

Table 1. Lully's Star Performers and Their Roles in His Operas (1673–97): Roles Premiered (in Bold) and Reprised (post-1686)

	<b>Lully's Operas<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>Bernard Cledière<sup>b</sup></b> <i>haute-contre</i> (d. 1711)	<b>François Beaumavielle</b> <i>basse-taille</i> (d. 1689)	<b>Jean Gaye</b> <i>basse-taille</i> (d. 1701)	<b>Mlle Saint Christophe</b> soprano (d. after 1682)	<b>Marie Aubry</b> soprano (ca.1656–1704)	<b>Louis Golard Dumesnil</b> <i>haute-contre</i> (d. 1702)	<b>Marie Le Rochois</b> soprano (ca. 1658–1728)	<b>Jean Dun</b> <i>basse-taille</i> (d. 1735)	<b>Fanchon Moreau</b> soprano (1668–after 1743)	<b>Marie-Louise Desmatins</b> soprano (1670–1708)
1673	<i>Cadmus et Hermione</i> (Paris)	<b>La Nourrice</b>	<b>Cadmus<sup>c</sup></b>								
1674	<i>Alceste</i> (Opéra) (Versailles; no cast list)	<b>Admete</b> [Admete?]	<b>Alcide/Hercule</b>	[Alcide?]	<b>Alceste</b> [Alceste?]						
1675	<i>Thésée</i> (St. Germain) (Opéra)	<b>Thésée</b> Thésée	<b>Chorister</b> Ægée	<b>Ægée</b>	<b>Médée</b> Médée	<b>Æglé</b> Æglé	<b>Chorister, Act V</b>				
1676	<i>Atys</i> (St. Germain) (Opéra)	<b>Atys<sup>d</sup></b> Atys	<b>Le Temps</b> Celanus	<b>Celanus</b>	<b>Cybèle</b> Cybèle	<b>Sangaride</b> Sangaride	<b>Chorister, Prologue</b>				
1677	<i>Isis</i> (St. Germain) (Opéra) <sup>e</sup>	<b>Mercure</b> [Mercure?]	<b>Jupiter</b> Heirax	<b>Heirax</b>	<b>Junon</b> Junon	<b>Io</b> Io	<b>a Triton</b> <b>Chorister, Acts II-V</b>				
1678	<i>Psyché</i> (Opéra) <sup>f</sup> [no cast list]	[L'Amour?]	[Le Roi and Mars?]	[Palemon and Bacchus?]	[Vénus?]	[Psyché?]					
1679	<i>Bellérophon</i> (Opéra) <sup>g</sup> (St. Germain, 1680)	<b>Bellérophon</b> Bellérophon	<b>Jobate</b>	Jobate	<b>Stenobée</b> Stenobée	<b>Philonoe</b>					
1680	<i>Proserpine</i> (St. Germain) (Opéra)	<b>Alphée</b>	Pluton	<b>Pluton</b>	<b>Cérés</b> Cérés	Proserpine	Alphée	Aréthuse	Ascalaphe		
1682	<i>Persée</i> (Opéra/Versailles)		<b>Phinée</b>		<b>Cassiope<sup>h</sup></b>	<b>Andromède</b>	<b>Persée</b>	<b>Méropé</b>	[Cephée?] <sup>i</sup>		dancer/singer <sup>j</sup>
1683	<i>Phaëton</i> (Versailles/Opéra) <sup>k</sup>		[Epaphus?] <sup>l</sup>		[Clymene?] <sup>m</sup>	[Libye?]	<b>Phaëton</b>	<b>Théone</b>		<b>“in the prologue”<sup>n</sup></b>	
1684	<i>Amadis</i> (Opéra/Versailles [1685])		<b>Arcalaüs</b>			probably Oriane	<b>Amadis</b>	<b>Arcabonne</b>	<b>Florestan</b>	maybe Oriane <sup>o</sup>	<b>Corisande</b>
1685	<i>Roland</i> (Versailles/Opéra)		<b>Roland</b>				<b>Médor</b>	<b>Angélique</b>			
1686	<i>Armide</i> (Opéra) <sup>p</sup>		<b>Hidraot</b>				<b>Renaud</b>	<b>Armide</b>		Sidonie or Phénice	Sidonie or Phénice
1686	<i>Acis et Galatée</i> (Chateau d'Anet/Opéra) <sup>q</sup>						<b>Acis</b>	<b>Galatée</b>	<b>Polyphème<sup>r</sup></b>	<b>Scylla<sup>s</sup></b>	
1687	<i>Amadis</i> revival [no cast list] <sup>t</sup>										
1687	<i>Persée</i> revival <sup>u</sup>		Phinée				Persée	Méropé	Cephée	Andromède	[also Méropé?]

1687	<i>Achille et Polyxène</i> <sup>v</sup>		<b>Priam</b>				<b>Achille</b>	<b>Polyxène</b>	<b>Agamemnon</b>	<b>Andromaque</b>	<b>Breiseis</b>
1688	<i>Thésée</i> revival		Egée <sup>w</sup>				Thésée	Médée	Arcas	Aeglé	
1689	<i>Acis et Galatée</i> revival [no cast list]										
1689	<i>Atys</i> revival						Atys	Cybèle	Celanus	Sangaride	
1690	<i>Cadmus et Hermione</i> revival							Hermione	Pan and Draco	Charite	Palès
1692	<i>Phaëton</i> revival [no cast list]										
1695	<i>Persée</i> revival <sup>x</sup>						Persée	Mérope	Phinée	Andromède	
1695	<i>Acis et Galatée</i> revival <sup>y</sup>							Galatée			
1697	<i>Armide</i> revival <sup>z</sup>						Renaud	Armide	Hidraot	Confidente [Sidonie or Phénice]	Confidente [Sidonie or Phénice]

<sup>a</sup> All but *Acis et Galatée*, a three-act *pastorale héroïque*, are five-act *tragédies en musique*. Except where indicated, Quinault wrote the librettos.

<sup>b</sup> According to the Parfaicts' "Histoire" (9), Cledière entered the Académie in 1671 at the same time as Beaumavielle, and he left in 1680 for the Musique du Roy. Court records (*F-Pan* O<sup>1</sup> 55 folio 92) from July 22, [1711] indicate that Cledière served there until his death, presumably near that date (Benoit, *Musiques de cours*, 238). Cledière's absence from the Opéra productions in this Table after 1680 reflects his move to the Musique du Roy.

<sup>c</sup> According to the Parfaicts' *Dictionnaire*, s.v. "*Cadmus et Hermione*" (2:2–3), Beaumavielle premiered Cadmus in the first production "à Belair, près le Luxembourg, au mois d'Avril 1673" and reprised the role at the Palais Royal in 1674; nonetheless, according to Le Cerf, (*Comparaison*, 1:112), Lully created the role of Cadmus for Gaye ("[Lully] fit le long & tender personnage de Cadmus, pour *Gaye*"). Lully may have had Gaye in mind, but the Opéra venue for the premiere dictated that Beaumavielle would premiere the role. Note that Cadmus is scored with an F3 clef.

<sup>d</sup> Jean-Benjamin de La Borde commented: "For a long time [Cledière] performed leading roles successfully, especially in the role of Atys." ("Il fit pendant longtemps les premiers rôles, & eut du succès, sur-tout dans celui d'Atis"). [Jean-Benjamin de la Borde], *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne*, 4 vols. (Paris: Eugène Onfroy, 1780), 3:503.

<sup>e</sup> The Opéra role assignments for Jupiter and Mercure do not appear in the Parfaicts' "Histoire" cast list (38). Presumably, Cledière reprised his court performance as Mercure at the Opéra, as he had reprised his roles in *Alceste*, *Thésée*, and *Atys*.

<sup>f</sup> Libretto by Pierre Corneille, Philippe Quinault, and Thomas Corneille. The Parfaicts' "Histoire" (34) identifies Saint Christophle as "La Reine," but no queen participates in the opera. Using the typecasting established by their previous roles as a guide, I imagine that she premiered the vengeful Vénus, with Aubry as Psyché, the romantic female lead, playing opposite Cledière as the adult Amour (Cupid), the romantic male lead. Michael Turnbull, in his "A Critical Edition of *Psyché*: An Opera with Words by Thomas Corneille and Philippe Quinault and Music by Jean-Baptiste Lully," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 1981), suggests that Gaye "presumably played Palemon and Bacchus, the roles he took in the 1671 *Psyché*" and that Beaumavielle "may have appeared as the Le Roi and Mars in the 1678 version as his successor, Thévenard, played these roles in the 1703 revival" (1:13).

<sup>g</sup> Libretto by Thomas Corneille and Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle, with the purported assistance of Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (see La Gorce, *Lully*, 631).

<sup>h</sup> According to the Parfaicts' "Histoire" (34), Saint Christophle premiered Cassiope, but the authors list Mme Bluquette as Cassiope in their *Dictionnaire*, s.v. "*Persée*" (4:105). Schmidt, in his libretto catalogue entry for *Persée* (LLC 9-1.1 1682), follows the Parfaicts' *Dictionnaire*, but Bluquette's name does not appear in association with any *Persée* revival or with any other Lully opera libretto catalogued in Schmidt. Given Saint Christophle's skills and her previous roles, I am convinced that she premiered Cassiope.

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<sup>i</sup> Corollary evidence suggests that Dun may have premiered the smaller baritone role of Céphée—the King of Ethiopia and Andromède's father. Alongside all the other major performers who subsequently premiered *Persée*, Dun had premiered Ascalaphe in *Proserpine* at the Opéra the year before. The Parfaicts' *Dictionnaire* indicates that Dun sang Céphée in *Persée*'s 1687 revival along with three others who had premiered the opera—Le Rochois, Beaumavielle, and Dumesnil (4:105).

<sup>j</sup> According to the Parfaicts' "Histoire" (51), M<sup>lle</sup> Desmatins, at the age of twelve debuted both as a dancer and as a singer in *Persée*, but no record of what role(s) she performed has surfaced.

<sup>k</sup> *Phaëton* premiered at Versailles January 6, 1683, and in Paris on April 27. Neither the Parfaicts' *Dictionnaire* nor their "Histoire" provides a cast list. L'Abbé de Chaulieu identifies Le Rochois as Théone in a poem published in Titon du Tillet, *Le Parnasse françois*, 794; Jean-Marie Bernard Clément et Joseph de Laporte's *Anecdotes dramatiques* (Paris: Veuve Duchesne, 1775) indicates that Dumesnil premiered the title role (171).

<sup>l</sup> Epaphus is an entirely invented role: Libye's beloved as well as Phaëton's rival to whom Libye is unhappily betrothed. Because, according to Le Cerf (*Comparaison*, 2:226), Lully taught a certain Beaupui to perform Protée, the opera's other major baritone role, and because of the amount of dramatic singing involved, Beaumavielle likely played Epaphus. Epaphus is in five scenes, including two long, tormented love scenes with Libye (II, 4 and V, 3). That Thévenard, Beaumavielle's successor, performed this role in three eighteenth-century revivals—1703, 1710, 1722—gives additional weight to this argument.

<sup>m</sup> Saint Christophle's skills and character type match that of Clymène, Phaëton's anguished mother. Even if Saint Christophle retired after her performances in *Persée*, as the Parfaicts' "Histoire" indicates (34), Lully and Quinault likely fashioned this role with her in mind. See par. 5.4.

<sup>n</sup> According to the Parfaicts' "Histoire," Moreau had successfully debuted in *Phaëton*'s Prologue in 1683 "ou elle plut beaucoup" (55). James R. Anthony, citing J.-B Durey de Noinville (*Histoire du theater de l'Opéra de l'Académie royale de musique en France*, 1753, 2:1757), suggests that she premiered the Prologue's Astraea; see Anthony, *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, s.v. "Moreau, Fanchon."

<sup>o</sup> Primary sources give conflicting information about who premiered Oriane's role. See this article's discussion beginning par. 13.3.

<sup>p</sup> Subsequent to the cast list in their "Histoire" (62), the Parfaicts provided an expanded list of performers in their *Dictionnaire* (1:302–3), identifying Dun, not Beaumavielle, as Hidraot, and specifying the roles of the two confidants: Fanchon Moreau as Sidonie and Desmatins as Phénice. But as Rosow points out, this list "might have been copied from Le Cerf's description of a performance given some years later [in 1697]" (Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Armide, Tragédie en musique*, ed. Lois Rosow [Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2003], xxii). Although Le Cerf named Moreau and Desmatins as the two confidants, he did not identify their respective roles (*Comparaison*, 2:11). The Parfaicts may have arbitrarily decided to do so in their *Dictionnaire*.

<sup>q</sup> Libretto by Jean de Campistron. Commissioned by the Duke of Vendôme to honor the Dauphin, *Acis et Galatée, pastorale héroïque*, premiered without machines at the Château in Anet on September 6, 1686, and at the Opéra on September 17.

<sup>r</sup> Le Cerf (*Comparaison*, 2:226) understood that La Forêt performed Poliphème: "I am mistaken if it was not [La Forêt] who also performed Polyphème in *Acis & Galatée*, that admirable and, from one end to the other, most beautiful bass role in all of Lully's works, according to some connoisseurs. But after five or six years at the Opéra, La Forêt continued to be boorish and poorly fashioned, and they let him go." ("Je suis trompé s'il ne lui [la Forêt] fit pas jouer encore dans *Acis & Galatée Poliphème*, ce rôle admirable, la plus belle basse, à la regarder d'un bout à l'autre, qui soit dans les Ouvrages de Lulli, au jugement de quelques Connoisseurs. Mais après cinq ou six ans d'Opera, la Forêt demeura rustre & mal façonné: on le congédia"). The Parfaicts' "Histoire" paraphrases this text (63). Their *Dictionnaire* lists Dun in the role (1:12). Given the anecdotal evidence that Beaumavielle was ill for a time and then returned to great acclaim (see the Parfaicts' "Histoire," 9), perhaps Lully originally conceived the role for Beaumavielle, who may have been ill as the performance date neared, tried unsuccessfully to have La Forêt substitute, and finally turned to Dun, who went on to reprise the role in 1701 and 1704.

<sup>s</sup> So identified by Henry Prunières in his introduction to the libretto, *Acis et Galatée Pastorale héroïque de Campistron mise en musique par J.-B. Lully* (Paris: Éditions de la Revue Musicale, 1933), 10, and by Jérôme de La Gorce, "Lully's Final Masterpiece," notes to *Acis et Galatée*, Les Musiciens du Louvre, Marc Minkowski, cond., Archive Production 453 499-2, 1998. I have not been able to locate the original source for this attribution.

<sup>t</sup> Although no librettos correspond to the 1687 *Amadis* and *Persée* revivals, the Parfaicts' "Histoire" records them: "*Armide* was performed with continued success up until Lully's death; but *Amadis* was revived at the theater's reopening as was *Persée* several days later, and they were performed alternately up until November, when the opera *Achille et Polyxène* appeared for the first time." ("On avait joué jusqu'à la mort de Lully, *Armide* avec un succès continuë: Mais à l'ouverture du théâtre, on remit *Amadis*, & quelques jours après *Persée*, qui furent joués alternativement, jusqu'au mois de Novembre suivant, que parut pour la première fois l'opera d'*Achille & Polyxène*" (64). The Parfaicts' *Dictionnaire* (1:53) also records the revival of *Amadis* in alternation with *Persée* beginning on April 8, 1687 (53). Given that, according to Nicodème Tessin Le Jeune's report, Le Rochois, Beaumavielle, and Dumesnil were reprising their roles in *Persée*, one can imagine that they also reprised their roles in *Amadis*. See Roger Armand Weigert, "Notes de Nicodème Tessin Le Jeune relatives à son séjour à Paris en 1687," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1932), 242.

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<sup>u</sup> Parfaicts' *Dictionnaire* (4:105) provides this 1687 list, but names Desmatins as Mérope. This role assignment conflicts with Tessin's direct observation that in this production, "Le Rochois is the best female singer and Beaumavielle the best male." See Wood and Sadler, *French Baroque Opera: A Reader*, 125, and Weigert, "Notes de Nicodème Tessin," 242–43. The truth remains elusive. Perhaps Desmatins replaced Le Rochois during the run. No libretto for this production appears in Schmidt's catalogue of librettos, and the subsequently published *Persée* librettos list the first *Persée* revival as February 9, 1703, leaving out both the 1687 and 1695 productions.

<sup>v</sup> Libretto by Jean de Campistron; overture and Act I by Lully; Acts II–V by Pascal Colasse. Lully's death interrupted his completion of this opera. Although Lully probably was involved with the libretto's construction, I have not included this work in my study because he composed so little of the music. I have included the opera in this list because the Académie's principal performers premiered it. *Achille et Polixène* premiered on November 23 and not on November 7 as given in some sources. See Elma Sanders, "Preface" to Jean-Baptiste Lully and Pascal Collasse, *Achille et Polixène* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1687; reprint, Williamstown, Mass.: Broude International Editions, 2007), viin2.

<sup>w</sup> According to the Parfaicts' "Histoire" (69), Beaumavielle was scheduled to premiere the role of Neptune in Colasse's *Thétis et Pélée* (Opéra, January 1689), but he died during the rehearsals.

<sup>x</sup> Although no libretto was issued in conjunction with this revival, and the Parfaict brothers do not mention it, Louis Ladvoat's January 1695 letters to the abbé Dubos refer in considerable detail to these performances. Ladvoat names Fanchon Moreau as Andromède, Le Rochois as Mérope, Thévenard as Céphée, and Dumesnil as Persée. See Ladvoat, *Lettres sur l'Opéra à l'abbé Dubos suivies de description de la vie et mœurs, de l'exercice et l'état des filles de l'Opéra*, ed. Jérôme de La Gorce. (Paris: Cicero, 1993), 36–37. Du Tralage names M. Dun as Phinée in this production; see *Notes et documents sur l'histoire des théâtres de Paris au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle par Jean Nicolas Du Tralage: Extraits, mis en ordre et publiés d'après le manuscrit original par le bibliophile [P. L.] Jacob avec une notice sur le recueil du sieur du Tralage* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1858), 101.

<sup>y</sup> Ladvoat's letter of June 11, 1695 (*Lettres*, 46) records a rehearsal and Le Rochois's role.

<sup>z</sup> Cast members identified by Le Cerf (*Comparaison*, 2:11).