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Duggan, Carl

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ABSTRACT

ISIS: A STUDY IN LULLY'S FRENCH STYLE

This study examines Lully's fifth tragédie lyrique Isis (1677), and shows its placement within the composer's operatic oeuvre; it assesses the importance of the opera in the development of a genre that for nearly a century would remain essentially unchanged. The study begins with an examination of aspects of Lully's first five tragédies--Cadmus et Hermione (1673), Alceste (1674), Thésée (1675), Atys (1676) and Isis (1677)--citing those literary and musical features that gave the tragédie lyrique its unique qualities. Chapter III deals with three contemporary scores of Isis, the set of ten partbooks (Lully's first published music) printed under the composer's supervision in 1677, the first printed full score, published nearly fifty years later, and an undated full score manuscript, probably copied about 1690; they show how remarkably little his works were changed from generation to generation. The final section of this study is an examination of Lully's musical style, those features and qualities that comprise Lully's Isis.
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ISIS: A STUDY IN LULLY'S FRENCH STYLE

A thesis presented by CARL DUGGAN to University of Durham in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the subject of Music

Awarded the degree of M. Mus.

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM
DURHAM, ENGLAND

1985
For

James Murray Brown

and

Anthony Milner

in appreciation of their kind and generous support over the years
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The origins of this dissertation date from 1975 when Hugh J. McLean, then Dean of the Faculty of Music, The University of Western Ontario (London, Canada), informed me of the considerable Lully holdings in a collection of opera manuscripts, printed scores, libretti and engravings from the period 1597-1750, purchased by the University in 1974. I am grateful to Larry Lewis, then Music Librarian, for allowing me early access to the collection.

I am indebted to Dr. J. Murray Brown, my advisor, whose thoughtful, thorough and prompt advice was given so generously, often rearranging his own schedule to accommodate my visits to Britain.

Other people to whom I am grateful are the staff of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Christ Church Library, Oxford, and the British Library, London. I am particularly grateful to Graham Sadler for bringing to my attention the complete set of ten partbooks for *Isis* at Christ Church Library, Oxford. In North America, the staff of the Music Library of the University of California at Berkeley, Larry Mowers at the Isham Library, Harvard University, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the staff of the Music Library of the University of Western Ontario, particularly William Guthrie, Music Librarian, and Jane Baldwin, Reference Librarian, gave me every assistance in obtaining rare
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I am also most appreciative of the friends and colleagues who so generously gave me their encouragement over the period of time it took to complete this study. I am particularly grateful to my family—Devina, James and Alexa—without whose love and support I might never have completed this project.
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A Note to the Reader

Fairly lengthy and numerous musical excerpts are included to give the reader a better conception of Lully's music, as his tragédiess are not standard repertory and many of the scores of his works are difficult to obtain. The only presently available modern edition of Isis is Chefs-D'Oeuvre Classiques de L'Opéra Français, vol. 21, ed. Théodore de Lajarte (Paris, Michaelis, n.d.; repr. New York, Broude, 1971). Most of the musical examples used here are taken from this edition, a short score (reduced).
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

French national opera—the tragédie lyrique—began with the first performance of Lully's Cadmus et Hermione at Saint Germain-en-Laye on April 27, 1673. From that time, Lully produced twelve new tragédies lyriques, approximately one a year, until his death in 1687. These works, consistent in form and style, established a type of opera that remained essentially unaltered for nearly a hundred years. Always with an eye on the box-office, Lully could see that contemporary Italian opera was not right for the French, offended as many of them were by its form, content, and expression. Instead, he turned towards the classical French stage, with its famous standards of clarity and delivery, for inspiration and models.

Each tragédie lyrique begins with a Prologue in praise of Louis XIV, and it often includes some references to contemporary events. The opera is divided into five Acts. The subject for each work is derived from ancient mythology or medieval romance, and many have pastoral settings. The drama is developed largely by means of recitative, which often grows into short passages of a more regular melodic structure. Dialogue, duets and ensembles are common. The most spectacular feature of the
tragedie lyrique, and one of the sources of its greatest popularity, however, are the scenes that do not usually form a necessary part of the plot. These are known as divertissements, or diversions, and they are introduced whenever there is the slightest pretext for them. They comprise approximately half the average Lully opera. The diversions are of many kinds; pastoral assemblies, sacrificial scenes, battles, infernal scenes, descents of the gods, and so forth. All have the common feature that they provide for grand staging, lavish costumes and scenery, machines, choral singing and dancing.

All the various forms of dramatic music in France came together in 1673 with Lully's creation of the tragedie lyrique. Considering all its predecessors, there is little about its creation that was new; it borrowed its dramatic scheme from the tragedy, it incorporated the machine plays into the divertissements and the pastorales into the settings of many of the libretti, it used Italian opera as a model to encourage French composers and poets to develop similar forms, and it used all the best features of the court ballet. Lully's unique contribution, however, was the form of the overture and the French recitative, in which virtually the entire drama of a tragedie unfolds. His genius is best shown in the ways he used the achievements of the past, in the sense of proportion with which he combined these elements into the formation of a national opera, and in the shrewdness and determination with which he made French opera a practical and artistic success. Though Lully sometimes achieved his
aims by unscrupulous means, his jealous ambition was more than matched by his genius. By collaborating with every major poet in France, observing contemporary theatrical performances, and participating in court productions as dancer, singer, actor, poet and composer, Lully was ready to take on the complete organisation of musical productions with perfection and distinction.

Besides examining *Isis* itself as a *tragédie lyrique*, this study will show it to be, in some ways, a seminal work in Lully's *oeuvre*. Indeed, his control over the genre was so great that it is not surprising the operas would be looked upon as works of perfection, and, for nearly a century, would remain essentially unchanged in the active repertory of the Académie royale de musique (the Paris Opéra). *Isis* was probably Lully's greatest achievement in the production of his mythological operas; only *Proserpine*, written three years later, is comparable. After *Isis*, Lully turned increasingly towards stories based on medieval romance rather than mythology, and his final three operas—*Amadis, Roland, and Armide*—are essentially psychological studies.

With the number of good surveys readily available it seemed pointless for this study to duplicate work already done. The *New Grove* article on Lully provides a reasonably accurate, comprehensive, and up-to-date survey of the composer's life and works.¹ Two more accounts of Lully's career and music are found in larger studies by

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Anthony and Isherwood. The most comprehensive survey of the *tragédies lyriques* is Patricia Howard's dissertation of 1975. A few more specialised studies include Joyce Newman's dissertation (now published) on aspects of recitative in the *tragédies lyriques*, and Lois Rosow's performance history of *Armide*. In recent years, the work of Herbert Schneider has provided Lully scholars with a comprehensive catalogue of the composer's works, and a performance history of the *tragédies lyriques*.

The complete works of Lully are not yet available in scholarly form. Broude Brothers, New York, has announced a new edition of Lully's complete works, which will supersede Henri Prunières' unfinished one.

Essentially the examination of a single opera, this study begins with *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673), Lully's first *tragédie lyrique*, and briefly examines certain aspects of----------------

5 Joyce Newman, 'Formal Structure and Recitative in the Tragédies Lyriques of Jean-Baptiste de Lully', (Ph.D. diss., The University of Michigan, 1974); also published as *Jean-Baptiste de Lully and His Tragédies Lyriques*, *Studies in Musicology*, I (Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1979).
8 Herbert Schneider, *Die Rezeption der Oper Lullys im Frankreich des Ancien Regime* (Tutzing, Hans Schneider, 1982).
9 Between 1930 and 1939, Prunières edited eleven volumes of Lully's complete works, three of which were operas: *Cadmus, Alceste*, and *Amadis*.
it and the other three tragédies preceding Isis: Alceste (1674), Thésée (1675), and Atys (1676). The final section in the chapter examines Isis itself as a tragédie lyrique, defining those literary and musical features that gave the genre its unique qualities. With the production of Isis in 1677, and the first ever printing of one of his scores, Lully had gained complete control over every aspect of the preparation and performances of his works. Chapter III examines three selected contemporary scores of Isis, two prints and a manuscript, and shows how remarkably little his works were changed from generation to generation. The final section of this study deals with the music itself, detailing those features and special qualities that comprise Lully's Isis. Lully must have considered Isis a significant work. His fifth tragédie lyrique, the opera contains some of his finest orchestral music, and the choral sections alone of Acts III and IV make it an important work. Furthermore, as he chose this score as his first published work, it must have been an unexpected blow that the opening performance was unsuccessful, mainly over an unfortunate scandal associating Madame de Montespan, the king's mistress, with the furiously jealous character Junon.
CHAPTER II

THE TRAGÉDIES LYRIQUES, 1673–1677

One of the main differences between French and Italian opera in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is that the former placed greater importance on the drama and the dance. The wealth and stability of the French social structure not only made possible the existence of opera but also dictated the creation of a specific operatic type. French society was based on the ideal of order, achieved by virtue of reason, and made popular during the seventeenth century by the philosophical writings of René Descartes (1596–1650). The unity of France under the monarchy was an ideal self-evidently correct and that ought, therefore, to be accepted willingly by reasonable men. As Menestrier expressed in 1682: 'C'est la gloire de la France d'avoir achevé de régler tous les beaux Arts'.¹ This was a simple observation most French people accepted as self-evident; artistic creations were characterised by objectivity, simplicity, nobility, grandeur and a firm outline that was always maintained in spite of much decoration.

French thought demanded that opera be different from what it was in Italy. The unbelievable dramatic situations, the over-abundance of irrelevant details and secondary characters, meaningless repetitions of texts, and the florid decorations of the vocal lines created, for the French, a sense of artistic chaos. Order, reason and clarity were demanded, qualities found in contemporary French classical drama, then at its highest stage of development. As tragedy was considered a higher form of art than comedy, and Lully's declamatory recitative seemed more suited to the solemn character of tragedy than comedy, the first operas were tragédies first, and the phrase 'en musique' a qualifying addition.

Lully was careful to associate his new operatic tragedies with established drama by choosing Philippe Quinault (1635-1688) as his librettist. Quinault had achieved a considerable reputation as an author of successful tragédies, comédies and a number of less extensive works before he collaborated with Lully, and, as a result of these successes, he was subsequently elected to the French Académie. He was a popular author at French literary salons and he was in constant demand to read his poems at their gatherings, salons dominated by les femmes précieuses, who set standards of genteel speech and conduct.

It was the crowning charm of French society that the sexual stimulus extended to the mind, that the women were roused to add intelligence to beauty, and that the men were tamed by the women to courteous conduct, good taste, and polished speech; in this regard the century from 1660 to 1760 in France marks
the zenith of civilisation. In that society intelligent women were numerous beyond any precedent; and if they were also attractive in face or figure, or in the solicitude of kindliness, they became a persuasive civilising force. The salons were training men to be sensitive to feminine refinement, and women to be responsive to masculine intellect. In those gatherings the art of conversation was developed to an excellence never known before or since—the art of exchanging ideas without exaggeration or animosity, but with courtesy, tolerance, clarity, vivacity, and grace. Perhaps the art was more nearly perfect under Louis XIV than in the days of Voltaire—not so brilliant and witty, but more substantial and friendly.²

As Quinault came under their influence, he became one of the authors to whom the term précieux was attached.

Though Molière ridiculed les femmes précieuses, they did make a valuable contribution to French society. French opera too took on some of their characteristics, including a degree of artificiality, but many of its virtues were also absorbed.

The king chose the subject material for each of the tragédies lyriques. Quinault prepared brief sketches of several stories and presented them to the monarch, who made his choice. At that point, Lully and Quinault worked together to produce a general outline for the opera, and Quinault completed the libretto. The finished text was presented to the French Académie, who could demand further changes or revisions. Le Cerf de la Viéville points out that Lully himself had final approval of the text and that he sometimes demanded hundreds of revisions in spite of it

having passed the scrutiny of the Académie. For example, Lully objected violently to the degree of ambition given to the character of Phaéton, and Quinault was forced to make the necessary changes. Fully revised, the text of the play was given to Lully for the composition of the music. The first ten tragédies lyriques are based on stories from Greek and Roman mythology and romance—Cadmus et Hermione, Alceste, Thésée, Atys, Isis, Psyché, Bellérophon, Prosperpine, Persée, Phaéton—and the final three are based on stories about French heroes—Amadis, Roland, Armide.

In each of the tragédies lyriques two main themes are presented: glory and love. The subject matter is so conceived that both themes are used, and a noble character living an idealistic life is created. Those characters following this example are rewarded, united in perfect love with a partner of similar nobility; those falling short of this ideal are punished and dishonoured. In each tragédie lyrique both reward and punishment are accomplished by supernatural means. The French theatre interpreted the meaning of la gloire as the honour brought to a man of noble character through an act of heroic proportions. The act itself was not as important as the motivation behind it; the hero is moved to help those less fortunate—he rescues maidens in distress, he breaks the power over nations of terrifying monsters, and he sets free the captives from the spells of enchanters. With no

4 Ibid.
thought of personal reward, the hero risks his life in an attempt to accomplish the noble act, successful through the intervention of supernatural powers. *L'amour* was considered to represent ideal love, of which only those of the noblest character were capable. This type of love, different from passion, strengthened a heroic character's desire to perform deeds of courage, though it was not a goal in itself; it was the unsolicited reward for his heroic acts. Passion, on the other hand, was associated with qualities unworthy of those with truly noble desires, and the jealousy, hatred and revenge associated with passion were set in sharp contrast with ideal love. The literature of the mid seventeenth century was filled with the lofty ideals of glory and love, which received, probably, their finest expression in the *tragédies* of Jean Racine and Pierre Corneille:

'...Corneille and his contemporaries were echoing a tradition of fairly distant origin. At first glance it may seem anachronistic to apply the term *feudal* to Corneille's inspiration. But there is no other word to designate what persists in the psychology of the well-born gentleman of the seventeenth century, of the old ideas of heroism and bravado, magnanimity, devotion to duty, and ideal love, all opposed to the aristocracy's more modern tendencies towards simple moral elegance or honnêteté. The ideas, sentiments, and the behavior that formed a part of feudal life were still alive long after the decline of feudalism. There exists an uninterrupted current of thought which the Renaissance modified, and in a sense, reinforced, rather than reversed. The prestige of heroic chivalry was revived when contact was established once more with the rediscovered heroes of antiquity, as seen through the eyes of Plutarch and Seneca. Similarly, the ideal of love inherited from the Middle Ages drew new strength from the rediscovery of Plato."

\[\text{\textsuperscript{5}}\text{Paul Benichou, *Man and Ethics* (Garden City, N.Y., Anchor Books, 1971), pp. 4-5.}\]
Glory and love were popular ideals both with the old aristocracy and with the new nobles of bourgeois origin who gathered around Louis XIV. The king lessened the power and freedom of the nobility after the Fronde (the revolution of 1648-1653) and this caused bitter resentment among them. They found some comfort in identifying themselves with the noble characters as portrayed by Lully and Quinault, and they attended with great enthusiasm the performances of the tragédies lyriques. Louis XIV maintained his belief in the importance of proper conduct by which a great noble ought to govern himself, and the new aristocracy were obliged to behave accordingly. And since the king often attended performances of the tragédies lyriques, the new nobility did likewise, and their attendance at these productions became regular and popular activities.

By the time of Cadmus, opera shared many of the same characteristics as French classical tragedy; the same heroic characters were seen in similar situations, both forms sought to move the audience, both had their settings within the stately splendour of court life, and both were produced according to established principles. An important link between opera and the classical French tragedy is found in the recitative, the very heart of Lully's work, and its invention was a mark of his genius. Lully was not willing to adopt the Italian recitativo secco, because he felt that the two languages were so different that their proper declamations required
different treatments. He tried to construct his recitative so that it was as faithful as possible to the declamation of the speaking voice. For the best model of tragic declamation, Lully turned to the Comédie française, and in particular, to the actress Champmeslé. The declamation in use at that time was like a continuous melody, to which actors recited their verses; Mlle. Champmeslé had been trained in this style of speaking by Racine himself. It seems likely, therefore, that Lully's recitative gives a fairly accurate reproduction of the kind of declamation heard in Racine's tragédies during the lifetime of their author. In his recitative, Lully transferred to the opera the qualities of the declamation of French classical tragedy.

The stories upon which each of the tragédies lyriques was based were well known and popular, not so much for the story as for the way the final result was achieved. In Greek tragedy, a noble character's downfall was brought about as a result of one flaw; in the tragédie lyrique the outcome rested on whether or not the character remained true to the ideals of glory and love. In each of the tragédies lyriques these ideals are presented in the Prologue, and the succeeding five Acts are permeated with them. In many instances, Quinault presents them again as short commentaries within the play.

The development of character and strong dramatic progression are the elements that give strength to

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Quinault's libretti. In each Act, the plot progresses either to a logical conclusion or to a surprising turn of events; whatever the ending, the conditions for the next Act will have been established. Though each of the *tragédies lyriques* had slight differences in construction, the basic plan of each was the same, following the model of the French *tragédie* in which the principal characters appear in the first Act, difficulties, disagreements, or strife arise in the second, the conflicts are brought to a point where a solution is necessary in the third Act, the climax of the opera is arrived at in the fourth, and, in the last Act, the announcements of the final solution and conclusions with regard to its meaning are made.

*Cadmus et Hermione (1673)*

The Prologue of *Cadmus et Hermione* is taken from the eighth fable of Ovid's first book of *Metamorphoses*. Envy creates Python, a ferocious monster made from matter left after a great flood; only Apollon is great enough to destroy him. Apollon calls upon the people on earth to celebrate not his glory but their own happiness.

The five Acts that follow are based on the myth of Cadmus, the brother of Europa. After consulting the oracle at Delphi, Cadmus is told by Apollon that he must found his own city. He is to meet and follow a heifer until the animal stops to rest, where he is to build the

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city of Thebes. A fearsome dragon guards the place, and it kills all of Cadmus' companions. Risking his own life, Cadmus battles with the dragon and kills it. Athena appears and tells him to plant in the earth the teeth of the dragon. Once done, armed men miraculously spring from the ground, but they wage combat until only five remain. Cadmus persuades them to help him build Thebes. As atonement is necessary for the killing of the dragon, Cadmus is forced to serve eight years of slavery to Ares. Athena then arranges the marriage of Cadmus and Harmonia, the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite.

Lully and Quinault used this fable as the basis for their collaboration, but some changes were made, one of which might well be a mistake. In the opera, Hermione is said to be the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, but, according to mythology, Hermione was the daughter of Menelaus and Helen of Troy; Harmonia was the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite and, perhaps, Lully and Quinault confused the two. In the tragédie lyrique Hermione is captured by the giant Draco, who intends to marry her. Cadmus is determined to rescue her from the giant, though he knows he may die in the attempt. In recitative, Pallas comforts him (Act I Scene 6):

*Qui peut-être contre l'Amour quand il s'accorde avec la Gloire?*

Who can be against Love when it is in accord with Glory?

The giant has stationed a fearsome dragon Cadmus must slay
if he is to free her. Two comic characters are introduced. Arbas, the servant of Cadmus, is terrified at the sight of the dragon, but, when Cadmus leaves to search for Hermione, he boasts to Charité he had killed the monster. Arbas proclaims his love for her, but in such a casual, nonchalant manner that it contrasts sharply with the intense devotion of Cadmus to Hermione. Similarly, Hermione's nurse, a stock character with origins in Roman theatre, portrays jealousy in such a way that the emotion is comical rather than bitter. Cadmus plants the dragon's teeth in the earth, and immediately an army springs up to help him fight the wicked giant. Hermione begs him to forget her lest he lose his own life in the attempt to save her. Not dissuaded, Cadmus meets the giant in combat. Unable to conquer Cadmus, the giant has three more giants appear through magic, but Pallas intervenes (Act IV Scene 5):

Protéger la vertu d'un Prince magnanime,
C'est le plus doux employ des Dieux.

Protecting the virtue of a magnanimous Prince
Is the sweetest employment of the gods.

Junon, who was protecting the giant, carries Hermione away on a rainbow just as she was about to be united with Cadmus. Pallas then appears to tell the mourning Cadmus that Jupiter has decided that the two mortals ought to be rewarded by being united in marriage, the ceremony to take place on Parnassus.
In *Cadmus et Hermione* the two themes of ideal love and glory are depicted through the story itself, through the characters of the hero and the heroine and through the contrast of lesser characters. Cadmus and Hermione both possess the nobility that brings its reward of ideal love and marriage. Pallas’s intervention makes the point clear: they are rewarded for their nobility of character and not for good deeds alone.

*Alceste* (1674)

The Prologue of *Alceste* begins with the Nymph of the Seine expressing her impatience to see the king again. It is a rondo air with a persistent refrain:

*Le héros que j'attends ne reviendra-t-il pas?*

'Will the Hero I await never return?'

Glory tells the Nymph of the Seine that her Hero follows in Glory’s footsteps, and that she will see him again. Other nymphs and a throng of river divinities gather together with the pleasures in the Tuileries gardens to prepare a fête in honour of the returning hero.

Lully and Quinault based *Alceste* on Euripides’ play rather than the ancient myth, and, in this account of the story, Admetus, King of Pherae, seeks Apollon’s help to win for himself Alcestis, the most beautiful daughter of 8 Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Alceste*, *Oeuvres Complètes, Les Operas*, vol. II, ed. by Henri Prunières (Paris, Éditions de la Revue musicale, 1930).
Pelias. The happy couple, however, neglect to make the customary sacrifices to Artemis, who, in fury, replaces Alcestis with a nest of serpents. Apollon comes to the couple's aid and persuades Artemis to promise when the time comes for Admetus to die, his life will be spared on the condition that a member of his family will die for him out of love. Sooner than expected, Hermes arrives to take Admetus, who tries in vain to get some member of his family to take his place. Alcestis declares that she is willing to die in his stead, an act done more for the love of her children and concern for their fate than for Admetus. She asks him to swear not to remarry, and Admetus gives his promise. Hercules (Herakles, or Alcides) then arrives at the house as a guest and Admetus gives orders that he is to be received graciously and that he must not be told the sorrow that has befallen them. Hercules gets drunk and abuses one of the servants who then tells him the true story; Hercules offers to go to the underworld to rescue Alcestis, and the play ends happily.

Lully and Quinault made a number of changes in the story to suit their purposes. Quinault makes Alcestis a bride on the day of her wedding, rather than a mother sacrificing herself for her children. Alcestis (Princess of Iolcos) and Admète (King of Thessaly) are lovers, but both Alcide and Lycomedes (King of Scyros) are also in love with Alcestis. Her servant, the nymph Céphise, is also loved by more than one man, and her many romances are a sharp contrast to the devotion of Alcestis to Admète.
Lycomèdes arranges a celebration in honour of the coming marriage, but, in reality, he uses it as a distraction to kidnap Alceste and take her away to Scyros. Both Admète and Alcide leave to rescue her, and, in the ensuing battle, Admète is mortally wounded. Apollon intervenes and pronounces his oracle: Admète will die if no one sacrifices his life and goes to Hades in his place. The aged Pheres and the young Céphise each find a pretext in their respective ages for not volunteering. Restored, Admète is about to thank the person who gave his life for him when he sees the image of Alceste stabbing herself on the altar. Regaining composure, Admète declare his desire to join Alceste in Hades. But Alcide confesses that he, too, loves Alceste and offers to wrench her from death if Admète consents to relinquish her to him. When Alcide succeeds in bringing Alceste back, plans are made for their wedding. Admète and Alceste are resigned to their fate of separation but their eyes tell their true love one for the other. In the final part of the divertissement, Alcide is so moved by their constancy, devotion and nobility that he renounces his claim to Alceste (Act V Scene 4):

Non, non, vous ne devex pas croire
Qu'un vainqueur des tyrans soit tyran à son tour;
Sur l'enfer, sur la mort j'emporte la victoire;
Il ne manque plus à ma gloire
Que de triompher de l'amour.

No, no, you must not believe that a conquerer of tyrants
must himself become a tyrant.
I have conquered the Underworld and Death
The only thing my glory lacks is to conquer love.

Admète and Alceste answer:

Ah! Quelle gloire extreme,
Quel heroïque effort!
Le vainqueur de la mort
Triomphe de lui-même.

Ah, what extreme Glory,
What heroic effort!
The vanquisher of death
Triumphs over himself.

In this magnanimous deed of Alcide, his heroic and noble action is more highly prized than the love of Admète and Alceste; the noblest character chooses honour first whenever there is a conflict between love and honour.

Thésée (1675)

The Prologue of Thésée is set at Versailles where Venus and Mars, symbolising love and glory, have come to celebrate the splendour and fame of the world's greatest hero.

The story of Thésée is based on the ancient Greek myth of Theseus, the son of the Athenian King, Aegeus. Theseus spent his youth, however, in his mother's home at Troezen, a city in southern Greece. Aegeus returned to Athens before the child was born; before leaving, he placed a sword and a pair of sandals in a hollow and

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covered them with a great stone. He did this with the knowledge of his wife and told her that if their son—if the child was a boy—upon reaching manhood could move the rock in order to obtain the things beneath it, she should send the boy to Athens to claim him as his father. The boy grew up to be much stronger than other boys. When his mother took him to the stone, he lifted it without trouble, and preparations were made to send him to Athens to seek his father. Theseus chose to travel by land rather than sea, though the dangers were much greater. The journey was long and very dangerous because of bandits that beset the road. He killed them all, and left not one alive to trouble future travellers. Because he had cleared the land of these villains, Theseus was received in Athens as a hero and was invited to a banquet by the king, unaware that this young warrior was his son. Aegeus was afraid of the youth’s great popularity, and he thought he might win the people over to make him king. He invited Theseus with the idea of poisoning him. The plan was not his, but Medea’s, his wife, the sorceress who had fled Corinth after her separation from Jason. Through her sorcery, she knew who Theseus was. She gained great influence over Aegeus, and did not want it disturbed by the appearance of a son. As she handed him the poisoned cup, Theseus, wishing to make himself known to his father, drew his sword. The King instantly recognised it and threw the cup to the ground. Medea escaped while the Athenians joined in celebration with Theseus and Aegeus.
In the version Lully and Quinault presented, Thésée and Aéglé are lovers. Aéglé, one of the maidens sent to King Minos to be sacrificed to the minotaur, is also loved by Aégee, engaged to marry Médée, who, in turn, is infatuated with Thésée. Médée succeeds in getting Thésée to admit to her that he loves Aéglé, and she promises to help the couple. Médée then forces Aéglé to pretend she no longer loves Thésée but wishes, rather, to marry Aégee; Aéglé agrees only because Médée threatens to kill Thésée if she refuses.

When Aéglé tells Thésée the bitter tale, Thésée is so upset that Aéglé bursts into tears and tells him the truth. The two lovers, overheard by Médée, promise eternal love. Thésée is a popular hero in Athens, and Aégee makes preparations to announce at the victory celebrations that Thésée is to be his heir. Médée persuades him that Thésée's popularity with the people is, in reality, harmful to him and, furthermore, the naming of Thésée would disinherit Aégee's own son. Under her influence, Aégee agrees to kill Thésée, and Médée is filled with jubilation. Nothing short of death for Thésée will calm her raging jealousy. The fact that, unknowingly, Aégee would be murdering his own son makes Médée's revenge all the more sweet. In the midst of the celebration, however, Thésée draws his sword to swear allegiance to Aégee, who recognises it as his own. Knowing that her evil plan has failed, Médée escapes in her winged chariot, calling upon her powers to destroy everything left behind. At this point, Minerve intervenes
and saves Athens and its inhabitants, who join in celebrations for the marriage of Thésée and Aeglé.

The noble character of the youthful Thésée was an appropriate way for Lully and Quinault to show how this ideal hero represented the young Louis XIV. The introduction into the story of Aeglé gave them the opportunity to contrast her steadfast love with the jealous passion of Médée. The noble character of Aeglé is willing to sacrifice her own happiness to save the life of the one she loves; Médée's flaming jealousy requires nothing but vengeance. Once again, the reward for remaining steadfast in their noble love occurs, not as a result of heroic deeds, but from the intervention of Minerve.

*Atys (1676)*

The Prologue of *Atys* prepares the audience for the drama to follow. Le Temp is celebrating the fame of the greatest hero in all history when the festivities are interrupted by Cybelle, who announces that she will bring to life the story of Atys as a source of entertainment for the great hero.

Cybele is the Latin name of the goddess, whom the Greeks called Rhea, a Phrygian goddess, the wife of Cronos and the mother of Zeus. Her priests were the Corybantes who worshipped her with cries and shouts and clashing

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cymbals and drums. The Romans called her the Great Mother, also Mater Turrita, because her crown was a miniature city wall, carved in the form of towers and embattlements. Cybele's other children were Hestia, Pluto, Poseidon, Hera and Demeter. She fell in love with Attis, a mortal, but, when he refused her advances, she castrated him and he bled to death. Such was Cybele's terrible vengeance. A cult associated with her name grew up in the Near East, in which her followers tried to achieve union with the goddess through self-castration, thereafter dressing themselves in women's clothing.

In the version given by Lully and Quinault, Cybelle comes to earth to be near Atys, the mortal with whom she is in love. Atys, however, loves Sangaride, who has been promised in marriage to Celanus, the King. Cybelle announces she has chosen Atys to be her high priest, and she makes it clear that she desires love rather than honour. Cybelle tells her servant her love for Atys is so great she has given up her own glory in order that she might be near him. Celanus is determined to marry Sangaride, and Atys and Sangaride are convinced that their love is hopeless. They must do the honourable thing and forget their own happiness. As the marriage approaches, Sangaride decides to plead with Cybelle to be released from her betrothal. At first, Atys is shocked that Sangaride can take her marriage promise so lightly. His own love for her is so great, however, that he forsakes his honour and agrees with his beloved. He falls asleep
and dreams of honour and glory. Morphée speaks to him in his dream (Act III Scene 4):

_Mais Souviens-toy que la beauté_  
_Quand elle est Imortelle_  
_Demande la fidelité_  
_D'une amour éternelle._

But remember that beauty  
When it is Immortal  
Demands the fidelity  
Of an eternal love.

Dreams of a much more frightening nature follow and he is told he will die unless he remains faithful to Cybelle.

When he awakens, Cybelle is with him and she assures him that she caused him to dream as he did, and that the warnings given were real. Atys ignores her threats and he and Sangaride ask Cybelle to prevent the marriage of Celanus and Sangaride. The goddess appears to understand their feelings and speaks of her own sorrow at having to give up Atys, for whom she forsook heaven, honour, glory and position. The truth of the matter is that Cybelle is furious and her jealousy calls for vengeance. She persuades Celanus to help her, and, at her instigation, he organises a celebration at which Atys is to preside as high priest. Cybelle has him imagine he sees before him an attacking monster and he slays it with his sword. Atys immediately recovers his senses and sees that it is his beloved Sangaride whom he has killed. Celanus is horrified at Cybelle’s terrible vengeance, and even the goddess herself shows some degree of remorse. But, her
change of heart has come too late to save Sangaride or Atys, who, distraught with grief, has taken his own life. Cybelle cannot follow him as she is immortal; the only recourse left is to use her divine powers to transform Atys into a tree, which she will always love.

Lully and Quinault showed that actions not in accord with honour bring disaster and punishment rather than reward. **Atys** is the only *tragédie lyrique* to end tragically. Not only are love and glory opposed to each other, but it is made clear that disaster results if love is placed more highly than honour. Atys, Sangaride and Cybelle place love before honour, and unhappiness is the reward for each of them: because she loves Atys, Sangaride refuses to keep her marriage vow; Atys betrays Cybelle for the love of Sangaride; Cybelle betrays her own position and honour for a love that she knows is unworthy of her.

Of all the *tragédies lyriques*, the changes Lully and Quinault made to the story are the most compelling in **Atys**. Louis XIV always chose the subject for each *tragédie lyrique*. The king may well have chosen Atys for the next opera to give Lully and others at court a stern warning that he who places passion above duty and honour will be punished.11

Lully’s production of *Cadmus et Hermione* was a triumphant success and there was little need for him to make changes in the general plan of his succeeding operas.

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11 Along with a number of notable aristocrats at Court, including Monsieur, Lully was a notorious homosexual, whose escapades with young boys was sometimes a topic of court gossip.
The dramatic thrust of each *tragédie* is found in the dignified declamatory style Lully created. Short airs, choruses, dances and spectacles are incorporated into the story at appropriate dramatic moments, and they both articulate and compliment the recitative. *Alceste*, however, was criticised for mixing buffoonery with tragedy, because he added jarring comic elements out of place in this tragic subject. The comic elements in *Thésée* did not disrupt the tragedy as much as they had in *Alceste*. Further refinements occurred in *Atys*; vulgar comic episodes were eliminated and only those elements that were noble and refined were left. The king preferred this opera to any other Lully wrote, and it enjoyed great popular success in spite of some sections of monotonous recitative. The general plan of these and succeeding *tragédies lyriques* is essentially the same. Glory and ideal love are the two central themes, no matter what the story.

*Isis* (1677)

*Isis* is based on the story of the nymph, Io. Jupiter is infatuated with Io's beauty and, to conceal his amorous pursuit of the nymph, he enshrouds them both within a dark cloud. Junon, the queen of the gods, is not fooled by the unnatural materialisation, and she orders the cloud to dissipate. There stands Jupiter with a beautiful young

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heifer! Junon asks Jupiter to give the animal to her as a gift, which, under the circumstances, he cannot refuse. Junon places Io under the guard of Argus who watches her constantly with his hundred eyes. Jupiter sends Mercure to put Argus to sleep before killing him in order to rescue Io. Mercure accomplishes this by telling Argus the story of Pan and Syrinx. Io should then be free, but Junon sends a gad-fly to sting her into madness, causing her to flee from country to country. After years of wandering, she reaches the banks of the Nile, where Jupiter restores her to human form. She bears him a son, Epaphus, and lives forever, happy and glorious.

In Quinault's version of *Isis*, the dramatic progression is achieved through the order by which the characters are introduced, and by the vivid expression of their emotions. The first character to appear is Hiérax, who is Io's fiancé. He is lamenting over Io's pleasure at the attention Jupiter paid her. Io is introduced next in Scene 3 with her jealous lover Hiérax. Micène, Io's servant, then enters and, when they are alone, she tells Io of the honour in receiving Jupiter's affections. This intimate scene serves for a short while to relax the tension. Helped by the arrival of Mercure, the magnificent spectacle of Jupiter's descent to earth, accompanied by a host of lesser gods, is given an emotional intensity it could not otherwise have had.

The second Act is centred around Junon's furious jealousy of Io. In order to escape Junon's detection, Jupiter envelopes himself and Io in a dark cloud.
Throughout their meeting, Io proclaims her steadfast love for Hiérax, and the king of the god's advances are resisted. Mercure warns Jupiter of Junon's approach, and Jupiter hurriedly sends Mercure to detain Iris, Junon's messenger, while he escapes.

Mercure decides that the best way to detain Iris is to tell her that he loves her. Quinault takes this opportunity to show the nature of true love, and he contrasts it with Mercure's false declarations. At first, Iris is not misled, but, as Mercure proclaims his undying love for her, she succumbs to his words and they swear eternal love. Iris discovers Mercure is lying about the reason for Jupiter's visit to earth, and the scene ends with the two swearing to take back their hearts and to love no more.

Iris reports to Junon that she was unable to locate Io. Junon triumphantly announces that it doesn't matter; her revenge has been planned. In their scene together, Junon announces to Jupiter that her choice of a new handmaiden is Io, the daughter of Inachus. Jupiter, fearful for Io, can do nothing but congratulate Junon on her choice. The Act ends with the splendid spectacle of Io's reception into Junon's court, surrounded by the goddess Hébé, a company of games and pleasures, and Junon's nymphs. In this Act, dramatic progression is achieved in much the same way as it was in the first. The scene between Mercure and Iris relaxes the tension and it is followed by a spectacular divertissement. The
celebration, however, is not merely a joyful occasion; it is one filled with tensions.

Quinault built the third Act around Argus, who never slept with more than two of his hundred eyes closed. Junon has placed Io under his guard; Mercure, knowing that Io cannot be rescued unless Argus sleeps with all his eyes closed, stages a festive celebration based on the story of Pan and Syrinx. Just as Io is about to escape, Hiérax, her former fiancé, warns Argus, his brother, who calls Junon for help. In her chariot, the goddess descends to bring Io the full fury of her jealous rage, and she commands the Furies to (Act III Scene 9):

*Redouble ta rage infernale*
*Et fais s'il se peut qu'elle égale*
*La fureur de mon coeur jaloux.*

Increase your infernal rage
And do whatever is necessary to make it equal
To the wrath of my jealous heart.

The goddess condemns Io to be sent to the ends of the earth, pursued constantly by the Furies from Hades.

As in the first two Acts, the tension in the plot is relieved by the festival of the story of Pan and Syrinx, and Quinault heightened the dramatic effect of Junon's triumphant descent at the end of the Act. At this point, all the conflicts in the drama are clarified, Junon's furious jealousy is made abundantly clear, and the pressing anticipation of the events to follow enables the Act to end with a sense of dramatic urgency. The
situation has been brought to a point where a solution of the conflict is necessary.

The fourth Act deals with Io's frantic flight pursued by the Furies, and she is first seen in the coldest place in Scythia, benumbed by the cruel climate. The cold and the constant pursuit cause Io to cry out (Act IV Scene 2):

Ah! ah! quelle peine d'éprouver tant de maux,
Sans trouver le trépas.
Ah! quelle vengeance inhumaine!

Ah! ah! what a penalty to suffer such evil
Without ever finding death.
Ah! what inhumane vengeance!

Next, her flight takes her to the Ironworks of the Chalybs, and there, surrounded by intense heat, Io begs for death. One of the Furies repeats Junon's wrath (Act IV Scene 4):

Au gré de son dépit jaloux
Les maux les plus cruels seront encor trop doux.

To the fury of her jealous spite
The most cruel pain would still be too gentle.

Pursued still by the Furies, and unable to bear the torment any longer, Io rushes to the cliff and throws herself into the sea. Saved by a Fury, Io then arrives at the cavern of the Fates where War, Sickness, Famine, Fire and Flood surround her. Now, Io can go on no longer, and,
in her final wish for death, Quinault brings the action of
the play to its climax (Act IV Scene 7):

Tranchez mon triste sort d'un coup
qui me délivre des tourments que Junon me
contraint à souffrir;
Chacun vous fait des voeux pour vivre
Et je vous en fais pour mourir.

Cut short my unhappy fate with a blow
that would deliver me from the torments Junon
forces me to suffer;
Each of you wishes my life
When I wish death.

The final Act is set on the banks of the Nile. Io's
flight from the Furies has taken her to Egypt and, at the
mouth of the river, unable to bear her torment any longer,
she rushes to the cliff and throws herself into the sea.
A Fury lifts her to safety and, again Io pleads for death,
unable to understand how Jupiter, professing love for her,
can forsake her in her terrible torment. Taking pity on
Io, Jupiter descends from Heaven. He tells her that,
though he abhors the sufferings she must bear, he is
unable to stop them; Junon alone can relent and end Io's
punishment. In the final Scene, Junon descends to the
earth, and Jupiter berates her for being so inhuman and
pitiless (Act V Scene 3):

Quoi! Le coeur de Junon
Quelque grand qu'il puisse être
Ne saurait triompher d'une injuste fureur.
What! The heart of Junon
As great as it may be
Cannot triumph over an unjust fury.

Junon replies:

De la terre et du Ciel Jupiter est le maître
Et Jupiter n’est pas le maître de son coeur.

Of Heaven and earth Jupiter is master
And Jupiter is not master of his own heart.

Junon commands the Furies to take the sicknesses,
troubles, and horrors back to Hades, and Io is set free.
In the concluding celebration, gods descend from Heaven,
and Io is elevated to the status of an immortal, given the
new name of Isis. Jupiter and Junon, joining the other
gods and crowds of Egyptians singing and dancing, proclaim
(Act V Scene 3):

Isis est immortelle;
Isis, Isis est immortelle.
Isis va briller dans les Cieux.
Isis jouit avec les Dieux d’une gloire éternelle.

Isis is immortal;
Isis, Isis is immortal.
Isis shall shine in the Heavens.
Isis enjoys with the Gods an eternal glory.

The various divertissements in the opera show the
dramatic progression of the five Acts. In the first Act,
Jupiter descends to earth to woo Io; in Act II, Io becomes Junon's handmaiden in the magnificent celebration attended by Hébé, the goddess of Youth; Act III, Junon descends in her chariot to punish Io for attracting Jupiter's attentions; Act IV presents the various countries where the Furies chase Io, and, in Act V, Jupiter descends to earth and persuades Junon not only to end Io's punishment, but also to raise her to the status of an immortal. As Isis, she would enjoy eternal glory.

Quinault portrays character by showing the heroes and heroines in a variety of situations. By means of their thoughts spoken in monologues, and through the comments made by the chorus and the other individuals, the development of character is achieved. Io is shown in the first Act as the faithful but misunderstood lover of Hiérax, and, though she is flattered by Jupiter's attentions, her love for Hiérax is constant. Though he is certain that she no longer loves him, Pirante assures Hiérax that his fears are unfounded. Io's servant Micène tells her mistress about the great honour of being showered with attention from Jupiter himself, but Io's affections remain faithful to Hiérax. Lully often used the orchestral préludes beginning scenes to heighten characterisation. The solemn, grave ritournelle introducing Io's monologue expressing her anguish at being spurned by Jupiter, adds to her characterisation:
Io begs Jupiter for death, saying that she has borne her torment in a thousand hideous climates. She wonders how Jupiter, the mighty ruler of the world, can possibly say he loves her, and yet allow such cruel misfortunes to beset her:

Example II.2 *Isis*: Act V Scene 1
Jupiter’s amorous adventures contrast sharply with Io’s faithfulness, and, though he is master of Heaven and earth, he is unable to master his own heart. Jupiter fears Junon’s wrath, and he is unable to appease his wife’s anger and to rescue Io from her terrible torment. All he can do is pity the intense suffering of the wretched nymph. Though Jupiter is seen to be somewhat weak and fickle, Quinault also portrays him as showing
pity and humanity towards the sufferings of Io. Jupiter's basic goodness is able, finally, to cause Junon to relent and end her fierce punishment of Io.

Jealousy is the main characteristic of Junon, and Quinault begins to show her capabilities in this respect at her first entrance, when, her suspicions aroused, she causes the cloud hiding Jupiter and Io to dissipate. Junon's jealous fury is shown to its fullest extent in the terrible punishment given Io, and Jupiter berates his wife for her inhuman, pitiless treatment of the innocent nymph.

Io's steadfast love is contrasted sharply with false love in the scene between Mercure and Iris. At first, Iris doesn't believe Mercure when he tells her he loves her, but, as his declarations of love continue, she succumbs to his ruse. The illusion of love is shortlived; Iris learns Mercure has lied to her about Jupiter's visit to earth, and the scene ends with the two of them vowing no longer to love each other. Io's steadfast love, finally, is rewarded, and, as Isis, she is elevated to immortality, enjoying with the gods eternal glory.

Argus, Pan and Syrinx are less completely delineated since they are subsidiary characters. Their dramatic purpose, other than carrying forward the plot, is to permit the main characters--Io, Jupiter and Junon--to stand out more clearly. The same may be said of the people of Scythia, the Chalybs and the Fates: War, Sicknesses, Famine, Fire and Flood.

Quinault portrays character in much the same way in the other tragédies lyriques. The main character is more
completely drawn than the others, and the traits of the remaining characters are chosen in such a way as to contrast with those of the hero.

The style of Lully’s musical settings of Quinault’s verses is important in considering the progression of the drama and of character development. Unlike Italian opera where the music was basically a series of recitatives and arias, Lully tried, by using a more highly developed integration of the elements of music and drama in the recitatives, to intensify the thoughts and feelings of the characters. The only new element in the tragédie lyrique is French recitative, and Lully uses it for approximately half of each opera. In the tragédie lyrique, the recitative is an integral part of the drama. Lully uses recitative as either monologue or dialogue, and, in all the tragédies lyriques, the style of setting the verses throughout any particular scene remained much the same.

Lully’s recitative moves freely from parlando style into more melodic phrases and it is used either to reveal character or to carry the action forward. Many scenes in Lully’s operas are for two characters only, creating recitative-dialogue scenes. (See Table II.1) Occasionally, three characters are used, and, in such cases, two sing together acting as a joint reactor to the declamation of the third. These may be love scenes, arguments, revelations, explanations or comedy. In such récitative-dialogue scenes, Lully also uses short songs, duos, and trios, alternating freely with the recitative to give variety and impetus to the drama. Act I Scene 2 is
an example. The dialogue spoken by both characters moves freely from *parlando* to a more lyrical style. Pirante tries to convince Hiérax that Io truly loves him. In his anger and disappointment, Hiérax reveals his remorse. The purpose of this scene is to show both Hiérax's love for Io, and something of his present situation. In addition, it prepares the audience for the first appearance of Io:

**Example II.3 Isis: Act I Scene 2**

*Scène 2*: **PIRANTE, HIÉRAX.**

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Musical notation for the excerpt is provided, including the text:

- *Pirante*: "C’est trop de tristesse, oh! C’est trop réjouissante..."

- *Hiérax*: "Vechez, tournez vos pas sur ces riches fleurs..."

- *Pirante*: "Regardez ces flots argentés, Qui dans ces val..."

- *Hiérax*: "Tous les cœurs, font briller l’émail des prairies..."

- *Pirante*: "Tout doit être..."

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...jour est l'axi...le D...po...s... du re...p...s... et des plai...s...s...s...

...ci...le Du...re...po...s... du re...po...s... et des plai...s...s...s...s...

De puis qu'une symphonie...tan...te A tra...hi mon...

...meur et m'am'anq... de...uy Ces lieux jadis si beaux n'ont plus rien qui m'as...

...chan...te... Ce que j'aime à chan...gé tout est changé pour...
L'inconstante n'a plus l'Empressement ex -

trême De cet amour naissant qui répondait au mou -

L'inconstante n'a plus l'Empressement ex -

trême De cet amour naissant qui répondait au mou -
```
Son changement pa... et il le

me... je ne le connais que trop bien. Sa bouche quelque

fois dit en corps: que... même. Mais son cœur n'est

puis ne m'en disent plus rien. Sa bouche quel-que

fois dit en corps: que... même. Mais son cœur n'est

PIRANTE.
puis ne m'en disent plus rien. Se peut-il que le dis...u
```
vou-

mûrd

pré-

mlt:nl:., ne L1 cr

rout ...

A

v...


court fendre et cré

du le. Ce fut dans ce val...

cours. Ce fut sur son chariot ri-

cue. Que sa fil le va...

Me promit de m'aimer tou-

jours. Le zéphir fut te...

moi. L'on de fut stten ti-

ve. Quand la nymphe ju...
Table II.1  The structure of the scenes in *Isis*

**Prologue.**

Scenes:
1. Scene-complex
2. Scene-complex
3. Scene-complex

**Act I.**

Scenes:
1. recitative-monologue
2. recitative-dialogue
3. recitative-dialogue
4. recitative-dialogue
5. Scene-complex
6. Scene-complex
Act II.
Scenes:
1. recitative-monologue
2. recitative-dialogue
3. recitative-dialogue
4. recitative-dialogue
5. recitative, aria
6. Scene-complex
7. Scene-complex
8. Scene-complex

Act III.
Scenes:
1. recitative-dialogue
2. recitative-dialogue
3. Scene-complex
4. Scene-complex
5. Scene-complex
6. Scene-complex
7. Scene-complex
8. Scene-complex

Act IV.
Scenes:
1. Scene-complex
2. Scene-complex
3. Scene-complex
4. Scene-complex
5. Scene-complex
6. Scene-complex

Act V.
Scenes:
1. recitative-monologue
2. recitative-dialogue
3. Scene-complex

At times in these scenes set in récitative-dialogue, Lully repeats some of Quinault's lines of poetry to heighten a particularly dramatic moment. The fourth Scene of Act II between Iris and Mercure is an example of this expanded type of scene. Jupiter orders Mercure to detain Iris in order to discover Junon's whereabouts. Lully uses a combination of recitative, arioso passages for each character, and repetition of lines of poetry; the scene ends with a duet:
Example II.4 *Isis:* Act II Scene 4

**scène 4** ISIS, MERCURE.

MERCURE

Arrière, belle lune, dites-moi mon

ISIS.

Vous m'arrêtez, vous me bouleverse.

M.:

Mais, si je vous disais que je vous...
n'êtes que trop belle, mais je crains que vous ne me per

pas. Un cœur si délicieux, pour...

AIR.

quoi craignez-vous tant que mon cœur se dégèle, pour...

Je vous permets d'être incrédule si tel que je serai vo...

la je vous permets d'être incrédule, si...
Dans les prairies d'Helvetie, 
je ne vois de derrière...
Récitative-monologue is used in the tragédie lyrique much the same way as were the dramatic monologues in the classical tragédies. Lully uses it for entire scenes. In printings made under Lully's supervision, the scenes in récitative-monologue are marked récit. They are used to introduce a character and to show a definite change in the direction of the plot. Though scenes in récitative-
monologue are much less frequent than other types, they are vital to the *tragédie lyrique*.

In *Isis*, there are only three scenes in récitativenonologue: the first Scenes of Acts I, II and V. The scene in Act V is an excellent example of this type of recitative. Io has been dragged by a Fury from the sea, and, on the banks of the Nile, she pours out her anguish; Io pleads for death to end her misery. Lully uses the full orchestra to accompany récitativenonologue. In all other recitative, he uses the continuo group, assisted occasionally by two treble instruments:

Example II.5 *Isis*: Act V Scene 1
AIR.

Surtant de la mer, d'où elle est tirée par la Furie.

Termez mes tourments, Parant,

Maître du Monde, Souvenez-vous, votre amour...
Jen des Terre az mes Tourments, Puissent maître du monde, Voyez de quel mouj ici bas, Voütre épouse puist mes malheurs apas. De liver ce moi de douleur pro-

son de Qu'vret moj por pité, les por' les du tré pas. Ter-mer z mes Tourments, Puissant maître du monde Sou-
vous, sans voütre a mor, he las! Je ne souffri-ras pas. C'est Ju-pi-ter qui m'ai-me Eh qui le pour-rai-t
Lully also uses recitative in the large divertissements, spectacular scenes employing several characters, chorus and orchestra. Battles, sacrifices, celebrations, funerals and weddings are particularly suited to this treatment. In such a scene-complex, the principal
characters sing the recitatives, while the chorus, acting as a character, reacts to the statements of the main singers. The orchestra accompanies the chorus, and, in addition, plays alone to accompany stage action. The final Scene of *Isis* is an example of the scene-complex, showing how interest is sustained and variety created.

There is a mixture of recitative and spectacle. It begins with recitative for both Jupiter and Junon, leading to a duet. Each of the characters sings an air, followed by a duet. Divinities of the sky descend, and peoples of Egypt enter singing and dancing. Another duet between Jupiter and Junon follows, and the chorus sings again. The orchestra accompanies the two dances of the Egyptians before the final chorus proclaiming the immortality of *Isis* ends the work (see Appendix I).
CHAPTER III

THE MUSICAL SOURCES OF ISIS

A comparative study of three contemporary sources of Isis—a unique complete set of ten partbooks (Ballard, 1677), apparently published under Lully's supervision the year of its première, the first printed full score (Ballard, 1719), and an undated (probably late seventeenth century) full-score manuscript—spanning nearly fifty years, will show that the tradition of the tragédie lyrique was passed from generation to generation with remarkable care and accuracy. By the royal privilege of August 13, 1672, Lully not only gained a monopoly over the performance of his music in France but also confirmed his complete control over every aspect of the production of his operas.

1 A list of Lully's works is found in James Anthony, 'Jean-Baptiste Lully', New Grove, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 11, pp. 326-328. A full catalogue of the works, the sources and the bibliography is found in Herbert Schneider, Chronologisch-Thematisches Verzeichnis Sämtlicher Werke von Jean-Baptiste Lully, Mainzer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, Bd. 14, ed. Hellmut Federhofer (Tutzing, Hans Schneider, 1981), which compliments the entry in RISM, A/I/5, pp. 367-375.

2 The complete set is at Oxford, Christ Church Library, PR. Mus 110-119.

3 The print used in this study is at the British Library, number PS.781555 G.321(1).

Indeed, a second royal privilege of 1672 extended his control by the exclusive rights to print his works. However, no music was printed until the 1677 partbooks for *Isis*. The fact that he chose this score as his first printed work suggests the importance Lully attached to it, and it must have been an unexpected blow that the reaction of the audience was less than enthusiastic and that Madame de Montespan’s unfortunate reaction to the work precipitated a scandal.

The Printed Partbooks of 1677

In 1677 Christophe Ballard (1641-1715) published a set of ten partbooks for *Isis*, first performed that year at Saint-Germain-en-Laye on January 5. These prints, each marked with Lully’s flourish (*paraphé*), are probably the closest contact we are able to make with the composer’s intentions. They were not only Lully’s first published works but also the only set of partbooks of Lully’s operas that Ballard published during the composer’s lifetime. All of the operas after *Isis*, from *Bellérophon* (1679) to *Armide* (1686) were published in full score only, in the year of their first presentation. The four earliest operas—*Cadmus et Hermione* (1673), *Alceste* (1674), *Thésée*

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5 For further information, see Samuel Pogue, 'Christophe Ballard', *New Grove*, vol. 2, pp. 85-86.
6 In 1715, Christophe Ballard published another edition of *Proserpine*, a full score and partbooks for the continuo instruments only: the *basse de violon* and the *basse-continue*. 
(1675) and *Atys* (1676)—were not published in any format until after Lully’s death.

Table III.1 *Isis* partbooks (Ballard, 1677): concordances

**Canada**
- London, Ontario
  - Music Library, The University of Western Ontario
    - Haute-contre, Basse

**France**
- Marseilles
  - Bibliotheque du Conservatoire
    - Dessus
- Paris
  - Bibliotheque de l’Opera
    - Haute-contre
- Paris
  - Bibliotheque Nationale (ancien fonds du Conservatoire)
    - Basse-continue
- Paris
  - Bibliotheque Saint-Genevieve
    - Basse, Basse-continue
- Troyes
  - Bibliotheque municipale
    - Basse-continue

**Great Britain**
- Oxford
  - Christ Church Library
    - Complete set (10 partbooks)

**United States**
- Berkeley
  - Music Library, The University of California at Berkeley
    - Haute-contre de violon, Taille de violon
      - Basse de violon, Basse-continue, Dessus, Haute-contre

Christophe Ballard’s family had had a series of royal privileges to print music since the sixteenth century; one dated April 29, 1637 gave the Ballard family the exclusive right to publish music in France.7 However, in 1672 Lully

was given a separate privilege for the printing of his own music for the next thirty years, which superseded Ballard's. Though many details of the legal arrangements for the publication of Lully's scores are not known, the manuscript contract for *Le Triomphe de l'Amour* (1681), dated December 26, 1680 and signed by Lully, Ballard and Quinault, survives in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The three parties agreed that Lully would delegate (subroger) to Ballard the rights given to him in his privilege of 1672; the contract would be in effect for the duration of the privilege—until September 20, 1702, during which time Ballard would be the sole publisher of Lully's music. Each of the three men agreed to pay a third of the publication costs and the profits were to be shared equally. One point in the agreement stated that Ballard was forbidden, under penalty of a heavy fine, to sell any exemplar

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8 *Le xx. Septembre a été Expédié une permission Sellée au Sr. Lully pour f(aire)e Imprimer les airs de musique qui seront par luy fait avec planches et figures et ce pend(an)t trente années.* Paris, Archives nationales, o-16, f. 186 r. The text of the privilege was later printed at the end of the libretto for *Acis et Galatée* (Ballard, 1686).

9 Most of the text of the contract and a facsimilie of the three signatures is found in Lionel de la Laurencie, *Une Convention commerciale entre Lully, Quinault et Ballard en 1680*, *Revue de musicologie*, vol. II (1921), pp. 176-182.
that Lully or his representative had not marked (paraphé).\textsuperscript{10}

A sampling of scores published by Ballard in the 1680s and 1690s shows that Lully's paraphé was a scribbled line in brown ink—a flourish. The paraphé is found in different places in the score from opera to opera, but, in any one work, it is always in the same location. The printed full scores of \textit{Arмide} (1686), for example, have the paraphé on the final page of the Prologue\textsuperscript{11}; in the 1677 prints of \textit{Isis}, the paraphé was placed at the beginning of Act III in each of the ten partbooks.\textsuperscript{12} (See Plates III.1 and III.2)

Whether or not the paraphes are in Lully's own hand may, perhaps, never be known, but after his death in 1687, the mark was never again inscribed in any subsequent Ballard prints of his works. Moreover, whether for artistic

\textsuperscript{10}An excerpt is given in Herbert Schneider, \textit{Die Rezeption der Opera Lullys im Frankreich des Ancien Regime} (Tutzing, Hans Schneider, 1982), p. 23:

\begin{quote}
Comme aussi recevront et partageront egalement et par tiers à leur profit tout ce qui proviendra de la vente et débit desdits livres, tant chez le Roy qu'en l'académie dudit sieur Lully boutique dudit sieur Ballard et autres lieux sur le pied de 30 sols pour chacun livre, sans qu'il en puisse estre vendu et débité aucuns de l'impression dudit Ballard qu'ils ne soient paraphes dudit sieur Lully ou de quelqu'autre par luy commis à cet effet, souz la peine portée audit privilege dudit sieur Lully, à laquelle ledit Ballard s'est souzmis par les présentes. Quant à la musique tant du susdit ballet du Triomphe de l'Amour, que de tous les opera et ballets, elle sera pareillement imprimée par ledit sieur Ballard, à l'exclusion de tous autres.
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{12}The seven partbooks of \textit{Isis} at Berkeley are paraphed in the same location as those at Christ Church and London, Canada.
Plate III.1

Lully's *paraphe*, 1677 *haute-contre* partbook
ACTE TROISIÈME
SCÈNE III.

CHOEUR DES NYMPHES, ARGUS, HIERAX.

Chœur des Nymphes.

liberté, liberté, liberté, liberté, liberté, liberté, liberté, liberté,

Quelle nouveauté.

S'il est quelque bien au monde, c'est la liberté, liberté, liberté, liberté, liberté, liberté, liberté,

nous réponde.

S'il est quelque bien au monde, C'est la liberté, liberté, liberté,
Plate III.2

Lully's paraph, 1677 basse partbook
ACTE TROISIÈME.
SCÈNE PREMIÈRE.
ARGUS, IO.

RITOURNELLE.

Dans ce solitaire se-jour Vous estes sous ma garde, & Junon vous y laisse, Mes yeux veilleront tour à tour, & vous observeront sans cesse.

AIR

Vous estes aimable, Vos yeux devoient moins charmer, Vous estes coupable, Vous estes coupable De vous faire trop aimer.
control, economic shrewdness, or both, the *Isis* partbooks of 1677 suggest that Lully's control over the production of his works was finally achieved. The royal privileges of 1672 not only legally created his monopoly but also ensured for the future the accurate and orderly transmission of his scores.

Each of the set of ten partbooks is in quarto format and measures approximately 17 by 23.5 centimetres.\(^2\) The first two pages of each partbook contain the title page,\(^3\) a void verso and Lully's dedication to the king. (See Plates III.3 and III.4) There is a separate book for each of the five orchestral parts (*dessus de violon, haute-contre de violon, taille de violon, quinte de violon* and *basse de violon*), and the four vocal parts, which include the music for both the solo and choral sections (*dessus, haute-contre, taille* and *basse*) and one partbook for the *basse-continue*.

One interesting feature of the 1677 set is found in the *haute-contre* partbook, where the recitative for Mercure

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\(^2\) Two partbooks of *Isis* (*haute-contre* and *basse*) are also found in the opera collection in the Gustav Mahler/Alfred Rosé Room; a bibliographic description of the two partbooks (*haute-contre, basse*) is found in *Studies in Music*, vol. 4/2 (1979), pp. 273-276.

\(^3\) *ISIS / TRAGÉDIE, / MISE EN MUSIQUE / PAR-MONSIEUR DE LVLLY / SUR-INTENDANT DE LA MUSIQUE DU ROY. / Representée devant Sa Majesté à S. Germain en Laye, le cinquième jour de l'anvrier 1677. / HAUTE-CONTRE. / PERSONNAGES DU PROLOGUE. / UN TRITON CHANTANT, ET APOLLON. / PERSONNAGES DE LA TRAGÉDIE. / PIRANTE, MERCURE, ERYNNIS, ET LES PARQUES. (swash Q) / (ornament) / On la vend à Paris, à l'entrée de la Porte de l'Academie Royale de Musique, au Palais / Royal, rue Saint Honoré. / Imprimée par CHRISTOPHE BALLARD, seul Imprimeur du Roy pour la Musique. / (rule) / M. DC. LXXVII. / AVEC PRIVILÈGE DE SA MAISTE*
Plate III.3

Title page, 1677 haute-contre partbook
ISIS TRAGÉDIE,
MISE EN MUSIQUE
PAR MONSIEUR DE LULLY
SUR-INTENDANT DE LA MUSIQUE DU ROY.

Représentée devant Sa Majesté à S. Germain en Laye, le cinquième jour de Janvier 1677.

HAUTE-CORRE.
PERSONNAGES DU PROLOGUE.
Un Triton chantant, et Apollon.
PERSONNAGES DE LA TRAGÉDIE.
Pirante, Mercure, Erynnis, et les Parques.

On la vend à Paris, à l'entrée de la Porte de l'Académie Royale de Musique, au Palais Royal, rue Saint Honoré.

Imprimée par Christophe Ballard, seul Imprimeur du Roy pour la Musique.

M. DC. LXXXVII.
AVEC PRIVILEGE DE SA MAESTÉ.
Plate III.4

Title page, 1677 basse partbook
TRAGÉDIE,
MISE EN MUSIQUE
PAR MONSIEUR DE LULLY
SUR INTENDANT DE LA MUSIQUE DU ROY.

Représentée devant Sa Majesté à S. Germain en Laye, le cinquième jour de Janvier 1677.

BASSE.
PERSONNAGE DU PROLOGUE.
NEPTUNE.
PERSONNAGES DE LA TRAGÉDIE.
Hierax, Jupiter, Argus, Pan.

On la vend à Paris, à l'entrée de la Porte de l'Académie Royale de Musique, au Palais Royal, rue Saint Honoré.

Imprimée par Christophe Ballard, seul Imprimeur du Roy pour la Musique.

M. DC. LXXVII.
AVEC PRIVILEGE DE SA MAESTÉ.
in his conversation with Jupiter was omitted in the printing (Act II Scene 3). The omission was inserted by hand at the end of Act I (p. 5), the only page with sufficient space. (See Plates III.5 and III.6) In the Christ Church *haute-contre* partbook the scribe has erroneously labelled the newly-copied excerpt as Act III Scene 2 rather than Act II Scene 3; the Western Ontario *haute-contre* partbook, in a different hand, gets the label right. 15 (See Plates III.5 and III.6)

The partbooks preserve fuller stage directions and performance indications than the full scores, and they are a valuable source for determining not so much what the keyboard continuo played, but where it played. 16 Writing on the Lully operas, Prunières said that 'the harpsichord and wind instruments, unless specifically indicated, do not take part in the performance of the *airs de ballet*, which are reserved for the strings...'. 17 In the 1677 set, the *basse-continue* has a separate partbook from the *basse de violon* and its title page confirms Prunière's observations:

*Basse-continue. Qui comprend toute la Pièce, excepté les *airs de danse* qui sont dans la *basse de violon*."

15 The hand-written addition was, evidently, not done for every exemplar printed. The Berkeley *haute-contre* lacks Mercure's recitative.
Plate III.5

1677 *haute-contre* partbook, Act II Scene 3, Christ Church Library, Oxford
HAUTE-CONTRE.

mé du Tonnerre, Il est armé du Tonnerre; Mais c'est pour donner la Paix. Il est armé du Tonnerre, Il est armé du Tonnerre, Il est armé armé du Tonnerre; Mais c'est pour donner la Paix.

Acte 3
Scène 2

Jupiter. Menace

Trompette armée. "Très est, bid de, mon oncle, même pour nous faire dans ces lieux.

La vengeance serait funeste à votre amour s'il vous était expiré.
Plate III.6

1677 *haute-contre* partbook, Act II Scene 3, London, Canada
H A U T E-C O N T R E.

mê du Tonnerre, Il est armé du Tonnerre; Mais c'est pour donner la Paix. Il est armé du Tonnerre, Il est armé du Tonnerre, Il est armé armé du Tonnerre; Mais c'est pour donner la Paix.

Acte Second

Scène 3e.

Jupiter. Mercure
In his later operas Lully reduced the size of the continuo section, though in addition to harpsichord and basses de viole it probably also included two theorbos. Though it is difficult to discover where each of these instruments played, we can now be certain of the sections of music in which none of them took part. The basse-continue partbook is marked 'on joué deux airs pour l'Entrée des Dieux de la Terre'.

In many of Lully's scores the basse-continue played in those sections that were figured—the solo vocal music, the choral music and the ritournelles; the unfigured passages were reserved for the airs de ballet and some of the instrumental music, which could include the overture. Lully's usual custom was to label all the figured sections with the words basse-continue, printed on every system of the piece. In Isis, the basse-continue does not play in the following movements, and, with the exception of the opening Prélude of Act IV and the unaccompanied choral section beginning Act III Scene 3, it is noteworthy that they are all dances, scored for five-part strings:

20 The basse-continue partbook of Isis shows that the continuo instruments did play in this particular overture.
Table III.2 *Isis*: Instrumental music without *basse-continue*

(a) *Premier Air pour les Muses* (Prologue, Scene 3)
(b) *Deuxième Air pour les Muses* (Prologue, Scene 3)
(c) *Premier Air pour les Divinités de la Terre* (Act I Scene 6)
(d) *Deuxième Air pour les Divinités de la Terre* (Act I Scene 6)
(e) *Entrée pour la Jeunesse* (Act II Scene 6)
(f) *Premier Air* (Act II Scene 7)
(g) *Deuxième Air* (Act II Scene 7)
(h) Unaccompanied choral sections (Act III Scene 3)
(i) *Air des Sylvaïns et des Satyres* (Act III Scene 5)
(j) *Troisième Air* (Act III Scene 6)
(k) Opening of Act IV
(l) *Premier Air des Parques* (Act IV Scene 6)
(m) *Deuxième Air des Parques* (Act IV Scene 6)
(n) *Premier Air pour les Égyptiens* (Act V Scene 3)
(o) *Deuxième et Dernier Air* (Act V Scene 3)

The Printed Full Score of 1719

The Ballard firm, now under the direction of Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard (ca. 1663-1750), underwent something of a revival in the early eighteenth century, perhaps matching the success and prestige of the establishment in the sixteenth. In 1664 the firm maintained three presses and the services of three helpers; in 1666, Christophe Ballard was brought into the firm as a helper, and by 1700, it had expanded to include four presses, nine helpers and two apprentices. By the late seventeenth century Ballard was a very busy printer indeed.

21Christophe Ballard died in the spring of 1715 and his son, J.-B.-C. Ballard, already an established Parisian printer and bookseller, became the director of the Ballard firm.

publishing all of the major composers of the day, including Campra, Charpentier, the Couperins, Dandrieu, Marais, among many others. Following the full scores of Thésée (1688) and Atys (1689), Ballard did not issue another publication of any Lully opera until 1707, when he printed a second edition of Proserpine. After a series of disputes in the 1690s, Ballard collaborated with the Parisian engraver, Henri de Baussens and between 1708 and 1711 Ballard published in short score eight of Lully's most successful operas—Alceste (1708, 1st and 2nd eds.), Atys (1708; 1709), Phaéton (1709), Roland (1709), Persée (1710), Armide (1710), Thésée (1711), and Amadis (1711)—from plates he had engraved.

After the Ballard-Baussens collaboration, Lully's scores were issued only sporadically for the next five or six years, chiefly reprints of the short scores. Of

The Baussens editions and reprints are of less importance than Ballard's full scores in a comparative study of Lully's editions because they are less accurate. Rosow has shown that they reflect none of the revisions that took place in the print shop or during revivals: 'Lully's Armide', Chapter 1.

Le Cerf de la Vieville described Lully's method of composition:

Lully himself composed all the parts of his principal Choruses, and of his important Duets, Trios, and Quartets...Outside of these important pieces, Lully composed only the dessus and the basse, and left to his Secretaires the composition of the haute-contre, taille, and quinte...However, in the case of fugal choruses, Lully always indicated all the entries.

Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française, vol. II (Brussels, 1705), repr. as vol. III, Jacques Bonnet, Pierre Bonnet and Pierre Boudelot, Histoire de la musique et de ses effets (Amsterdam, 1725; reprinted Graz, Akademische Druck-und Verlagsanstalt, 1966), pp. 118-119. Thus, to produce the short score, Ballard had Baussens engrave only Lully's music and omit those parts the composer routinely left to his secretaries.
particular note during these years is Christophe Ballard's full score and continuo partbooks (*basse de violon* and *basse-continue*) for *Proserpine* (3rd ed., 1715), and J.-B.-C. Ballard's scores for *Thésée*, *Persée* and *Amadis* in 1719, each described as a 'nouvelle edition', but, actually, the short scores once again. The same year, Ballard also issued full scores of *Cadmus et Hermione*, which had not yet been published in any form, and *Isis*, which had not been printed since the partbooks of 1677, forty-two years earlier. After the full score of 1715, and the two of 1719, Ballard launched a new series of full-score publications of nine more operas: *Alceste*, *Thésée*, *Atys*, *Psyché* in 1720, *Phaëton* in 1721, *Persée* in 1722, *Amadis* and *Armide* in 1725 and *Roland* in 1733.

The Ballard firm was notorious, perhaps mainly for economic reasons, for maintaining traditional printing methods; only the short scores were engraved, and the full scores were still produced by single-impression printing with movable type. In 1713, a legal battle allowing printers other than Ballard to print music from engraved plates was won by Leclair and several other musicians. Ballard had the exclusive right to print music only by the old method.²⁵ The full score of *Isis* was printed in this way, and the compositor required great skill in producing it; at times, words and music had to be lined up on accolades of twelve or thirteen staves per page:

---

Example III.1 *Isis: Act III Scene 2*
Table III.3 *Isis* full scores (Ballard, 1719): concordances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Library/Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>Brussels</td>
<td>Bibliotheque du Conservatoire royale de musique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brussels</td>
<td>Bibliotheque royale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Music Library, The University of Western Ontario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Dijon</td>
<td>Bibliotheque du Conservatoire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lyon</td>
<td>Bibliotheque municipale</td>
</tr>
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<td>Paris</td>
<td>Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal - 3 exemplars</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Bibliotheque Nationale (ancien fonds du Conservatoire) - 6 exemplars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Bibliotheque de l'Opéra - 2 exemplars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Toulouse</td>
<td>Bibliotheque municipale</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Versailles</td>
<td>Bibliotheque municipale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany (BRD)</td>
<td>Gottingen</td>
<td>Niedersächsische Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Munich</td>
<td>Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Musiksammlung)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Regensburg</td>
<td>Fürstlich Thurn und Taxissche Hofbibliothek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>The British Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>Turin</td>
<td>Biblioteca Nazionale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Stockholm</td>
<td>Kungliga Teaterns Bibliotheket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Berkeley</td>
<td>Music Library, University of California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>Newberry Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Denton, Texas</td>
<td>Music Library, North Texas State University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ithaca, N.Y.</td>
<td>Music Library, Cornell University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>New Haven</td>
<td>Library of the School of Music, Yale University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>Library of Congress, Music Division</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This score of *Isis*, the first published full score, is a large volume in folio format and measures approximately 35.5 by 25.5 centimetres. It begins with the title page and a blank verso, but, as Louis XIV died in 1715, the dedication to the king is omitted. There follows a table of contents for the instrumental airs, arranged according to each Act. After this, there is a table of contents, arranged in alphabetical order, for the vocal airs, duos and trios. The page immediately before the Prologue lists all the operas of Lully available in printed, engraved or manuscript scores. Like all the Ballard publications of the full scores, the instrumental numbers are given on five, six or seven staves, with a line each for *dessus de violon* using the

---

(or G clef), *haute-contre*, *taille* and *quinte de violon* (the three viola lines), written respectively on

![Staff Diagram]

and the *basse de violon*, written

\[ \text{\rotatebox{90}{\text{\textbullet}}} \]

There is a separate line for the *basse-continue*. Whenever the violin parts divide, or other instruments such as flutes or trumpets are added, two G staves are used. The score is figured throughout, even in the passages where the keyboard continuo does not play. It is marked *'Basse-Continue'* and is figured in all the airs for the strings alone. (See Plates III.7 and III.8) It would seem that, more and more after Lully’s death, it was the custom to add figuring to his scores; Sadler states that the farther removed a score is from its original performances, the more likely it is to be figured.27

Though there is much to commend in the publication of this score, some seeming carelessness in the printer’s shop detracts somewhat. The label *Basse-Continue* used throughout the score (except in the purely instrumental music given above in Table III.2) is printed in a variety

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Plate III.7

Figuring in movements for strings alone,
Prologue Scene 3, 1719 print
ISIS, TRAGÉDIE.

SCÈNE III.

LES NEUF MEUSES, LES ARTS LIBERAUX, APOLLON, NEPTUNE & sa Suite, LA RENOMMÉE & sa Suite.

Prélude des Muses.

VIOLONI

Basse-Continu.
Plate III.8

Figuring in movements for strings alone,
Prologue Scene 3, 1719 print
of sizes and there are a number of misplaced notes:

Table III.4 *Isis*: Misplaced notes in 1719 score

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1677</th>
<th>1719</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prologue, Scene 1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Prologue, Scene 1</td>
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<td>Prologue, Scene 1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Prologue, Scene 2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Prologue, Scene 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prologue, Scene 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prologue, Scene 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are a number of minor rhythmic differences from the 1677 score and they may reflect certain eighteenth-century
performance practices:

Table III.5 *Isis*: Rhythmic differences in 1719 score

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1677</th>
<th>1719</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prologue, Scene 1</strong> basse de violon</td>
<td>J J J</td>
<td>J J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prologue, Scene 2</strong> dessus</td>
<td>J, J J J</td>
<td>J J J J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prologue, Scene 2</strong> dessus de violon</td>
<td>J, J J J</td>
<td>J, J J J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prologue, Scene 2</strong> quinte de violon</td>
<td>J J J J J</td>
<td>J J J J J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prologue, Scene 2</strong> basse de violon</td>
<td>J, J J J</td>
<td>J J J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prologue, Scene 2</strong> basse-continue</td>
<td>J J</td>
<td>J J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Act I Scene 7</strong> dessus</td>
<td>J J J J</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Act I Scene 6</strong> dessus</td>
<td>J J J J J</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Il est ar-mé, ar-mé du ton-nerre&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Act I Scene 2</strong> haute-contre</td>
<td>J J J J</td>
<td>J J J J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>des plai-sirs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Act I Scene 7</strong> taille</td>
<td>J J J J</td>
<td>J J J J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sur la ter-re</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Act I Scene 6</strong> taille</td>
<td>J J J J</td>
<td>J J J J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sur la ter-re</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lully added ornaments to the melodic lines and his indications for ornaments—a 't' over the note—frequently marked in the 1677 partbooks, are absent from this score:

Example III.2 *Isis*: *Haute-contre* partbook (1677) Act I Scene 5

Example III.3 *Isis*: 1719 score, Act I Scene 5

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26 *Le Cerf*, *Comparaison*, p. 187.
There are a few minor changes in text in the 1719 score:

Table III.6 *Isis*: Changes in text in 1719 score

(a) *Muses* in the 1677 score is spelled both *Meuses* and *Muses* in the 1719 score. (Prologue, Scene 3)

(b) *Calliope* in the 1677 score is spelled *Callyope* in the 1719 score. (Prologue, Scene 3)

(c) *Ne troublez pas les charmes de nos divins concerts* in the 1677 score is *Ne troublez point les charmes de nos divins concerts* in the 1719 score. (Prologue, Scene 3)

(d) *Ne parlez pas toujours de la guerre cruelle* in the 1677 score is *ne parlons pas toujours de la guerre cruelle* in the 1719 score. (Prologue Scene 3)

(e) *De rendre notre fort plus doux* in the 1677 score is *de rendre mon coeur moins jaloux* in the 1719 score. (Act I Scene 3)

(f) *L'amour tôt ou tard peut prétendre* in the 1677 score is *L'amour tôt ou tard doit prétendre* in the 1719 score. (Act I Scene 5)

(g) The *Prélude pour les Muses* is marked *Prélude des Muses* in the 1719 score. (Prologue, Scene 3)

The numbering of the scenes is somewhat different in this score from the 1677 partbooks. In the earlier version, Mercure's air *'Que tout l'universe'* begins the sixth Scene of Act I. In the 1719 print there is no change of scene at this point; the scene begins with Scene 7 of the 1677 partbooks, a relatively unimportant change, as no new characters appear on stage. Throughout both Scenes 5 and 6 in the 1677 score (Scene 5 in the 1719 score)
Mercure woos Io on behalf of Jupiter. He announces Jupiter's imminent arrival ("Jupiter descend ici bas") and tells her to pay hommage 'au plus grand des Dieux'.

Mercure encourages the reluctant Io by saying:

'Quand c'est pour Jupiter qu'on change, Il n'est pas honteux de changer'.

The change of scene in both prints occurs at the divertissement, announcing Jupiter's arrival on earth. The divertissement of Pan and Syrinx (Act III Scene 6) also has some differences. In the 1719 score, the scene begins with the duet for two shepherds; the 1677 partbooks begin the scene at Pan's first entry, 'Je vous aime, Nymph charmante...'. A printing error in the 1719 score (Act I Scene IV) has one page (p. 121) printed 'Scene VI'. Another (p. 143), has 'Scene III' printed rather than 'Scene VII'. Some of Lully's markings in the 1677 partbooks have been omitted in the 1719 score:

(a) the opening ritournelle of Act III is marked Fort guay in the 1677 partbooks.

(b) the Marche in Act III Scene 5 is marked guay in the 1677 partbooks.

(c) The Menuet pour les mesmes (Act III Scene 5) in the 1677 partbooks is given as Troisième Air in the 1719 score.

The music of the Entr'Actes was taken from dances earlier in the opera. At the end of the first Act, the 1719 print gives instructions to repeat the Second Air des Divinités de la Terre (p. 103) as an Entr'Acte for Act II. In the 1677 partbooks there are instructions to repeat the danced
Entrée of Act IV (the frozen people of Scythia) at the end of Scene 2. These instructions are not given in the 1719 score.

Full-Score Manuscript (GM/AR.506)

In 1974, Richard Macnutt Limited, Tunbridge Wells, England, sold to the Faculty of Music of the University of Western Ontario (London, Canada) a collection of opera manuscripts, printed scores, libretti and engravings from the period 1597-1750. The collection contains a manuscript of Lully’s *Isis*, signed and paraphed but undated. (See Appendix 4 for a complete list of Lully’s works in this collection.) There are approximately two dozen contemporary full-score and four short-score manuscripts of *Isis* that survive. Though most of these manuscripts are undated, the majority seem to have been copied in the eighteenth century. The Western Ontario full-score manuscript (GM/AR.506), however, was probably copied in the late 1680s or 1690s, and it bears remarkable musical similarity to the 1677 exemplars. I have included it in this study because it is a relatively unstudied

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30 *Isis*, MS GM/AR.506.
manuscript near at hand, and rather inaccessible to
European scholars.\textsuperscript{31}

Table III.7 \textit{Isis} Manuscripts: (a) Full scores

\begin{tabular}{ll}
Belgium & \\
Liège & Université de Liège, Bibliothèque (MS 1878 D) \\
Canada & \\
London & Music Library, University of Western Ontario (GM/AR.506) \\
France & \\
Aix-en-Provence & Bibliothèque municipale (MS 1699) \\
Amiens & Bibliothèque municipale (MS 743) \\
Angers & Bibliothèque municipale (MS 488) \\
Besançon & Bibliothèque municipale (MS 13748) \\
Bordeaux & Bibliothèque municipale (MS 642) \\
Lyon & Bibliothèque municipale (MS 27296) \\
Marseille & Bibliothèque du Conservatoire \\
Paris & Bibliothèque Nationale (VM\textsuperscript{2} 33) \\
Paris & Bibliothèque Nationale (Rés F 1708) \\
Paris & Bibliothèque de l'Opéra (MS A 9c) \\
Rennes & Bibliothèque municipale (MS 2524) \\
Toulouse & Bibliothèque municipale (MS CONS 19) \\
Valenciennes & Bibliothèque municipale (MS 969) \\
Versailles & Bibliothèque municipale (MS MUS 96) \\
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{31}Obviously, Schneider had not seen this manuscript as his information is out of date; the name of the library is incorrect, and MS GM/AR.506 is not kept in the main library, but, rather, in the Gustav Mahler/Alfred Rosé Room in the Music Library of The University of Western Ontario, London, Canada. (Schneider, \textit{Chronologisch-Thematisches Verzeichnis Sämtlicher}, p. 21).
Germany (DDR)
Leipzig
Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig

Great Britain
London
The British Library

Netherlands
Den Haag
Gemeente Museum

Sweden
Stockholm
Kungliga Musikaliska Akademiens Biblioteket

United States
Rochester, N.Y.
Music Library, Eastman School of Music
University of Rochester
Seattle, WA.
Seattle Public Library (ML 96.L85 I8)

*Isis* Manuscripts: (b) Short scores

France
Paris
Bibliothèque Nationale (MS Vm² 34)

Paris
André Meyer Collection

Versailles
Bibliothèque municipale (MS 97)

Versailles
Bibliothèque municipale (MS 98)

In folio format, this full-score manuscript of *Isis* is bound in morocco with gilt decorated cover edges. It has a gilt tooled spine with raised bands and gilt lettering. Some repair work has been done to the volume as some of it has been rebacked and the corners have been restored. The manuscript begins with the caption title\(^3\)\(^2\) and the

\(^{32}\) *ISIS / Tragedie mise en / Musique par Mr / de Lully Surintendant / de la Musique du Roy / representée devant sa Majesté à St. Germain / en Laye, le cinquième Jour de Janvier 1677*
dedication to the king on the first recto opening (unnumbered).

The copyist, Picquet de Beauchamps, signed his name in the top right corner of folio 1 and there is a mark, or paraphe of some kind, after his signature. (See Plate III.9) Though this manuscript is undated, the Macnutt Collection has other manuscripts written and signed by the same copyist, and this gives some indication when he was active. Picquet de Beauchamps signed the manuscript for *Phaëton* (GM/AR.510), which was first performed in Versailles on January 6, 1683, and in Paris on April 27, 1683. Two other manuscripts--*Amanis* (GM/AR.513), first performed in 1684, and *Le Temple de la Paix* (GM/AR.516), first performed in 1685--are unsigned, but the handwriting is very similar to that of Beauchamps, the known copyist of *Isis* and *Phaëton*.

Théodore de Lajarte's catalogue of the music in the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra in Paris begins with a short account of the Opéra's scribes and librarians, including the music copyists who worked for the Académie royale de musique during the eighteenth century. The earliest scribe listed is Brice Lallemand, copiste de musique of the Académie from 1708 to 1751. There is little information available on music copying at the Paris Opéra before 1704 and the scribes, who may have been the private employees of

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Plate III.9

Paraphe on *Isis* Manuscript AM/AR.506
the official copiste de musique, probably were employed for only short periods of four or five years.\textsuperscript{35}

The instrumentation in GM/AR.506 is less clear than in the two printed scores. In the 1719 score, it is marked that, in the opening Scene of the Prologue, the trumpets play in the instrumental interludes between the entries of the chorus, which is accompanied by the strings. The partbooks are just as clear, indicating the combination of strings and trumpets by the word *Tous*; the partbooks are marked *violons* where the strings play without the trumpets. In GM/AR.506 the marking Trompettes et violons is written at the beginning of the scene but there is no indication that the trumpets are silent when the chorus sings.

In the comparison between the 1677 partbooks and the 1719 score, differences were shown in the numbering of some scenes. In GM/AR.506 each scene is numbered exactly as it is in the 1677 partbooks:

(a) Mercure's air *Que tout l'universe* begins the sixth Scene of Act I in GM/AR.506 and in the partbooks. The 1719 score has no change of scene here.\textsuperscript{36}

(b) The *Entrée pour la Jeunesse* is the beginning of the seventh Scene of Act II in the 1677 partbooks and in GM/AR.506; in the 1719 score it is the final music of the sixth Scene.

Directions to assist the stage action are more common in printed scores than in manuscripts,\textsuperscript{37} and the following are examples of instructions, included in the 1719 score,

\textsuperscript{35}Ibid., p. 112.
\textsuperscript{36}See above.
\textsuperscript{37}Patricia Howard, 'The Operas of Jean Baptiste Lully', (Ph.D. diss., University of Surrey, 1975), p. 117.
that are not included in GM/AR.506:

(a) Les Jeux, les Plaisirs, and les Nymphes de Junon se divertissent par des Danses and par des Chansons, en attendant la nouvelle Nymphé dont Junon veut faire choix (Act II Scene 7).

(b) Junon descend sur la terre (Act V Scene 2).

Other differences, all of minor significance, include:

(a) The Premier Air des Tritons in the 1719 score is called Premier Air in GM/AR.506; the Deuxième Air des Tritons is called Second Air.

(b) The Prelude des Muses in the 1719 score is Prelude pour les Muses in GM/AR.506.

(c) Premier Air pour les Muses (Prologue, Scene 3) in the 1719 score is Premier Air pour l'entrée des Muses in GM/AR.506.

(d) The Entrée pour la Jeunesse in the 1719 score (Act II Scene 6) is called Menuet in GM/AR.506.

(e) The Premier Air des Parques in the 1719 score (Act IV Scene 6) is called Premier Air in GM/AR.506; it is also marked fort vīte.

It is noteworthy that, in all the differences listed above, including the directions for the stage action, the material of GM/AR.506 is exactly as it is in the 1677 partbooks.

There are some instructions in both GM/AR.506 and the partbooks that are not included in the 1719 score, differences that somewhat distort Lully's carefully planned original structure and balance of the scenes:

(a) On joué l'Air des Trompettes, et sur la dernière Note on recommence le choeur, Hastez-vous. (Prologue, Scene 3)
(b) There are instructions to repeat the danced Entée of Act IV (representing the frozen people of Scythia) at the end of the second Scene of the Act.

However, the instruction to repeat the Air des Silvains (p. 177) as an Entr'Acte before Act V is given in the 1719 score but not in either GM/AR.506 or the 1677 partbooks.

There are a few markings where GM/AR.506 and the 1677 partbooks are identical, and it is the 1719 score that differs:

(a) Tristement at the beginning of the Plainte de Dieu Pan (Act III Scene 6) is not included in the 1719 score.

(b) The opening ritournelle of Act V is marked Rondeau and Gravement in the 1719 score; in GM/AR.506 it is marked ritournelle, and in the 1677 partbooks it is marked ritournelle and gravement. Neither source includes Rondeau.

(c) The Premier Air pour les Egyptiens (Act V Scene 3) is also marked Rondeau and Canaries in the 1719 score. The only marking in GM/AR.506 and the 1677 partbooks is Premier Air.

(d) The Deuxième et Dernier Air in the 1719 score (Act V Scene 3) is marked Second Air and Canaries in both GM/AR.506 and the 1677 partbooks.

Other differences in the sources, though they are of minor importance, do show further similarities between GM/AR.506 and the 1677 partbooks:

(a) A six-bar phrase of music in the basse-continue (Act II), linking Scenes 4 and 5 in both GM/AR.506 and the 1677 partbooks, is omitted in the 1719 score.
(b) Notes for the *basse-continue* are given in the unaccompanied choral sections (Act III Scene 6) in the 1719 score. The *basse-continue* does not play in these sections in both GM/AR.506 and the 1677 partbooks.

(c) GM/AR.506 is figured throughout, except in those sections where only the strings play.

(d) There are two omissions of scene numbers, both Scene 7, in Acts I and IV in GM/AR.506.

It has been shown that there are a fair number of minor differences between the 1677 partbooks and the 1719 score, including differences of printed notes, indications for ornaments, key and time signatures, clefs and rhythmic values, text and spelling (there were even some upside-down or sideways pieces of type). In all cases, the 1677 partbooks and GM/AR.506 are identical, and, it would seem that most of the variants in the 1719 score are errors.

It is interesting to suggest an approximate date when GM/AR.506 was copied. The scribe, Picquet de Beauchamps, copied and signed the manuscript for *Phaëton*, which has a printed Ballard title page dated 1684. He may also have copied the manuscripts *Le Temple de la Paix* (1685) and *Amadis* (1684). As scribes probably worked at the Opéra for only a few years, it may indicate that GM/AR.506 was copied in the mid to late 1680s.

A bunch of grapes was one of the most common watermarks in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Hand drawn sketches of the watermarks and countermarks of GM/AR.506 reveal a bunch of grapes, and the countermark is an unidentified set of initials. (See Plates III.10 and III.11) There is a closely related
Plate III.10

Watermark and countermark of GM/AR.506
Plate III.11

A closely related watermark and countermark of GM/AR.506
smaller countermark on some sheets (e.g., fol. 165, 122, 166) with a correspondingly smaller bunch of grapes (e.g., fol. 160). In 1688 a law regulating the manufacture of paper in France required paper makers to include the initials of their Christian and surname in their watermarks or countermarks, suggesting that GM/AR.506 was copied on paper made in the late 1680s. GM/AR.506 also contains the usual dedication to Louis XIV; as the king died in 1715, GM/AR.506 must have been copied before that date. The performance directions, textual similarities, numbering of scenes and stage directions show that GM/AR.506 was probably copied from a 1677 source and the other evidence suggests that its provenance is the late 1680s or early 1690s.

This examination of three selected Isis sources has shown a remarkable consistency of transmission in the years after the composer's death. Each succeeding source, whether in manuscript or printed form, essentially maintained the structure and detail of the 1677 original score.

CHAPTER IV

THE MUSIC OF ISIS--PART ONE

RECITATIVE AND AIRS

For Lully, vocal melody was the most expressive aspect of music. Le Cerf de la Viéville describes the care Lully devoted to the composition of his vocal lines:

'...A la fin, Quinault se mordoit si bien les doigts, que Lulli agréoit une scène. Lulli la lisoit, jusqu'à la scavoire presque par coeur: il s'établissoit à son clavessin, chantoit et rechantoit les paroles, battoit son clavessin, et faisoit une basse-continue. Quand il avoit achevé son chant, il se l'imprimoit tellement dans la tête, qu'il ne s'y fevoit pas mépris d'une note. Lalouette ou Colasse venoient, ausquels il le dictoit. Le lendemain il ne s'en souvenoit plus guères. Il faisoit de même les symphonies, liées aux paroles; et dans les jours où Quinault ne lui avoit rien donné, c'étoit aux airs de violon qu'il travailloit.'

The excerpt shows that Lully considered from the beginning not only the vocal quality of his melody and its suitability for the human voice, but also the expressive meaning of the words and the ways by which the music could underline their meanings. The declamation of the poetry

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shaped the melodic lines, and Lully created melodies that were both singable and expressive.

Lully arranged Quinault's libretti into structured—repeated lines to heighten dramatic tension—and unstructured sections, as he had done earlier in the récits of the ballets de cour; however, by a subtle use of variation of note values and changing time signatures, Lully made the musical declamation of the text more dramatic than earlier works, and he enhanced the thoughts and feelings expressed by the words. The word-settings are syllabic and Lully rarely uses more than a single note to a syllable. The melodies flow easily from a parlando style, lines consisting mainly of broken triads and free declamation, and arioso, short songlike sections with fewer changes of metre:

Example IV.1 Isis: Act IV Scene 6

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Lully insisted on rhythmic precision in the performance of all his works, and, in his recitative, he created a style of declamation following the natural inflexion of speech. As stated earlier, he took as his model Racine's great actress Champmeslé, whom he and his singers often heard at the Comédie française. Lully was much influenced by her declamation, since Racine not only had written into her scripts indications of tempo and inflexion, but also coached her in her delivery of his lines.

Lully's recitative moved at the rapidity of speech and subsequent performances of his works often suffered greatly from ponderous tempi in the recitative, a large portion of his operas. Early in the eighteenth century the same fault is noted:

Ceux qui ont vu représenter des opéras de Lulli, qui son devenus le plaisir des nations lorsque Lulli vivoit encore, et quand il enseignoit de vive voix à des Acteurs dociles ces choses qui ne scauvoient s'écrire en notes, disent qu'ils y trouvoient une expression qu'ils n'y trouvent plus aujourd'hui. Nous y reconnaissons bien les chants de Lulli, ajoutent-ils, mais nous n'y retrouvons plus l'esprit qui animoit ces chants. Les récits nous paraissent sans âme et les airs de ballet nous laissent presque tranquilles. Ces personnes allègnent comme une
The lively, intense delivery of the recitative, sung at the speed of spoken drama, gave striking realism to Quinault’s dialogue. There are many examples in Isis of recitative delivered at a rapid pace; the harmonies are not chromatic nor are there dissonances needing resolution to slow the pace. Moreover, the intervals used in no way restrict the free delivery of the text:

Example IV.2  *Isis*: Act II Scene 5

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plus. J'ai pâli dans ces lieux me donnés de Font-

bras. J'ai traversé les airs, j'ai perçu le nu-

rage. Qu'il oppose à mes regards. Mais en vain j'ai tourné les

yeux de tous les parts. Le Dieu par son pouvoir su-

pre. me a caché la nymphe qu'il aime. Et m'a laissé

voir que des troupes à pers! Non, non. Je ne sus
Lully became a naturalised French citizen in 1661, the year after Cavalli presented *Serse* in Paris. He probably chose Racine as his model rather than Rossi or Cavalli because there was so much criticism of Italian music, and his creation of a style of French recitative free from all Italian influences was a fine way to demonstrate his new patriotism. Cavalli presented *Ercole amante* in 1662, but it too failed to captivate the French. Italian singers, especially castrati, were not liked in Paris, and their elaborate melismas were described as 'long, boring hums'. For many Frenchmen, Italian music was synonymous with ambition, vice and excessive expense, and they very much wanted the Italian singers to leave the country.

Lully's recitatives were set in a predominantly syllabic style and he avoided such Italian features as excessive ornamentation, prolonged florid passages or melismas, unless, as will be shown, he deliberately used this device to heighten the meanings of specific words: *courons, chaines, tonnere, rit, lancer, briller, vole.* Such a constant syllabic style and the repetition of anapestic rhythms, especially in the early operas, produces a few moments of monotony:

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In recitative, Lully frequently changed the metre and the rhythm to convey the meaning of the text and to accommodate the changing number of syllables in each line of Quinault’s poetry. The changes in metre also indicate the varying speeds the lines were delivered. To perform the music at the tempo Lully intended, the meaning of the
breve in each of its usages has to be determined. The following shows the problem:

Example IV.9 *Isis*: Act V Scene 3

Jupiter

Io

Junon

Quoil l'oeur de Ju
non Quelque grand qu'il puisse être Nous râlterons

De la terre et du

Phoe d'une injuste furie

Ciel Jupiter est le maître Et Jupiter n'est

pas le maître de son cœur.

Hé bien! Il faut que je com

Vous meapprendrez à me vaincre à mon tour

m'en ce à me vaincre en ce jour
While there is no rhythmic difficulty in changing from the 'C' at bar 7 to the '3' at bar 9, the *alla breve* three bars later is more problematic, as it is followed by another '3' and a '2' in the next bar, and yet another change to 'C' later. These changes depend upon the meaning of the *alla breve* and how it affects the time signatures. Each case ought to be considered individually in order to choose the interpretation giving the most meaningful and powerful delivery of the text. In *Isis*, Act V Scene 3, one considers the change between 'C' and '3' simply as crotchet equals crotchet (\( \frac{1}{3} \)\( \frac{1}{3} \)), and no change of tempo. The change between the '3' and the *alla breve* is thus minim equals crotchet (\( \frac{1}{4} \)\( \frac{1}{4} \)). The '2' that follows indicates a change in emphasis rather than in tempo. Lully tried to enfuse the meaning of the text with rising and falling pitches, changing rhythmic patterns of speech, and emphasising particular words by sudden changes in tempo. Ends of phrases usually carry over the bar lines and new characters often begin to sing on the second of two quavers on a weak beat.

At great dramatic moments Lully changes the free rhythm of his recitative to strongly measured rhythm, much like the *arioso* sections in Italian opera. These strong lines were placed at the beginnings of sections, followed by lines of free recitative; the first line is then repeated several times in the scene. Lully uses such a combination of free and measured recitative for his main characters, to convey important information in the
dramatic monologues and soliloquies. Io, pulled from the sea by the Fury, begs Jupiter for an end to her torment, one of the most memorable moments in *Isis*. Again, Lully uses the anapaestic rhythm:

Example IV.10 *Alfis*: Act V Scene 1

In sortant de la mer, d'où elle est tirée par la Furie.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Io.} & : \\
\text{Ter, mi - nes mes tourments, Puis, sent} & \\
\text{maître du Mon - de, Sous-sous, sous votre amour bé - } & \\
\text{Les! Je ne souf - fri - ris pas Ré - duce au dé - ses} & \\
\text{- poir, Mau - ran - te, ra - ge - bon - de, J'ai por té mon sup} & 
\end{align*}
\]
In the accompanied recitatives, Lully's instrumental music is often in two parts, treble and bass, with figured harmony. This type of recitative inevitably occurs as a dialogue between voice and orchestra, and, in many of these orchestral recitatives, the vocal line is the dominant one. Nothing is expressed in the instrumental parts that is not expressed more fully in the vocal parts.
The orchestra reinforces the mood set by the singer, and there are no accompanying patterns in the inner parts that follow the contours of the melody:

**Example IV.11 *Isis*: Act III Scene 6**
In other accompanied recitatives, the orchestra is the dominant partner and the singer reinforces the mood.
already established by it. In the first Scene of the second Act, the voice enters at the twenty-fifth bar of an orchestral prelude, depicting the thick clouds surrounding Jupiter and Io:

Example IV.12 *Isis*: Act II Scene 1
Though their dramatic significance was less, the airs in the early operas differed rather little from the recitative. In these operas, the main characters sing almost entirely in recitative, and the comic characters and companions sing most of the airs. In Isis, many of the airs are slight binary structures. An example is seen in the third Scene of the first Act where Hiéralx accuses Io of infidelity because she wishes to postpone their marriage:
Lully often used melody to intensify dramatic meaning; he had the first line of the air return as a reprise, a plan that anticipated the *da capo* aria popular in the late Baroque. Such an air was usually sung by a minor character, and its content was lightweight and relatively unimportant to the drama. An example is found in the third Scene of the Prologue where Apollon sings of the contrasting images of peace:
Example IV.14 *Isis*: Prologue, Scene 3

**APOLLON**

Ne parles pas tout.

...jours de la guerre cruel la. Par bon, par.

...heurs des plaisirs et des feux. Les Muses et le.

...Aris Vont signer leur...de ses...ser leurs.

...Nous préparons...nouvel le. Pour le He.

...ron qui les ap...Bous cet...me heu.
Another example of this type of air is found in the second Act where Junon discovers Jupiter with Io, and, in order to gain power over her, she asks Jupiter to give her the nymph as a handmaiden, a request he cannot deny. During the following divertissement to celebrate Io’s entry into Junon’s service, Hébé sings an air to proclaim the joys of youth:

Example IV.15 *Isis*: Act II Scene 7
Yet another example of this type of air, used frequently by Lully in the early operas, is found in the third Act, where Io has been imprisoned by Junon in the solitary pastures, guarded by Argus, whose hundred eyes never sleep simultaneously. Hiérax enters, and sings of the anguish of unhappy love:

Example IV.16  *Isis*: Act III Scene 2
Vous, vous n'avez pu souffrir le bonheur de ma vie. Et je voyais vos grandeurs sans en.

J'aimais, j'aimais moi-même. Mon sort était trop doux. Deux tout puissants ! Ah ! vous étiez je-

De la lè-fé-es-te que vous me-ve-ra-

Deux tout puissants ! Ah ! vous étiez je-

De me voir plus heureux que vous.
Lully often extended the simple *da capo* principle by using a series of reprises, a device that anticipated rondo form. This somewhat extended outline is frequently used in the Prologues of the early operas. In the Prologue of *Isis* the rondo melody is itself ternary, a small air of $4 + 4 + 6$ bars. In this example the final six bars is the section used as a reprise, with the chorus joining in repeated outbursts of praise in answer to La Renommée’s pronouncement: ‘Heureux l’Empire qui soit ses lois!’ The episodic choral sections themselves form a recurring phrase, used also as a reprise:

Example IV.17 *Isis*: Prologue, Scene 1
Heureux l'Empire qui suit ses lois!

Heureux l'Empire qui suit ses lois!

Heureux l'Empire qui suit ses lois!

Heureux l'Empire qui suit ses lois!

Heureux l'Empire qui suit ses lois!

Heureux l'Empire qui suit ses lois!
LA BERNARDE.

Il faut le dire cent-cent fois.

Heureux l'Empire qui sont ses lois!

Heureux l'Empire qui sont ses lois!

Heureux l'Empire qui sont ses lois!

Heureux l'Empire qui sont ses lois!
LA RENONCÉE.

Heureux l'Empire qui suit ses lois!

Il faut le dire.

Heureux l'Empire qui suit ses lois!

Heureux l'Empire qui suit ses lois!

Il faut le dire.

Heureux l'Empire qui suit ses lois!
Di - re cen - el-cenl foi - s!

Heureux l'Em - pi - re qui sui - t ses

Heureux l'Em - pi - re qui sui - t ses

Heureux l'Em - pi - re qui sui - t ses

Heureux l'Em - pi - re qui sui - t ses

Il faut le di - re cen - el-cenl foi - s.

Il faut le di - re cen - el-cenl foi - s.

Il faut le di - re cen - el-cenl foi - s.

Il faut le di - re cen - el-cenl foi - s.
In the early operas Lully occasionally wrote another type of air, usually associated with the remorse of an unhappy lover, in which the vocal line doubles the bass, and a pair of instruments, usually violins, play continuously above. In *Isis*, there are many such examples. In the first Act, Pirante tries to cheer Hiérax, who complains that Io no longer loves him. Pirante tells him that, though Inachus, Io's father, has promised her to Argus, Hiérax's brother, Junon has declared her support for Hiérax:

Example IV.18 *Isis*: Act I Scene 2
... trêve De cet amour nais, sent qui répondait au mien

L'inconstance n'a plus l'emprise ment et

Son changement paraît en dépit d'elle

-même Je ne le connais que trop bien, Sa bonté quelque

fois dit encore qu'elle m'aimait, Mais son cœur n'est
In the following scene, Io tells Hérax that she wishes to postpone their marriage, and, filled with remorse, he accuses her of unfaithfulness:

**Example IV.19 Isis: Act I Scene 3**
In the third Act, Junon commands Argus to guard Io, who has been imprisoned in the solitary pastures. He sings of the pains of unhappy love:
Example IV.20 *Isis*: Act III Scene 2

ARGES:

*Dégagé vous d'un amour si fatal*

*Sans balancer sans balancer il faut vous y re-

*seu dire *Dégagé vous d'un amour si fatal.*

*Sans balancer sans balancer il faut vous y re-

*seu dire C'est un ennui en bleu rival Qu'on a-

*man qui lance qui lance la

*seu dire qui lance la Bou descendant*
The accompanying instruments in this type of air are not always violins. At the end of the divertissement of Pan and Syrinx in the third Act, Pan engages in a dialogue with two flutes representing the voice of Syrinx, who, having drowned in the stream, is transformed into reeds through which the gentle breezes murmur. The transformation is followed by a continuo air, where Pan remembers Syrinx's beautiful eyes; by having the voice sing in unison with the bass, Lully heightened Pan's loss, made all the more poignant with the two flutes above:
Example IV.21  
*Isis*: Act III Scene 6

La servante dans les reves et leur fait formar un bruit plaintif:

La Nymph est changée en roseaux.

bè la! bè la! Quel bruit!

Qu'en tems ej! Ah! Quelle voix nouvelle

La Nymph têtée en cor d'exprimer ses regrets.

Que son murmure est doux! que sa plainte d'at traits.

Ne ces sans point de nous plaire a sec et le

Que son murmure est doux! Que sa plainte d'at traits
Ne cessez point de cessez point de... Vous plaudrez à vec

Les yeux qu'ont chanté Ne verront plus de

jour. L'art ce sait, cruel amour, qu'il fail le ven-

ger d'une beauté bel. Le N'avait-il pas vol.

...si de l'en rendre vain cuer Et de voir doul-

s

fer son insensible cœur. Bruder avec le
Yet another type of air that Lully sometimes used, in the early operas particularly, is the dialogue air: a chain of airs, usually between companions, but without recitative. In this case, the air takes on the function of recitative, since dialogue relating to the drama is
carried out between the two characters. Lully related each air, one to the other, by similarities verbal, rhythmic or melodic. By so doing, he was able to create a larger form. The scene between Pan and Syrinx illustrates Lully's use of the dialogue air. Each sings an air so strongly connected to each other, without any intervening recitative, that they form one continuous dialogue air. As well as some melodic similarity, Quinault's poetic parallelisms do much to link the two together:

Syrinx:
Ah! quel malheur
De laisser engager son coeur!
Pourquoi faut-il passer le plus beau de son âge
Dans une mortelle languer?

Pan:
Ah! quel dommage
Que vous ne sachiez pas aimer!
Que vous sert-il d'avoir tant d'attraits en partage
Si vous en négligez le plus grand avantage?

Example IV.22 Isis: Act III Scene 6

---

Lully may have seen similar plans in Colbert's pastorales, which contained sequences of airs and dances.
It would seem that Lully was not very much interested in the air as a means to convey drama in the tragédie
lyrique. Contemporary writers do not make as many comments upon the performance of the airs as they do about the recitatives and instrumental music. Lully expanded his use of the air, both in frequency and length throughout his operatic career, but the proportion of orchestrally accompanied airs is small. The expressive orchestral accompaniment supported the voice and depicted the mood of the poetry being sung. From Cadmus et Hermione on, however, the developments Lully made to the air were often his attempts to bring it more into the continuity of the drama.

Seventeenth-century Italian vocal music imitated instrumental patterns in use at that time⁹ and, because he thought Italian conventions could not adequately mirror the meaning and subtlety of the French language,¹⁰ Lully generally avoided florid passages and sequences. When he did use them, they heightened the meaning of the words. In Isis, there are several typical examples of florid passages, using the words tonnerre, rit, chaines, lancer, briller, vole, and courons:

---

Example IV.23  *Isis*: Act I Scene 6

Example IV.24  *Isis*: Act II Scene 8
Example IV.25 *Isis*: Act III Scene 2

Example IV.26 *Isis*: Act III Scene 2
Example IV.27 Isis: Act V Scene 3
Example IV.28 *Isis*: Prologue, Scene 2

Example IV.29 *Isis*: Act III Scene 6
Lully did not use sequence for the mere repetition of melodic phrases according to a specific harmonic plan, but he did use it in recitative to intensify the expression at points of strongest dramatic statement. At the beginning of Act IV, Io has been taken to the coldest place in Scythia. In her torment, she cries that it is an inhumane penalty to allow her to suffer such pain without ever finding death:

Example IV.30 *I sis*: Act IV Scene 2
Another example occurs at the beginning of Act V. lo, dragged from the sea by the Fury, cries that she has borne her agony in a thousand hideous climates. As Jupiter has abandoned her in the midst of her pain, she begs for death:

Example IV.31 *Isis*: Act V Scene 1
Lully used ornaments sparingly, always writing them directly into the parts. Le Cerf de la Vieville describes how he violently abused performers who added any embellishments other than those he authorised. Lully reserved ornaments for moments of dramatic significance rather than for mere melodic decoration. Appoggiaturas are often used to express love and pleading. In the third Act of *Isis*, Pan pledges his eternal love to Syrinx:

Example IV.32 *Isis*: Act III Scene 6

---

Syrinx flees from the pursuing Pan but she is stopped by a passing group of sylvans and satyrs who plead with her to stop her cruelty to the god who loves her. Crying in vain to the gods, protectors of innocence, nyads and water nymphs for help, Syrinx leaps into the water:

Example IV.33 *Isis*: Act III Scene 6

---

Lully uses trills to express power, hate or fear. In Act V the jealous Junon, still resolved on vengeance, says that Io cannot be punished enough. The fierce trills add much to the force of her declamation:

Example IV.34 *Isis*: Act V Scene 3

Lully's insistence on ornaments to convey dramatic meaning was an important feature that made French opera different from Italian opera. The truthfulness and purity of Lully's dramatic expression, and many passages of exquisite beauty no doubt account for much of the popularity of his operas.
CHAPTER V

THE MUSIC OF ISIS--PART TWO

MELODIC INTERVALS AND HARMONY

Many writers, such as Deryck Cooke, have shown that composers made use of certain intervals for their expressive quality. Likewise, Patricia Howard, in her comprehensive study of Lully's operas, showed how that composer used expressive intervals--chromatic or imperfect, or those forming strong leaps--to convey the emotional impact of the words. Furthermore, the use of these intervals helped to create characterisation and they accentuated particular emotions expressed in the drama.

A series of rising semitones was not often used by Lully, but when it was, it was a moment of high emotion in the scene. When Io first enters, she tells Hiérax that she wishes to postpone their marriage. He accuses her of infidelity:

---

Example V.1 *Isis*: Act I Scene 3

Io, in a vain attempt to end her life, is pulled from the sea by a Fury. She begs Jupiter for death:

Example V.2 *Isis*: Act V Scene 1
Jupiter, however, is powerless to help her:

Example V.3 *Isis*: Act V Scene 2

The interval of the falling diminished fourth was often used by composers to express anguish, and Lully made use of it in many of his works. In the final Act of *Isis*, Io begs Jupiter for death to relieve her intense suffering, but he is unable to help her:

Example V.4 *Isis*: Act V Scene 2

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Junon begins Io’s punishment by imprisoning her in the solitary pastures guarded by Argus. Hiérax enters and complains bitterly that the gods have brought about his present plight because they were jealous of his happiness:

Example V.5 Isis: Act III Scene 2

Io tries to end her torment by leaping into the sea, but a Fury pulls her to safety. She begs Jupiter for death:

Example V.6 Isis: Act V Scene 1

In the second Scene of the first Act, Pirante tries to cheer Hiérax, but he will not be comforted. In the course
of their conversation Pirante tells him that Inachus, Io's father, has promised her to Hiérax's brother, Argus. Junon, however, has given her support to Hiérax, who pours scorn on Io's love, which he believes to be false, and, again, the interval of the falling diminished fourth is used to express his anger and disappointment:

Example V.7 *Isis*: Act I Scene 2

Example V.8 *Isis*: Act I Scene 2

Lully often used the interval of a falling diminished fifth to express scorn, anguish, hatred, or some strong displeasure. An example is found in the final Act when Jupiter tells Junon that she has punished Io enough, and now she must save her. Junon replies that the nymph cannot suffer too much:
Falling perfect fifths, too, were often used to express pain or sorrow, and there are many examples in Act IV to show how Lully used fifths to express Io's most intense sufferings. At the beginning of the Act she has been taken to the coldest place in Scythia, and, in her torment, she cries out to the Fury:

Example V.10 *Isis*: Act IV Scene 2
Ab! quelle priére!

...ment, Pas en d'autres êtres morts...

Ab! quelle

Ab! quelle

Ab! quelle

Ab! quelle

Ab! quelle priére! De trembler de Lou...
Io is then taken by the Fury to the iron works of the Chalybs where she undergoes suffering from intense heat.
In her pain Io cries to the Fury that Junon's vengeance delights in her torture:

Example V.11  *Isis*: Act IV Scene 4

Io continues, saying that the gods' love is not nearly so powerful as their hate:

Example V.12  *Isis*: Act IV Scene 4
Climbing to the top of a rock, Io prepares to throw herself into the sea, and so end her wretched life:

**Example V.13 Isis: Act IV Scene 4**

Still the Fury pursues her, carrying her this time to the cavern of the Fates—War, Disease, Madness, Famine, Fire and Flood. Io begs for death:

**Example V.14 Isis: Act IV Scene 6**
Again, she begs the gods to end her torment:

Example V.15  *Isis*: Act IV Scene 6
Lully sometimes used the interval of a rising perfect fifth to suggest the magnanimity of the monarch:

Example V.16 Isis: Act 1 Scene 4

In the following scene, Mercure announces the arrival of Jupiter:

Example V.17 Isis: Act 1 Scene 5
Jupiter's opening statement, proclaiming his kindness and generosity to his followers, uses the interval of the ascending perfect fifth:

Example V.18 *Isis*: Act I Scene 6

Lully often used descending minor sixths to make some forceful statement. In the first Act, Io admits to her confidante, Mycène, that she is flattered and excited by Jupiter's attentions:

Example V.19 *Isis*: Act I Scene 4
Similarly, in the following scene, Mercure and the attending Divinities announce the arrival of Jupiter:

Example V.20 *Isis*: Act I Scene 5

An example showing the use of a rising minor sixth in a forceful context is in the following scene, where Jupiter says that, though he is armed with thunder, he comes to give peace:
Lully rarely used the interval of a minor seventh. In *Isis*, a most dramatic use of it occurs in the final Act. Io asks Jupiter to love her enough to force Junon to grant her death:

Example V.22 *Isis*: Act V Scene 2
Similarly, rising octaves are seldom found in Lully’s operas. When they were used, they were reserved for some of the most dramatic statements. Junon commands the Fury to take with him to Hades the troubles and horrors that beset Io. As soon as she is delivered from her afflictions, Junon tells Io that she, with the new name of Isis, will delight in eternal happiness. Lully uses the leap of an octave to express Junon’s radiantly happy proclamation:

Example V.23 *Isis*: Act V Scene 3

![Musical notation image]

Harmonically, Lully tried to create a style uniquely French, using archaisms derived from the medieval modes. He eschewed the harmony fashionable with early seventeenth-century Italian opera composers, who, working in an essentially dramatic medium, tried to achieve the heightened expressions of extreme emotions. A most
powerful resource for these composers was dissonance, and one of the best ways to intensify its effect was to strike the dissonance without preparation, to highlight a particularly emotive word. Monteverdi used the interval of a minor seventh as part of a chord in its own right, freeing that interval from the strict conventions of dissonance preparation:

Example V.24 Monteverdi, *Orfeo*: Act III Scene 1

For his tragédies lyriques Lully deliberately chose a less 'modern' harmonic vocabulary than the Italians, or indeed, than he used in his earlier ballets. An example showing Lully's earlier, more progressive style can be seen in the minuet from *Les Amants Magnifiques*, a style not unlike Italian music of the same period,\(^4\) where the sensuous

appeal of the melody is more important than his subsequent primary concern with rhythmic patterns:

**Example V.25 Les Amants Magnifiques: Act III Scene 6**

This is one of Lully's best-known melodies; it is heard in several other works including the comédie-ballet, *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*.

In the tragédies lyriques Lully used essentially diatonic harmony in the most discreet manner, always having the text in mind. He seldom used striking harmonic effects unless the drama warranted them. By using a simple, conservative harmonic style influenced by medieval modes, he created a type of dramatic music different from the Italians and the rest of Europe, one that was uniquely French. For Lully, rhythmic interest was of more importance than the rich harmony of the Italians, and the
creation of his melodies, his choice of harmonies, and the suggestion of contrapuntal textures all show the importance he attached to it. The influence of the dorian mode, for example, is seen in Lully's typical use: a raised sixth and a lowered seventh in minor keys:

Example V.26 *Isis*: Overture

The opening phrases of many pieces in major keys show the influence of the mixolydian mode, with its flattened leading note:

Example V.27 *Isis*: Act 1 Scene 4
Lully often used the V\(^4\)\(^2\) chord as a powerful harmonic device at the beginning of movements, especially airs, and in passages of abrupt modulations:

**Example V.28 Isis: Act V Scene 1**

![Example V.28 Isis: Act V Scene 1](image)

**Example V.29 Isis: Act I Scene 5**

![Example V.29 Isis: Act I Scene 5](image)
Lully rarely used the diminished seventh chord, but it is often outlined in arpeggio form in recitatives. The most frequently used notes, usually in descending order, are E flat, C, A, F sharp, and they are harmonised in the same way. Two examples occur in *Isis* Act II Scene 4, where Mercure, sent by Jupiter to detain Iris, Junon's messenger, attempts to woo her as Jupiter wooed Io:

**Example V.30 Isis Act II Scene 4**

Another example occurs at the beginning of the first Act, where Hiérax complains that Io no longer loves him:
Io tries to discourage Jupiter's amorous advances saying that she should have fled as soon as she saw him:

The supertonic chord, as it is used in these examples, was one of Lully's most expressive harmonic devices, and he often harmonised the notes of the melody outlining the chord of the diminished seventh in this way. It was Lully's usual practice to build the supertonic chord, a diminished triad, in its first inversion. In this form, it creates an exceptionally strong pull towards the dominant; the linear movement is particularly clear, one part in the bass and the other moving to the dominant by
semitone. Moreover, the use of the supertonic chord in a
minor key makes the major chord on the dominant all the
more forceful. Lully may have preferred to use it rather
than the diminished seventh chord because the latter
seemed a less stable chord, more inevitable in its
resolution; Lully's use of the supertonic was, perhaps,
less likely to hold up the essential speed of his
recitative style.

At dramatic moments Lully often interchanged major
and minor tonalities, a practice typical of many mid-
baroque composers. The effect of the 'false
relation'—the juxtaposition of two forms of the same note
in different voices—was so telling that Lully reserved it
for particularly emphatic statements or poignant
utterances; at other times, he placed neutral harmony
between the two notes:

Example V.34 *Isis*: Act I Scene 5

Example V.35 *Isis*: Act I Scene 3
Lully's use of modulation was conservative too. Most of the dances and the récitative-monologue scenes modulate only to the opposite mode or their relatives, and this limited use of other keys was, undoubtedly, one of the reasons why some of Lully's contemporaries found his music monotonous. He used modulation in recitatives and arias as a simple means of colouring the words in the dominant and sub-dominant keys. Whenever the word guerre, triomphante, gloire is found, the music modulates to the dominant or to the relative major:

Example V.36 Isis: Prologue, Scene 1

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Example V.37 *Isis*: Prologue, Scene 1

Example V.38 *Isis*: Prologue, Scene 3
Whenever the word paix, doux, amour, heureux is used, the music turns to the subdominant side:

Example V.39 Isis: Prologue, Scene 3
Example V.40  Isis: Act II Scene 2

Example V.41  Isis: Act V Scene 1
Les femmes précieuses may well have had some influence on Quinault to use more words like paix and amour; thus, Lully's music frequently falls towards the subdominant side of the key. This flattening of the tonality often causes a lowering of dramatic tension, another probable reason for the monotony felt by some of his contemporaries.

During the seventeenth century the nobility enthusiastically pursued pastoral life, and they spent as much time as possible in more intimate palaces with less formal gardens, where they enjoyed tranquil pleasures: flowers, trees, gardens, fountains and pools of still water. Such a pastoral feeling was reflected in music in the works of Cavalli and Cesti in Italy, Keiser in Germany, Purcell in England, and Lully, Cambert, Guédron, Lambert and Boësset in France. For his part, Lully often included descriptive instrumental passages to imitate certain aspects of nature: thunder, wind, clouds, waves, the chirping of birds, the stillness of night. A particularly telling example in Isis is found at the beginning of the second Act; Jupiter conceals his meeting with Io by surrounding them with thick clouds:
Another example of Lully’s atmospheric music is seen in the effective *divertissement* of Pan and Syrinx. Wishing to avoid Pan’s entreaties of love, Syrinx suggests they join her companions in a hunt through the forest. Unable to escape the incessant pursuit of Pan, Syrinx leaps into the river, drowns, and is immediately metamorphosed into reeds. Pan sings his mournful lament, while the reeds moan in response to the wind’s gentle breeze:
Example V.43 *Isis*: Act III Scene 6

**Pan**

Ne cessons point ne cessons point de nous plonger a per

---

Elle.—Pan donne des coups aux Bérgers, aux Suisses et aux Sylphides, qu'ils finissent un combat de Prions.
Duets

Lully wrote more duets than any other type of ensemble, and, though many of them were short and simple, as were the airs, they made an important contribution to the drama. In the early operas, the main characters sing almost entirely in recitative—Lully's prime vehicle for portraying drama—in scenes constructed mainly of dialogue between the two; their single lines of recitative often merge into duets.

Duets for main characters, usually lovers, that express some unhappiness or conflict, and duets for subordinate characters that express a single thought are the two duet types Lully uses in Isis. The conflict duets are more interesting both musically and dramatically and are much more vivid in characterisation. At some point in the opera, Lully's main characters usually express their unhappiness, doubts and fears in a duet of conflict, which begins in lines of recitative that merge together at
cadences. An example is seen in the second Act where Jupiter courts Io, who resists his advances:

Example VI.1 Isis: Act II Scene 2

L'amour pour moi me sol, li. Et je vois que vous me quitt.
Another example is the confrontation between Io and Hiérax, who begin their scene in recitative and end it with simultaneous singing. Io wishes to postpone their marriage, and, remorsefully, Hiérax accuses her of unfaithfulness. Though the words are the same for both characters, the quality of each line is quite different. Io begins the duet with an intensely expressive statement incorporating the leap of a falling diminished fourth, an interval, shown earlier, that Lully often associated with the agony of love. Hiérax's rising semitones express the extreme emotion of his unhappy love, and his melodic line, sung in unison with the continuo bass, reinforces his despair:
Example VI.2  *Isis*  Act I Scene 3

**ENSEMBLE.**

Non, non, il ne tient qu'à vous, Il ne tient qu'à vous.

De rendre notre sort plus doux, Non, non, non, non, il ne tient qu'à vous De rendre notre sort plus doux, Non, non, non, non,

Il ne tient qu'à vous De rendre mon cœur plus doux, Non, Il ne tient qu'à vous il ne tient qu'à vous Non.
The other type of duet Lully uses in the early operas shows a unanimity of thought and feeling between two characters, rather than conflict. In most cases, these duets are restricted to the subordinate characters, and their unity of thought is often expressed in imitative openings. These duets move predominantly in parallel thirds and sixths. In the Prologue, two tritons join Neptune in praise of their hero:

Example VI.3  *Isis*: Prologue, Scene 2

**LES DEUX TRITONS.**
nous prêde nostre Maistre Enchausse les vents les plus te-

bles Que le

bruit des flots cede a nos chants. Regnez Zephyrs, 0-

nec Z.

regnez Zephyrs pas-sibles ramenez le deux Prin. temps.

regnez Zephyrs pas-sibles ramenez le deux Prin. temps.
When Jupiter discovers Junon is approaching and that she has sent Iris ahead to find him, he sends Mercure to detain her: Mercure pretends to woo Iris in the same way Jupiter wooed Io, and they swear eternal love:

Example VI.4 Isis: Act II Scene 4
Le moindre.

Le moindre.

Le moindre.

Le moindre.

Le moindre.

Le moindre.

Le moindre.

Le moindre.

Le moindre.

Le moindre.

Le moindre.

Le moindre.
Iris discovers Mercure was lying to her in the profession of his love, and, in a bitter quarrel, they both resolve to take back their hearts and to love each other no longer:
Example VI.5  *Isis: Act II Scene 4*

*(Juno parmi au milieu d'un murmur qui s'avance)*

pas que je suis peu sincère, Vous ne l'êtes pas plus que

Ensemble.

moi. Gardez pour quel autre Voire amour tromper,

 Gardez pour quel,

peur, Voire amour tromper, Je reprends mon

Peur, Voire amour tromper, Je reprends mon

cœur, reprenez reprenez le vôtre

cœur, reprenez reprenez le vôtre

-tre

-tre

Gardez pour quel

Gardez pour quel qu'autre Voire amour tromper
Junon has chosen Io to serve her as a handmaiden to gain power over the nymph. Mercure and Iris bring Io to the gardens of Hébé where a divertissement in celebration of youth is presented. Two nymphs sing of the joys of youth:

Example VI.6 Isis: Act II Scene 7
... met, profitez, profitez du temps Jeune, se châter.

... met, profitez du temps Jeune, se châter.

... mon, le Rendez vos désirs contients. Tout est tout en.

... mon, le Rendez vos désirs contients. Tout est tout en.

... chante dans les plus beaux ans: L'amour vous éclaire Mar.

... chante dans les plus beaux ans: L'amour vous éclaire Mar.

... cherchez pas, cherchez à vous faire De mends pleins d'espoir.

... cherchez pas, cherchez à vous faire De mends pleins d'espoir.
Io has been imprisoned in the solitary pastures where she is guarded by Argus. Hiérax enters and sings of his unhappy love and he accuses the gods of bringing this misfortune upon him because they were jealous of his happiness. Argus joins him, expressing the same feeling with similar words; complimentary lines and imitative entries reinforce their similar thoughts:

Example VI.7  Isis: Act III Scene 2
In this form of the duet Lully adds to the characterisation of the minor characters, Iris and Mercure, Hiérax and Argus. Moreover, to provide variety, he introduces into the drama many new characters; two tritons appear in the Prologue, two nymphs sing in the gardens of Hébé, and, in the divertissement of Pan and Syrinx, two shepherds sing of the joys of love:
Example VI.8  *Isis*: Act III Scene 6

**Haut Contre**

**DEUX BRACHES**

**Taiete.**

"..."
tendre Soumis à vos lois Ce n'est qu'en as-
mant Qu'un trouve un sort charmant As-mes en fin a vo-tre tour
Il fait que tout cede l'empleur Il soit frapper d'un coup cer-

Le cerf léger qui suit en vain Jusque dans les
Au fond des forêts tout doit semfer ses

Ce n'est qu'en fin à votre tour il faut que tout

Obed à l'amour. Il s'agit frapper d'un coup cer tain. Le
Trios

There are no trios for main characters in Isis; the trios are often for groups of anonymous characters—gods, shepherds, fates—and they make their pronouncements as a unanimous group without conflict among them. In the Prologue of Isis, the three gods, Apollon and the fine arts, sing of their image of peace:
Example VI.9  *Isis*: Prologue, Scene 3

**CALLETOPE**

Ne troubliez point les charmes. De nos di-

**TALIE**

Ne troubliez point les charmes. De nos di-

**APOLO**

Ne troubliez point les charmes. De nos di-

Ne troubliez point les charmes. Ne troubliez point les charmes.
Most of the vocal trios are written for two equal voices and a bass, as in *Isis*, when Syrinx, drowned in the stream, is transformed into reeds. Two shepherds join Pan in attempting to breathe new life into the remains of a nymph who still answers their moans. Their trio, accompanied by two flutes and continuo, forms a small self-contained unit within the larger divertissement:

**Example VI.10 Isis: Act III Scene 6**
Io, nearing the end of her punishment, is told by the three fates that the thread of all human life is spun by their hands. Their unanimous statement follows the beautiful prelude depicting the end of Io's torment:
Example VI.11  *Isis*: Act IV Scene 7

10. Lento.

1° DESSUS.  
LES TROIS PARIÈRES.

2° DESSUS, Ténor contre.

Tenor.  
Le fil de la vie le

fil de la vie de tous les humains Suis-son notre en.

fil de la vie de tous les humains Suis-son notre en.
Lully sometimes uses the trio as a semi-chorus, joining with the chorus and often alternating with it. In the Prologue of *Isis*, La Renommée, Apollon and Neptune sing of the joys of peace and their statement is taken up by the chorus:

Example VI.12  *Isis*: Prologue, Scene 3
De mon jour
Je... plu doux, vous...
Plus vite.
Plaisir.
Plaisir.
Plaisir.
Plaisir.
Plaisir.
Plaisir.
Plaisir.
Plaisir.
Plaisir.
Plaisir.
Plaisir.
Plaisir.
Plaisir.
Plaisir.
Plaisir.
Plaisir.
Plaisir.
Plaisir.
Plaisir.
Plaisir.
Chorus

The choruses in *Isis*, all within divertissements, are one of the glories of those spectacles, and, as such, they are of great importance to the opera. The texture of most of them is homophonic, one note for each syllable. This simple style of writing sometimes produces a rather rigid, syllabic effect. However, when the chorus is doubled by the orchestra, a massive sound is achieved, and the dignity and grandeur of the style are particularly appropriate when Lully wanted to honour Louis XIV with shouts of praise:

Example VI.13 *Isis*: Prologue, Scene 1
When Lully writes a four-part chorus, he accompanies it with five orchestral parts. The *dessus de violon* doubles the soprano line and the *basse de violon* the bass.

Le Cerf de la Viéville tells us that Lully composed only the treble and the bass and left for his *secretaires* the task of completing the inner parts, two sung and three played. Whenever the chorus was fugal, Lully indicated the various entries. ¹ Lully's method of composition may account for some of the dull and uninspired part writing in some of the choruses.

The importance of the chorus remained a feature of French opera for nearly two centuries after Lully's death. From Lully to Rameau, the operatic chorus was divided into two groups, the *grand choeur* and the *petit choeur*, much the same as the *coro concertato* and the *coro ripieno* in contemporary sacred choral music. The *petit choeur* was

considered by some to be comprised of the best singers and it usually contains three parts. Most often, these parts are for two sopranos and counter-tenor, though Lully sometimes wrote three-part male choruses, as in the fourth Act of *Isis* where Io is taken for punishment to the coldest place in Scythia. The frozen people, shivering with cold, sing of the cruel climate of their land:

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**Example VI.14 Isis: Act IV Scene 1**

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3 Purcell must have known of this scene from *Isis* (1677), because he used much the same shivering devices in the Frost scene in *King Arthur* (1691).
Froid transit nos sens, Les plus durs rochers se
Froid transit nos sens, Les plus durs rochers se
Froid transit nos sens, Les plus durs rochers se

Froid transit nos sens, Les plus durs rochers se
Froid transit nos sens, Les plus durs rochers se
Froid transit nos sens, Les plus durs rochers se

Froid transit nos sens, Les plus durs rochers se
Froid transit nos sens, Les plus durs rochers se
Froid transit nos sens, Les plus durs rochers se
Lully uses two sopranos and counter-tenor for the *petit choeur* whenever the group called for is specifically female: nymphs tease Hiéraz and Argus about the joys of being free:

Example VI.15  *Isis*: Act III Scene 3
Lully uses female voices in the *grand choeur* only for the soprano line, and male voices—counter-tenor, tenor and bass—for the other three. This distribution of voices remained much the same in French choral music for most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it shows a singular lack of interest among French musicians in the contralto voice. When Lully's texture increases to five voices, as in the *grand motets*, the additional part is usually a baritone.

The number of singers employed in the chorus grew over the years, from fifteen in the earliest days of the Académie to fifty in 1778; the Royal Ordinance of 1713 shows the composition of the chorus to include twenty-two men and twelve women. The singers in the chorus did not take part in the stage action; they stood in rows on either side of the stage itself. The 1773 plan of the stage for the opera theatre in Versailles shows two symmetrical lines of singers with the women in front on each side and the tenors and basses in the middle. At the back of the stage stand two groups of counter-tenors. (see Plate VI.l)

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Plate VI.1

Gabriel de Saint-Aubin

Lully's Opera Armide
Performed at Palais Royale 1761
(Pen, watercolour over pencil)

Museum of Fine Arts
Boston, Massachusetts
Quinault includes a number of spectacles involving both singing and dancing; these divertissements give variety to the opera. The syllabic, metrical flow of the choral music contrasts with the quick pace of the recitative, and the effect of massed voices is strikingly different from that of the solo voice. Some of the divertissements are complete units and they are self-contained dramas. An example is the first Scene of Act IV (see Example VI.14) that, with this one choral divertissement, forms a complete scene. Another self-contained drama is the divertissement of Pan and Syrinx in Act III. Antiphonal and echo devices must have been used in this music, because the phrases of the two choirs overlap:

Example VI.16 *Isis: Act III Scene 6*
In the same Scene, the double choir of nymphs, sylvans, satyrs and shepherds has imitative entries and melismas on the word courons. These brief contrapuntal sections, however, never achieve the independent part writing of true polyphony:
Example VI.17  *Isis*: Act III Scene 6
In this same Scene there are cries of exhortation by the chorus of sylvans and satyrs as they try to stop Syrinx in her flight from Pan:

Example VI.18 *Isis*: Act III Scene 6
These brilliant moments in the *divertissement* are all created within the dramatic flow of the whole scene, and they show how Lully combined his sense of drama with music.

The series of magnificent *divertissements* in Act IV are stunningly beautiful. The torture of Io gives Lully the opportunity to present a sequence of vividly characterised choral scenes. Though the harmonic
resources are simple, the effect of the chorus of frozen people (see Example VI.14) was great. In Io's unbearable punishment by heat in the forges of the Chalybs, the chorus sings as the iron workers forge the metal. This dramatic scene contrasts sharply with the previous one, the frozen people in Scythia:

Example VI.19  Isis: Act IV Scene 4
The culmination of the Act is the following Scene where the Fates—War, Sickness, Famine, Flood, Fire—are given solo lines in the ensemble, in a brilliantly rhythmic chorus:
Example VI.20  *Isis*: Act IV Scene 5
Lully's Orchestra

The composition of Lully's operatic orchestra was fixed in *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673), and it changed very little in the subsequent ones. There is not a great deal of specific information available regarding the orchestra's composition. Some information is found in various contemporary privileges and Royal Ordinances. The Royal Ordinance of 1713 documents the composition of the orchestra of the Académie royale de musique at forty-eight members, though it did vary. Like the chorus, the orchestra was divided into two groups, the *grand choeur* and the *petit choeur*. The *grand choeur*, used to accompany the large choruses and all the instrumental music marked *tous*, was comprised of twelve violins, seven violas (three *haute-contres*, two *tailles* and two *quintes*), eight basses, eight wind instruments (oboes, flutes, bassoons, trumpets), a timpani and a harpsichord. The main attribute of the *grand choeur* was the five-part string orchestra. Virtuosity was demanded only in the *dessus de violon* and the wind instruments. The three middle parts for violas consisted of frequent dull lines lacking in demanding technical skills. The *basse de violon* resembled the violoncello but it was bigger, and tuned a tone lower; the violoncello replaced it by the early eighteenth century. The marking *violons* implied a doubling of the outer parts by oboes and bassoons; the

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string section alone was reserved for the sections marked *violons seuls*.

The *petit choeur* accompanied the solo airs and it alternated with the *grand choeur* in some *concertato* movements. The instrumentalists in the *petit choeur* were usually the best orchestral players Lully had. The Royal Ordinance of 1713 makes no mention of the composition of the *petit choeur*, but their number is listed in the *Privilege—pour l'année 1712-1713* as being two *dessus de violon*, two *flûtes allemandes*, two *basses de violon*, two *theorbos* and one *clavecín*.

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8 'Dissatisfaction with the sound produced by the lowest course of the lute and the desire to improve and extend its bass register are evident as early as the mid-sixteenth century. The larger *theorbo* and still larger *chitarrone* were developed specifically as accompanying instruments: both have a particularly resonant lower register, made possible by the longer fingerboard and greater string length. There are two pegboxes, one for the stopped strings, the other for the extra basses which extend the range downwards diatonically. The wider spacing of the frets on the fingerboard meant that neither instrument was so well suited to the rapid fingerwork and changes of position typical of solo lute music.' David Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (London, Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 78.

Lully often used trumpets, as in the Prologue of

*Isis:*

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**Example VI.21 Isis: Prologue, Scene 1**

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It is likely that oboes and bassoons doubled the outer voices in the string section of the orchestra, alternated with the strings in *concertato* sections, and were used independently in some dance episodes. Violons, oboes and musettes\(^{10}\) are used in the fifth Scene of the third Act of *Isis*, within the *divertissement* of Pan and Syrinx:

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\(^{10}\)Musette. 'We have no knowledge of its construction before the seventeenth century when the musette appears full blown as a very small and delicate bellows-blown instrument with exquisitely made ivory pipes and elaborately ornamented silk- or velvet-covered bag, trimmed with lace, and matching bellows. In the early seventeenth century, it had a narrow cylindrical chanter ca 7.5 inches long, devoid of keys, played with a double reed and a stubby, racket-like drone. By the time Mersenne wrote (1636) the chanter had acquired several keys. At mid century Jean Hotteterre added a second chanter with 6 closed keys, placed in the same stock as the first and lying parallel with it. These were known as the *grand chalumeau* and the *petit chalumeau*. The compass of the *grand chalumeau* was from \(f1\) to \(a2\) extended upward by the *petit chalumeau* to \(d3\). The drones were tuned to \(C\) and \(G\) in octaves'. Sibyl Marcuse, *Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary* (Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday, 1964), p. 349.
François Raguenet, in his 1702 comparison of Italian and French music, said that the oboes in Lully's orchestra equalled the violins in mellowness and in carrying power, but that they were better than the violins at accompanying brisk, lively airs.¹¹

Both recorders (flûtes douces) and transverse flutes (flûtes d'Allemagne) are used. When Lully wished transverse flutes to be used, he always indicated it by marking the score 'flûtes d'Allemagne'. The flutes are usually used in pairs above an unspecified bass, and this arrangement was always successful in representing the general character of a scene. The two flutes and bass continuo are most expressive in representing the wind blowing through the reeds of the transformed Syrinx, while Pan and the two shepherds remark that her moans can still be heard. (see Example VI.10) Another example is found in the Prologue, where two flutes join in the accompaniment of the Muses, who give their contrasting images of peace:

Example VI.23  *Isis*: Prologue, Scene 3

**CALLIOPE**

No troubles point the charms De nos di-

**THALIS**

No troubles point the charms De nos di-

**PULLON**

No troubles point the charms De nos di-

---

Re commenced, punce no chants, Ailons les faire en.
Oboes, like flutes, are often used in pairs above a continuo bass. A favourite combination, when Lully wished to portray a pastoral scene, is two oboes and a bassoon. The *marche* in the third Act is scored for violins, musettes and oboes, a normal five-part orchestra. When the trio begins, the music is marked for oboes with bass continuo:
Example VI.24 *Isis: Act III Scene 5*
The instrumental music, often for wind instruments (see Example VI.21), is of great importance to the opera. The orchestra accompanies the vocal music and provides the appropriate vehicle for the dances in the divertissements, the préludes depicting the mood of the scene to follow (see Example VI.11), the ritournelles, to announce Scenes and Acts, and, most important of all, the French overture.

Overture

Lully shaped a definite type of overture, with its slow, majestic beginning in dotted rhythm in duple or quadruple time, and it gained much prestige for him. It became so popular that foreign musicians visiting France took back to their own countries the form that had impressed them so much abroad. Lully's own pupils, Küsser, Muffat and Johannes Fischer introduced it to
Germany, and it was used in orchestral suites by Telemann and J.S. Bach until the middle of the eighteenth century. Handel often used the form of the French overture for his (the one for *The Messiah* is a familiar example), and John Blow's French overture to *Venus and Adonis* is a well-known seventeenth-century example. The second section is usually written in a contrasting style with a change of tempo, rhythm and texture. The *Isis* overture is an example of this grave, majestic style. It has a central cadence in the dominant key and the second section begins in triple time and with fugal texture:

Example VI.25 *Isis*: Overture

![Example VI.25 *Isis*: Overture]

Example VI.26 *Isis*: Overture

![Example VI.26 *Isis*: Overture]
In six of Lully's operas—Alceste, Atys, Proserpine, Phaéton, Roland and Armide—the overtures have a third section, a slow movement similar in metre to the opening section. The other operas, including Isis, have no third section.

Dances

Lully began his career at Louis XIV's court as a dancer, and, for all the subsequent productions of his works for the stage, the dance remained a central part of his tragédies lyriques. (See Plate VI.2) In his ballets de cour, written between 1653 and 1663, he used the bourrée, gavotte and sarabande most frequently. Other dances used were the courante, gigue, galliard and chaconne. For the ballets de cour and the comedies-ballets, written between 1664 and 1672, the menuet appeared most frequently and the bourrée, gavotte and sarabande retained their popularity. Other dances still in use were the courante, galliard, gigue, canaries and
In 1661, Nicholas Fouquet, the Marquis de Belle-Isle and Louis XIV's finance minister, received the young king at his country seat of Vaux-le-Vicomte. As a surprise for the king, he asked Molière to provide some appropriate entertainment. Molière presented *Les Fâcheux*, a lighthearted farce, and this production marked the first collaboration between Molière and Lully. Not only did Lully compose some of the music, but also, because he was an excellent dancer, he was used with Molière in that capacity, and they both gave virtuoso performances that delighted the king. Though Louis XIV enjoyed the music and dancing, the whole lavish display of opulence at Fouquet's château angered him, and the finance minister was dismissed and imprisoned.
chaconne. Between 1673 and 1687, for the ballets de cour and the tragédies lyriques, the menuet was by far the most popular of the dances. Gavottes, too, had increased in number and the bourrée, sarabande and canaries remained as popular as they had been. Both the gigue and the chaconne had gained considerably in popularity. In this period Lully also used the loure, passepied, passacaille, pavane and allemande.¹² These restrained and elegant pieces became the formal court dances, replacing the more old fashioned galliardes and courantes.

The menuet, one of the triple-time dances, was a rather gentle dance that built excitement in the cross-rhythms between the steps and the music. The rhythmic patterns of Lully’s menuets correspond to the steps used to dance them.¹³ The three principal steps in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had the following rhythmic differences, though they all were similar in that two written bars of music comprised one dancing bar with six beats:

(i) The steps fell on beats one, three, four and six, giving a rhythm of J. J. J. J.

(ii) The steps fall on beats one, four, five and six, giving a rhythm of J. J. J. J.


(iii) This pattern, called the 'minuet hop' had the steps fall on beats one, three, four and six, but beats one, four and six are more strongly accented; thus the rhythm was either \( \text{J} \ \text{J} \ \text{J} \ \text{J} \) or \( \text{J} \ \text{J} \ \text{J} \ \text{J} \).

All of the menuets in *Isis* are of Lully's most usual form: balanced four-bar phrases and a strong tonic-dominant relationship. The melodic line of the opening phrase descends at the first cadence, a characteristic so frequent in appearance that it probably mirrors the traditional gestures and steps of the dance. The following menuet from *Isis* shows the dance's typical binary form, including a modulation to the dominant key at the end of the first section. The second sections, often beginning with a repeat in the dominant key of the melody in the first section, modulate back to the tonic key:

**Example VI.27 Isis: Act III Scene 6**

The bourrée was a lively duple-time dance, and the one example in *Isis* shows many of its essential
characteristics. Its essential rhythm is a phrase of four bars long, and the dance steps correspond to the accents of its rhythm. The music moves primarily in crotchets with the occasional use of quavers or dotted crotchets and quavers:

Example VI.28 *Isis*: Act II Scene 7
The only other type of dance that Lully includes in *Isis* is a pair of canaries in Act V. The gigues and canaries were the liveliest of the dances and, like the gigues, the canaries could have one of several time signatures. The beat is \( \frac{3}{4} \) in a time signature of 3, \( \frac{3}{8} \) in 3/8, \( \frac{3}{4} \) in 6/4, and \( \frac{3}{8} \) in 6/8. In 6/4 and 6/8 there are two beats in each bar; in 3 and 3/8 there is only one beat per bar. The most common rhythm is \( \frac{3}{4} \).\( \frac{3}{8} \).\( \frac{3}{4} \).\( \frac{3}{8} \). The basic phrase is four beats in length, and it is danced with an accent on beat four (bar 4). Unlike the gigue, there are very few counter-rhythms between the music and the dance, and hemiola is not often used. As in *Isis*, canaries often occur in pairs:

Example VI.29 *Isis*: Act V Scene 3
Example VI.30  *Isis*: Act V Scene 3

2ème ET DERNIER AIR.
**Table VI.1 The Dances in *Isis***

**Dance: Bourrée**

- **Time signature:** 2
- **Tempo:** Faster than Gavotte
- **Number in *Isis:*** 1

**Location:**
- Act II Scene 7

**Characters Who Dance:**
- Les Jeux et Les Plaisirs

**Dance: Canaries**

- **Time signature:** 3/8
- **Tempo:** Faster than Gigue
- **Number in *Isis:*** 2

**Location:**
- Act V Scene 3

**Characters Who Dance:**
- Les Égyptiens

**Dance: Menuet**

- **Time signature:** 3
- **Tempo:** Faster than Sarabande
- **Number in *Isis:*** 4

**Location:**
- Prologue Scene 2
- Prologue Scene 3
- Act II Scene 6
- Act III Scene 6

**Characters Who Dance:**
- Les Tritons
- Les Muses
- La Jeunesse
- Les Bergers et Les Sylvains
Some of the most beautiful parts of Lully's works are the préludes and ritournelles used as little symphonies to open most Scenes and Acts. A few three-part movements are called préludes, but none of the five-part orchestral movements are called ritournelles. The three-part ritournelles are short, usually between seven to twelve bars, and simple in construction. The three parts are often imitative and they contain some of Lully's finest contrapuntal writing:

Example VI.31 Isis: Prélude to Act III
One of the purposes of these little symphonies no doubt was to prepare the audience for the approaching scene, and often they created an appropriate atmosphere. A lovely prélude in Isis opens the second Act; it depicts the thick clouds surrounding Jupiter and Io:

Example VI.32  *Isis: Prélude to Act II*

Another descriptive opening is found in the prélude to the fourth Act where the inhabitants of Scythia shiver in the numbing cold. The melodic material of the ritournelle is the same as the following chorus:
A second function of the *prélude* was to assist the building of characterisation by associating the music with a specific character. The final Act of *Isis* opens with a solemn orchestral movement marked *gravement*. Its purpose is both to prepare the audience for the divine pronouncements of Act V and to depict the terrible torments Io suffered in Act IV. The music is sufficiently solemn to represent Io's despair, and heroic enough to represent the majesty of Junon's divine forgiveness.
Lully's marches were enthusiastically received by the audiences and their martial vigour was associated with the warlike heroes of the operas. Armies marched to the sound of Lully's music and the nobility and martial fire of his marches was another reason that helped to make the composer's popularity so immense. The one march in Isis is scored for violins, musettes and oboes, and the middle section is written for oboes and bassoon. (See Example VI.24)
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

In 1672, Lully's royal privilege gave him the right to print his own music; yet, nothing was published until Isis in 1677. Cadmus et Hermione (1673) began Lully's series of tragédies lyriques, and inspired by his newly created genre, he probably wished to publish as his first work a tragédie lyrique in which all elements combined to produce as fine a theatrical presentation as possible. The first four tragédies lyriques were all flawed in some way: though Cadmus et Hermione was very successful, it was an experimental work Claude Palisca calls 'a hybrid creation';¹ Alceste (1674) was thought to contain comic scenes out of place in the tragedy; though refinements took place, Thésée (1675) still had some of the same disturbing qualities; further refinements of excesses, particularly vulgar comic episodes, occurred in Atys (1676), and, though it was very popular, it was criticised for having a few tedious sections.² In Isis, Lully apparently took great care to make the piece more interesting and less monotonous. The comic elements add variety to the opera

without disturbing the plot. The sight of the frozen people of Scythia (Act IV Scene 1), benumbed by the cold, shivering and dancing, using unusual steps and gestures to represent their plight, adds a touch of comic relief to the drama, while at the same time incorporating itself within the tragedy. With this work, Lully was ready to present to the world his first published music, perhaps a fitting monument to the genius of his mature years. What a blow it must have been to him that, owing to the scandal at Court caused by its presentation, *Isis* received few performances and never achieved popularity.

The scandal caused Quinault to be banished from court for two years, a time that marked a turning point in Lully's career. The collaboration with Thomas Corneille for *Psyché* (1678), an adaptation of an earlier work, and *Bellerophon* (1679) may have been the catalyst to spark Lully's interest in dramas based on historical romance. When Quinault returned to court, he and Lully produced *Proserpine* (1680), another mythological opera, which, with *Isis*, marks the culmination of his operas of this type. From that time, Lully's operas were written more on stories dealing with the lives and deeds of human heroes, rather than mythological beings, gods and immortals. *Persée* (1682), *Phaëton* (1683), *Amadis* (1684), *Roland* (1685) and *Armide* (1686), all based on historical romances containing elements of magic, suggest greater possibilities to explore more fully the depths of characterisation than are found in
the earlier operas. In *Isis*, Lully's development of Junon's character gives an indication of his ability in this regard, a skill that grew and developed, culminating in the fully drawn character portrayals of the final operas. Junon's overwhelming jealousy, shown in her first appearance in Act II, when she interrupts Jupiter's meeting with Io, in her incessant fury at Io's attempted escape in Act III, and in her cruel, spiteful torture of the nymph in Act IV, becomes her predominant characteristic. Lully portrays a smouldering, vengeful woman, full of insecurity and jealousy, and it is not until the final scene of the opera that we see a characteristic in her other than bitter spite and violent rage; only upon Jupiter's vow of fidelity, does Junon relent, and with divine forgiveness, end Io's punishment. Armide, on the other hand, is much more finely drawn, and Lully vividly portrays her many emotions—love, hate, pity, remorse, fury, vengeance—so that her characterisation becomes almost a psychological study.

The examination of the musical sources of *Isis* began with the first publication of Lully's music—the printed set of ten partbooks—prepared under Lully's supervision in 1677, the year of its first presentation. Next, the first full score of the work to be published was examined, and during the span of nearly fifty years, it was shown how few changes occurred in the transmission of the opera.

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3 Lully died before completing his final tragédie lyrique, *Achille et Polixène*. It was subsequently finished by Colasse.
contemporary full score manuscript, copied some time between the publication of the ten partbooks and the printed full score, confirms how faithful the work remained to its original production under Lully's guidance. The final section of this study dealt with an examination of the music of *Isis*, showing his creation of a style of dramatic singing based on the model of declamation of the classical French theatre. The orchestral sections, particularly the overture and the dances, had some of the most important and lasting influences on subsequent music.

After his death, Lully's son-in-law was manager of the Académie, and his sons inherited all his rights. However, neither Lully's talent for composition nor his shrewdness in business affairs was inherited by his sons, and they wrote little of lasting worth. By his privilège, Lully had eliminated all rivals; Cambert was exiled, and Lalonde and Charpentier were allowed to present only chamber and sacred vocal music. Lully deliberately groomed no one to succeed him, and by not allowing anything other than his operas to be heard, he shaped the taste of audiences of his generation. Accustomed to hearing only Lully operas, the audiences filled the void left by his death with revivals of his works. Soon composers such as Campra and Destouches began to write *opéra-ballets*, works that were lighter and more decorative than Lully's operas, and a modified form of the *tragédie lyrique*, taking into it elements from both

\[\text{From 1673-1687 no operas but Lully's were performed in Paris.}\]
Italian opera and French opéra-ballet. Despite these newer, lighter creations, Lully's operas continued to retain their popularity until Rameau, a half century after his death. The result of the enormous control Lully exerted over music in France was that the development of tonality was delayed; until Rameau, the harmonic resources of French composers could not match developments elsewhere, notably in the works of Cesti and Purcell. The influence of Italian string music that was transforming the rest of Europe was also hindered by Lully's domineering control. However, the ideals of Lully's Académie--superb orchestral playing, brilliant dancing, and the dramatic declamation of the recitative--continued unchanged long after his death. It may well be that Lully's performing standards and his unique style had more lasting influence on music than did the compositions themselves. He created an orchestra that won a brilliant European reputation and a school of dramatic singing, modelled on the declamation of Racine, whose traditions lasted nearly a century. Lully's operas, polished in their performances and splendid in their settings, mirrored the age of Louis XIV, and in so doing, satisfied the taste of a court so accustomed to the magnificence of Versailles.
APPENDIX I

_Isis_: Act V Scene 3 (complete)
J'ai vu, grand, ce, Ren. des mon voire a, mour
nez voire, grand, ce, Je vous rends mon a, mour a, ban, don,
AIR.

JUPITER.

*Note: On des du Nix*  C'est par

Voulez-vous que je juré?  Fleur au vent  je vous veux

Le serment que je fais.  Si cette Nympe, en

Fin, Reprendons ces traits,  Si tu me fait ces
Air.

La Furie s'enfonce dans les Enfers et l'on trouve délivrée de ses peines.

JUNON.

Après un si long combat,

Pliez, Gonflez les huit parfaits, Que les Hirmus ont chassé,

Et sous le nouveau nom d'Isis, Jouez,

C'est d'un bonheur que je nous ne lisons. Et
Divinités qui descendent du Ciel dans la nuit. Peuples d'Égypte chanter. 

Tous quatre Égyptiens chantant : Peuple d'Égypte descend. 

1° BRASS. 

2° BRASS. 

3° BRASS. 

(Tuba seule) 

TENOR. 

(Tuba) 

BASSES.
Dieu, Ton père, est à jamais
Glorieux, jamais ne change.

Le cri des anges,永不息止
Glorieux, jamais ne change.

Mon Dieu, Ton père, est à jamais
Glorieux, jamais ne change.

Le cri des anges,永不息止
Glorieux, jamais ne change.

Mon Dieu, Ton père, est à jamais
Glorieux, jamais ne change.

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Glorieux, jamais ne change.

Mon Dieu, Ton père, est à jamais
Glorieux, jamais ne change.

Le cri des anges,永不息止
Glorieux, jamais ne change.
I' AIR POUR LES ÉGYPTIENS.

Animé.
2° ET DERNIER AIR.
CHŒUR FINAL.

1er BUSSUS

2° BUSSUS

TÈSSE

BASSE

L. sis est immor tel le

L. sis est immor tel le

L. sis est immor tel le

L. sis est immor tel le

L. sis va bril ler dans les Cieux, L. sis jou it 

L. sis va bril ler dans les Cieux, L. sis jou it 

L. sis va bril ler dans les Cieux, L. sis jou it 

L. sis va bril ler dans les Cieux, L. sis jou it 

L. sis va bril ler dans les Cieux, L. sis jou it 

L. sis va bril ler dans les Cieux, L. sis jou it 

L. sis va bril ler dans les Cieux, L. sis jou it 

L. sis va bril ler dans les Cieux, L. sis jou it 

L. sis va bril ler dans les Cieux, L. sis jou it
# APPENDIX II

Lully Holdings at the University of Western Ontario

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE OF WORK</th>
<th>SHELF NUMBER</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Selections of works</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short score</td>
<td>GM/AR.315</td>
<td>Sole edition, 1702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Collection of excerpts in two volumes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short score</td>
<td>GM/AR.746</td>
<td>Manuscript, ca. 1700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Achille et Polixène</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full score</td>
<td>GM/AR.520</td>
<td>First edition, 1687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Acis et Galatée</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full score</td>
<td>GM/AR.519</td>
<td>First edition, 1686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libretto</td>
<td>GM/AR.017</td>
<td>First Versailles edition, 1749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Alceste</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full score</td>
<td>GM/AR.502</td>
<td>Manuscript, late 17th or early 18th C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short score, engraved</td>
<td>GM/AR.503</td>
<td>Second edition, 1716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Amadis</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Full score</td>
<td>GM/AR.514</td>
<td>Manuscript, late 17th C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full score</td>
<td>GM/AR.513</td>
<td>Manuscript with printed title page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full score</td>
<td>GM/AR.512</td>
<td>First edition, 1684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libretto</td>
<td>GM/AR.309a</td>
<td>First editions, 1684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GM/AR.309b</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Les amours déguisez</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Libretto</td>
<td>GM/AR.004</td>
<td>First edition, 1664</td>
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<td>Title</td>
<td>Edition/Source</td>
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<td>--------------------------</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armide</td>
<td>Short score, engraved</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GM/AR.518 Second Christophe Ballard edition, 1718</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Atys</td>
<td>Full score</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GM/AR.504 Manuscript, late 17th C.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short score, engraved</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GM/AR.505 Second edition, 1708</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Libretto</td>
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<td></td>
<td>GM/AR.010 Possible second edition, 1682</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bellérophon</td>
<td>Full score</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GM/AR.507 Manuscript, late 17th C.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cadmus et Hermione</td>
<td>Full score</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GM/AR.501 First edition, 1719</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les festes de l'Amour et de Bacchus</td>
<td>Full score</td>
<td>GM/AR.500 Sole edition; the only complete score published</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Libretto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GM/AR.009 First edition, 1672</td>
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<tr>
<td>Isis</td>
<td>Full score</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GM/AR.506 Manuscript, late 17th C.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 partbooks: haut-contre, basse</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GM/AR.900 First edition, 1677</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>parodies and vaudevilles in three volumes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Persée</td>
<td>Short score</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GM/AR.016 1688</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phaëton</td>
<td>Full score</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GM/AR.510 Manuscript with printed title page, 1684</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short score, engraved</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GM/AR.511 Second edition, 1709</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Libretto</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Prologue) GM/AR.017</td>
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<td></td>
<td>First Versailles edition 1683</td>
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Proserpine
  Full Score  GM/AR.508  First edition, 1680

Roland
  Full score  GM/AR.515  First edition, 1685

Le temple de la paix
  Full score  GM/AR.517  First edition, 1685

Le temple de la paix, together with the composer’s Idylle sur la paix and La grotte de Versailles
  Full score  GM/AR.516  Manuscript, ca.1685

Le triomphe de l’Amour
  Full score  GM/AR.509  First edition, 1681
  Selections,  GM/AR.015  First edition, 1688
  Short score

Signed document
  Document,  GM/AR.918  single leaf, parchment
  manuscript
APPENDIX III

The libretti served as programmes, and they contain cast lists for the performances. The cast of the first Paris performance (1677) was:

Prologue:
La Renommée ................. Verdier
Apollon .......................... La Grille
Deux Tritons .......................... Dumesny
................................. Nouveau
Neptune ............................ Forestier

Ballet: Beauchamp, Pécourt, Magny, Boutteville

Tragédie:
Io .................................. Aubry
Junon .............................. Saint-Christophe
Hébé ................................ Brigogne
Iris ................................. Saint-Colombe
Mycène ................................ Verdier
Trois Parques ........................ Bony
................................. Langeais
................................. Forestier
Mercure .............................. Clédière
Érynnis .............................. Ribou
Hierax ................................ Gaye
Pirante ............................... Langeais
Jupiter ................................ Beaumavielle
Argus ................................ Morel
Pan .................................. Godonesche


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