lower ranks frequently appeared on the stages of the Comédie-Italienne and the fairground theatres.[82] The continual appearance of 'Les trembleurs' on these stages demonstrates the significant imprint of this operatic melody on the collective memory of Parisians.

The ways in which Parisians used and reused these two airs from Lully's *Isis* demonstrates that tunes from spectacles circulated in distinct social spaces and among different social ranks. A similar study of another spectacle would yield similar results. Some tunes only circulated in *mondain* circles as part of elaborate song games that unfolded across the city and beyond while others penetrated the song cultures of the lower ranks and became *vaudevilles.* When a Parisian of any social rank repeated an air, with the original verse or a new parodic text, on some level she or he granted it approbation.[83]

Operatic parody and operatic quotation

The contrast between the use of operatic music by Coulanges and by his steadfast confidant Sévigné nuances our understanding of the diverse ways in which *mondain* spectators interacted with artefacts from operas. The tunes that Coulanges parodied suggests that he operated as an agent in a broader parodic tradition in which his peers also obsessively composed or improvised new texts to the same tunes. In comparison, Sévigné's letters suggest that although she inhabited the same social circles, she more frequently quoted one or two lines of verse from operas. The ways in which these two cousins employed operatic

[82] Some experiments with theatrical parody recycled large amounts of music from the source spectacles, thereby performing operatic music, even instrumental music, that had not transformed into *vaudevilles.* See, for example, Dominique Biancolelli's *La foire galante* (premiered 1708), which parodies André Campra's opéra-ballet *L'Europe galante* by interweaving borrowed instrumental music and dances, parodies of vocal airs, and *vaudevilles.* These types of spectacles are outliers and were produced in the early eighteenth century before *pièce par écriteaux* and *comédie en vaudevilles* congealed as genres. In this context I am referring to the more common practice of integrating *vaudevilles*, including opera airs that had transformed into *vaudevilles*, into spoken theatre. For more on the transformation of theatre songs into *vaudevilles*, see John Romey 'Songs that Run in the Streets: Popular Song at the Comédie-Italienne, the Comédie-Française, and the Théâtres de la foire', *The Journal of Musicology* 37/4 (2020), 415–58.

[83] Le Cerf details how different social ranks gave approbation to tunes by repeating them in *Comparaison de la musique*, 326–9. For a discussion of Le Cerf's categorisation of people by rank, see Weber, 'Learned and General Musical Taste', 67–8.

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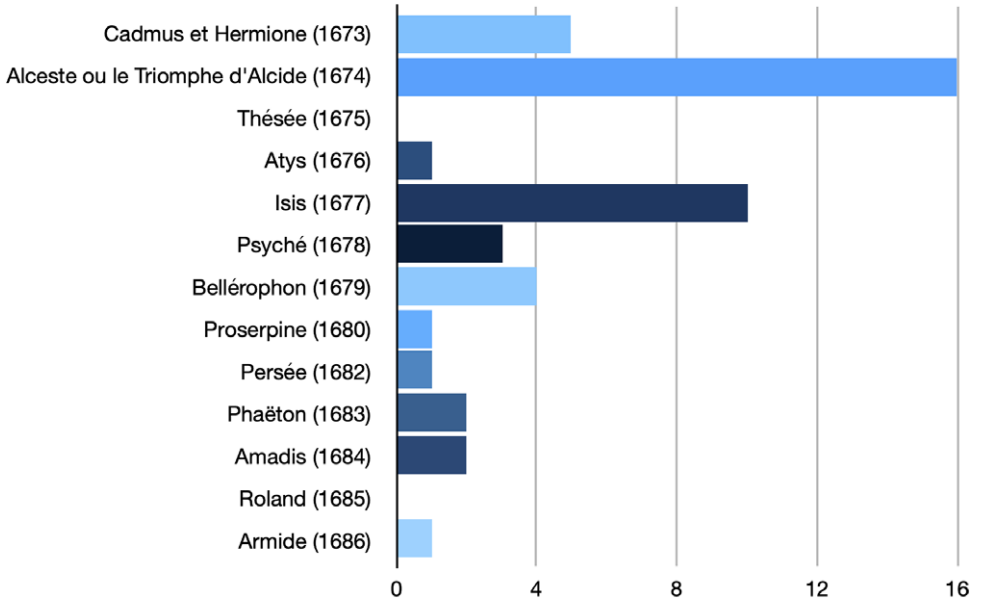

Figure 8. Number of different airs per opera that Coulanges parodied.

artefacts in their conversations demonstrates that two traditions flourished in *mondain* circles: one of song parody and one of operatic quotation.

Coulanges parodied tunes from all types of court and public spectacles, including court ballets, comédie-ballets and operas. According to the surviving texts whose operatic origins can be identified, he composed new verses for airs from all of Lully's operas except for *Thésée* and *Roland* (see Figure 8).[84] Manuscript *chansonniers* suggest that these two operas never produced tunes onto which *mondains* grafted new texts with any frequency. Responding to a polemical storm that arose in the wake of *Alceste*, Lully and Quinault created *Thésée* in a new mold, one that more closely emulated the model of classical spoken tragedy perfected by Boileau and Racine.[85] Both *Thésée* and *Roland* were sensations with the court and the Parisian public. Although virtuosic conversationalists scavenged both operas for scraps of recitative that they could insert as sung components in their conversations, neither opera produced a tune that served as a vehicle for parodic verse.

Sévigné's letters allow for a reconstruction of parts of Coulanges's and Sévigné's shared social network. She addressed her letters to individuals in their network and discussed gossip about shared acquaintances and public figures. Her letters also circulated as manuscripts that were read aloud at salons, thereby expanding the scope of the network. Sévigné often quoted from literature, poetry and plays, a practice cultivated in the art of conversation. She quoted from *mondain* literary figures, such as Vincent Voiture, Paul Scarron, Mademoiselle de Scudéry, Jean de La Fontaine, Honoré d'Urfé and Madame de La Fayette; from the Bible; from literary texts in Spanish and Italian, like *Dom Quixote*, *Gerusalemme liberata* and *Orlando furioso*; from chivalric romances, like *Amadis des Gaules*; and from

[84] For parodic texts created for tunes from *Thésée*, see Schneider, *Chronologisch-thematisches*, 246–66, and Romey, 'Popular Song', 390–4. For parodic texts created for tunes from *Roland*, see Schneider, 428–47, and Romey, 417–18. For the circulation of opera airs between the theatres, see Le Blanc, *Avatars d'opéras*, 547–84, and Romey, 'Songs that Run in the Streets'.

[85] Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 133–5. For the polemic, see Perrault, *Critique de l'opéra.*

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Table 1. Quotations and parodies of operas in Sévigné's letters[a]

Opera	Text in Sévigné's letter	Original text from spectacle	Location
Thesée Act 2 scene 5	N'aimons jamais, ou n'aimons guère Il est dangereux d'aime tant.	Quotation	10 May 1675 vol. 1, 713
Thesée Act 3 scene 7	Sortez, Ombres, sortez.	Quotation	7 Aug. 1675 vol. 2, 42
Cadmus et Hermione Act 2 scene 4	Je vais partir, belle Hermione, Je vais exécuter ce que l'Abbé m'ordonne, Malgré le péril qui m'attend.	Je vais partir, belle Hermione, Je vais exécuter ce que l'Amour m'ordonne, Malgré le péril qui m'attend:	11 Sep. 1675 vol. 2, 97
Alceste Act 5 scene 1	Ruyter est le dieu des combats: Guitaut ne lui résiste pas.	Alcide est vainqueur du Trépas, L'Enfer ne lui résiste pas.	13 Oct. 1675 vol. 2, 127
Alceste Act 5 scene 6	Nos champs n'ont point de fleurs plus passagères	Quotation	10 Nov. 1675 vol. 2, 155
Thesée Act 3 scene 5	Non, non, je le promets, Non, je ne m'y fierai jamais.	Non, non, je le promets, Non, non, je ne l'aymeray jamais	17 Nov. 1675 vol. 2, 166
Alceste Act 5 scene 1	La Trousse est vainqueur de Brancas; Têtu le lui résiste pas … (bis) De lui seul Coulange est contente; Que chacun chante. (bis)	Alcide est vainqueur du Trépas, L'Enfer ne lui résiste pas. Il ramène Alceste vivante; Que chacun chante:	29 Dec. 1675 vol. 2, 206
Atys Act 5 scene 6	C'est ainsi qu'en partant je vous fais mes adieux.	Quotation	22 Mar. 1676 vol. 2, 256
Cadmus et Hermione Act 2 scene 4	Je vais partir de cette ville, Je m'en vais mercredi tout seul à Charleville, Malgré le chagrin qui m'attend.	Je vais partir, belle Hermione, Je vais exécuter ce que l'Amour m'ordonne, Malgré le péril qui m'attend:	10 April 1676 vol. 2, 267
Alceste Act 2 scene 2	Allons, allons la plainte est vaine Ah! quelle rigueur inhumaine! Allons, achevez mes écrits, Je me venge de tous mes cris. Quoi, vous serez inexorable? Cruelle, vous m'avez appris A devenir impitoyable.	LYCOMÈDE Allons, allons, la plainte est vaine. ALCESTE Ah! quelle rigueur inhumaine! LYCOMÈDE Allons, je suis sourd à vos cris, Je me venge de vos mépris. ALCESTE Quoi? vous serez inexorable? LYCOMÈDE Cruelle, vous m'avez appris A devenir impitoyable.	6 May 1676 vol. 2, 285
Thesée Act 5 scene 9	Le plus sage S'entête et s'engage Sans savoir comment.	Le plus sage S'enflamme et s'engage Sans savoir comment	12 June 1676 vol. 2, 317
Atys Act 1 scene 7	Venez, reine des Dieux, Venez, favorable Cybèle.	Quotation	23 Oct. 1676 vol. 2, 433

(*Continued*)

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Table 1. *Continued*

Opera	Text in Sévigné's letter	Original text from spectacle	Location
Isis Act 5 scene 1	Terminez mes tourments, puissant maître du monde.	Quotation	21July 1677 vol. 2, 497
Thesée Act 2 scene 1	Aimez, aimez Pauline, aimez sa grâce extrême.	Aimez, aimez Thesée, aimez sa gloire extréme.	23 July 1677 Letter 584, 145[b]
Atys Act 1 scene 1	Allons, allons, accourons tous, Cybèle va descendre.	allons, allons, accourez tous, Cybele va descendre.	6 Aug. 1677 vol. 2, 516
Alceste Act 3 scene 5	Rompons, brisons les tristes restes.	Rompons, brisons le triste reste	8 Nov. 1679 vol. 2, 731
Bellérophon Act 1 scene 2	Qu'il est doux de trouver dans un amant qu'on aime Un époux que l'on doit aimer.	Quotation	17 Jan. 1680 vol. 2, 801
Proserpine Act 4 scene 5	Une mère Vaut-elle un époux? Pluton aime mieux que Cérès,	Quotation	1 Mar. 1680 vol. 2, 857
Atys Act 1 scene 8	S'il faut honorer Cybèle, Il faut encore plus l'aimer.	Quotation	20 Mar. 1680 vol. 2, 878
Isis Act 1 scene 5	C'est pour Jupiter qu'elle change; Il est permis de changer.	Quand c'est pour Jupiter qu'on change Il n'est pas honteux de changer.	9 June 1680 vol. 2, 964
Alceste Act 3 scene 1	Ce n'est rien pour Admète, et c'est beaucoup pour lui.	Ce n'est rien pour Admète, et c'est beaucoup pour moi.	30 June 1680 vol. 2, 991
Thésée Act 1 scene 8	Vous parlez de respect, quand je parle d'amour.	Quotation	17 July 1680 vol. 2, 1019
Bellérophon Act 4 scene 1	Quand on n'a point ce qu'on aime Qu'importe, qu'importe à quel prix?	Quand on obtient ce qu'on aime, Qu'importe à quel prix!	31 July 1680 vol. 2, 1031
Cadmus et Hermione prologue	Que chacun se ressente, etc.	Quotation	18 Aug. 1680 vol. 2, 1050
Bellérophon prologue	Après les fureurs de la guerre Chantons, chantons les douceurs de la paix.	Après avoir chanté les fureurs de la guerre, Chantons les douceurs de la paix.	8 Sep. 1680 vol. 3, 6
Ballet des Arts Récit d'Esculape	Et comme il fait les maux, il fait les médecines.	Quotation	20 Oct. 1680 vol. 3, 43
Atys Act 2 scene 2	À peine tout son coeur peut suffire à l'amour.	à peine tout le mien peut suffire à l'amour.	6 Nov. 1680 vol. 3, 55
Alceste Act 5 scene 1	Talbot est vainqueur du trépas; Daquin ne lui résite pas La Dauphine est convalescente : Que chacun chante, etc.	Alcide est vainqueur du Trépas, L'Enfer ne lui résiste pas. Il ramène Alceste vivante; Que chacun chante:	8 Nov. 1680 vol. 3, 56

(*Continued*)

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Table 1. *Continued*

Opera	Text in Sévigné's letter	Original text from spectacle	Location
Isis prologue	Célébrons toujours son grand nom sur la terre et sur l'onde.	Célébrez son grand nom sur la terre et sur l'onde	17 April 1682 vol. 3, 83
Thésée Act 5 scene 6	C'est ainsi qu'en partant je vous fais mes adieux.	Quotation	7 Mar. 1685 vol. 3, 188
Atys Act 1 scene 6	Sangaride, ce jour est un grand jour pour vous.	Quotation	1 Aug. 1685 vol. 3, 224
Thésée Act 3 scene 7	Goûtons l'unique bien des coeurs infortunés: Ne soyons pas seuls misérables.	Quotation	26 Aug. 1688 vol. 3, 352
Alceste prologue	Le héros que j'attends ne reviendra-t-il pas?	Quotation	15 Dec. 1688 vol. 3, 429
Alceste Act 3 scene 1	Ce n'est rien pour Admète, et c'est beaucoup pour vous.	Ce n'est rien pour Admète, et c'est beaucoup pour moi.	25 Feb. 1689 vol. 3, 516
Isis Act 1 scene 5	Quand c'est pour Jupiter qu'on change …,	Quotation	29 June 1689 vol. 3, 632
Atys Act 1 scene 6	Sangaride, ce jour est un grand jour pour vous.	Quotation	19 July 1690 vol. 3, 919
Atys Act 1 scene 8	Venez tous dans mon Temple	Quotation	19 July 1690 vol. 3, 956
Alceste Act 1 scene 1	J'aurois beau me presser, j'arriverai trop tard	J'aurai beau me presser, je partirai trop tard.	27 Jan. 1692 vol. 3, 986

[a] I am indebted in part to the work of Marcel Vilcosqui ('Une Mélomane au XVIIe siècle: Madame de Sévigné (1626–1696)', in *'Recherches' sur la Musique française classique*, vol. 17, 31-93 [Paris, 1977]), whose work I expand on here.

[b] This example was not printed in the Bibliothèque de La Pléiade edition, but can be found in Sévigné, *Lettres de Madame de Sévigné de sa famille et de ses amis*, vol. 5, edited by Louis Jean Nicolas de Monmerqué (Paris, 1820).

contemporary plays authored by Corneille, Racine and Molière. As a novelty-obsessed *mondain*, Sévigné also parodied and quoted from recent court productions and from spectacles that still held the boards at the Opéra. Because contemporaries viewed epistolary exchanges as conversations displaced in time, Sévigné's letters crystallise an otherwise ephemeral tradition of inserting quotations from operas into *galant* conversations (Table 1). She manipulated material from every new opera that premiered until 1680 except for *Psyché* (Figure 9).

Sévigné abandoned quoting from operas composed after *Proserpine*, which premiered in 1680. An explanation for this apparent shift in Sévigné's quotation practices can be found in the state of archival sources and personal circumstances in Sévigné's life. There is a considerable decrease in the number of her surviving letters for the decade between 1677 and 1687, the year of Lully's death. Part of this decrease is a result of the Comtesse de Grignan, Sévigné's daughter and most frequent correspondent, living in the Hôtel de Carnavalet with her mother between November 1677 and September 1679 and again between October 1680 and September 1684. These lulls in Sévigné's correspondence could explain her silence about *Persée* (1682) and *Phaëton* (1683). She might have continued to quote from these operas in oral conversations but had fewer occasions to continue the practice in written form. When she resumes the epistolary exchange with her daughter

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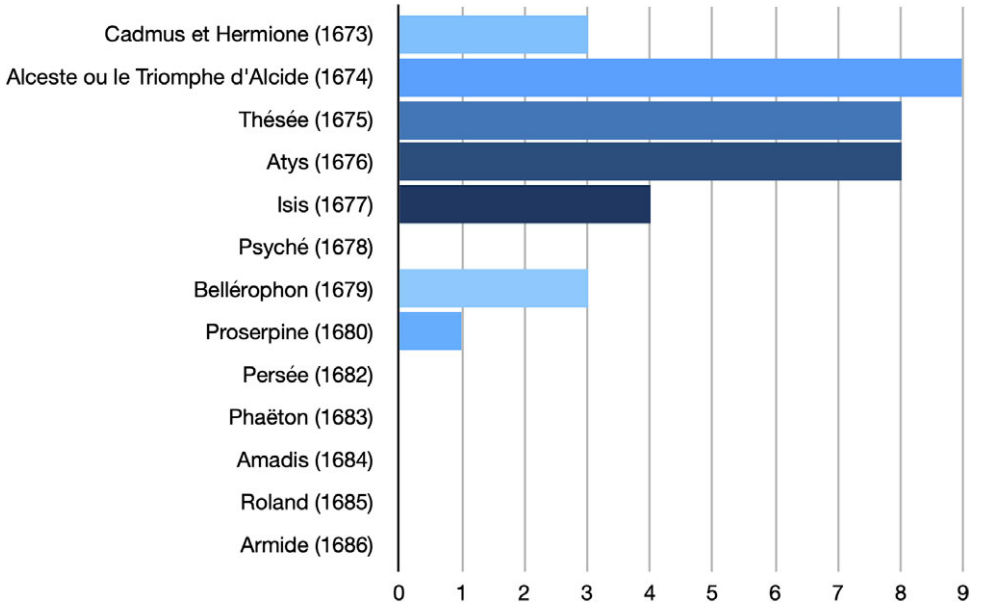

Figure 9. Parodies and quotations of operas in Sévigné's letters.

again in 1684, a letter insinuates that she had received some charming parodic verse from her daughter set to the tune 'Amour, que veux-tu de moi', Arcabonne's air from Act II scene 1 of *Amadis* (1684).[86] Although she also never quotes from *Roland* (1685) or *Armide* (1686) in her letters, she does make oblique references to their plots.

Like Coulanges, Sévigné never manipulated material from *Roland*, but unlike Coulanges she quoted from *Thésée* eight times in letters written between 1675 and 1688. The reason, it seems, that she drew so heavily from *Thésée* while Coulanges ignored this *tragédie en musique* for source material stems from the fact that – as noted above – *Thésée* never produced an air that circulated as a vehicle for parody. Sévigné only quotes (sometimes with slight alterations of a few words) one or two lines of verse in each of her letters, and never refers to the same line(s) from *Thésée* in two different letters. Most of the quotations are *galant* phrases that Sévigné repurposed in a new context, such as Médée's memorable line from *Thesée* in which she departs in a chariot pulled by flying dragons and exclaims 'C'est ainsi qu'en partant je vous fais mes adieux' (Thus, in leaving, I bid you farewell), which she employed as a concluding rhetorical gesture to her letter.[87] Quotation, then, operated as part of a different game to the parodic tradition, one in which self-fashioning through rhetorical flair or virtuosic recall was prioritised. In parodic song games, *mondains* coalesced around a selection of songs to which many individuals composed new song texts. In operatic quotation, variety was prized. With such a vast array of verses accessible for quotation, it follows that there would be less repetition of verses.

Some operas contributed multiple airs to which fashionable individuals composed countless new parodic texts. Coulanges and Sévigné borrowed from *Alceste* with the most

[86] *Correspondance*, vol. 3, 603 (25 May 1684). Le Cerf claimed that this air was 'sung by all the cooks in France'. Le Cerf de la Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique françoise*, 2nd edn (Brussels, 1705–Th6), 327–8: 'Lorsque j'entendois, par example, l'air d'Amadis *Amour que veux-tu de moi, &c.* Chanté par toutes les Cuisinieres de France'.

[87] *Thesée*, Act V scene 6; *Atys*, Act I scene 6. Sévigné used the *Atys* quotation on two separate occasions.

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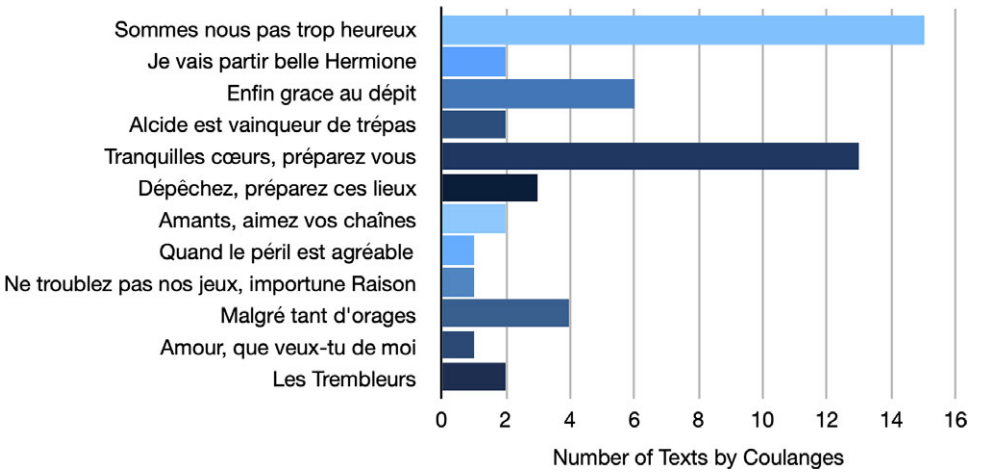

Figure 10. Number of parodic texts created by Coulanges for popular airs from ballets and operas.

frequency (Figure 8). Coulanges, for example, composed five texts for the air 'Enfin, grâce au dépit, je goûte la douceur', from Act I scene 5. As examined in the opening anecdote of this article, he also composed verse for 'Alcide est vainqueur du trépas', from Act V scene 1. He composed two parodic verses to this air, and Sévigné included two texts for this air in letters from 1675 and 1680.[88] Similarly, Coulanges composed another four texts for the 'Air de deux Tritons' – also known as 'Malgré tant d'orages' – from Act I scene 7 of *Alceste*. Because these three airs became such voguish objects of parody throughout fashionable Paris, Lully and Quinault were assured that the impact of *Alceste* would endure and reach the ears of individuals who did not themselves attend the Opéra.[89]

As shown in Figure 10, parodic texts set to eleven of the most popular airs from Lully's ballets and operas create a body of fifty chansons composed by Coulanges alone. Many of the airs that became vehicles for parody in the song games of the *mondains* shared pertinent musical or dramatic characteristics. A common attribute of many of these airs is that the melodies were repeated multiple times in the opera.[90] The repetition, which helped listeners to memorise and retain a melody after they exited the confines of the Opéra, could occur through the use of an orchestral *entrée*, *prelude*, or *ritournelle* (such as with 'Alcide est vainqueur de trépas', 'Tranquilles cœurs, préparez vous', or 'Amour, que veux-tu de moi') or a danced air (such as with 'Sommes nous pas trop heureux', 'Les trembleurs', or 'Malgré tant d'orages') in which the same melody is used for both the dance and the subsequent sung air. Many of these numbers, such as 'Amour, que veux-tu de moi' and 'Les trembleurs', are the first music heard by the audience at the beginning of an act. Others, like 'Dépêchez, préparez ces lieux', are part of a concluding intermède. The structural location in the drama of a third of the tunes represented in Figure 10 suggests that audiences might have been more attentive at the beginning and end of an act. Alternatively, Lully could have purposely positioned captivating or memorable melodies at the beginning or end of an act. Other airs reflect evocative moments of mimesis, such as 'Dépêchez, préparez ces lieux', which includes

[88] *Correspondance*, vol. 2 (29 December 1675), 206; and vol. 3 (8 November 1680), 56.

[89] For other texts set to 'Enfin, grâce au dépit, je goûte la douceur', see Romey, 'Popular Song', 384–6; for texts dating to Lully's lifetime and after his death, Schneider, *Chronologisch-thematisches*, 231. For 'Alcide est vainqueur du trépas', see Romey (388–90) and Schneider (242–3). For 'Air de deux Tritons', see Romey (387) and Schneider (232–3).

[90] Strophic songs performed as finales in the two spoken theatres – the Comédie-Français and Comédie-Italienne – often transformed into *vaudevilles*. These songs too relied on repetition and left the theatres in the ears of audience members. See Romey, 'Songs that Run in the Streets'.

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a musical representation of the sound of hammers wielded by the Cyclops hitting anvils, and 'Les trembleurs', in which the strings and the singers evoke the shivering of the 'peoples des climats glacez' ('peoples of freezing climates').

Each of the airs in Figure 10 was parodied not only by Coulanges but countless times by other *mondains.*[91] Coulanges only set one verse to 'Quand le péril est agréable', from Act I scene 3 of *Atys.* As with 'Les trembleurs', this operatic tune was parodied so frequently that it appeared in numerous guises: street singers performed the tune with new texts on the Pont-Neuf, where it transformed into a *vaudeville*, and later playwrights regularly employed it as a canvas for new texts in the earliest comic operas. 'Je vais partir belle Hermione', the beloved departure scene between the opera's two title characters in Act II scene 2 of *Cadmus et Hermione*, was parodied twice by Coulanges and twice by Sévigné in her letters; and several more dialogue parodies of this scene survive in manuscript *chansonniers.*[92] Jean Palaprat also quoted the first line of this bit of recitative in *Le ballet extravagant*, a play that the Comédie-Française premiered in 1690.[93] An operatic craze had engulfed the city and the theatres mocked what playwrights and social commentators referred to as 'opera madness'.[94] Studying the ways in which airs and scraps of recitative from those operas were reused in court and salon spaces can bring us closer to the early modern spectators who witnessed the earliest productions of Lully's operas, and shed light on the ways that Parisians could have listened to each eagerly anticipated operatic premiere.

Revisiting sources for Lully's *Tragédies en musique*

An audience-centred approach to operatic reception history can offer a deeper understanding of how collectors, compilers and consumers engaged with contemporary manuscript and print sources of Lully's music. A wide variety of surviving musical sources reflect performance traditions in places other than on the operatic stage. For example, Lully never oversaw the publication of a score for *Alceste* during his lifetime. Baussen produced the first engraved reduced score in 1708, and the Ballard firm would not produce a reduced score until 1727.[95] The lack of a published score for more than three decades after the premiere, however, does not suggest a limited circulation of the music for *Alceste.* In his new edition of *Alceste* in the *Œuvres complètes*, Herbert Schneider argues that music from *Alceste* was more sought after by collectors than the music for *Cadmus et Hermione*, Lully and Quinault's first *tragédie en musique.*[96] My analysis of the parodic and quotation activities of Coulanges (Figure 8) and Sévigné (Figure 9), both of whom engaged with *Alceste* more frequently than *Cadmus*, supports Schneider's assertion. Whereas *Alceste* produced multiple tunes that were

[91] For parodic texts that date to Lully's lifetime, see Appendix 2 of Romey, 'Popular Song', 351–421. For a less detailed catalogue of print and manuscript sources of parodic texts dated to after Lully's death, see Schneider, *Chronologisch-thematisches.* The popularity of Lully's tunes for which Coulanges composed new texts can be confirmed by comparing his œuvre to these two resources.

[92] *Correspondances*, vol. 2 (9 September 1675), 97; and vol. 2 (10 April 1676), 276. Dialogue parodies are parodies of dialogues between two or more characters in an opera.

[93] Jean Palaprat, *Le ballet extravagant, comédie* (Paris, 1694). This play premiered at the Comédie-Française on 21 July 1690.

[94] For an examination of insanity, madness and opera as expressed in the opera parodies Florent Carton Dancourt wrote for the Comédie-Française, see John Powell, 'The Opera Parodies of Florent Carton Dancourt', *Cambridge Opera Journal* 13 (2001), 87–114, at 92–3, 101–5. Georgia Cowart, 'Of Women, Sex and Folly: Opera under the Old Regime', *Cambridge Opera Journal* 6/3 (1993), 205–20.

[95] Lully, *Alceste* (Paris, 1708; 2nd edn, 1708; 3rd edn, 1716; 4th edn, 1720). Lully, *Alceste* (Paris, 1727).

[96] Full scores of *Les fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus*, *Cadmus et Hermione*, *Alceste*, *Thésée*, *Atys* and *Psyché* were only published after Lully's death. For more on the publication history of *Alceste*, see Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Alceste ou Le Triomphe d'Alcide, tragédie*, ed. Schneider (Hildesheim, 2018), XLII–XLVI. Schneider examined around thirty full-score manuscripts that he divided into four copying 'traditions' of the opera. Lully, *Alceste*, ed. Schneider, XLV.

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parodied countless times, *Cadmus* produced fewer, at least after its premiere. More manuscript sources for *Alceste* were produced in part because spectators sought access to the tunes so they could participate in the musical games unfolding across Paris.

In a letter sent from Sedan to his brother Joseph Bayle, Pierre Bayle offers two solutions for those wishing to sing or play music from the latest opera: borrow music from a singer and pay a copyist, or learn the tunes from someone who knew them by heart.

> As for the opera, I told you that it is impossible to purchase the music, and that if one wishes to have it in that form, one must have it expressly written and notated by a musician, which would require one to have acquaintances among the actors or actresses, so that they would lend you their copy, from which a musician could make you a similar one. All this requires a man who solicits and goes ferreting everywhere. There remains only the printed *livret*, which is not difficult to purchase, since it is advertised publicly on sale and costs only 30 sols. But the *livret* is such a trifle when deprived of its music, the actual performance of the scene changes, and the actions of the stage machinery that you would spend all your life begrudging the 20 or 30 sols that you spent on the postage. There is nothing more languid than that kind of verse; the incidents and intricacies of the plot are nothing when you see them thus stripped of their flesh. Indeed, hardly anyone buys these *livrets*, other than those attending a performance, to be able to follow the words sung on stage. Imagine that I sent you some paltry verses that have been set to beautiful airs. If you did not know these airs, is it not true that you would be unable to thank me for making such a gift? Therefore, it would be better to wait until you can learn the airs from someone who can sing them for you. I am very glad that you can sing; it is a talent that is used in conversations.[97]

Bayle's letter indicates that even individuals who could not attend in person at the Opéra were interested in performing the music from the latest *tragédie en musique.* He mentions the possibility of finding someone who can sing the airs from memory, the most prominent mode of transmission of Lully's operatic airs, and claims that singing is a valuable skill in the art of conversation. As discussed in the introduction to this article, Perrault claimed soon after the premiere of *Alceste* at the Opéra all of Paris learned the airs 'by heart'.[98] Even those who resided outside Paris, like Pierre and Joseph Bayle, were clamouring to learn the latest tunes.

Some manuscript sources were compiled for the amateur who desired to participate in musical games that involved performing opera airs but who lacked the required musical training. In a 'Livre de musique' compiled between 1688 and 1696, for example, L. Augier

[97] Pierre Bayle, Letter 135 [Sedan] 28 March 1677 (bayle-correspondance.univ-st-etienne.fr): 'Quant à l'opera je vous disois positivement qu'il est impossible de l'acheter en musique, et que si on le [v]eut avoir en cet etat, il faut le faire ecrire et noter par un musicien [e]xpres, pour quoi il seroit necessaire d'avoir des habitudes avec les acteurs ou les actrices, afin qu'ils pretassent leur copie et que sur celle là un musicien vous en fit une semblable. Tout cela demande un homme qui sollicite et qui furete par tout. Il ne reste que l'opera imprimé, qui n'est pas difficile à acheter, car on le trouve exposé en vente publiquem[en]t et il ne coute que 30 sols. Mais cet opera est si peu de chose quand il est denué de sa musique et de l'actuelle representation des changemens de theatre et de l'execution des machines, que vous plaindriez toute votre vie les 20 ou 30 sols qu'il vous couteroit de port. Il n'est rien de plus languissant que cette sorte de vers, les evenemens et les intrigues ne sont rien à les voir ainsi decharnez, enfin il n'y a presque personne qui achette ces pieces, sinon ceux qui vont à la representation, afin de suivre de l'œil les paroles qui se chantent sur le theatre. Figurez vous que je vous envoye des vers fort mechans, où on a mis de beaux airs. Si vous ne saviez pas ces airs là n'est il pas vrai que vous ne me sauriez aucu[n] gré d'un tel present? Ainsi il vaut mieux que vous attendiez d'apprendre les airs de quelqu'un qui les saura chanter. Je suis bien aise de ce que vous savez chanter, c'est un talent qui est d'usage dans les conversations'. Also quoted in Lully, *Alceste*, ed. Schneider, XLIII.

[98] Perrault, *Critique de l'opéra*, 50.

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begins by informing the reader that his book contains the most beautiful pieces by Lully. 'Of all these pieces that we refer to by the name Opera and have been composed and performed up until 1686', he continues, 'we chose all the most beautiful airs, chansons, *récits* and other pieces that can be detached and sung separately from the body of these pieces. We have also included whole scenes and parts of scenes.' Augier produced a collection of airs and scenes from operas that could be performed individually by the owners of such a manuscript. He created an anthology, organised chronologically by opera, of the most fashionable moments from Lully's operatic œuvre and provided a 'Table of the most beautiful airs' at the beginning of each section. Each excerpt from an opera includes a figured *basse continue*, thereby presenting the music in a format conducive to an accompanied chamber performance (Figure 11 and Figure 7).

For those lacking musical training, Augier includes at the beginning of the book 'a very short and easy method, to learn by oneself, without a singing master, how to sing the music'.[99] Because *mondains* would have had access to a singing master, the inclusion of this method suggests that compilers like Augier likely intended their anthologies for socially aspirational readers. To ingratiate oneself as a member of fashionable society, one had to learn and perform tunes from the latest operas, with the original or with newly composed verse, in locations geographically removed from the Opéra. Sources like Augier's 'Livre de musique' can inform our understanding of what bits of music early modern audiences valued.

Among the many surviving musical sources for *Alceste*, full scores are relatively rare. Most of the material evidence of Lully's *tragédies en musique* are in the vein of Augier's songbook or presented as some kind of reduced score, like the engraved editions produced by Baussen in 1708 (Figure 12) and Ballard in 1727 (Figure 2). These editions, like most published editions of Lully's music, provide a figured *basse continue* with vocal line(s) and instrumental *ritournelle.* The published sources present the music in a format calculated to allow a performer to extract excerpts, which could then be performed as chamber works in a setting like at a salon.[100]

* * *

Studying Coulanges's body of chansons unveils the manifold ways in which early modern Parisians from diverse social ranks interacted with music from spectacles. Some operatic tunes, such as 'Les trembleurs', transformed into *vaudevilles* that circulated in the streets and later appeared as canvasses for new texts in theatrical spectacles like early comic operas.[101] Other tunes, such as 'Puissant Roy qui donnez chaque jour' and 'Contrevéritez', never seem to have penetrated the lower ranks, remaining vehicles for song games played by upwardly mobile bourgeois and nobles. In *mondain* circles, two distinct modes of interacting with the latest operas existed simultaneously as components of the art of conversation: quoting segments from operas in *galant* conversations, and parodying tunes from operas. In the parodic song tradition, in which Coulanges was a recognisable and respected figure, participants across Paris and beyond improvised countless new texts to the same evolving yet coherent body of tunes culled from spectacles. Only texts that poets or collectors found

[99] 'Livre de musique' [Entre 1688 et 1699] F-Pn RÉS F-768; n. p.: 'de toutes ces pieces qu'on appelle du nom d'Opera, & qui ont esté composées & représentées depuis içi Jusque En 1686, on a choisi tous les plus beaux airs, chansons, Récits & autres endroits qui se peuvent détacher, & Chanter séparément du corps des dites pieces, on y a ausi mis des scènes entières, & parties de scènes &c.'; 'On trouvera aussi au commencement de ce Livre, une méthode tres courte & tres facile, pour apprendre de soy même & sans maître à chanter la Musique … '.

[100] Dill has made similar observations about the 1736 edition of Jean-Philippe Rameau's *Les Indes galantes.* Charles Dill, *Monstrous Opera: Rameau and the Tragic Tradition* (Princeton, 2014), 1–16.

[101] For more on how theatrical songs became *vaudevilles*, see Romey, 'Songs that Run in the Streets'.

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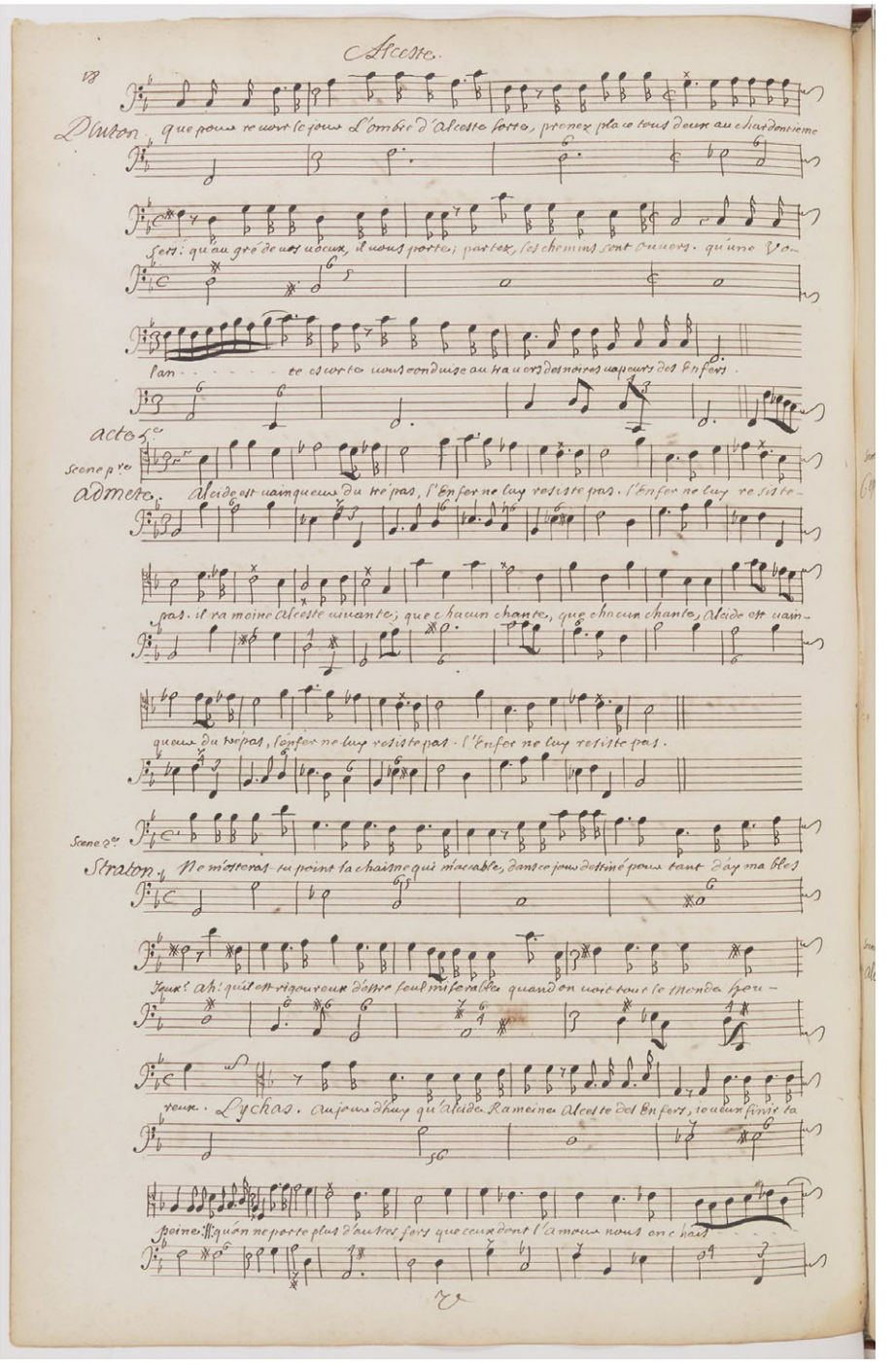

Figure 11. 'Alcide est vainqueur du trépas' Admète's air from Act 5 scene 1 of Jean-Baptiste Lully's *Alceste* in L. Augier's 'Livre de musique' F-Pn RES F-768. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

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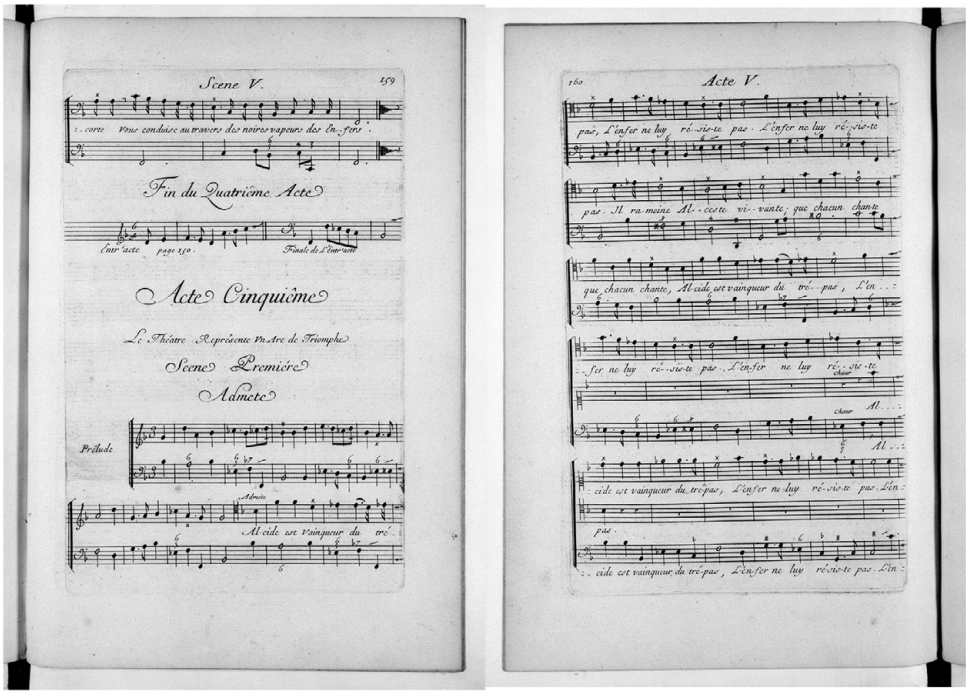

Figure 12. 'Alcide est vainqueur du Trépas' Admète's air from act 5, scene 1 of Jean-Baptiste Lully's Alceste. Alceste, tragédie, mise en musique par feu Mr de Lully […] première édition gravée par H. De Baussen (Paris, 1708), 159–60. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

worthy of preservation survive. Countless parodic chansons that were 'made in conversation, glass in hand' were never documented for posterity.[102]

Audience members were not passive spectators of Lully's operas. They purchased *livrets* and scores published by the Ballard firm, sought prized manuscript copies of the operas before Lully published his scores; copied airs into manuscript songbooks for personal use; memorised their favourite airs and even entire scenes from the latest operas; sang along with airs and choruses at the Opéra; performed transcriptions of tunes from operas for keyboard, lute, guitar and other instruments; used operatic material as a creative form of self-expression and agency at salons and in public spaces like the Pont-Neuf; and collected parodic verse in their manuscript *chansonniers*.[103] Coulanges's chansons, then, represent only one expression of a matrix of ways in which audiences saw operas as interactive experiences. Until now, studies of seventeenth-century French opera have focused on the operatic event, politics and the resulting production of material artefacts, either as performance materials or consumer products. As I have argued here, a richer picture of the cultural impact of a staged spectacle can be gleaned by studying the social structures and practices around the circulation, manipulation and reuse of operatic music. Rather than beginning with the score as the source of study, I suggest that we view most scores in the way

[102] *Recueil de chansons choisies*, vol. 1 (1694), a iii r: 'des Impromptus faits en conversation, ou à table, le verre à la main'.

[103] Caroline Wood and Graham Sadler, eds., *French Baroque Opera: A Reader* (Aldershot, 2000), 36–7; La Gorce, *Jean-Baptiste Lully*, 592.

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that many early modern owners viewed them, as repositories of an evolving repertoire of operatic artefacts for use in their quotidian social experiences.

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John Romey, a specialist of early modern French music, culture, politics, religion, and spectacle, is Assistant Professor of Musicology at Purdue University Fort Wayne. Among other places his publications can be read in *Early Modern French Studies* (2019), *The Journal of Musicology* (2020), the *Yale Journal of Music & Religion* (2023) and *Early Music History* (forthcoming in 2024).

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