

Shepherd and shepherdess dances on the French stage in the early 18th century¹

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Abstract

Several of the extant theatrical dances by Pécour, published in the early eighteenth century, were danced by onstage “shepherds and shepherdesses”. Others may have been. Parfaict’s cast lists, along with information from scores and librettos, offer clues about the context for these dances. I discuss the theatrical context for some of them, and briefly consider Pécour’s choreographic approach to shepherd and shepherdess dances.

1. Overview of shepherds’ appearances onstage

1.1 Introduction

Over the years, I’ve sought to address the question “How do you make a baroque dance?”. This paper represents a failed attempt to refine the question as: “How do you make a baroque ‘shepherd dance?’ ” (By “shepherd dance”, I mean a dance for the characters of shepherds or shepherdesses, or both; “shepherd” should be taken as gender-neutral.)

I had intended to examine some of Pécour’s shepherd dances and develop a few simple rules for choreographers. But I found myself mired in the problem of definition: without knowing beforehand what a shepherd dance looks like, how could I choose a useful set of dances from which to generalize?

So: in this paper I’ll discuss shepherd dances and their place onstage in early eighteenth-century France. I’ll consider the theatrical contexts for some extant notated dances that may or may not have been performed by onstage shepherds and shepherdesses. And I’ll draw a few tentative conclusions about Pécour’s use of steps and figures in these dances.

1.2 Frequency of shepherds’ appearances onstage in early eighteenth-century France

Onstage shepherds and shepherdesses were abundant in early eighteenth-century France. Of the forty-one libretti collected and published by C. Ballard in the years 1703-1714, representing productions at the Paris Opéra from 1697 to 1713, at least twenty-eight include some sort of role for shepherds or shepherdesses, whether in the prologue (twelve); the main piece, either tragédie or ballet (twenty-one); or both (five).²

Shepherds and shepherdesses are typically used to illustrate the joys of uncomplicated love, which can be found in nature more easily than in civilization.³ Love can cause pain and suffering elsewhere, but not in their happy groves.

Much of the time, they’re faithful in their loves; but more important than fidelity is the urge to seize the moment (and one another), profiting while they can from the pleasures that youth and beauty afford. But there are exceptions to this image of the shepherd faithful to his love. For example, in *l’Europe Galante*, shepherds are used to represent the French national type, and a note

to the reader in the libretto explains that according to the prevailing idea of the French character, they are painted as fickle, indiscreet, and coquettish.⁴ But whether faithful or not, the shepherd and shepherdess are happy, and they are happy because they love.

1.3 Developing a list of extant shepherd dances

Before discussing notated dances for shepherds and shepherdesses, it would be useful to form some ideas about which dances fit this category. This is not a trivial problem. Sometimes the title page of a choreographic notation specifies the characters: for example, the “Entrée pour un Berger et une Bergère”, to music from *Ulysse*.⁵ But at other times they don’t, so we must also rely on evidence from cast lists, scores, and librettos to decide whether a given dance should be on the list. The music itself may also suggest the appropriate category: for example, a musette would most likely be associated with shepherds and shepherdesses. Rebecca Harris-Warrick, Jean-Noël Laurenti, and no doubt others have written about the useful information that we can find by looking at such contexts for notated dances.⁶ Predictably, as both Harris-Warrick and Laurenti point out, there are instances where the evidence is incomplete or conflicting.

In their inventory of notated dances, Meredith Little and Carol Marsh list eight dances under the heading “Shepherd”, but their list includes only three dances that can clearly be associated with the characters of shepherds and shepherdesses.⁷ Two more are for “pastres” and “pastourelles” — that is, cow- or goatherds;⁸ two are ballroom dances; and one is a solo of unknown theatrical context.

Francine Lancelot’s catalog provides potentially useful information about the characters who are onstage in the scene from which the music for a given dance derives.⁹ But her listings include some oversights and inaccuracies, making them less useful than they could be.

Often, we find other pastoral or rustic characters onstage with shepherds and shepherdesses. For example, the pastoral divertissement from *Sémélé* includes not only bergers and bergères, but also pastres and pastourelles and a paysan (peasant). In the hierarchy of baroque theatre, these other characters are of a lower social rank than shepherds and shepherdesses, and we would expect their dances to reflect this difference, tending more toward the comic or exuberant than shepherd dances. But we must be careful in our assumptions: choreographic approaches overlap, and it may not be possible to differentiate one character from another on the basis of the choreography alone.

There is a further category — or rather, there are two categories — of onstage shepherds and shepherdesses that we should consider: shepherds or shepherdesses disguised as, or in the role of, other characters; and other characters disguised as shepherds or shepherdesses. Does a shepherd in a vision or dream scene dance any differently than a “real” one? Does a shepherdess dressed as a huntress dance any differently than an actual (stage) huntress? Table 1 shows some examples of characters in disguise, or playing other roles.

2. Contexts for shepherd choreographies

2.1 Evidence of changes in productions

In looking for shepherd dances, we must be aware of changes made in a given theatrical work, not only from one production to the next, but even within a single production. The evidence is clear that cuts were made, sections were rearranged, and dances or even entire entrées were added

during the run of piece. For example, a note appended to the 1705 score of *Philomèle* indicates cuts that were made “in order that the piece wouldn’t take too long onstage”.¹⁰ (The parts that were cut are published anyway, and as it happens they don’t shorten the Prologue divertissement that we’ll discuss later; it’s the lead-up to the divertissement that is shortened.)

Another example of a work that was altered during the run is *les Fêtes Vénitiennes*. The prologue was eliminated partway through the run, and five entrées were added, including one for characters playing the roles of dancers and singers in a pastoral ballet (see Table 1, fourth row).¹¹ Yet another example is *Méléagre*, the libretto of which gives an elaborate explanation of the improvements that were made to the piece, in what sounds like a desperate attempt to keep it from foundering: popular divertissements are retained, with sections around them scrapped or rearranged, evidently to suit audience preferences.¹²

And of course there are works, such as the *Ballet des Fragments*, that were made up entirely of—well—fragments of other pieces. The *Ballet des Fragments* includes: the “Bergerie” section from the *Ballet des Muses*; the pastoral menuet “Ah! qu’il fait beau” from *le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*; another menuet from the *Ballet de Flore*; shepherdess songs from *la Princesse d’Élide* and *la Fête de Versaille*; an “Air des Bergers” from *la Mascarade de Versailles*; and other pieces.¹³ Another piece of this type is *Télémaque*, which is constructed from works by Campra, Colasse, Charpentier, Desmarets, and Marais, including sections for shepherds and shepherdesses in both the prologue and the main piece.¹⁴

It should be clear, then, that finding the musical source for a notated dance does not necessarily guarantee us any information about the context in which the dance was used.

Having listed at least some of the potential pitfalls, let me turn to specific examples of notated dances with possible connections to shepherds or shepherdesses (Table 2).

2.2 *Ulysse*

The notations for dances nos. 1 and 2, Table 2, indicate that they were danced by Dumoulin l’ainé—that is, Henri Dumoulin—and Mlle Dangeville in the opera *Ulysse*.¹⁵ This is plausible. *Ulysse* premiered in January, 1703, during the time that Feuillet was preparing notations for the 1704 publication in which these dances appear.¹⁶ There was no revival of the work.

Parfaict’s list of dancers in the prologue includes seven Faunes (Dumoulin le cadet — that is, Henri’s eldest half brother François — apparently as soloist, plus six others), Berger & Bergère (Dumoulin L[’ainé] and Mlle Dangeville), and seven nymphes (Table 3).¹⁷

The same two dancers are listed in the notation and in Parfaict’s cast list, and they are the only two Berger/Bergère dancers in the entire piece. So here’s a case where the choreography may closely reflect what happened on stage. [SHOW VIDEO CLIP]

Music for these two dances is found in the Prologue, within a divertissement for nymphs, shepherds, and shepherdesses.¹⁸ The order of the divertissement is shown in Table 4.

The divertissement opens with an instrumental rondeau, the music for dance no. 1. Then follows a vocal solo, also a triple-meter rondeau, the gist of which is “What could be better than falling in love while we’re young enough to enjoy it?” Then comes a bourrée, the music for dance no. 2, followed by a vocal duo, encouraging those who fear Love to come to “these charming groves”, where Love is sweeter than in palaces. The divertissement concludes with two passepièds and a chorus. Assuming that Dumoulin and Dangeville had danced the rondeau and bourrée, the passepièds would be the only possible dance for the seven nymphs listed by Parfaict. Given the

text, they might well have been joined by the faunes — who might have already danced a “marche pour les faunes”. Dumoulin and Dangeville might also have joined in the passepieds, to make eight couples rather than seven.

2.3 *Sémélé*

The notated dances from *Sémélé* (dances nos 3 and 4, Table 2) offer more of a puzzle as to their context than do those from *Ulysse*. *Sémélé* premiered on April 9, 1709; there was no revival, so the notated dances presumably derive from this 1709 production.¹⁹ Act IV includes a pastoral divertissement, conjured by Mercury to help Jupiter show *Sémélé* what love can be. Shepherds and shepherdesses sing about charming retreats, young beauties, and sweet musettes; following a dance, a shepherdess sings “here everyone undertakes never to change; there are no fickle beauties, no indiscreet shepherds”.²⁰ (We note the irony, given Jupiter’s reputation and what we know is going to happen to *Sémélé*. To his credit, Jupiter does rescue her at the end of the opera.) The scene closes with a chorus “Profit, lovers, from these happy moments”.²¹

Clearly, this divertissement would have been an appropriate place for these dances, a musette in 6/8 and a duple-meter branle. But music for them is not found in published scores for the opera.²² Given the evidence for last-minute adjustments to productions at the Opéra, this isn’t too surprising; but it means that it is impossible to place the dances within the sequence of music or even to be absolutely certain of the scene they would have occurred in.

Parfaict’s cast list offers a further puzzle. His list of dancers for Act IV (the only act in which shepherds, pastres, or peasants appear) is shown in Table 5. D. Dumoulin and Mlle Guyot are listed as a couple, so it is plausible that they would have danced the musette as a duo, as stated on the notation. It seems atypical of Parfaict to give two separate listings for bergers and bergères, as he does here; perhaps this extra listing is a further indication that dances for Dumoulin and Guyot were added to the original production.

But whereas the notation for the musette (dance 3 of Table 2) lists Dumoulin and Guyot as berger and bergère, the notation for the branle (dance 4) lists them as pastre and pastourelle. It seems improbable that they would have appeared as pastre and pastourelle as well as shepherd and shepherdess in the same production, let alone in the same scene. So we must ask: is the branle actually a dance for a pastre and pastourelle, as Gaudrau indicates, or is it instead another shepherd and shepherdess dance, mislabelled? As we’ll see, it has some steps and figures in common with shepherd and shepherdess dances, but other steps that seem closer to a peasant character.

Perhaps Gaudrau got the label wrong. Or perhaps the production changed along the way, with one dance for Dumoulin and Guyot replaced by another of different character. Or perhaps both dances *were* used in the same production, with Dumoulin and Guyot dancing the musette and other dancers performing the branle, either as a duo for two of the named pastres and pastourelles, or possibly in a version for all three couples. Or perhaps Dumoulin and Guyot’s star status allowed them to transcend any well-defined character, and to dance both the “shepherdlike” musette and the more rustic branle in the same production, for audiences who didn’t really worry about exactly what characters the dancers were meant to represent.

2.4 *Méléagre*

The notation for dance no. 5, to music from *Méléagre*, indicates that it too was danced by D. Dumoulin and Mlle Guyot. Their characters aren't specified. The music appears in Act II, sc. 7 of the score, labelled "bourree" (though arguably it's more of a rigaudon).²³ The sequence of the divertissement is shown in Table 6.

The score lists only "Caledonians" as being present for this scene, but Parfaict's cast list for the Act II divertissement gives "Peuples" and "Bergers, Bergeres" (see Table 7). The libretto confirms that the Act II divertissement includes "Troupes de Bergers & de Bergeres". Given the text about sweet pleasures, it makes sense that there would be dancing shepherds and shepherdesses in the scene.

Mlle Guyot's name appears on a line by itself, suggesting that she was a soloist. D. Dumoulin does not appear at all in the list for Act II. He was involved in the production, though: Parfaict lists him as one of three Eumenides in Act IV (danced by three Dumoulin brothers, François, Pierre, & David). It's plausible that Dumoulin joined Guyot for this scene, at least in some performances, and that the notated dance does derive from their performances together.

Méléagre premiered in May, 1709; according to Parfaict, it met with only modest success.²⁴ The published libretto outlines significant changes that were made in an effort to improve the piece, but Parfaict says that only the Prologue was considered worthy of a reprise. (As it happens, this prologue includes a plug for French pastoral music: in a dispute between Italy and France about the relative merits of their nations' music, France sings, "Lovable little songs, calm the cares of unhappy lovers; without you, without tender musettes, what would become of shepherds in love?"²⁵)

2.5 *Philomèle*

The story of *Philomèle* is a bit of a stretch for the world of carefree, innocent shepherds and shepherdesses in love. Nevertheless, in the prologue to *Philomèle*, shepherds and shepherdesses join Venus — weary of relentless wars — in praise of untroubled love. They gather and, hearing a nightingale sing, invoke the story of *Philomèle*: "How sweet are her moans! they charm everyone who breathes; in Love's empire, everything pleases, even the laments of those in love."¹

The structure of the divertissement in the Prologue, scene 4 (from the 1705 score), is shown in Table 8.²⁶ Danced pieces in the divertissement would include the triple-meter Air and its reprise; the Passepied; and the Gigue and its reprise. Since the singing characters are shepherds and shepherdesses, we might expect that the dancers would be, too.

Philomèle premiered on October 20, 1705, and Parfaict's cast list for that production confirms the presence of dancing shepherds and shepherdesses (four of each), as well as five dancing warriors who would have danced earlier in the prologue (see Table 9).²⁷ The cast list for the reprise of October 8, 1709, also lists dancing shepherds, shepherdesses, and warriors in the prologue. But there are also other dancing characters: listed as the "Suite de Venus" are not only the Bergers & Bergeres, but also four Amours, a solo Pastre, and, at the top of the list—drumroll, please—D. Dumoulin and Mlle Guyot (see Table 10).²⁸

¹*Recueil général des opera*, vol. 9: "Qu'ils sont doux ses gemissements!/ Ils charment tout ce qui respire;/ Tout plaît dans l'amoureux empire,/ Jusques aux plaintes des Amants."

The notations for dances nos. 6 and 7 indicate that they were danced by D. Dumoulin and Mlle Guyot, with character unspecified. It appears that these dances derive from the 1709 production. The music for dance no. 6 is the Gigue from the Prologue, scene 4, listed in Table 8. Here, then, is an instance where dance music originally intended for shepherds and shepherdesses was subsequently used for followers of Venus. Is there any practical choreographic difference? Could the choreography have been reused as well? Would it have been? My guesses are no, yes, and maybe; for now, I can offer little more.

The music for dance no. 7 is not in the 1705 score. Presumably it was interpolated in the 1709 production, to extend the divertissement and display at greater length the talents of Dumoulin and Guyot.²⁹

2.6 *Thésée*

In *Thésée*, Act IV, Medea conjures an enchanted isle and its inhabitants, who form the divertissement that ends the act. By the 1707 revival, the divertissement also includes bergers and bergères. The structure of the divertissement is shown in Table 11.³⁰

The second instrumental air (for the text “Aimons...”) is the music used for both dances nos. 8 and 9. Rebecca Harris-Warrick has discussed the contexts for these dances in some detail, in her article “Contexts for Choreographies: Notated Dances Set to the Music of Jean-Baptiste Lully”.³¹ Allow me to repeat some what she says: The notation for dance no. 8, published in 1704, indicates that it was danced by Balon and Subligny. The 1698 revival, for which no list of dancers survives, is the only one in which they could both have appeared. It is reasonable to assume that the notation published in 1704 derives from this 1698 revival. Whether or not Balon and Subligny were cast specifically as shepherd and shepherdess, rather than merely as (generic) inhabitants of the enchanted isle, the dance is clearly associated with shepherds and shepherdesses: the libretto indicates that the dance music is to be played by pastoral instruments (“des instruments champestres”; the score indicates “flutes”), and bergères then sing to the same tune.³²

The notation for dance no. 9, published ca. 1713, also indicates Balon and Subligny as dancers. It may be that it, too, dates from the 1698 production, and that it was even used along with the 1704 dance (since the structure of the divertissement could allow for the dance music to be repeated, if it’s played in alternation with the two verses of the song). Or it may be that this dance derives from the 1707 production, in which Balon danced in the Act IV divertissement as a berger, but with Prevost rather than Subligny as his partner.

Perhaps it was used in both productions, danced by Balon and Subligny in 1698 and then by Balon and Prevost in 1707. That would explain how Gaudrau could have come to include a dance from 1698 in his collection, though it wouldn’t explain his choice to name Subligny rather than Prevost as Balon’s partner.³³

2.7 *Callirhoé*

Callirhoé was first performed on December 27, 1712.³⁴ Act IV is set in a location “bordered with flowered knolls”, and according to the libretto the divertissement in scene 4 includes dancers in the roles of “Bergers et Bergeres, Deux Pastres, and Bergeres et Pastourelles”.³⁵ This doesn’t exactly agree with Parfaict, who lists only female characters (Table 12). Parfaict includes Mlles Prevost & Guyot at the top of the list, as Bergères. It’s reasonable to suppose that they danced the musette

together, as the notation indicates. (In his brief summary of *Callirhoè*, Maupoint points to the musette as “a very pretty bit of music”.³⁶) [SHOW VIDEO CLIP]

2.8 *Issé*

A five-act version of the heroic pastoral *Issè* was presented in 1708, premiering on October 14.³⁷ The Act I divertissement includes an entertainment organized by the shepherd Hylas that includes his followers representing Nereides and Nymphs of Diana, led by Cupid and Pleasures. The cast lists from the 1708 libretto and Parfaict differ, but both list Mlles Prevost & Guyot as “chasseuses”—that is, huntresses, followers of Diana (see Tables 13 and 14).³⁸ In other words, Prevost & Guyot are meant to be shepherdesses playing the part of huntresses. Should we consider their dance a shepherdess dance, or a huntress dance? Certainly we should be cautious in categorizing it.

2.9 *Pécour’s Musette*

I’ve included one other dance in Table 2, a ballroom dance by Pécour titled “La Musette.” Musically it is indeed a musette, or rather a pair of them, the first in G major and the second in g minor. The music is from *Les Festes Grecques et Romaines*, and is labelled “musette 1 & 2” in the score.³⁹ “La Musette” was published in 1724, the year after *Les Festes Grecques et Romaines* was first performed. Given the strong evidence that ballroom dances sometimes derived from stage dances,⁴⁰ it seems worth examining “La Musette” for possible connections to onstage shepherds.

3. Choreographic features of shepherd dances

Having developed the list of dances in Table 2, let’s take a brief look at them to see whether there are any steps, figures, or other choreographic features that can be identified with shepherd dances. We notice, for example, that both theatrical musettes (dances 3 and 11 in Table 2) begin with the same step, a repeated bend and rise while turning the body slightly. [DEMO] This step is repeated later on in the musette from *Callirhoé* (measures 1 and 3 on page 59).⁴¹ A similar bend-rise step occurs in the branle from *Sémélé* (dance 4, measures 5–6 on page 30), which musically is also a musette.⁴² If Gaudrau’s indication is correct that the dance is for pastre and pastourelle, then this rather distinctive step may not be unique shepherd dances.

The *Sémélé* branle has other somewhat atypical steps in common with the *Callirhoé* musette, such as a chassé ending with the other leg in the air, across the support leg, followed by two steps to the side.⁴³ [DEMO] But it also has steps like some found in dances for pastre and pastourelle, such as the hop, leap side, assemblé sequence that occurs twice (measures 1–2 of page 29, and measures 3–4 of page 30, just prior to the bend-rise step mentioned above).⁴⁴ [DEMO] In the gigue from *Philomèle*, for “followers of Venus”, we find the same sequence: hop, leap, assemblé (dance 7, measures 18–19 of page 16). In each of these steps or sequences, the notation shows one leg raised and crossed in front of the other. Possibly this sort of gesture is used to signify a pastoral character, whether galant or rustic.

Though it doesn’t include the bend-rise step discussed above, the ballroom dance “La Musette” has many—indeed, most—steps or sequences in common with the musettes and other dances in

Table 2. But these steps are not unique to shepherd dances; they might be found in other ballroom dances of very different character or musical type.

Many of the dances in Table 2 include sequences in which the dancers turn while circling one another [DEMO], or passing one another along a straight path. But so do other, non-shepherd, dances by Pécour from this period; there is nothing necessarily shepherdlike about such sequences.

Nor does there appear to be any typical approach to spatial symmetry in shepherd dances. For example, the two dances from *Thésée* (dances 8 and 9) offer very different approaches to symmetry. Dance 8 (1704) includes lengthy sections of axial symmetry; dance 9 (ca. 1713) is only three measures shy of being entirely in mirror symmetry.

We do find some interesting asymmetries in the Table 2 dances. For example, there's a sort of "partial question-and-answer" sequence in the *Sémélé* musette (dance 3, measures 1–2 of page 26). And there are some moments that may or may not be errors in notation: an awkward change of symmetry on the woman's side at the end of that musette, and a three-measure symmetry switch in the ca. 1713 "Aimons", from mirror to axial symmetry and back again (dance 9, measures 1–3 of page 3) that clearly begins with the woman on the wrong foot. But such irregularities are found in many notated dances. More interesting, perhaps, is the opening figure of the *Ulysse* bourrée, in which the dancers alternate between mirror symmetry and an axial-symmetrical figure circling around one another, though on opposite feet. But we find a similar approach—dancers on opposite feet while circling around one another—in other dances, for example, "La Mariée" (page 14) and "La Bourgogne" (page 47).⁴⁵

In the shepherd dances in Table 2, we also notice figures in which one dancer goes around the other, for example in the *Sémélé* branle (dance no. 4, measures 7–9 of page 32), and in the closing of the musette from *Callirhoé* (dance 11, measures 5–6 of page 60). [VIDEO CLIPS?] But we find similar circling figures in other dances of the period, such as the ballroom dance "la Forlane", the menuet from *Omphale*, and the passacaille from *Persée*.⁴⁶ [VIDEO CLIP]

In fact, the *Persée* passacaille and "jeux junoniens" dances have many steps and sequences in common with the *Ulysse* shepherd dances.⁴⁷ There's a sequence in the rondeau from *Ulysse* (middle playing of refrain) that could have been concocted by cut-and-paste from the passacaille of *Persée*: the floor pattern and opening steps recall the opening of the passacaille, and the other steps are used in the second figure. [DEMO] Measures 4–11, page 147, of the bourrée from *Ulysse* suggests a reordered version of a passage in the *Persée* triple-meter "jeux junoniens" dance (measures 2–9, page 95). More generally: the choreographic similarities seen in Pécour's couple dances from Feuillet's 1704 collection, and in those from Gaudrau's ca. 1713 collection, by and large outweigh differences that would distinguish one character from another.

This shouldn't really be so surprising. Like the dances for shepherd and shepherdesses, or even the dances for two shepherdesses, many of these duos are meant to convey, albeit abstractly, the pleasures of Love. So we might expect that shared features of shepherd dances would also be seen, for example, in dances for Pleasures (such as the sarabande from *Tancredi*), or for affianced or married couples (as in dances from *Persée*, and the ballroom dance "la Mariée").⁴⁸

Perhaps we grant Pécour too much, in seeking a specialized approach to onstage shepherd dances. Maybe he was simply cranking out dances, using and reusing steps from other dances as determined by their suitability for the music, nothing more. Recall the moment in *le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* when M. Jourdain asks his dancing master about the dance that's about to be presented: "Is it yet more shepherds?" The dancing master replies: "It is whatever you please." Ann Witherell has suggested that Pécour's ballroom dances published in 1700 could almost have been

generated by some random process that chose step sequences from a very limited set of possibilities; perhaps we could say the same about his theatre dances⁴⁹

Or it may be that Pécour's extant shepherd dances reflect not so much his range as a choreographer, as the preferences and abilities of the dancers represented by the notations. Evidently, the notations published by Feuillet and Gaudrau represent performances of only a very few dancers. The Dumoulin brothers were noted for their performances of pastoral characters; perhaps Pécour built dances to suit their skills, leaving it to them to supply the character.

4. Conclusion

What can we conclude, then, about the characteristics of onstage French shepherd dances in the early eighteenth century? Regrettably, not very much. There do not appear to be any hard and fast rules for deciding whether a given dance is a shepherd dance.

Music can be suggestive, but not wholly indicative of a dance's character. We have seen examples (the *Philomèle* dances, nos. 6 and 7) of dances to music that was originally used for shepherds and shepherdesses, then reused for other characters. The fact that the branle from *Sémélé* is also a musette may or may not be significant in determining whether it truly is for *pastre* and *pastourelle* rather than for shepherd and shepherdess.

Steps and step sequences can hint at the character of a dance. We have identified one step, the bend and rise while gradually turning, that seems strongly associated with musettes. But steps that may at first appear typical of shepherd dances are found in dances for other characters as well. There is no certain clue that would distinguish, for example, a shepherd dance from a dance for pleasures, *ris*, *jeux*, or even *pastre* and *pastourelle*.

Indications on notations as to the character of the dancers appear trustworthy at least some of the time, but questions and gaps remain. Only sometimes are we able to confirm, through cast lists and other circumstantial evidence, that the notations' attributions to specific dancers are plausible. We have seen how productions of the same work might differ from one another, and how a given production might be altered during the run to account for audience taste.

In some instances, the presence of star performers may have outweighed the importance of any particular character for a given dance. Clearly, shepherd dances were popular with audiences; but just as clearly, so were the performers who danced them, and at some level it may not have mattered what costume those performers wore, or what character they were alleged to represent.

We return to M. Jourdain. Is it a shepherd dance? It is whatever you please. And yet somehow that answer isn't sufficient. Neither music, nor steps, nor figures, nor the names of characters attached to a dance can determine with certainty whether or not we should class it as a shepherd dance. But all these elements, taken in combination, can—and did—serve to evoke the happy innocence of the onstage shepherds and shepherdesses who were so popular in early-eighteenth-century France.

Table 1: Examples of characters in disguise, or playing other roles

Work (with year of first performance)	Characters in disguise
Télémaque (1704)	Furies disguised as shepherds and shepherdesses
Issé (1708) ^a	Shepherdesses in the role of huntresses
Les Festes Vénitiennes (1710)	Masques disguised as peasants
Les Festes Vénitiennes (4e entrée ajoutée) (1710)	Opera dancers playing roles of shepherds and shepherdesses
Thésée (1675)	Visions conjured by Medea, representing shepherds and shepherdesses, inhabitants of an enchanted isle
Manto la Fée (1711)	Spirits of the air in the form of shepherds and shepherdesses
Les amours de [Mars et de] Vénus (1712)	Dreams disguised as shepherds and shepherdesses

^aA three-act version of Issé premiered in 1697.

Table 2: Some dances with possible connection to shepherds and shepherdesses ^a

	LMC# ^b	Title	Dancers (according to notation)	Musical source	Possible year and role, according to cast lists
1.	4300	Entrée pour un Berger et une Bergere	Mr Dumoulin l'ainé, Mlle Danjeville	Ulysse	1703: Berger & Bergère
2.	4320	2e. Entrée	Mr Dumoulin l'ainé, Mlle Danjeville	Ulysse	1703: Berger & Bergère
3.	4340	Entrée pour un Berger et une Bergere	Mr D. Dumoulin, Mlle Guiot	Sémélé	1709: Berger & Bergère
4.	4080	Entrée d'un pastre et d'une pastourelle	Mr D. Dumoulin, Mlle Guiot	Sémélé	1709: Berger & Bergère
5.	4380	Entrée...	Mr D. Dumoulin, Mlle Guiot	Méléagre	1709: [not listed] & Bergère
6.	4460	Entrée...	Mr D. Dumoulin, Mlle Guiot	Philomèle	1709: Suite de Vénus
7.	4420	Gigue a Deux	Mr D. Dumoulin, Mlle Guiot	Philomèle	1709: Suite de Vénus
8.	2680	Entrée...	Mr Balon, Mlle Subligny	Thesée	1698?: [not listed]
9.	4440	Entrée...	Mr Balon, Mlle Subligny	Thesée	1698?: [not listed], or 1707: Berger & [not listed] (Prevost listed as Balon's partner [Bergère])
10.	2820	Entrée...	Mlle Provost, Mlle Guiot	Issé	1708: Chasseuses (bergères in the character of huntresses)
11.	6160	La muszette a deux	Mlle Provost, Mlle Guiot	Callirhoé	1712: Bergères
12.	6140	La Musette	(ballroom dance)	Les Festes Grecques et Romaines	—

^aAll of these dances are by Pécour. Dances 1 and 2 are from Feuillet, *Recueil de dances*; dances 3–11 are from Michel Gaudrau, *Nouveau recüeil de dance de bal et celle de ballet contenant un tres grand nombres des meilleures entrées de ballet de Monsieur Pecour...* (Paris: [ca. 1713]); dance 12 is from Dezais, *XXII. Recüeil de Danses pour l'Année 1712...* (Paris, 1724).

^bLMC numbers refer to entries in the Little and Marsh catalogue, *La Danse Noble*, which provides details about the dance notations.

Table 3: Excerpt from *Ulysse* cast list

BALLET. Faunes.
Le Sieur Dumoulin C.
Les Sieurs Ferrand, Blondy, Levesque,
Dangeville, Brinqueman & Fauveau.
Berger & Bergere.
Le Sieur Dumoulin L. & Mlle Dangeville.
Nymphes.
Mlles Victoire, Rose, Desmatins, La Ferriere
& Guillet.
Le petit La Selle & la petite Prevost.

Table 4: *Ulysse*: Prologue divertissement

- Rondeau in 3
- Une Nymph: “Peut-on mieux faire/Que de s’enflamer?”
- Bourrée
- Deux Bergeres: “Vous, qui craignez ses traits,/Venez...”
- Premier passepied
- Second passepied (hautbois)

Table 5: Excerpt from *Sémélé* cast list

Bergers, Bergeres
Les Sieurs Dangeville, Pecourt & François
Mlle Prevost
Mlles Douville, Mens & Carré
Pastres
Les Sieurs Dangeville, Pierret & Du Breuil
Pastourelles
Mlles Le Maire, Dufresne & Mangot
Berger & Bergere
Le Sieur D. Dumoulin & Mlle Guyot
...
Un Paysan
Le Sieur F. Dumoulin

Table 6: *Méléagre*: Act II divertissement

- “Formez les plus charmants concerts,/ Chantez de ce Héros la valeur triomphante...”
- Gigue
- Air “Doux plaisirs...”
- Bourree
- Air “Revenez doux plaisirs...”
- Passepieds 1 & 2

Table 7: Excerpt from *Méléagre* cast list

Peuples
Les Sieurs Germain, Dumoulin L, Marcel L,
& Javillier
Mlles Chaillou, Milot, Du Fresne & Mangot
Bergers, Bergeres
Les Sieurs Dangeville L, Pecourt & François
Mlle Guyot
Mlles Le Maire, Menes & Rochecourt.

Table 8: *Philomèle*: Prologue divertissement

Air (en rondeau) in 3
Un Berger: “Aymons tous, aymons sans allarmes...” (same tune as rondeau)
Passepied in 3/8
Une Bergere: “L’Amour veut vous engager” [menuet]
reprise of Air
—
Gigue in 6/8
dialogue Berger/Bergere: “écoûtez les Oyseaux dans la saison nouvelle”
[score includes line for “une flute allemande seule”]
duet: “Que l’amoureuse Philomele”
reprise of Gigue
—
Chorus in 3: “Aimons, aimons...”
reprise of Overture

Table 12: Excerpt from *Callirhoè* cast list of 1712

...
Bergères. Mlles Prevost & Guyot,
Mlles Le Maire, Haran, Ramau & Fleury.
Pastourelles. Mlles Menès & Hecq

Table 13: Excerpt from *Issè* cast list of 1708, from libretto

PRÉMIER ACTE.
PLAISIRS.
Messieurs Germain, Dumoulin-L., F-Dumoulin, Ferand,
& Blondy.
CHASSEUSES.
Mesdemoiselles Prevost, & Guyot
NYMPHES.
Mesdemoiselles Douville, Menés, & Caré-C.

Table 14: Excerpt from *Issè* cast list of 1708, from Parfaict

ACTE I. *Un Plaisir.* Le Sieur Blondy.
 Chasseuses. Mlles Prevost & Guyot

Notes

¹This paper is closely based on material I presented at the Interdisciplinary Symposium “Dance and the Pastoral”, April 20, 2005, New College, Oxford. Jennifer Thorp and Linda Tomko also presented papers, and the three of us offered an informal performance of some of the dances we discussed. I am grateful to them both for a fruitful exchange of ideas and dances, and to symposium participants for their useful feedback.

A slightly different version of this paper, with links to notations and video clips, is planned. Please see <http://web.mit.edu/kpierce/www/sdhs2005>.

²*Recueil général des opera representez par l'académie royale de musique depuis son établissement* (volumes 6–10). Paris: C. Ballard, 1703-1745. The tally includes other characters in the role of shepherds and shepherdesses, but does not include shepherds and shepherdesses in other roles. Neither does it include roles for other characters who might be found with shepherds and shepherdesses, such as peasants or pastres and pastourelles.

³See, for example, *Ulysse*, prologue: “L’Amour dans vos Palais/Vous fait sentir ses ravages;/Il ne peut y vivre en paix:/Ses rigeurs, /Ses douleurs/ Y seront vôtre partage:/Ses douceurs, /Ses faveurs/Préviennent icy nos cœurs.” *Recueil général des opera*, vol. 8.

⁴“On a suivez les idées ordinaires qu’on a du genie de leurs [les 4 nations] Peuples. Le François est peint volage, indiscret & coquet...” *Recueil général des opera*, vol. 6.

⁵Raoul-Anger Feuillet, *Recueil de dances...de Monsieur Pecour* (Paris: 1704), 139–143.

⁶Rebecca Harris-Warrick, “Contexts for Choreographies: notated dances set to the music of Jean-Baptiste Lully,” in *Jean-Baptiste Lully: actes du colloque...1987*, ed. Jerome de la Gorce and Herbert Schneider (Heidelberg: Laaber, 1990), 433-455. Jean-Noël Laurenti, “Les structures de distribution dans les danses de théâtre à travers les recueils de Feuillet 1704 et Gaudrau,” in *Tanz und Bewegung in der Barocken Oper*, ed. Sibylle Dahms and Stephanie Schroedter (Innsbruck and Vienna: StudienVerlag, 1994), 45–65.

⁷Meredith Ellis Little and Carol G. Marsh, *La Danse Noble: An inventory of dances and sources* (Williamstown: Broude Brothers Limited, 1992), 162.

⁸*Dictionnaire de L’Académie française* (1st edition), Paris: J.B. Coignard, 1694.

⁹Francine Lancelot, *La Belle Dance* (Paris: Van Dieren, 1996).

¹⁰Louis de Lacoste and P. C. Roy, *Philomèle* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1705), final page: “On a retranché plusieurs morceaux dans cette Pièce, pour n’en point rendre l’execution trop longue sur le Théâtre. Neanmoins on a crû non-seulement ne devoir point les supprimer dans l’Impression de la Musique, mais encore qu’il étoit necessaire de les indiquer dans l’order qui suit.”

¹¹*Recueil général des opera*, vol. 10.

¹²*Recueil général des opera*, vol. 10.

¹³*Recueil général des opera*, vol. 7, and *Fragments de Monsieur de Lully* [score] (Paris: C. Ballard, 1702).

¹⁴*Recueil général des opera...*, vol. 8.

¹⁵There were four dancing Dumoulin brothers. Henri, “l’aîné”, was half brother to the other three: François, “le cadet”; Pierre; and David, called “le Diable”. David first appeared at the Opéra in 1705. See Régine Astier, “Dumoulin Brothers”, in Selma Jeanne Cohen et al., eds., *International Encyclopedia of Dance* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 2:451.

¹⁶Claude and François Parfaict, *Dictionnaire des theatres de Paris* (Paris: Rozet, 1767), 6:250-251 gives the premiere as Jan. 21, 1703; A. de Leris, *Dictionnaire portatif historique et littéraire des théâtres* (Paris: Jombert, 1763) gives Jan. 23, 1703.

¹⁷Except as indicated, cast lists shown in Tables are from Parfaict, *Dictionnaire*.

¹⁸*Recueil général des opera*, vol. 8.

¹⁹Parfaict, *Dictionnaire*, and Leris, *Dictionnaire* give the performance history.

²⁰*Recueil général des opera*, vol. 9: “Icy chacun s’engage/pour ne jamais changer./Point de Beauté volage,/n’y d’indiscret Berger.”

²¹“Profitez Amants,/De ces heureux moments...”

²²*La Belle Dance*, 142. Little and Marsh, *La Danse Noble*, give *Sémélé* as the music source, but Carol Marsh (personal communication) does not believe that she or Meredith Little actually saw a score containing the dance music. Music for the musette is found in Marin Marais, *Pièces de violes*, book 3 (Paris, 1711); music for the duple-meter branle is known only from the dance notation.

²³Jean-Baptiste Stuck and M. Jolly, *Méléagre* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1709), 185-186.

²⁴Parfaict, *Dictionnaire*, 3:375: “Comme cette pièce n’eut qu’un médiocre succès, les Auteurs crurent devoir y faire quelques changemens & des corrections, & c’est ainsi qu’elle est imprimée: cependant on n’a point jugé à propos de la remettre au Théâtre, à l’exception du Prologue, qui servit en 1726 au Ballet *Sans titre*.”

²⁵“Calmez, aimable Chansonnettes,/Les soins des Amants malheureux;/Sans vous, sans les tendres Musettes,/Que deviendroient les Bergers amoureux?”

²⁶A touching aside: the copy of the score in the Boston Public Library bears the dedication “a madame Prevost” on the title page.

²⁷Parfaict, *Dictionnaire*, 4:129.

²⁸Parfaict, *Dictionnaire*, 4:131.

²⁹Francine Lancelot (*La Belle Danse*, 137) suggests that the music for one of the dances in the published score might somehow be related to music in the notated dance. This seems a stretch.

³⁰*Thésée* [libretto] (Paris: C. Ballard, 1675) and *Thésée* [score] (Paris: C. Ballard, 1688).

³¹Harris-Warrick, “Contexts...”

³²“Les habitans de l’isle Enchantée dançent sur l’ air de la chanson des bergeres, qui est jotié par des instruments champêtres.”

³³Still uncertain is what Gaudrau used as the source for his notation. If it was a manuscript notation, and if in this case Pécour re-used a choreography, then perhaps Gaudrau’s source had Subligny’s name on it. But this is all highly speculative.

³⁴It was revived in 1732. Parfaict, *Dictionnaire*, 2:13.

³⁵*Recueil général des opera*, vol. 10.

³⁶Maupoint, Bibliothèque des théâtres (Paris: Prault, 1733), page 62: “...Cet Opera fut goûté & sa musette est un fort joli morceau de musique.”

³⁷*Issé* was first performed on December 17, 1697, for the wedding of the Duc and Duchesse de Bourgogne, in a three-act version that was then offered in Paris the following year.

³⁸de la Motte, *Issé, Pastorale Heroique* [libretto] (Paris: C. Ballard, 1708), xv; Parfaict, *Dictionnaire*, 3:220. The cast list for 1708 also shows Mlle Guyot as a solo Bergère in Act II. Parfaict, *Dictionnaire*, 3:218-219.

³⁹Lancelot, *La Belle Danse*, 222. On the notation the music is labelled “premier Rigaudon” and “2e Rigaudon”.

⁴⁰Rebecca Harris-Warrick, “*La Mariée*: the history of a French court dance”, in John Hajdu Heyer (ed.), *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the Music of the French Baroque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 239–257.

⁴¹See Margaret Daniels, “Musette”, in Selma Jeanne Cohen et al., eds., *International Encyclopedia of Dance* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 4:481–482. Thanks to Jennifer Thorp for pointing out that P. Siris’s “The Diana” (LMC #2480)—also a musette—and Isaac’s “The Pastorale” (LMC #6740) include steps similar to this one.

⁴²Roger Hamilton, harpsichordist, pointed this out at the Oxford symposium (see note 1).

⁴³Measure 9, page 28 of the *Sémélé* branle; measures 1–2, page 58 of the *Callirhoé* musette.

⁴⁴A similar step—leap side, leap side, assemblé—is found, for example, in the “pastre et pastourelle” dance to music from *les Festes Vénitiennes*, LMC #4020; measures 9–10 of page 21.

⁴⁵LMC nos. 5360, 1560

⁴⁶LMC nos. 4800, 4400, 6500.

⁴⁷LMC nos. 6500, 4480, 3080.

⁴⁸LMC nos. 7680 (*Tancredè*); 3080, 4480, 6500 (*Persée*); 5360 (“la Mariée”).

⁴⁹Ann L. Witherell, *Louis Pécour’s 1700 Recueil de dances* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 153–154.