

We Are Living in a Patriarchal World and I Am an Archetypal Girl:
A Jungian Analysis of Hector Berlioz's *Les Troyens*

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A thesis submitted to the Moores School of Music, Kathrine G. McGovern College of the
Arts
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Music

in Musicology

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University of Houston
August 2020

DEDICATION

Dedicated to my grandmother, Abbie Claxton.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Bertagnolli for his guidance, edits, and patience during my thesis process. I would also like to express gratitude to my committee members, Dr. Turner and Dr. Behr, for their edits and support. Many thanks to the library staff for assistance, especially during the pandemic shutdown. I would like to also thank Stacia Morgan Dunn for her assistance throughout my graduate program. Finally, I am eternally grateful to my friends, family, and colleagues who listened to my theories, gave advice, and supported my thesis writing adventure.

ABSTRACT

Cultural archetypes embody ideas, characters, and stories, which societies use to define women and assign their gender roles accordingly. The same occurs in operas. When a composer also writes the libretto, their decision about archetypal representation of their characters and musical support can reveal aspects about their own personality and opinions. Utilizing the archetypal theory of Carl Jung as a critical framework, this thesis argues that the characters in Hector Berlioz's opera, *Les Troyens* (1858), portray gendered archetypes, that musical topics support these archetypes, and that they ultimately reinforce Aeneas's destiny in a patriarchal, imperial society due to Berlioz acting as composer and librettist. An examination of his autobiography, *Memoires*, provides the reasoning behind his interpretation of these characters. Three aspects of Berlioz's biographical experiences influenced *Les Troyens*: his relationships with women, his need to shape the narrative of his artistic career, and his interest in Napoleon III's imperialist politics.

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Introduction

Hector Berlioz composed his five-act French grand opera, *Les Troyens* (1858), based on Books I, II, and IV of Virgil's epic, the *Aeneid*. What began as a Latin translation exercise became an emotional touchstone, which is evident in his description of Dido's fate in his *Memoires*, and a life-long devotion to Virgil. This opera served as the culmination of his artistic endeavor of the synthesizing of his three passions: Shakespeare, Virgil, and music. He wrote the libretto himself, structuring the opera after Shakespearean historical plays by including scenes rather than music numbers alone and including elements of the Shakespearean tragedy. His libretto closely followed the epic, though he altered some aspects with borrowings from other operas and Shakespearean works.

Berlioz's *Les Troyens* retells the myth of the destruction of the ancient city of Troy and the relationship that the Trojan hero Aeneas develops with Queen Dido of Carthage while on his way to found Rome. The opera features two protagonists: Cassandra and Dido. Berlioz expands Cassandra's role from the epic to balance the two halves of the opera. Throughout the opera, the composer impresses upon the audience the ideas of fate and destiny in the creation of the Trojan imperial destiny of Rome.

Despite the beauty of the opera, Berlioz struggled to get it produced. He completed the opera in 1858 but did not secure an opera house until 1863. Léon Carvalho of the Théâtre-Lyrique produced a condensed version of the opera on November 4, 1863.¹ To the composer's despair, his opera received multiple cuts, including the entire

¹ Louise Goldberg, "Performance History and Critical Opinion," in *Hector Berlioz: Les Troyens*, ed. Ian Kemp (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 181.

first two acts, which a prologue replaced. More cuts occurred throughout the twenty-one performances. Berlioz never heard the full opera.

In 1890, the Großherzoglichen Hoftheater in Karlsruhe, Germany, produced both halves of the opera for the first time, but in German.² The twentieth century featured an increase in full performances. A performance of the opera sung in French occurred in 1906 in Brussels, though it, too, received some minor cuts. Productions of shortened versions began in Paris in 1921.³ The mid-twentieth century introduced serious performance standards with Rafael Kubelík's 1957 production at Covent Garden, which as Holoman asserts, led to a renewal of Berlioz research prior to the composer's centennial year.⁴ 1969 marked a turning point in performances of *Les Troyens* as that year featured the publication of a definitive score, a new production at Covent Garden, and a recording of the opera as part of a collection of Berlioz recordings conducted by Colin Davis.⁵ Since then, productions of *Les Troyens* have occurred across the globe and even appeared on national television.⁶

Academic publications from the mid-twentieth century forward began with a focus on the opera's history, music, and structure, and the literary relationship to Virgil. Later scholarship expanded these ideas to include politics, Berlioz's relationship with women, and modern performances. The majority of research on *Les Troyens* focuses on music theory analysis or comparisons between Berlioz and other composers.

Musicologist A.E.F. Dickinson, in a two-part article published in *Tempo* music journal in

² Goldberg, "Performance History and Critical Opinion," 182.

³ D. Kern Holoman, "Troyens, Les," in *Grove Music Online*, accessed 23 Apr. 2020. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.lib.uh.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-5000003352>.

⁴ Holoman, "Troyens, Les," n.p.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

1958 and 1959, states that *Les Troyens* was not only the epitome of Berlioz's compositions, but that his previous works advanced the skills he needed to compose such a massive work. He names Berlioz as Beethoven's successor due to his approach to musical structure and describes the musical structure of the opera in comparison to Wagner.⁷ Eric Hans Gräbner's 1967 dissertation, "Berlioz and the French Operatic Tradition," compares Berlioz's operatic practices to those of other French composers such as Lully, Rameau, and Gluck concerning subject matter and structure of the opera. Gräbner states that Berlioz followed in the French operatic tradition, which made his operatic decisions a contrast to many romantic-era operas. A collection of essays concerning *Les Troyens* was published in 1988 and edited by Ian Kemp. Written by various musicologists such as Julian Rushton, Hugh Macdonald, Louise Goldberg, and David Cairns, the essays covered the history, connections to Virgil and Shakespeare, relation to French grand opera traditions, performance history, and commentary and analysis of the finale of Act I and Dido's monologue and air.

Researchers frequently compare Berlioz's opera with Virgil's epic. A.E.F. Dickinson's article, "Music for the *Aeneid*," describes pieces inspired by the *Aeneid* and traces important moments in the music and libretto that shape selected works and their ability to recreate the Aeneas myth. Dickinson states that Berlioz's rejection of the leader-narrative (a narrator that tells the overall story) allows the characters to express their emotions while creating forward-moving action, bringing Virgil's work to life. Daniel Albright viewed the opera as a combination of the elements of a literary epic with stage spectacle in his 2009 essay, "*Les Troyens*: The Undoing of Opera." In "Translating

⁷ A.E.F. Dickinson, "Berlioz and 'The Trojans': I: Forward from Beethoven," *Tempo* 51, (Spring-Summer 1959): 26-27.

Classical Visions in Berlioz's *Les Troyens*," Emily Pillinger focuses on Berlioz's relationship with literature, how this shaped his libretto, and his use of "ivresse" and destiny as themes that occur throughout his libretto.

Since the 1990s, Berlioz scholars have explored outside influences on his works, including his political leanings and his relationship with women. Marianne McDonald's *Sing Sorrow: Classics, History, and Heroines in Opera* discusses the differences of characters in various operas compared to their literary counterparts and provides insight into the female characters in *Les Troyens* as well as trends throughout opera's existence. Beth Hart's 2003 article, "The Loves of Hector Berlioz, in His Life and in *Les Troyens*," uses excerpts from his *Memoires* and letters to provide examples of his devotion to the women in his life and how his relationships with them influenced his compositions. Though the author does not directly state she is using gender theories, she does reference Freudian theories such as the Oedipus complex and child development theories. By tracing his emotional response from the *Aeneid* through his loves and platonic relationships with women, Hart emphasizes the influence these women had on him and his compositional choices.

Berlioz's politics and those of nineteenth-century France influenced his compositions. Inge Van Rij's book, *The Other Worlds of Hector Berlioz: Travels with the Orchestra*, explores how the Second Empire (1852-1870) influenced *Les Troyens* with examples of imperialist symbolism and musical exoticism. Other works by Van Rij explore gender in his writings and compositions. "Berlioz: Reflections on a Nonpolitical Man" by Peter Bloom explores Berlioz's view of politics during the latter years of his life and his interactions with Napoleon III concerning the opera. William Fitzgerald's article,

“Fatalis Machina: Berlioz’s *Les Troyens*,” discusses the opera’s juxtaposition of the destruction of a city and the birth of a new one through the analysis of the libretto and music and its comparison to the epic. A chapter in Dane Thomas Stalcup’s dissertation, “Fragmented Totalities: The Autobiography of Composer Hector Berlioz,” examines the parallels between *Les Troyens* and Napoleon III’s empire. He explores the imperialism in the opera and also compares Berlioz to Dido and Napoleon III to Aeneas. Many scholars also base their theories about Berlioz’s use of imperial metaphors in *Les Troyens* from Edward Said’s lecture, “*Les Troyens* and the Obligation to Empire,” in which he asserts that Aeneas and the Trojans represent the Second Empire and Dido and the Carthaginians represent African countries that the French sought to colonize.

In contrast to the many and diverse preceding approaches, the contribution of this thesis lies in the use of Carl Jung’s archetypal theory to analyze the principal female characters of *Les Troyens*. Jung states that the unconscious consists of two parts: the personal and the collective.⁸ Archetypes reside in the collective because they are shaped by history and society. The collective society creates universal themes that go beyond the individual experience and appear in multiple cultures. Many archetypes exist, such as the hero or mother, but this thesis focuses on the anima and animus, caregiver, lover, ruler, and sage archetypes. Certain archetypes are inherently gendered, such as the caregiver, lover, or the innocent. Some, such as the hero, sage, and ruler archetypes, typically feature masculine characteristics. A character can embody a feminine or masculine archetype while his or her motivations or goals represent the opposite gendered characteristics. In Jungian psychotherapy, patients identify with archetypes to clarify

⁸ C.G. Jung, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, trans. R.F.C. Hull (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 3-4.

personal issues in their lives and mental health.⁹

Analyzing archetypes in a libretto based on literary myth may seem redundant since archetypes originate in myth. However, it is Berlioz's interpretation of the literary myth in relation to the Second Empire's cultural and political influences that provide interesting gendered aspects of the archetypes. This thesis argues that Cassandra and Dido portray gendered archetypes, that musical topics support these archetypes, and that the female characters ultimately reinforce the goal of the male protagonist in an imperialistic patriarchal society due to Berlioz constructing both the libretto and the music. Building upon previous research focused on gender and imperialism in *Les Troyens*, this thesis determines why Berlioz portrayed Cassandra and Dido the way he did in both his music and libretto. The analysis of Cassandra and Dido's archetypes, Berlioz's *Memoires*, and his relationships with women also sheds light on Berlioz's archetypal identification with the female characters he adored as well as his opinions on the empire he depicted.

⁹ Carolyn Zerbe Enns. "Archetypes and Gender: Goddesses, Warriors, and Psychological Health," *Journal of Counseling and Development* 73, no. 2 (November 1994): 127.

Chapter One: Introduction to Jung, Archetypes, the Subconscious, and Gender

Patriarchal societies abuse and manipulate women to establish and perpetuate hegemonic ideals. They define women through stereotypes that either honor a woman's nature or shame her for her behavior, depending on how her actions reflect upon the patriarchal culture. Women who embrace motherhood and other gendered roles that perpetuate the patriarchal culture are honored, but those who do not are disgraced. These stereotypes are born from cultural archetypes.¹⁰ Evident in many cultures' practices, archetypes typically embody ideas, characters, or story plots. For example, a promiscuous woman represents the whore archetype, who exerts adverse effects on the men and women of society, whereas the dutiful wife or mother represents the Madonna archetype, who embodies the grace and dignity of motherhood and the ideal womanly behavior. Women are defined by these or other archetypes, regardless of how they may view themselves because the act of assigning archetypal roles resides with the society which is shaped by men and their beliefs and opinions. Ergo, archetypes often appear as metaphors for the state of a community.

John Sheperd argues that men who control the material world also control the female population by objectifying them.¹¹ Similarly, in music, male composers and librettists create and control the depictions and fates of the female characters in their operas and program music. Nineteenth-century opera, reflecting the *Zeitgeist*, perpetuates the acts of controlling and labeling. Catherine Clément argues that the librettos of the

¹⁰ Stereotypes and archetypes are different. Archetypes are common figures or ideas that are neutral, but stereotypes focus on the negative perceptions about that archetype.

¹¹ John Sheperd, "Difference and Power in Music," in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth A. Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 58.

period feature stereotypical roles for women that restrict their character growth and thwart their empowerment of the characters.¹² Ralph P. Locke further explains that librettists and composers mold female characters into a handful of stereotypes: the passive innocent, the woman who defies rules for love, possessive mothers, coquettes and soubrettes, women *en travesti*, and *femmes fatales*.¹³ These characters often perpetuate nineteenth-century female stereotypes that value virginity, erotic sexuality, or matriarchal qualities. As these qualities all reflect a woman's worth to a man, female characters either support the male hero or threaten him.¹⁴ Regardless of their role or their complexity, Clément argues, opera plots create a spectacle of dying women, and in doing so, do a disservice to female characters.¹⁵

Clément's argument ignores the use of music to provide depth to the character beyond what is read in the libretto. Musical traits reinforce these characteristics or subtly inform the audience of irony in representation. Leo Treitler states that musical themes represent ideas beyond themselves because, over time, societies shaped the use of these musical themes to serve roles defined by personal, cultural, or ideological needs.¹⁶ Therefore, musical traits that are repeatedly associated with women maintain those indicators and associate societal representation with the otherwise purely musical.

Operatic composers frequently manipulated musical topics and themes to appeal to their

¹² Catherine Clément, *Opera, or the Undoing of Women*, trans. Betsy Wing (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988), 5.

¹³ Ralph P. Locke, "What Are These Women Doing in Opera?," in *En Travesti: Women, Gender Subversion, Opera*, ed. Corinne E. Blackmer and Patricia Juliana Smith (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 61.

¹⁴ Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 55.

¹⁵ Clément, *Opera, or the Undoing of Women*, 47.

¹⁶ Leo Treitler, "Gender and Other Dualities of Music History," in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth A. Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 45.

audiences and patrons in ways they would come to recognize as concrete representations. Critics of Clément claim that the music must be analyzed in combination with the libretto to reveal that a character's singing gives her a voice, which breaks the culture of objectifying the silent woman.¹⁷

An interesting relationship between the libretto and the music forms when the librettist is also the composer, who determines not only the societal archetype that the woman will embody, but also the music that will represent her. Although eighteenth- and nineteenth-century composers traditionally focused solely on writing the music for their operas, some, such as French composer Hector Berlioz, embraced the roles of both composer and librettist. I intend to argue that the characters in Berlioz's French grand opera, *Les Troyens* (1858), portray gendered archetypes, that musical topics support these archetypes, and that they ultimately reinforce the goal of the male protagonist in an imperialistic patriarchal society due to Berlioz constructing both the libretto and the music. To do this, I adopt a critical framework based on the archetypal theory of Carl Jung.

Swiss psychiatrist and psychoanalyst Carl Jung studied the unconscious part of the mind to determine what information it holds and how it functions with the conscious. Although he collaborated with Sigmund Freud, Jung's theory differs from Freud's because he believed that the unconscious houses more than just an individual's unique personal repressed or forgotten life experiences.¹⁸ He describes the unconscious as

¹⁷ Vlado Kotnik, "The Idea of Prima Donna: The History of a Very Special Opera's Institution," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 47, no. 2 (December 2016): 252.

¹⁸ Carolyn Zerbe Enns, "Archetypes and Gender: Goddesses, Warriors, and Psychological Health," *Journal of Counseling and Development* 73, no. 2 (November 1994): 127.

consisting of two parts: the personal and the collective.¹⁹ The collective society creates universal themes that go beyond the individual experience and appear in multiple cultures; among the most common are the mother-figure or hero/heroine.

Jung explored only a handful of archetypes in his writings: the great mother; father; child; the wise old man or wise old woman; the trickster; the hero; self; shadow; persona; and anima/animus.²⁰ Followers of Jung later expanded on these archetypes. Mythologist Joseph Campbell, for example, identified more archetypes in association with the hero archetype and archetypal journey.²¹ Psychologists now use thirteen of those archetypes (See Table 1).²² Each of these character archetypes demonstrates specific traits that shape an individual's personality and decisions. Collective archetypes present themselves not only in the personalities of patients, but also through literature and myths.²³ Jungian psychotherapists believe that patients seeing themselves in these myths can clarify personal issues in their lives and mental health.²⁴ It is in myths throughout the world that we see gender and cultural constructions enacted in patriarchal societies. Two archetypes of special importance for an understanding of Jungian theory are specifically gendered: the anima and the animus.²⁵ The anima reflects the feminine part of a man, whereas the animus reflects the masculine part of a woman. Generally, in a patient, the anima is considered to be inferior, not only because it is an underdeveloped

¹⁹ C.G. Jung, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, trans. R.F.C. Hull (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 3-4.

²⁰ Anthony Storr, *Jung* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 33-55.

²¹ Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968).

²² Michael A. Faber and John D. Mayer, "Resonance to Archetypes in Media: There's Some Accounting for Taste," *Journal of Research in Personality* 43, No. 3 (June 2009): 308-9. The specific names sometimes change depending on their use.

²³ Jung, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, 5.

²⁴ Enns, "Archetypes and Gender Health," 127.

²⁵ Jung recognizes these as separate archetypes and as complexes.

part of a man's unconscious, but also because its masculine aspects of logic and critical thinking are considered to be the superior characteristics in a society shaped by males.²⁶

Table 1: List of Common Archetypes Used Today, Their Descriptions, and Source²⁷

Archetype	Description	Source
Caregiver	Compassionate, protective, sacrificing	Campbell
Creator	Dreamer, inventor	Pearson
Everyman/Everywoman	Regular person, realist	Campbell
Explorer	Adventurer who travels and observes	Pearson
Hero	Warrior, completes task to reach goal or destiny	Campbell
Innocent	Child-like, good, pure	Jung, Campbell
Jester	Irresponsible, mischievous, enjoys fun and pranks	Jung, Campbell
Lover	Passionate and romantic, distracts and can lead to trouble	Jung, Campbell
Magician	Curious, interested in how things work; teacher, scientist	Jung, Campbell
Outlaw	Destructive, unfortunate misfit	Pearson
Ruler	Control, influential, power; leader	Campbell
Sage	Values knowledge, truth, and wisdom; mystical advisor	Jung, Campbell
Shadow	Darkness, primitive, tragic, violent; antagonist	Jung

In myth, dreams, and literature, the animus and anima exist as physical beings, but they are also a part of the psyche that the protagonist must accept. In literature, the anima may

²⁶ Valeska C. Stupak and Ronald J. Stupak, "Carl Jung, Feminism, and Modern Structural Realities," *International Review of Modern Sociology* 20, no. 2 (Autumn 1990): 269.

²⁷ Faber and Mayer, "Resonance to Archetypes in Media," 308-9.

function as a positive or negative stimulus depending on its role in relation to the male protagonist. As a literary character, an anima sometimes epitomizes the ideal feminine qualities and projects those qualities onto a female character; at other times, the anima mirrors its male counterpart or provides a negative stimulus for the man, creating chaos and seduction.²⁸ It should be noted that the anima's existence correlates with a male character and how it affects him. It embodies its own characteristics and desires, but ultimately only exists as part of the male and how it helps or hinders him. When the man embraces the anima into his psyche, he experiences heightened emotional reactions and intuitive processes. This state can either help or hinder the male character's progress on his journey, because too much emotion can lead to poor decision making.

The animus reflects the masculine characteristics of a woman. It mirrors the female character and the positive male characteristics she wishes to embody, such as logic and intelligence. As a literary character, the animus may present itself as the woman's lover. Jung argues that when a woman embraces her animus in her psyche, it makes her argumentative and irritable, an inferior imitation of man, whereas a man who embraces his anima is more likely to be childish, moody, and sentimental.²⁹ Once again, the concept revolves around the idea that the masculine characteristics are more desirable than the feminine characteristics and that the female character can only imitate masculine characteristics. However, embracing the anima or animus does not always bring negativity. Jung states that accepting and developing the anima or animus helps balance out our processes so that the subject's decisions are not made purely on one extreme or

²⁸ Jung, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, 25-30.

²⁹ Storr, *Jung*, 47-48.

the other.³⁰ Jung's concepts are exceptionally well suited to the analysis of Hector Berlioz's grand opera *Les Troyens* because its main characters embrace positive and negative aspects of their animus or anima in reaction to the external stimulus of their societies and fate.

Les Troyens (1858) retells a portion of the Virgilian epic poem, the *Aeneid*. Analyzing archetypes in a libretto based on literary myth may seem circuitous since archetypes originate in myth. However, Berlioz's interpretation of the story reinforces mythic gendered archetypes while also reflecting the Second Empire's cultural and political influences. His adaptation of the story accentuates the role of women, specifically Cassandre (Cassandra) and Didon (Dido).

Cassandra, Trojan princess and prophetess, receives agency through Berlioz's opera, something she lacked in Virgil's original story, where she was a one-dimensional character minimally important for the plot. Her archetypal role in the opera begins as a sage and then adopts characteristics of the caregiver when she controls her death and becomes a martyr for the Trojan future, in contrast to the Virgilian story, where she begins as a sage and dies as a victim of murder. Berlioz also enhances the romantic relationship between Cassandra and Chorèbe (Coroebus), creating a mirroring anima-animus relationship, in contrast to Virgil's casual reference to Coroebus's engagement to Cassandra. Chapter two explores these alterations to the original myth to determine what they signify for the character and Berlioz.

Berlioz's treatment of Dido, Queen of Carthage, remains almost identical to her portrayal in the *Aeneid*, embodying the same archetypes in the opera as she does in the

³⁰ Stupak, "Carl Jung, Feminism, and Modern Structural Realities," 269.

epic. Beginning as the wise or noble ruler, she then becomes the lover after consummating her relationship with Énée (Aeneas), and thus simultaneously represents Aeneas's anima. Her love for her animus diverts her attention from Carthage. Throughout the opera, Dido attempts to reconcile the ruler and lover archetypes in order to serve her city while maintaining her happiness, but ultimately fails. She represents the negative embracement of the animus when her lover archetype dominates over her ruler archetype, which leads to the demise of her reputation and Carthage's future. She decides that death is her only option for atonement. Her method of suicide by the sword is typically associated with men, making her final political words and actions a masculine embodiment of the ruler archetype. Despite her sacrifice, she still dies as a woman rejected and abandoned by the hero with her kingdom and reputation tarnished.³¹ Ending her life ultimately ends her mirrored relationship with Aeneas, allowing him to complete his quest. Her portrayal is particularly of interest, not only because of Berlioz's seemingly obsessive references to her in his *Memoires*, but also because Dido's internal struggle and sacrifice leave the audience sympathizing with her rather than the hero, Aeneas.

Aeneas, the archetypal hero, is discussed in both chapters two and three. He experiences a heroic struggle by escaping Troy, defeats the African army that threatens Carthage, and finally leaves Africa to found Rome.³² He appears in all five acts, and it is he who will carry on the Trojan legacy and imperial destiny through his quest. Although he is the protagonist of the epic, it is his relationships with Cassandra and Dido that

³¹ Jung did not identify the abandoned woman archetype in his works, but it is a common archetype in opera.

³² The full story includes more, but Berlioz ends the story here.

provide interest in the opera. Cassandra and Dido guide and hinder him, respectively, on his journey toward his imperial destiny. His relationships with these women shape his decisions even though his role in founding Rome is the epitome of masculinity in a patriarchal society. Berlioz's shaping of the male protagonist provides insights into the composer's mind and experiences.

Berlioz's alterations of the story and his authorship of the libretto also change the relationship he has with the work. It is consequently important to understand how Berlioz viewed not only the characters in the *Aeneid*, but also women as they played their archetypal roles in his life as lovers, caregivers, and shadows in the patriarchal culture in which they lived.

Previous gender research illustrates how music and women shaped Berlioz's life. Women acted as his muses in his works, including his first love, Estelle Duboeuf, his ex-fiancée, Camille Moke, his wife, Harriet Smithson, and his mistress, Marie Recio. The women in his life also served as female archetypes such as lovers and shadows. Beth Hart suggests that his obsession with women began in childhood as an Oedipus complex, which formed at the same time that his father had him read the *Aeneid*.³³ Berlioz witnessed his father pulling away from his mother (a caregiver archetype) symbolically, just as Aeneas abandons Dido. This stage of the complex implies that he became more sympathetic to his mother, who embodied a stereotypical abandoned woman. It was also during this time that the composer began to idolize Cassandra and Dido as ideal women

³³ Beth Hart, "The Loves of Hector Berlioz, in His Life and in *Les Troyens*," *Opera Quarterly* 19, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 332.

because of their “poetic passion, dignity, restraint, and self-sacrifice.”³⁴ These are positive feminine characteristics used to describe an anima. Once he progressed from the Oedipal stage, his gaze fell on Estelle, a young woman he met during his childhood and continued to love throughout his adulthood.³⁵ As his first love, she became his muse and anima. Later, as an adult, he found another anima who acted as his lover. His obsession with the actress Harriet Smithson inspired the *Symphonie fantastique* (1830), his program symphony about the opioid-induced dream of an artist obsessed with his muse. Hart argues that Estelle is also a muse for the *idée fixe*.³⁶ His relationships with these women, as well as their archetypal embodiments of the described Oedipal stages, shaped his works.

Even though Berlioz seems to idolize women, the female characters in his music and short stories rarely escape the influences of patriarchal control. Few of the women in Berlioz’s compositions exhibit agency, especially those who reflect the lover archetype. Several of his works that predate *Les Troyens*, including instrumental works, illustrate his practices concerning female characters. In *Symphonie fantastique*, Berlioz represents the woman he loves through a motive or *idée fixe* that evolves within each movement. Her central representations in the plot are as feelings the artist has, including his paranoid thoughts concerning their potential interactions. Musically, Berlioz manipulates how he represents her through the instrumentation and orchestration of her theme within the musical texture. Her lack of voice and agency leaves Berlioz (both the composer and the

³⁴ Hector Berlioz, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, trans. David Cairns (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 2002), 489. Berlioz wrote his autobiography from 1848 until 1865. In it he recalled stories from his childhood and adulthood.

³⁵ Hart, “The Loves of Hector Berlioz,” 332.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 331-32.

protagonist) in control of his masculinity and free from her feminine influence.³⁷ He controls how this anima of his own creation mirrors his animus. In this respect, Berlioz can project his masculine animus traits and ensure that the beloved's characteristics remain malleable to the ideas he wants her to represent as those of the anima. In *Lélio*, the sequel to the *Symphonie fantastique*, the protagonist awakes from his opioid nightmare and rejoices that it was just a dream. He then decides that he will swear off women and focus only on music. This action represents an adverse effect of the anima's influence over him. The beloved is no longer the subject and fades from existence.

Berlioz's treatment of Marguerite in *La damnation de Faust* (1846) illustrates a more drastic control of her voice and agency. Based on Goethe's play, *Faust* (1831),³⁸ the despondent scholar, Faust, meets Méphistophélès (the devil in human form), who promises him happiness and a woman (Marguerite) if he gives up his studies and follows him. Faust and Marguerite fall in love but must part to avoid her mother's wrath. When Marguerite is arrested for poisoning her mother, Méphistophélès offers to free her if Faust sells his soul. Faust agrees and is sent to hell, whereas Marguerite, pardoned for the naivety that led her astray, receives a welcome into heaven. Marguerite represents the positive anima and ideal woman for Faust as he sings about her virginity and the pure air when he sees her in her room in the third-act aria, "Merci, doux crepuscule:" "Un air pur! Ô jeune fille! (Thank you, sweet twilight; Pure air! O young girl!). Other than her first aria, all of Marguerite's singing directly relates to Faust and her love for him. Berlioz removes Marguerite's physical voice and replaces it with an instrumental theme, in

³⁷ Ian Biddle, "Policing Masculinity: Schumann, Berlioz and the Gendering of the Music-Critical Idiom," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 124, no. 2 (1999): 218.

³⁸ The story of *Faust* also originates from a mythological legend in Germany so it, too, contains fundamental archetypes.

contrast to her previous operatic singing of her love for Faust.³⁹ Even her carnal sins with Faust are forgiven in heaven because she was in love and blinded from logic, the masculine trait of the animus. Her innocent state allows her death to be a reward rather than a punishment. Her character and actions only matter in correlation with her animus.

Berlioz treated the female lover archetypes with more humanity than those who were shadow archetypes. A woman or female character can develop into different archetypes depending on how her relationship with the male protagonist develops. Every person has a shadow archetype that represents the darkest (often hidden) part of their being. In literature, the archetype may appear as part of the anima character who might be trying to lead the protagonist astray or destroy the hero's life.

Berlioz wrote short stories after his fiancée, Camille Moke, left him for her former lover.⁴⁰ In Berlioz's life, Moke originally represented the lover archetype, but her unfaithfulness recast her as a shadow (antagonist) archetype. The composer felt betrayed and originally planned to kill Moke, her husband, and then himself, but abandoned his plan for a revenge that would punish her for straying from her societal role and expectations. Instead, he based a character on her in his short story, *Euphonia* (1844). In this futuristic city, society reveres women so much that when the female character, Mina, is murdered for her unfaithfulness, the city mourns for months.⁴¹ The death, a violent crushing by an oversized mechanical keyboard,⁴² negates any of the positive feelings the

³⁹ Inge Van Rij, "Back to (the Music of) the Future: Aesthetics of Technology in Berlioz's *Euphonia* and *Damnation de Faust*," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 22, no. 3 (November 2010): 290.

⁴⁰ Katherine Kolb Reeves, "Primal Scenes: Smithson, Pleyel, and Liszt in the Eyes of Berlioz," *19th-Century Music* 18, no. 3 (Spring 1995): 225.

⁴¹ Van Rij, "Back to (the Music of) the Future," 261.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 262.

city exhibits towards women. She represents an archetype of a shadow because she violates her lover's trust and is no longer of use to him as an antagonist in his life.

Opera and staged works frequently feature violent deaths like the one in *Euphonia* as well as madness of female characters.⁴³ Their scenes of weakness provide a spectacle for entertainment and musical expression. The audience either relishes justice enacted upon the fallen whore or laments the loss of their Madonna. A similar reaction is created in *Les Troyens* as the audience bemoans the loss of Cassandra as she thwarts the Greeks's agenda of conquest by committing suicide in the name of Rome. The stage action and music culminating in the suicides of both Cassandra and Dido create captivating displays bolstering the archetypes each represents in her final moments.

Berlioz's *Memoires*, letters, and librettos reflect a diverse and sometimes conflicting collection of emotions concerning his relationships with women including adoration and hatred. He adored Cassandra and Dido, as is evident in his *Memoires*. There he describes them as "names that evoke images of poetic passion, dignity, restraint, [and] self-sacrifice" and refers to Cassandra as his "heroic virgin."⁴⁴ They do not pose a threat to Berlioz because their fictional depiction remains constant as dignified and heroic figures, never betraying him. To portray his admiration for them in *Les Troyens*, he changes the archetypes in the libretto and employs musical topics throughout the score. His adoration nevertheless stops short of relieving Cassandra and Dido of their roles as subordinates of a male protagonist. Berlioz's treatment of women in his librettos, programs, and music also mirrors some of the negative aspects of his obsession with women, such as stalking and plotting revenge when they have betrayed him. In Jungian

⁴³ Kolb Reeves, "Primal Scenes," 218.

⁴⁴ Berlioz, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, 532, 539.

terms, this is because women must meet his needs and standards to remain in good graces with him. Analysis of his libretto and music in *Les Troyens* reflects instances where his identification with fictional victimized women and relationships with women in his life shaped his representation of Cassandra and Dido.

Berlioz's *Memoires*, written from 1848 to 1865, offer insights as to why the *Aeneid*, Cassandra, and Dido were so influential in his life. He recalls his childhood experiences of translating the scene of Dido's death for his father and ends with his thoughts on *Les Troyens*, which creates an origin story and theme for his artistic career.⁴⁵ The story of Dido's death creates an awakening of his self-identity and his sexual desires.⁴⁶ Dane Thomas Stalcup states that Berlioz's identification with the sufferings of Dido and Cassandra is not abnormal, as many other men, such as St. Augustine, reference a "self-becoming" in their autobiographies after reading about victimized women.⁴⁷ Their self-identification with a victim causes these men to experience confusion about their sexual desires throughout their lives.⁴⁸ Berlioz shapes his own victimization into a narrative of martyrdom as he believes he sacrifices his compositional success among the French in order to elevate music through its synthesis with literature.

The political climate in nineteenth-century France also influenced Berlioz's opera: especially Saint-Simonianism and imperialism. In his younger years, Berlioz supported the Saint-Simonian Society, which believed that the work of the industrialists

⁴⁵ Dane Thomas Stalcup, "Fragmented Totalities: The Autobiography of Composer Hector Berlioz" (PhD diss., New York University, New York City, 2013), 183-84, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

⁴⁶ He does not mention his admiration for Cassandra until he mentions *Les Troyens*.

⁴⁷ Stalcup, "Fragmented Totalities," 194-95.

⁴⁸ Ibid. These men identify with the humanity attached to the female victimization and are aroused by the scenes of female suffering, therefore linking their self-identification with the woman to the sexual desires associated with their deaths.

and working class should be equally valued to create a utopia.⁴⁹ This society also believed in sexual equality in which women would participate in public functions outside of the domestic realm.⁵⁰ Saint-Simonian feminism, created by Barthélemy Prosper Enfantin, called for a new sexual morality to free women from their oppressive marriages and initiated a search for a female messiah, “La Femme” in France, Africa, and the Middle East.⁵¹ Although the society never found “La Femme,” the movement inspired female members to make demands that spanned beyond the sexual into economic, academic, and legal matters to emancipate themselves from the control of their husbands and fathers.⁵² The Carthage of *Les Troyens* arguably represents a Saint-Simonian utopia since Berlioz depicts Dido praising and rewarding various labor groups who have worked together to build a prosperous city.⁵³ Dido also represents a strong woman who can provide for herself without a husband or father. This model aligns with the desires of the Saint-Simonian women and early French feminists of the nineteenth century. Berlioz’s support of imperialism also plays a notable role in shaping the opera.⁵⁴ Although France previously experienced imperialism under Napoleon Bonaparte, the imperial age of his nephew, Louis-Napoleon, later known as Napoleon III (1852-1870),

⁴⁹ Claire G. Moses, “Saint-Simonian Men/Saint-Simonian Women: The Transformation of Feminist Thought in 1830s’ France,” *The Journal of Modern History* 54, no. 2 (June 1982): 242.

⁵⁰ Moses, “Saint-Simonian Men/Saint-Simonian Women,” 243-44.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 244-45.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 248-64. For a short time period, women were in hierarchal positions within the Saint-Simonian Society, but were never treated as equals.

⁵³ William Fitzgerald, “Fatalis Machina: Berlioz’s *Les Troyens*,” *Materiali e discussioni per l’analisi dei testi classici* 52, (2004): 202. Fitzgerald references a review of Ralph P. Locke’s *Music, Musicians, and Saint-Simonians* (1986). Locke’s book provides evidence of the involvement of various composers, including Berlioz, in the movement. Berlioz, he argues, seemed less interested in the movement’s ideals towards the arts and more focused on the social reforms. One such reform was the treatment of laborers and their work. In the *Aeneid*, Virgil describes Carthage as productive, but Berlioz created the scenes where Dido rewards her workers.

⁵⁴ Peter Bloom, “Berlioz: Reflections on a Nonpolitical Man,” *The Yale University Library Gazette* 78, no. 1/2 (October 2003): 21.

more strongly influences the imperial elements in *Les Troyens* as it retells the imperialist narrative of Aeneas's destiny to found Rome.

The opera allegorizes the French imperial politics that were rekindled during the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), while France continued to invade European countries and establish colonies in Africa and elsewhere. Berlioz expressed different sentiments about each of the three imperialist regimes that occurred during his lifetime. Charles X's administration (1824-1830) censored artists, which led Berlioz to believe that the government did not respect music or musicians.⁵⁵ In contrast, ministers under King Louis Philippe commissioned works by Berlioz, and the king even donated money to a charity concert Berlioz conducted.⁵⁶ Berlioz initially expressed cynicism during the Second Republic and Second Empire (both under Louis-Napoleon's reign), as he feared that the new leader would return to Charles X's oppressive policies. However, the composer later appeared to embrace the policies of the Second Empire. Napoleon III admired the Roman Empire and sought to shape the Second Empire in its image while expanding French imperialism in Asia, West Africa, the Middle East, and Mexico. Though he collected and commissioned artworks that improved the imperial image of the Second Empire, he did not commission or assist in the production of *Les Troyens*.

While on a trip to Weimar in 1855, the composer shared with Princess Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein (the lover of his friend, Franz Liszt) his concept of creating a synthesis of Shakespearean structure and a libretto based on the *Aeneid* to form a grand opera.⁵⁷ Berlioz began working on the opera in 1856, finished it in 1858, and attempted to

⁵⁵ Bloom, "Berlioz: Reflections on a Nonpolitical Man," 23.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 23-25.

⁵⁷ Berlioz, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, 532. Berlioz wrote in his *Memoires* in 1854 that he had been tempted to write a grand opera for the past three years, but managed to remain focused on his other

produce it at the Paris Opéra from 1858 to 1863. Unfortunately, the Opéra declined to produce it, which led to a smaller theater producing only the Carthage portion of the opera in 1863. Berlioz may have thought that the imperialist plot might appeal to French audiences, or the emperor. Evidence of this reasoning exists in a letter Berlioz wrote to Sayn-Wittgenstein, stating that he originally ended the opera with Dido alluding to the French Empire's supreme rule in colonized North Africa.⁵⁸ Berlioz's complex attitude toward the Second Empire seemingly influenced his ideas about the opera and its female characters. However, it is the composer's manipulation of the *Aeneid* in his libretto and his utilization of musical topics in the score that provide his primary methods of achieving the depth and complexity of his two female protagonists. Imperialism, therefore, remains an ancillary consideration in my analysis of archetypes, gender, and musical topics in *Les Troyens*.

During the early nineteenth century, French women had few rights and opportunities unless they came from the upper classes. Patriarchists believed women needed to maintain "piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity," and limit themselves to domestic roles.⁵⁹ These qualities were perceived as honorable in the First Empire and align with Jung's great mother archetype (or the Madonna) as she provides legitimate children and the moral center for the home. Napoleon I's Civil Code specifically decreed

projects. This conversation with Princess Sayn-Wittgenstein is the first time that he spoke with another person about the opera that he has documented.

⁵⁸ Hector Berlioz, *CG: Correspondence Générale V: 1855-59*, ed. Hugh Macdonald and François Lesure (Paris: Flammarion, 1988), 401. Berlioz does not include in the letter what Dido would have said, but he tells Sayn-Wittgenstein that it was "chauvinistic childishness" to have Dido die at the hands of French domination and that it was better to write what Virgil implied in his poem. ("Il m'a semble dernièrement que l'allusion de Didon mourante à la domination française en Afrique était une pure puérilité chauvinique, et qu'il était beaucoup plus digne et grand de rest dans l'idée indiquée par Virgile lui-même.")

⁵⁹ Moses, "Saint-Simonian Men/Saint-Simonian Women," 243.

that husbands and fathers legally controlled their wives and daughters.⁶⁰ This aspect of the code ensured that women were relegated to domestic life as wives and mothers, serving as caregiver archetypes. Some women held jobs, but these jobs could not sustain a family, and political economists and philosophers believed that if women left their domestic duties to work in the public sphere, the family's morality would deteriorate.⁶¹ Early feminist groups that formed from existing male-led political groups, such as the Saint-Simonians,⁶² held conflicting ideas about women's role in society in response to the Civil Code. Some supported feminine equality in the public sphere, advocating equal access to education and marriage reforms (abolishing the Civil Code and reinstating divorce), which would lead women to financial emancipation from fathers and husbands.⁶³ Others believed that equality for women meant sexual freedom from the confines of marriage, which the Empire believed would degrade society.⁶⁴ The Empire's view on female sexual freedom and domesticity perpetuates the idea that societies determine women's identities through archetypes because the Empire praises the Madonna archetype of the moral wife-mother while shunning the women desiring sexual freedom and emancipation from the wife-mother role, deeming them the archetypal whores.

Berlioz reinforced the archetypes that were present in French imperialist society in his libretto and with musical topics, motives, and forms in his score. Like the Jungian character archetypes, musical topics are familiar aural figures presented in patterns of

⁶⁰ Karen Offen, *The Woman Question in France, 1400-1870* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 6, 27.

⁶¹ Offen, *The Woman Question in France, 1400-1870*, 182-96.

⁶² Moses, "Saint-Simonian Men/Saint-Simonian Women," 241.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 261-64.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 243-45.

pitch, rhythm, and style that we recognize as representing something outside the music, such as places, status, or mental health. It is not just the use of the musical topic that is important, but the function it serves. Musical topics such as hunting, pastoral, *ombra*, and *tempesta* support the character development of Cassandra and Dido. Scholars address the connection of musical topics with literary character and plot archetypes in a variety of books and articles.⁶⁵ Music theorist Leonard Ratner described his concept of topics as “subjects for musical discourse,” which then branch into “styles” and “types.”⁶⁶ As other musicologists built on his idea, the definition of a musical topic became more refined in relation to genres and styles of music placed outside of their original context.⁶⁷ An example of this would be a hunting horn call in a symphony, as its proper place is outside of the concert hall.⁶⁸ Topics are particularly useful in program music and operas as they provide aural clues to the audience about the plots and characters in overt and covert ways.

In regards to mythology, music can either accompany a ritual based on myth or amplify a retelling of the myth.⁶⁹ *Les Troyens* exemplifies the latter. The music provides not only insight into the development of characters, but also an element of continuity that frequently reminds the listener that the focus of the story is Aeneas’s destiny to found Rome. An example of this is the Trojan march theme, first heard in the fourth number in

⁶⁵ Not all of these sources are applicable to my thesis, but notable authors are: Eero Tarasti, Victoria Ademenko, and François-Bernard Mâche.

⁶⁶ Danuta Mirka, “Introduction,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. Danuta Mirka (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 1.

⁶⁷ Mirka, “Introduction,” 2.

⁶⁸ Musical topics appeared during the seventeenth century in both instrumental and vocal genres, such as opera, and remained in use during the nineteenth century, though sometimes in different forms as the perspective of the audiences changed with time.

⁶⁹ David Kozel, “Mythological Archetype in Music and Principles of Its Interpretation,” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 47, no. 1 (June 2016): 6.

the second act of the opera. It exemplifies the musical topic of a stately march, which is a subgenre of the military topic.⁷⁰ Audience members recognize the stately sound of clearly articulated notes by brass instruments in a fanfare style as representing a national anthem or a royal procession. The march and the presence of the Trojan people on the stage provide a connection to the Trojan nation. As Berlioz revisits this theme throughout the opera, it acts as an aural reminder of the destiny and journey of the Trojan people and by extension, the destiny and journey of the Second Empire.

Speculations about the personal connections interjected by composers on their works prompt skepticism from scholars because composers often did not provide any information regarding the outside influences and muses for their works. With Berlioz, we are fortunate to have his collected *Memoires*, even though they contain factual errors and Berlioz recalled some events years after their occurrence.⁷¹ Regarding the particular question of how women influenced his works, however, I believe the collection to be a window into Berlioz's mind. Whether or not the events occurred as he described them matters less than how he saw himself as an artist, how he interpreted his treatment and relationships with the women in his life, and how he viewed them through archetypal roles developed by a patriarchal, imperialist society. By analyzing *Les Troyens* through Jung's theory of the subconscious, musical topics, and Berlioz's writings, we can understand why he portrayed Cassandra and Dido through specific gendered archetypes.

⁷⁰ Raymond Monelle, *The Musical Topic: Hunt, Military, and Pastoral* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 113.

⁷¹ Berlioz, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, xxi.

Chapter 2: Evolution of Cassandra

Women in nineteenth-century opera frequently represent negative stereotypes or meet unfortunate ends, even when they defy stereotypical roles through feminist actions and characteristics.⁷² In *Les Troyens*, the character Cassandra personifies feminist qualities such as leadership and challenging of men, but she is also confined to a gendered societal role.⁷³ Proof that norms of a patriarchal society shaped Berlioz's feminist depiction of Cassandra will be established by utilizing Jung's archetypal theory, musical topics, and the composer's *Memoires*. This chapter examines three aspects of Berlioz's adaptation of Virgil's Cassandra: Berlioz's expansion of Cassandra's character from the *Aeneid*; the utilization of the libretto and musical topics to develop Cassandra's character through a series of archetypes (sage, anima, and caregiver); and an examination of why Berlioz chose these methods to alter Cassandra instead of other possible female characters.

Cassandra: *Aeneid* versus *Les Troyens*

Berlioz's retelling of the Virgilian epic poem, the *Aeneid*, accentuates the role of Cassandra, a virgin priestess of Apollo and the daughter of the Trojan king, Priam. A comparison of the two sources demonstrates that her role in the opera contrasts drastically with the Cassandra of Virgil's epic because Berlioz gives her agency. In the opera, she acts as an obstacle to men and their desires but remains stereotypically

⁷² Though not all are cited in this work, the following gender theorists' works were research: Judith Butler, Catherine Clément, Susan McClary, Laura Mulvey, Mary Ann Smart, and Leo Treitler.

⁷³ Karen Offen, *The Woman Question in France, 1400-1870* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 6, 27.

gendered in her supportive role of the Trojan imperial destiny. Virgil makes five references to her, which Berlioz utilizes to expand her role and allude to different stages in her archetypal evolution in the opera.

The story of Cassandra was well known in antiquity and appeared in multiple literary works that depict different aspects of her story. Virgil's Cassandra lacks agency because no one believes the truths of her prophecies. An emotional example of her silencing occurs in the closing section of Aeneas's recollection of the fall of Troy, where he describes her kidnapping by the Greeks:⁷⁴

The next thing we saw was Cassandra, Priam's daughter, being dragged, hair streaming, from the shrine of Minerva's temple, lifting to heaven her burning eyes—her eyes only, for her tender hands were bound.⁷⁵

Cassandra is helpless and unable to defend herself from the Greeks who desire to claim her as a spoil of war. She even lacks a voice to cry out for help or to lament her cruel fate. Virgil only allots this short section to her experience of the attack; she is but a footnote in Aeneas's recollection of the battle with the Greeks. Berlioz expands her role so that audiences can experience her complex emotions about the Trojan fate.

Because Cassandra does not speak in any excerpt from the *Aeneid*, Berlioz appropriates different sections of the epic to build her archetypes. The primary archetype

⁷⁴ After this point in the *Aeneid*, we do not know of Cassandra's fate, but her story continues in *Agamemnon* by Aeschylus. She remains a sage archetype until her death as her gift of premonition provides her with information about how she will die. In this work, Cassandra finally gets to speak, in which she relishes Agamemnon's death since he is the one who holds her captive. Berlioz never references this text or any other concerning Cassandra, but as a student educated in Latin epics and texts, he probably read them or knew the stories.

⁷⁵ Virgil, *Aeneid*, trans. Stanley Lombardo (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2005), 2.467-73. Though Cassandra was a priestess of Apollo, she and other women took refuge in Minerva's temple, according to Virgil and other sources. Perhaps this was because Minerva is a virgin goddess, who is known for her protection of her chastity, and the goddess of war. As a priestess of Apollo, Cassandra vowed to remain chaste. Her rape appears in multiple stories, with each depicting wrath upon her rapist. Both the Trojans and the Greeks worship Minerva.

that permeates Cassandra is the sage archetype, which originates from Jung's "wise old man" archetype. The wise old man or woman can appear as any gender or age and is usually an authority figure. This archetype appears when necessary advice or insight cannot be obtained through the protagonist's resources.⁷⁶ To build this archetype into a three-dimensional character, Berlioz draws on Virgil's second reference to Cassandra's prophetic visions in Book II of the *Aeneid*, where Aeneas recounts the horrors of the Trojan War to Dido. When Aeneas mentions the wooden horse entering the city, he vaguely describes Cassandra's warnings and why no one listens: "Even then Cassandra opened her lips against the coming doom, lips cursed by a god never to be believed by the Teucrians."⁷⁷ Virgil rightly assumed that his audience already knew the story of Apollo's curse when he gave Cassandra the gift of foresight in an attempt to seduce her. When she rebuffed him, he let her keep her gift but with the caveat that no one would ever believe her prophecies. Nevertheless, her gift of prophecy allows her to guide other characters, regardless of whether they believe her, which makes her a sage archetype. Berlioz uses Cassandra's foresight of the Trojan fate to connect the themes of destiny and imperial calling across all five acts of the opera.

Cassandra embodies multiple archetypes throughout the opera. Berlioz uses Cassandra's sage archetype to make her the caregiver of her people and their future through her prophecies. In order to perpetuate the idea of Trojan fate and imperial destiny in the Carthaginian operatic acts, Berlioz needed to expand Cassandra's knowledge of the Trojan fate beyond the fall of Troy. To do this, David Cairns states, Berlioz utilizes

⁷⁶ C.G. Jung, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, vol. 9, Part. 1, *Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, ed. Gerhard Adler (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 160-61.

⁷⁷ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 2.291-94.

references to her found in other books of the *Aeneid*.⁷⁸ In Book III, for example, Aeneas quotes Anchises, his father, who tells him, “It was Cassandra, Cassandra alone who foretold to me our race’s destiny, often naming Hesperia, naming Italy.”⁷⁹ This quote provides evidence that Cassandra indeed knew of the Trojans’ imperial destiny to found Italy, and Berlioz uses this information as a theme to connect the acts set in Troy (I-II) to the acts set in Carthage (III-V). Aeneas’s recollection of his father’s statement proves that Cassandra’s prophecies carry weight, even after her capture by the Greeks during Troy’s destruction and her death described by Aeschylus in his play, *Agamemnon*.

However, the *Aeneid* provides no explicit example of the prophetess guiding Aeneas after her death, forcing Berlioz to search for a logical reason for her to do so. A scene from Book V provides the fourth reference to Cassandra and another indication that the prophetess’s spirit can guide Aeneas even after her death. In this scene, Juno pretends to be an elderly woman who visits the Trojan women in Sicily while the men participate in the funerary games for the death of Anchises. To cause trouble, she tells the homesick, weary women, “Cassandra, our prophetess, came to me in a dream and gave me torches, saying, ‘Find Troy here, here is your home.’”⁸⁰ Although Juno falsely quotes Cassandra, the scene does validate Berlioz’s use of her acting as the spokeswoman for the Trojan destiny in the afterlife in Act V, again reinforcing her role as a sage and her knowledge of the Trojan imperial mission.

⁷⁸ David Cairns, “Berlioz and Virgil: A Consideration of *Les Troyens* as a Virgilian Opera,” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 95th Session (1968-1969): 105.

⁷⁹ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 3.215-17.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.917-19. After leaving Carthage, bad weather pushes the Trojan refugees to Sicily where the Trojan Acestes rules as king. The women have traveled with Aeneas from Troy, but are not mentioned in Carthage.

Again, Berlioz is inspired by Virgil to develop Cassandra's anima archetype through a romantic relationship with Coroebus, which is merely mentioned in passing in Book II. Aeneas describes Cassandra's fiancé as a capable warrior and a loyal subject of his future father-in-law: "He had come to Troy in those last days madly in love with Cassandra, and brought aid to Priam, a sturdy son-in-law. Poor boy, if only he had listened to the warnings of his raving bride."⁸¹ Berlioz expands this relationship considerably to show the complexity of Cassandra's character as she struggles with her prophecies. Berlioz's adaptations place Cassandra at the center of the opera's action by more fully developing the *Aeneid*'s archetypes of sage, anima, and caregiver. In addition, these processes allow the composer to enhance the themes of fate and duty concerning imperialism.

Libretto Analysis Act I

Berlioz's libretto immediately establishes Cassandra's sage archetype and develops it beyond Aeneas's description in the *Aeneid*. Berlioz introduces Cassandra in No. 2, "Récitatif et Air," after the Trojans discover that the Greeks retreated. Cassandra opens the recitative with her distrust of the supposed Trojan victory by asking: "But what dread plan lies hidden behind this strange departure" (*mais quel dessein fatal cache de ce départ l'étrange promptitude?*) and stating that her "grim forebodings" (*sombre inquiétude*) are coming true.⁸² These statements provide a subtle hint of her prophetic

⁸¹ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.401-6. Cassandra's visions have long associated with hysteria. Laurie Layton Schapira, a Jungian analyst and psychiatrist, studied what she called the Cassandra Complex in her book, *The Cassandra Complex: A Modern Perspective on Hysteria* (Toronto: Inner City Books, 1988). She argues that this complex forms when the person is in an unhealthy relationship with an Apollo archetype, experiencing emotional or physical trauma (including hysteria), and experiencing doubt from others.

⁸² Hector Berlioz, *Les Troyens: Opera in Five Acts*, trans. David Cairns (New York: G. Schirmer, 1973), 1.

abilities because she senses that the Trojans' peace is false. Furthermore, she describes seeing the spirit of her dead brother, Hector, pacing through the fortifications, which looms as a bad omen.⁸³ As the librettist, Berlioz suggests that the Trojans will ignore Cassandra's early warnings and premonitions because they are absorbed in their "madness and intoxication" (dans la folie et l'ivresse plongée) as they celebrate the deserted plains of Troy.⁸⁴ As Emily Pillinger explains, the implication of the word "ivresse" changes throughout the opera depending on what intoxicates the character. For the Trojans, it is false hope.⁸⁵ Berlioz uses this scene to establish Cassandra's prophetic abilities and sage archetype as she sings her concerns about the future of Troy and the dangers that await her people:

Ill-fated race, you heed me not, nor wish to know anything of the terror that haunts me. Alas, Coroebus too, Coroebus himself thinks me out of my mind. At the thought of him my dread redoubles!

Tu ne m'écoutes pas, tu ne veux rien comprendre, malheureux peuple, à l'horreur qui me suit! Chorèbe, hélas, oui, Chorèbe lui-même. Croit ma raison perdue!... A ce nom mon effroi redouble!⁸⁶

Cassandra knows that the Trojans will disregard her prophecies, which alludes to her curse. Here Berlioz establishes her anima archetype by introducing Coroebus.

Like Virgil, Berlioz assumes his audience knows the story of Cassandra, but he still explains that she has the gift of foresight in the following duet, No. 3 "Duo."

Cassandra explains in detail her vision of Troy's fate to Coroebus, and he tries to assuage

⁸³ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 1.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Emily Pillinger, "Translating Classical Visions in Berlioz's *Les Troyens*," *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics (Third Series)* 18, no. 2 (Fall 2010): 81.

⁸⁶ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 1-2.

her fears. Coroebus tells her to “Cease to prophesy” (Cesse de craindre), but Cassandra responds with her reason for her fear:

The sky is full of menace! Believe my voice, inspired by the same cruel god that is bent on our destruction. I have read it in the book of destiny; I see the cloud of evil unloosed on us all!

Crois en ma voix qu’inspire le barbare dieu même à nous perdre acharné. au livre du destin mon regard a su lire, je vois l’essaim de maux sur nous tous déchaîné!⁸⁷

Her subtle reference to Apollo as a “cruel god” provides little information for those who are unfamiliar with the myth, but it does remind the literate that Cassandra is telling the truth based on her bestowed gift. Without the references to prophesying and the cruel god, Cassandra would appear to be a hysterical or unstable woman, but instead, they support a sage archetype that is present both in the *Aeneid* and *Les Troyens*. Cassandra’s prophetic gift also connects her to the idea of fate and destiny associated with Aeneas and the Trojans throughout the opera.

In Book II of the epic, Aeneas mentions that the prophetess shared her warnings with her people and that they did not believe her. In other words, she lacks a voice. In the opera, by contrast, the audience hears Cassandra’s explicit, dire warnings in which she describes her vision in great detail:

I see the cloud of evil unloosed on us all! It is falling on Troy! [my translation]
The people crying out, helpless before its fury, and staining our streets red with their blood; The half-naked virgins in the arms of their ravishers, uttering screams to pierce the skies! Already from the highest tower the grim vulture croaks of slaughter! Everything is falling, everything drowning in a river of blood, and in your side a Greek spear...Ah!

Je vois l’essaim de maux sur nous tous déchaîné! Il va tomber sur Troie! A sa fureur en proie, le peuple va rugir et de son sang rougir le pavé de nos rues; Les vierges demi-nues, aux bras des ravisseurs, vont pousser des clameurs à déchirer les nues! Déjà le noir vautour, sur la plus haute tour a chanté le carnage! Tout

⁸⁷ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 2.

s'écroule! tout nage sur un fleuve de sang, et dans ton flanc le fer d'un Grec!...
Ah!⁸⁸

Her vision is graphic, describing destruction, invasion, and dark omens. In passages like this we see Berlioz seizing the opportunity to develop Cassandra's character in a more detailed and methodical way than Virgil did.

One aspect of Cassandra's character that Berlioz softens in contrast to Virgil was his depiction of her mental state. In the *Aeneid*, Aeneas refers to Cassandra's deliverance of her prophecies as "raving."⁸⁹ The verb carries negative connotations of gendered mental instability. Her people view her as mad and therefore cannot believe her, even though her prophecies are connected to the gods. In the opera, Coroebus asks Cassandra repeatedly to return to her senses by giving up her prophecies: "Return to your senses, adored maiden! Cease to prophesy and so cease to fear" (*Reviens à toi, vierge adorée! Cesse de craindre en cessant de prévoir*). However, her actual language does not reveal raving or incoherent rambling, but instead a desperate pleading with clear explanations of her fears. Even Coroebus uses the words "fears" and "prophesy" instead of "ravings" or other derogatory terms. This word choice could be because he loves her, or it could be that Berlioz, as the librettist, knew she was telling the truth.

Berlioz uses this number as an opportunity to show the love between Coroebus and Cassandra. Throughout the duet, he calls her his "adored virgin," (*vierge adorée*) and ultimately tells her that he cannot abandon her: "Leave you, tonight! Cassandra! and I adore you! Save me, I beg you, from a terrible despair" (*Te quitter, dès ce soir! Cassandre! et je t'adore! Sauve-moi, je t'implore, d'un affreux désespoir*). The two lovers

⁸⁸ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 2. I have opted for my own translation of the first line of this quotation as the translation provided was incorrect.

⁸⁹ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.401-6.

decide to stay. Through Coroebus's words, Berlioz confirms that he loves his future bride, as suggested in the *Aeneid*. Coroebus's relationship with Cassandra is expanded in the opera through dialogue and interactions to express the positive relationship they share despite the communication barrier of Apollo's curse.

Berlioz thoroughly develops the relationship between Cassandra and Coroebus, producing a specifically gendered Jungian archetype, namely, the relationship of the anima and animus.⁹⁰ Their healthy, integrated anima-animus connection mirrors the positive gendered attributes of both partners throughout the first two acts: logic, courage, and problem solving for the masculine characteristics, and empathy and the ability to understand his emotional needs and values for the feminine characteristics.⁹¹ Coroebus clearly communicates his own emotional demands to Cassandra, despite his inability to believe her prophecy. Since Coroebus is the physical embodiment of Cassandra's animus, she mirrors his positive masculine attributes of courage and conviction, logical thinking, and problem-solving. During the first act, she courageously tells Coroebus about her vision despite knowing that he will never believe her. She exhibits problem-solving and logical thinking in the second act as she devises a plan to thwart the Greeks through mass suicide, an idea that requires strategic timing. A negative embracement of her animus would have instead presented as irrational actions, such as problematic impulsivity, brutality, and talking for the sake of bolstering her ego.⁹²

Cassandra, in turn, is Coroebus's physical embodiment of his anima, and he mirrors her feminine attributes, such as empathy and understanding of his emotions

⁹⁰ See chapter one for definitions of the anima and animus

⁹¹ C. G Jung, *Man and His Symbols*, ed. Marie-Luise von Franz (New York: Anchor Press, 1964), 180,195.

⁹² Jung, *Man and His Symbols*, 193.

which are portrayed in their duet. Instead of lashing out at her for not being excited by the celebrations or only caring about himself (negative characteristics of the anima),⁹³ he tries to empathize and calm her down and even tells her that he will not leave her for his safety: “In the name of the heavenly gods and of Hades, Cassandra, you must listen to me! I clasp your knees, Cassandra!... I’ll not leave you!” (Au nom des dieux du ciel et de l’Erèbe, Cassandre, tu m’écouteras! A tes genoux, je tombe, Cassandre!... Je ne te quitte pas!).⁹⁴ They are separated only by death when Coroebus falls in battle.

In Act I, No. 10, “Air,” Cassandra reinforces her sage archetype. She prophecies about her people’s imminent, tragic fate and her inability to stop them, again using the word “ivresse” to describe the Trojans’ mood: “This doomed people, drunk with the hopes of a dazzling future, plunging to destruction” (Où s’enivre, en espoir d’un brillant avenir, ce peuple condamné, que rien, hélas!).⁹⁵ Berlioz gives his Cassandra another opportunity to voice her warnings in the first act’s finale, which features the procession of the wooden horse through the city. Cassandra hears the Trojans in the distance as they sing, and she describes how they are ignorant of their fate. The chanting and singing suddenly cease when they hear a noise inside the horse. Cassandra hopes that this will cause the Trojan citizens to question their actions. While the rest of the Trojans celebrate by bringing the wooden horse into the city, Cassandra tries in vain to warn them of their impending doom:

Stop, stop! Fire, an axe! Search the monstrous horse! Laocoön!...The Greeks!... It hides a deadly trap...My voice grows faint.

⁹³ Jung, *Man and His Symbols*, 178.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁹⁵ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 5.

Arrêtez! Arrêtez! Oui, la fame, la hache! Fouillez le flanc du monstrueux cheval!
Laocoon!...Les Grecs!...il cache un piège infernal...Ma voix se perd!⁹⁶

Cassandra's warnings are unheeded by her people as they parade past her, leaving her alone onstage. Her voice at that moment could not alter the fate of Troy.

Berlioz's first act introduces multiple ideas that span across the opera and affect its characters. As the character who embodies the sage archetype, Cassandra knows of Troy's inevitable downfall and tries to guide her people to the truth. No matter what she says, they will never believe her, intoxicated as they are by false hope. Her guidance carries on into the next act and resurfaces at the end of Act V. Like her sage archetype, her balanced anima archetype provides a bridge to her embodiment of the caregiver archetype in Act II.

Libretto Analysis Act II

Coroebus and Cassandra's animus-anima mirroring continues in the second act. When the Greeks reveal themselves in the city, Coroebus patriotically fights for Troy and dies in battle (this contrasts the epic where he throws himself into battle because he cannot bear to see Cassandra captured). Cassandra enters the palace at the altar of Vesta-Cybele, the virgin goddess of the hearth, health, and domestic life, where she and the women pray for safety from the Greek soldiers.⁹⁷ Vesta-Cybele represents gendered aspects of a woman's life in Graeco-Roman antiquity. In both ancient and modern cultures, patriarchal precepts, often inscribed in the law, limited most women to domestic

⁹⁶ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 5.

⁹⁷ In the myth, Cassandra takes refuge in the temple as she is also a priestess of the goddess. Berlioz instead places the scene within the palace in an altar room.

life and placed the highest value on virginity.⁹⁸ Berlioz juxtaposes these gendered aspects against Cassandra's empowered, masculine actions in the final numbers of Act II. No. 15 is a recitative and chorus between Cassandra and the other Trojan women. According to the instructions in the score, Cassandra enters looking disheveled as she informs the women that Coroebus died in battle, bravely defending the city, but that Aeneas and his soldiers escaped and will found Rome, knowledge that comes from her alone as no other characters tell her this. This segment of the libretto helps support her role as a sage archetype at the beginning of the act.

When the chorus bemoans the loss of her fiancé, Cassandra considers her own actions. She turns to the altar and addresses the goddess:

For the last time I bow down at the altar of Vesta. I follow my young husband.
Yes, now must end my fruitless [useless] life.⁹⁹

De Vesta, pour la dernière fois, à l'autel, je m'incline. Je suis mon jeune époux.
Oui, cet instant termine mon inutile vie.¹⁰⁰

She resigns herself to her fate to die within the city after briefly mourning her "useless" (inutile) life. In one regard, this descriptor represents the futility of Cassandra's sage archetype because she was unable to communicate her knowledge to her people.

"Useless," or "fruitless," also represents the gendered aspect of her life because, as she stands at the Vesta's altar, Cassandra recognizes that her domestic life as a wife and mother will go unfulfilled because her husband is dead and soon, she will be as well.

Therefore, Cassandra fails to meet the stereotyped cultural expectations for women. The chorus laments that they and the other Trojan people did not heed Cassandra's warnings

⁹⁸ For the civil code in France, see Offen, *The Woman Question in France: 1400-1870*, 6, 27.

⁹⁹ The translated libretto states "fruitless," but "inutile" directly translates to "useless."

¹⁰⁰ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 7.

when there was still time to save themselves. When Cassandra realizes that their fates are sealed in death, her disposition begins to mirror her beloved's. Instead of continuing to fear for the doomed city, she adopts Coroebus's courage, which leads to her death by suicide. Her martyrdom shifts her archetype from sage to caregiver, which, in addition to devotion and caring, often includes self-sacrifice.

Cassandra's resolves that her body will not become a spoil of war for the Greek soldiers. Her suicide appears as a bold feminist decision, saving the city's honor amid its destruction. Her plan to thwart the Greeks lies in delaying their pursuit of Aeneas through a distraction enacted by the Trojan women. Cassandra asks of the women:

But you, frightened doves, will you consent to the horrors of slavery? And will you virgins submit, as women defiled, to the brutal laws of conquest?

Mais vous, colombes effarées, pouvez-vous consentir à l'horrible esclavage? et voudrez-vous subir, vierges, femmes déshonorées la loi brutale des vainqueurs?¹⁰¹

Cassandra knows that their lives would be horrible as captives of the Greeks, and that nothing can save them from their would-be rapists. Cassandra therefore suggests that they kill themselves before the Greeks have a chance to take their honor:

Nothing, do you say? If honour inspires you, (pointing to the gallery) for whom, then, does this gulf open below you? (pointing to her dagger and the women's belts) For whom this iron and these silk cords, if not for you, women of Troy?

Rien, dites-vous? Si l'honneur vous anime, (montrant la galerie) pour qui donc cet abîme est-il ouvert devant vos pas? (montrant son poignard et les ceintures des femmes) Pour qui ce fer et ces cordons de soie, sinon pour vous, femmes de Troie?¹⁰²

To the women who fear death, Cassandra responds, "Go and tend the table and the bed of your masters" (Allez dresser la table et le lit de vos maîtres!).¹⁰³ This response references

¹⁰¹ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 7.

¹⁰² Ibid., 7-8.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 8.

her fate in Aeschylus's *Agamemnon*, in which she becomes Agamemnon's concubine. For Berlioz's Cassandra, death saves the women of Troy from a fate worse than death. These women lack agency in their society, so they control their destiny by controlling how and when they die. She adopts Coroebus's zeal and bravery for her own purpose, which leads to her suicide. The idea of protecting honor is verbalized in the choral response:

Cassandra, we will die with you. They will not see us defiled by the Greeks, nor dragged behind their train. No, no, never, we swear it. (taking up their lyres again) Partaking in her glory by sharing her fate, by our death we will tarnish the Greek's victory. Pure and free we lived. On this fatal night we will go down pure and free to the river of death. Dark Pluto, open us the gates of Tenarus! Charon, make your gloomy fanfare ring!

Cassandre, avec toi nous mourrons! On ne nous verra pas par les Grecs profanées, nous ne paraîtrons pas en triomphe traînées. Non, non, jamais, nous le jurons. Complices de sa gloire, en partageant son sort, des Grecs par notre mort flétrissons la victoire! Pures et libres nous vivions. en cette nuit fatale pures et libres descendons a la rive infernale! Ouvre-nous, noir Pluton, les portes du Ténare! Fais retentir, Caron, ta funèbre fanfare!¹⁰⁴

The women essentially celebrate their deaths by playing their lyres and singing, which makes for a strange sight for the Greek soldiers who enter the room. The captain describes Cassandra as a “blue-eyed Bacchante drunk with her own music” (Bacchante à l’oeil d’azur s’enivrant d’harmonie).¹⁰⁵ His description of Cassandra questions her sanity. Bacchantes worshiped the god Bacchus, the god of fertility and wine. Bacchus is also associated with madness, as his female priestesses participated in rituals where they appeared to be crazy as they sang and danced wildly while intoxicated. Pillinger argues that Cassandra's intoxication (s'enivrant) does not lead to her doom for two reasons: she can see the future, so her emotions are not based on false hopes; and she experiences

¹⁰⁴ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 8.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 9.

intoxication through her song of death.¹⁰⁶ By singing and celebrating their victory of sorts, Cassandra and the women distract the Greeks from their initial goal of finding the treasures which Aeneas and his men had taken with them. As the soldiers threaten Cassandra and the other women, they surprise them with their suicide:

We scorn your cowardly threats, monsters drunk with blood, vile and predatory crew! You will not quench your thirst for gold, you robbers! (She stabs herself, then hands the dagger to Polyxena) There! Pain is nothing! (Polyxena stabs herself. Cassandra remains standing)

Nous méprisons votre lâche menace, monstres ivres de sang, troupe immonde et rapace! Vous n'étancherez pas, brigands, votre soif d'or! (Elle se frappe et tends le poignard à Polyxène.) Tiens! la douleur n'est rien! (Polyxène se frappe à son tour. Cassandre se soutient toujours.)¹⁰⁷

This time Cassandra accuses the Greek soldiers of being drunk on blood, but is triumphant because they will not quench their thirst for gold (the Trojan treasure).¹⁰⁸ She then stabs herself, and the soldiers then discover that Aeneas and his men have escaped with the treasure, resulting in their mission's failure and their defeat by women who thwart their rapist violence.

After her speech to the Greeks, Cassandra and the women cry, "Save our sons, Aeneas! Italy! Italy! (Sauve nos fils, Énée! Italie! Italie!)" and then stab themselves, jump to their deaths, or strangle themselves in a mass suicide. As Cassandra stumbles around in her last moments of life, she cries out, "Italy!" (Italie!)¹⁰⁹ one final time before collapsing. Near the virgin Vesta-Cybele altar, Cassandra and the women defied their gender by controlling their fate while also protecting their female bodies from rape. The suicide scene acts as a shocking distraction to keep the soldiers from noticing that Aeneas

¹⁰⁶ Pillinger, "Translating Classical Visions in Berlioz's *Les Troyens*," 83.

¹⁰⁷ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 9.

¹⁰⁸ Pillinger, "Translating Classical Visions in Berlioz's *Les Troyens*," 82.

¹⁰⁹ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 9.

and his band of Trojan men are fleeing the burning city. By distracting the Greeks, and facilitating Aeneas's escape, the women also ensured that their progeny would continue the Trojan lineage. Therefore, their actions shift power from the men to the women as they exhibited masculine traits with a multifold gendered purpose. Her suicide does not fully represent free-will and choice, however, thanks to her aid, Aeneas and the future of Troy in Rome are fostered.

Berlioz provides Cassandra with agency, which Virgil denied her. As the gendered caregiver archetype, Cassandra sacrifices herself as a martyr for the legacy of her people and their imperial future in Rome.¹¹⁰ In her final moments, her sage archetype resurfaces as she reiterates the Trojan imperial future in Italy. Even after her death, Berlioz's Cassandra continues to act as a sage, returning in Act V to guide Aeneas when he falters in his destined mission.

Libretto Analysis Act V

In the *Aeneid*, Mercury visits Aeneas with a message to cease his relationship with Dido and follow his fated destiny.¹¹¹ Berlioz instead alters that scene by extending Cassandra's role by embodying the sage archetype when she appears to Aeneas in this act as a ghostly messenger alongside the ghosts of Priam, Hector, and Coroebus. As king, prince, and princess of Troy, they are authority figures to Aeneas, who is too distracted by Dido to follow his destiny. As the former Trojan royal family, their duty is to be the voice of imperialism for Aeneas, especially Cassandra, since her gift of prophecy made

¹¹⁰ Though Jung does not recognize "martyr" as a specific archetype, sacrificing oneself for someone or something in order for it to survive would fall under caregiving.

¹¹¹ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.285-310.

her aware of his future. Priam and Coroebus sing separately while Cassandra and Hector sing their lines in unison, “Not one hour more” (“Pas une heure”) and “You must conquer and found” (“Il faut vaincre et fonder”).¹¹²

For a final time, Cassandra serves as an obstacle for a man’s desire since she tells Aeneas that he must leave his lover. The sage archetype does not appeal to the emotions of the one he or she guides, but to the logic of reality, no matter how much emotional anguish it may create. For Aeneas, the logic of his reality and duty lies in his destiny to found Rome, which cannot occur if he remains in Carthage. Cassandra acts as a positive archetype even though the truth hurts Aeneas and Dido.¹¹³

In the previous acts, Cassandra voiced her ominous predictions about her people as a sage, developed a balanced anima-animus relationship with her beloved, and as a caregiver, rallied her fellow Trojan women to defy the Greeks through suicide. In Act V, however, she does not appeal to these emotional aspects, but merely focuses on the fact that Aeneas must leave Carthage in order to conquer and found. In this act, she appears quite different from her former self. Cassandra’s ghost speaks succinctly, only in unison with the others. The love, courage, and bravery that made up her personality disappears in death. All that remains is a defamiliarized vessel to command Aeneas to follow his destiny. She no longer possesses a personal identity, as her only duty in death is to support Trojan imperialism to found Rome.

¹¹² Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 19.

¹¹³ C.G. Jung, *The Essential Jung*, ed. Anthony Storr (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 125.

Cassandra: Music in Act I

Following an opening chorus, the listener first encounters Cassandra's sage archetype as she describes her vision and what it means for the Trojan people and herself in a recitative and air. No. 2 begins with the recitative "Les Grecs ont disparu" (The Greeks have vanished) and opens with the motive that Julian Rushton identifies as a personal motive for Cassandra (See Example 2.1).¹¹⁴ Her motive, marked at a stately tempo (*adagio molto sostenuto*), begins with a rapidly ascending E-flat major scale and descends with dotted figures. The tempo, rushing scales, and dotted figures create a regal ceremonial sound similar to the French overture style.¹¹⁵ The regal sound not only reminds the listener that Cassandra is a princess of Troy, but also alludes to her vision of Troy's fate. Underneath Cassandra's motive, the audience hears tension building through the staccato triplet figures and a chromatically moving bassline, which reflects Cassandra's anxiety.

Example 2.1: *Les Troyens* Act I No. 2 Measures 1-4: Cassandra Motive



Berlioz establishes the motive's unmistakable associations with Cassandra and fate throughout her opening scene. The motive appears in full at the beginning of both the recitative and aria in No. 2 before Cassandra begins singing. Its first scale pattern appears as an E-flat major scale and a G-flat major scale to transition into E-flat minor in the aria.

¹¹⁴ Julian Rushton, "The Musical Structure," in *Hector Berlioz: Les Troyens*, ed. Ian Kemp (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 130.

¹¹⁵ George Gow Waterman and James R. Anthony, "French Overture," Grove Music Online, accessed 22 May, 2019, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

It also appears in two abbreviated forms in both sections of No. 2.¹¹⁶ The first appearances of the abbreviated versions occur in the recitative in the orchestra: a dotted figure after “Les Grecs on disparu!” (see Example 2.2); a short ascending ornamental scale pattern after “but what a fatal dread” (mais quel dessein fatal) (see Example 2.2); and the dotted rhythm after “All is bearing out my grim forebodings” (Tout vient justifier ma sombre inquiétude) (See Example 2.3). An abbreviated scalular version also occurs during the aria as Cassandra sings, “You heed me not, nor wish to know” (Tu ne m’écoutes pas, tu ne veux rien comprendre), twice in reference to the Trojan people not believing her, once again connecting the motive to the prophecy (See Example 2.4). A dotted figure occurs again following “ill-fated people, to the horror that haunts me” (Malheureux people, à l’horreur qui me suit).¹¹⁷

Example 2.2: *Les Troyens* Act I No. 2 Measures 9-11: Abbreviated Cassandra Motive



This motive also appears throughout the opera in other numbers associated with Cassandra. In Act I, Berlioz presents the motive in the following duet, “C’est lui.” It appears again in Act II when Cassandra announces that she and the other Trojan women must kill themselves before the Greeks can take them (No. 15). It does not, however, appear in Act V because she lacks agency as a spirit. The fact that she has a motive that

¹¹⁶ Rushton, “The Musical Structure,” 136.

¹¹⁷ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 1-2.

appears with almost all of her actions when other characters do not is important, since it is another aspect of her agency that Berlioz gave her.

Example 2.3: *Les Troyens* Act I No. 2 Measures 16: Abbreviated Cassandra Motive



Example 2.4: *Les Troyens* Act I No. 2 Measures 52-57: Abbreviated Cassandra Motive



Several possible reasons explain the reoccurrence of the motive. It specifically represents the prophecy of the fate of Troy, which intrinsically links it to Cassandra. In that sense, her agency reflects her gendered role in the patriarchal society she is trying to save. More broadly, Rushton classifies the use of sweeping scales as an element of dire prophecy in other moments that hint at Troy's destruction.¹¹⁸ In No. 11, for example, the sweeping scales are heard in the orchestra as the citizens pull the wooden horse through the city in celebration, ironically not realizing that they are fulfilling the prophecy.

Part of the sage archetype is the possession of knowledge attained through study or mystic powers.¹¹⁹ The people of Troy believed Cassandra was mad, but she knew the truth through the mystic power bestowed upon her by Apollo. The music supports this idea that she is correct. In nineteenth-century opera, madness typically presents itself in multiple ways: excessive chromaticism, coloratura, extremely high notes, disruptive

¹¹⁸ Rushton, "The Musical Structure," 130-33, 141.

¹¹⁹ Jung, *The Essential Jung*, 125.

recollections of themes, misalignment of the vocal and instrumental lines, and departures from conventional form and structure.¹²⁰ These musical traits most notably appear in Italian bel canto opera, but they also appear in mad scenes in French opera before and after *Les Troyens*.¹²¹ Cassandra's recitative and air contain none of these elements, but instead feature the opposite characteristics. The aria itself has a very simple accompaniment that supports the lyricism of Cassandra singing about her concerns for Troy and Coroebus with clarity. It follows the traditional ABA form with gentle dynamic contrasts and a melodic line that focuses on the lyrics rather than vocal acrobatics. Cassandra's music consequently does not adopt the conventions that define representations of madness in nineteenth-century opera.

Nevertheless, her recitative and aria contain a disruptive element. Berlioz places the fate motive in the violas while Cassandra sings, "God! Coroebus, he loves me, I love him" (O Dieux! Corèbe! Il ma'aime! Il est aime). The fate figure generally appears as repeated short notes on the downbeat preceded by a short note on the upbeat.¹²² This motive, when combined with the lyrics, implies that their love is ill-fated at the precise moment when the libretto refers to the anima-animus relationship of Cassandra and Coroebus.

The motives and three-four meter create an expressive display of her emotions as she laments her love lost. The recitative employs minimal chromaticism. In E-flat major, the instrumental accompaniment moves chromatically, acting as a builder of tension, not

¹²⁰ Mary Ann Smart, "The Silencing of Lucia," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 4, no. 2 (July 1992):127-41.

¹²¹ Sean M. Parr, "Melismatic Madness: Coloratura and Female Vocality in Mid Nineteenth-Century French and Italian Opera" (PhD diss., Columbia University, New York City, 2009), 140, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. Examples of French operas that included mad scenes with these musical characteristics are Giacomo Meyerbeer's *L'Étoile du nord* (1854) and *Le Pardon de Ploërmel* (1859) and Ambroise Thomas' *Hamlet* (1868).

¹²² Rushton, "Musical Structure," 132.

as a signifier of madness due to the stability of rhythm and regularity of the sequential half-step motion at a *piano* dynamic (See Example 2.5). The lack of signifiers of madness and the harmonic and rhythmic regularities solidify the sage archetype, confirming that her knowledge is rationally ordered and not an act of raving. By allowing her to express her concerns without the mask of implied female hysteria, Berlioz begins to provide Cassandra with agency and rationality.

Example 2.5: *Les Troyens* Act I No. 2 Measures 17-27: Tension in recitative accompaniment

The musical score for Example 2.5 consists of two systems of staves. The first system includes parts for Flute, Clarinet in Bb, Horn in F, and Soprano. The second system includes parts for Flute, Bb Clarinet, Horn, and Soprano. The Soprano part in both systems has French lyrics. The first system's lyrics are: "J'ai vu l'om bre d'hec - tor par cou rir nos rem parts Comme". The second system's lyrics are: "un veil-leur de nuit j'ai vu sembler-gards in ter ro ger au loin". The score is in 2/4 time and features a piano dynamic.

After Coroebus’s cavatina, “Revien à toi,” the Cassandra motive occurs again in a shortened version in the third number, their duet. An abbreviated version introduces Cassandra’s rebuttal to Coroebus’s suggestion to “Look, and let your soul be at peace, let your heart hope again” (*Laisse entrer en ton coeur un doux rayon d’espoir*).¹²³ It is heard at the end of each of her statements when she refutes what he has said in her previously

¹²³ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 2.

quoted vision, which supports the connection of the motive to her prophecy (See Example 2.6).

Example 2.6: *Les Troyens* Act I No. 3 Measures 81-83: Abbreviated Cassandra Motive



Her prophecy features some rhythmic instability as she alternates between simple recitative and measured recitative. This technique builds a sense of urgency in her prophecy and her need for Coroebus to heed her warnings. At the end of her prophecy, Berlioz uses descending chromatic scales to build tension and agitation as she describes seeing Coroebus in a river of blood after a Greek sword stabs him. The final descending chromatic scale accompanies her fainting into her fiancé's arms as an audible confirmation of her exhaustion and stress. Coroebus attempts to calm her by describing the peace he sees around him.

His responses to Cassandra, as well as the orchestral accompaniment, remain relaxed and lyrical at *larghetto* and *andante* tempos until he tells her to proclaim her error. While his singing remains lyrical in his false bliss (his reference to Tenedos identifies where the Greeks docked their ships to trick the Trojans),¹²⁴ the orchestral

¹²⁴ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 2.27-31.

accompaniment becomes increasingly busy with scales and arpeggios, though never so frenetic that it interferes with his singing. These are not all ascending scales, but they create an underlying rumble that everything is not as peaceful as he might think. Shorter ascending scales also appear in the low strings as Cassandra begs him to leave. He responds by pleading for her not to send him away. This creates tension underneath their singing and also reiterates that Coroebus is wrong about the peace he senses in Troy. In this duet, the audience hears Cassandra's thoughts and her love for her fiancé, and this reiterates her anima-animus relationship with Coroebus. His mirrored traits of empathy and attempt to soothe his fiancée appear audibly in his lyrical and *larghetto* melodies that contrast with Cassandra's more urgent, punctuated responses.

Cassandra: Music in Act II

Cassandra transitions from the sage archetype to the caregiver archetype at the beginning of Act II because the action supersedes her warning of the Trojan's impending doom. As a sage, she guides her people. She cannot force them, but as a caregiver, she can lead them. Her only options lie in her reaction to the events occurring in Troy and in protecting the honor of her people. At the beginning of the fifteenth number, "Tous ne périront pas" (a recitative and chorus), the audience hears the shortened version of Cassandra's motive for the final time as she enters (See Example 2.7), accompanied by the original E-flat major scale and a shift to C minor, despite the A-flat major key signature. Not only is it shortened, but it is also faster due to the urgency of the situation as the prophecy unfolds around them.

Example 2.7: *Les Troyens* Act II No. 15 Measures 1-2: Abbreviated Cassandra Motive



The audience then hears a martial theme of dotted rhythms as she recounts the escape of a band of Trojan men led by Aeneas (See Example 2.8). Martial dotted rhythms can be interpreted as representing the imperial drive of the Trojan destiny moving forward.¹²⁵ This theme imbues victorious energy to her news amidst the cataclysm she and the women are witnessing from the altar of Vesta-Cybele in the palace. Cassandra's questioning of the women about whether they will consent to slavery or lose their honor to the Greeks is prefaced with ascending scalular patterns reminiscent of her motive (See Example 2.9). The ascending scales punctuate her statements and create tension as they move higher in pitch as she relates that the Myrmidons are getting closer to the palace (See Example 2.10). That is the last time the shortened motive appears. It does not appear when she explicitly explains her plan of mass suicide to save their honor, nor does it appear during the actualization of this plan. This plan exists outside of the prophecy; ergo, it is no longer connected to Cassandra as she moves from the sage archetype to self-sacrificing caregiver archetype.

¹²⁵ Tom Cooper, "Frenchmen in Disguise: French Musical Exoticism and Empire in the Nineteenth Century" in *Empire and Culture: The French Experience, 1830-1940* ed. Martin Evans (New York City: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 121.

Example 2.8: *Les Troyens* Act II No. 15 Measures 12-14: Fragment of military-style dotted figures while Cassandra sings of Aeneas escaping to found Italy

Troyens Bien tôt en I - ta - li - e

Example 2.9: *Les Troyens* Act II No. 15 Measures 45-47: Ascending Scalular Patterns Reminiscent of Cassandra's Motive

Mais vous! co lom bes ef fa ré es,

Example 2.10: *Les Troyens* Act II No. 15 Measures 63-65: Ascending Scalular Patterns Reminiscent of Cassandra's Motive (Final Appearance)

plis... sent nos ru es? Et ceux qui du pa lais gar dent les a ve nu es?

Just as there were no elements of madness in the duet, Cassandra's message of saving their honor expresses no excessive chromaticism, coloratura, extremely high notes, disruptive recalled themes, or moments of vocal and instrumental misalignment. Both the instrumental and vocal lines are diatonic. Cassandra sings without any vocal ornamentation, and her range is within normal limits for a soprano. No recalled themes disrupt her singing, and the choral interjections occur at appropriate times for responses. The orchestral lines provide a steady rhythmic accompaniment that supports Cassandra's vocal lines and mental stability. The cohesively structured music reinforces the idea that she cogently formulated her plan to save the honor of the Trojan women and provide Troy with a small victory in the face of total annihilation.

Berlioz structures the sixteenth number, "Complices de sa gloire," as a voyeuristic setting through the musical genre of the waltz. Nineteenth-century Europeans considered the waltz to be a sexualized, feminine genre both as a dance and musical form.¹²⁶ During this dance, the male partner frequently spins and disorients the woman while they are in unusually close proximity. This dance creates freedom from social standards with onlookers witnessing abandonment of societal graces between the genders. One male observer, Adolph Glassbrenner, commented that the women were now "only Bacchantes."¹²⁷ This description refers back to the idea of "ivresse," because waltzes were related to intoxication through the experience and perception of the dancers whose vertigo-inducing movements themselves were intoxicating. By connecting the waltz to the mythical dances of wild, sexual motion and madwomen, Glassbrenner associates the

¹²⁶ Francesca Draughon, "Dance of Decadence: Class, Gender, and Modernity in the Scherzo of Mahler's Ninth Symphony," *The Journal of Musicology* 20, no. 3 (2003): 396.

¹²⁷ Draughon, "Dance of Decadence," 397.

dance with sensuality. The men who watched these women dancing became entranced in a voyeuristic seduction by the eroticized dancer.¹²⁸ In this scenario, the woman (the seducer) exerts power over the man (the seduced). This interpretation directly relates to the power of distraction that Cassandra and the Trojan women have over the Greek soldiers. Though Cassandra and the women are not dancing during this number, the gendered connotations of the genre create a voyeuristic scene as the soldiers passively watch the women sing and eventually kill themselves.¹²⁹ Furthermore, the audience participates in the voyeurism of the scene as they watch the women as well.

The musical form of the waltz carries an additional feminine connotation due to its utilization as a dance aria form. Waltz arias usually feature melismatic and virtuosic singing performed by a female soprano, intrinsically linking the genre to women.¹³⁰ As a soprano sings the acrobatic vocal lines, she becomes the center of attention for the audience. Virtuosic soprano dance arias, in turn, serve as great musical forms for mad scenes.¹³¹ This genre provides a setting for Cassandra to express madness and grief, but musically, this does not occur due to the simple structures of the vocal lines. “Complices de sa gloire,” features exchanges of recitative and arioso sections between Cassandra and the chorus of women. Cassandra and the women sing unison pitches without any overlap or coloratura, comfortably within their vocal ranges. The accompaniment is not overly complex, so the vocal lines are clearly heard. This music contrasts with what the Greek captain says as he watches the women sing and play their lyres as he enters the room. He

¹²⁸ Draughon, “Dance of Decadence,” 397-98.

¹²⁹ Though Berlioz does not notate dancing in the libretto, some productions feature Cassandra and the women swaying or performing choreographed motions. None are actual waltz dances, but their movements and swaying are graceful and perhaps entrancing.

¹³⁰ Sean M. Parr, “Dance and the Female Singer in Second Empire Opera,” *19th-Century Music* 36, no. 2 (Fall 2012): 103.

¹³¹ Parr, “Dance and the Female Singer,” 112.

describes Cassandra as a “Bacchante” as she sings of death, despite her lack of vocal acrobatics or dancing (See Example 2.11). The Greek captain perceives madness due to her unorthodox behavior, but she and the women are anything but mad. He also describes how beautiful she looks while she sings of death. She briefly becomes the object of his gaze rather than an obstacle to conquer, which allows her plan of distracting the Greeks to succeed. The voyeuristic gaze is not uncommon in female mad scenes or death scenes, as it is usually a climactic part of the story,¹³² but it also has connections to European society during the nineteenth century. Framing her as the object of the male character’s gaze creates the same kind of spectacle experienced by nineteenth-century citizens when they visited insane asylums to witness women broken by their feminine sexuality.¹³³ The difference between the women in asylums, traditional mad scenes, and Cassandra, lies in the agency she possesses over her mind and actions. Cassandra’s behavior places her in the center of the action and gaze, but despite her appearance, behavior, and the dance aria form, she is not a madwoman, but one who controls the gaze and her fate. Cassandra’s most significant moments of clarity occur in her recitative before and after she stabs herself. Though the tempo marking is *allegro assai*, her singing does not feel anxious. With a condensed vocal range, she sings effortlessly over simple string tremolo accompaniment with harp interjections between her statements (See Example 2.12).

¹³² Smart, “The Silencing of Lucia,” 126-27.

¹³³ Ibid., 121.

Example 2.11: *Les Troyens* Act II No. 16 Measures 201-9: Unison Lines Between Cassandra and Chorus While the Captain Calls Cassandra a Bacchante

Contralto
Soprano 1
Soprano 2
Cassandra 3
Un Chef Grec
Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Cello
Double Bass

le Pu - res et li - bres des - ceu - dons A...
le Pu - res et li - bres des - ceu - dons A...
le Pu - res et li - bres des - ceu - dons A...
le Pu - res et li - bres des - ceu - dons A...
chante à l'oeil d'a - zur, luc - chante à l'oeil d'a - zur

Example 2.12: *Les Troyens* Act II No. 16 Measures 225-32: Cassandra's Accompanied Recitative Before Suicide

Harp 1
Harp 2
Cassandra
Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Cello
Double Bass

ma - ce: Mais tres iv - res de sang! troupe ins - sen - si - ble et rap - ace! Vous n'ê - tes que nez - pos, bels gands, vo tresail d'or!

Many operas also dramatically, though not accurately, depict suicide as a mental disorder or an unbearable social situation.¹³⁴ Instead, when Cassandra hands a dagger to another priestess and delivers her line, “Take it! The pain is nothing!” (Tiens! la douleur n’est rien!), she is unaccompanied and singing recitative rather than an arioso line (See Example 2.13). She is clearly in a lucid state of mind, determined that what she is doing is the correct action. Unlike her sage archetype, which lacked control over her situation, Cassandra as a caregiver knows what is in her control and what is not.

Example 2.13: *Les Troyens* Act II No. 16 Measures 233-34: Cassandra’s Unaccompanied Recitative Declaration

The musical score for Example 2.13 shows a single vocal line for Cassandra. The notation is in common time (C) and B-flat major. The lyrics are "Tiens! la dou - leur n'est rien!". The piano accompaniment is represented by five staves (treble and bass clefs) with rests, indicating that the vocal line is unaccompanied.

The final moment of validation for Cassandra occurs in her last vocal line. After she stumbles and falls, she rises from the ground and sings, “Save our sons, Aeneas! Italy! Italy!” (Sauve nos fils, Enée! Italie! Italie!) before she drops to the floor dead.¹³⁵ The repetition of “Italie” introduces the motive for Aeneas’s destiny that repeats throughout the following acts (See Example 2.14). Cassandra chooses her death while becoming an agent of the Trojan imperialistic objective. She and the women know that their sacrifice

¹³⁴ Saxby Pridmore, Stephanie Auchincloss, Nerissa L Soh, and Garry Walter, “Four Centuries of Suicide in Opera,” *Med J Aust* 199, no.11 (December 2013): 784-85.

¹³⁵ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 9.

was worth the cost, as it assisted Aeneas with his destiny and provided a future for their descendants.

Example 2.14: *Les Troyens* Act II No. 16 Measures 261-70: Italie Motive

The musical score for Example 2.14, *Les Troyens* Act II No. 16 Measures 261-70: Italie Motive, is presented in a standard orchestral format. It includes six vocal staves (Cassandra 1, Soprano 2, Soprano 3, Contralto, Tenor, and Bass) and five instrumental staves (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Cello, and Double Bass). The vocal parts are written in French, with lyrics such as "Sau-ve leurs fils, É-né-e! I-ta-li-e, I-ta-li-e!" and "Ah". The instrumental parts are written in G major and 4/4 time, featuring dynamic markings like *f* (forte) and *ff* (fortissimo). The score is arranged in a system with ten staves, with the vocal parts at the top and the instrumental parts at the bottom.

Berlioz presents two conflicting descriptions of Cassandra to the audience, one through his stage directions and the other through his music. In the score’s fifteenth number, Berlioz includes a note that describes Cassandra’s hair as disheveled (“Entre Cassandre les cheveux épars”), which is a sign of female madness in nineteenth-century art and opera. In addition, in Nos. 15 and 16, a choir of fellow Trojan women appears on stage with Cassandra, forming a group and staring at her. This type of staging subjects her to the gaze of not only the audience but the characters as well.¹³⁶ Musically, however, the fifteenth and sixteenth numbers do not exhibit musical conventions associated with

¹³⁶ Smart, “The Silencing of Lucia,” 126-27.

madness. The stage directions add drama to the scene, but the music reflects Cassandra's true mental state.

Ultimately, despite her disheveled hair and the choir's fixation on her, Cassandra's musico-dramatic characterization in Act II does not exhibit madness because she bases her actions on her visions.¹³⁷ Vlado Kotnik reiterates that the bel canto mad prima donnas also speak the truth and subvert social norms.¹³⁸ To the other characters, the prophetess might appear mad, but the audience knows that she is sane as they are privy to Cassandra's dialogue about her curse.

Her leadership role does not elevate her to a hero archetype, but she does present some of the values and bravery of her departed animus, perhaps mirroring Coroebus's masculinity one last time. Furthermore, Cassandra refutes any sexualizing gaze in the final number by stabbing herself with the dagger, which, according to Laura Mulvey, shifts the balance of power between the women and the soldiers. Cassandra possesses the phallic symbol when she wields the dagger. When she stabs herself with it, she stops the Greeks' sexual violence. She also displays masculine power in this manner of suicide. The male Greek soldiers, and by proxy any male audience members, cannot sexualize her because she emasculates them.¹³⁹ Perceiving her action as being masculine or as a feminist action is not out of the question as it does test the gendered limits of her caregiver archetype.

¹³⁷ Pillinger, "Translating Classical Visions in Berlioz's *Les Troyens*," 82.

¹³⁸ Vlado Kotnik, "The Idea of Prima Donna: The History of a Very Special Opera's Institution," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 47, no. 2 (December 2016): 252.

¹³⁹ Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," in *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings*, ed. Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 840.

Cassandra: Music in Act V

In the final act, Cassandra's loss of identity in the libretto also occurs in the music. The audience no longer hears Cassandra's motive when she returns as a ghost, which further supports the sage archetype and the importance of her role in creating Rome.¹⁴⁰ Instead of a new motive, ghost-Cassandra sings in unison with Hector.¹⁴¹ This scene uses the musical topic of *ombra* which signifies the supernatural, especially ghosts.¹⁴² Specific characteristics define the *ombra* topic, such as tremolos, slow tempo, chromaticism, dissonance, dotted rhythms, sudden dynamic contrast, syncopation, and others, though not all appear in this selection.¹⁴³ The *ombra* topic appears in number forty-two as an *andante* tempo with syncopation, dotted rhythms, sudden dynamic contrast between the ghost voices and Aeneas, and dissonance in the instrumental accompaniment.

In typical *ombra* style, the ghostly voices remain on the same pitch as they intone their ominous warnings to Aeneas, as seen in measures thirteen and fourteen as well as measures twenty-four and twenty-five in Examples 2.15 and 2.16, respectively. Berlioz also notes in the score that the ghosts are to appear veiled with a crown of soft flames (Les quatre spectres voilés paraissent...Au-dessus de la tête de chacun d'eux brille une couronne de petites flammes pales) adding to the spooky otherworldliness of their appearance.¹⁴⁴ Cassandra's monotone lines also support her sage archetype. Though Jung does not mention the tone of voice used by sage archetype, he repeatedly provides

¹⁴⁰ Rushton, "The Musical Structure," 144.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Clive McClelland, "Ombra and Tempesta," in *The Oxford Handbook of Topical Theory*, ed. Danuta Mirka (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 279.

¹⁴³ McClelland, "Ombra and Tempesta," 279-300.

¹⁴⁴ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 18.

descriptions of stories where the archetype speaks clearly without any extra embellishment of prose.¹⁴⁵ Because Cassandra does not sing her lines with distracting flourishes of pitch or style, her message stays clear and direct. Her deliverance of wisdom to guide Aeneas to the next part of his destiny remains unwavering.

Example 2.15: *Les Troyens* Act V No. 42 Measures 12-17: Syncopated Rhythm on Same Pitch

Le spectre de Cass. (invisible) *sotto voce* 3 — Pas une heu - re!

Le spectre d'Hector (invisible) *sotto voce* 8 Pas une heu - re!

Le spectre de Chor. (invisible) *sotto voce* Pas un jour!

Le spectre de Priam (Il lève son voile devant les yeux d'Énée en disant) Plus de re-tardst.. Je suis Pri - ant.. (sa couronne s'éteint, il disparaît) il faut vivre et par-tir!

Example 2.16: *Les Troyens* Act V No. 42 Measures 23-26: Dotted Rhythm on Same Pitch

Le spectre de Cass. *sotto voce* Il faut vaincre et fon-der!..

Le spectre d'Hector *sotto voce* Il faut vaincre et fon-der!.. (Leurs couronnes s'éteignent, ils disparaissent)

Violin unis. pizz.

Berlioz utilizes motives, styles, and musical topics to support and reveal aspects of Cassandra's archetypes, gender, and relationship to the Trojan imperial destiny. Most notably, the composer supports the sage archetype through a motive that links Cassandra's prophecies with Troy's fate and cohesive musical structures that lack musical signifiers of madness, which provide legitimacy to her warnings and fears.

¹⁴⁵ Jung, *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, 162-70.

The *ombra* topic reveals in the fifth act that Cassandra's spirit exists as a vessel to guide Aeneas. In regard to her anima archetype, Berlioz employs a subtle fate motive to reveal that Cassandra and Coroebus's love is ill-fated. A link forms between Cassandra's anima archetype and her caregiver archetype when martial themes, reminiscent of the Trojan anthem, resound as she calls the women to take charge of their fate. The composer juxtaposes the prophetess's feminine traits and her masculine actions in No. 16. Here through the sexualized waltz described above, she distracts the Greek soldiers. Her final cries of "Italy" introduce the motive that will represent the Trojan imperial destiny in the Carthage portion of the opera.

Berlioz and Cassandra

Why did Berlioz drastically alter Cassandra's role in the *Aeneid* to shape a different portrayal of her in *Les Troyens*? Jeffrey Langford argues that her increased role in Acts I and II balances the opera because the main female protagonist, Dido, does not appear until Act III.¹⁴⁶ He also asks, "why Cassandra," when the *Aeneid* offers other female characters such as Andromache, the wife of Hector, or even Aeneas's wife, Creüsa, whose ghost guided him when he searched in vain for her after discovering she was no longer by his side as the Trojans fled the city.¹⁴⁷ Langford postulates that the choice of Cassandra and her struggle to communicate the inevitable doom of Troy provide contrasting musical moods to the second half of the opera, which was a compositional strategy Berlioz employed in other works.¹⁴⁸ This theory could plausibly

¹⁴⁶ Jeffery Langford, "Berlioz, Cassandra, and the French Operatic Tradition," *Music and Letters* 62, no. 3/4 (July-October 1981): 311-15.

¹⁴⁷ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 2.890-919.

¹⁴⁸ Langford, "Berlioz, Cassandra, and the French Operatic Tradition," 311.

explain his choice of Cassandra as the female lead in the opera's first two acts. Langford also believes that Berlioz derived inspiration from Rossini's *Le Siège de Corinthe* (1826), which features a princess who commits suicide by a dagger in a temple surrounded by women praying for deliverance and a prophecy in the final act.¹⁴⁹ Although Langford explains the expansion of Cassandra's role and a possible source for some of Berlioz's dramaturgical decisions, I believe there is more behind the composer's treatment of Cassandra than the balancing of the plot or the sensational display of her death.

This dramaturgical choice allows Berlioz to provide a voice for the imperial destiny that guides the entire opera. Cassandra's curse allowed her to see Troy's future first as a city and then as a nation. Her prophecies carry the idea of destiny throughout the opera and find fulfillment in Dido's vision of Rome's triumph in Act V. By having Cassandra deliver the prophecy of the Trojan future to the women, and then later to the Greek soldiers, the composer creates a dramatic transition into the next act. When the women kill themselves to save both their honor and provide continuity for the life of their people, Berlioz depicts their glorious martyrdom and can allude to the success of the Trojans in the creation of an empire. The importance of sacrificing and struggling to pave the path for a legacy is documented by Berlioz in his autobiography during his creation of *Les Troyens*.

Berlioz reveals his feelings about Cassandra in three passages in his *Memoires*. The first occurs in a recollection of a conversation with Princess Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein, who appreciated Berlioz's artistic soul. While visiting in Weimar, Berlioz spoke with her concerning his love of Virgil and his desire to create a grand opera with a

¹⁴⁹ Langford, "Berlioz, Cassandra, and the French Operatic Tradition," 313-15.

Shakespearean structure. Berlioz also confided in her his concerns about undertaking the opera based on Books II and IV of the *Aeneid*, but she highly encouraged him to write it. When he again stated his fears and toyed with the idea of abandoning the project, the princess offered him an ultimatum: “If you are so weak as to be afraid to face everything for Dido and Cassandra, then never come back here—I refuse to see you again.”¹⁵⁰ Dane Thomas Stalcup argues that Berlioz’s fickle behavior with the princess frequently appears throughout his *Memoires* (perhaps her harsh tone reflects the frequency of this behavior) in order to convey his reputation as the “ultimate artist-hero” who can unite Shakespeare, literature, and music into an entirely new artistic synthesis.¹⁵¹ Such martyrdom shapes the narrative for his autobiography. Cassandra’s inclusion in the colloquy possibly suggests that the composer discussed Cassandra and his admiration for her. Berlioz stated that he began to work on the verses for the poem and the score immediately after his conversation with Princess Sayn-Wittgenstein.¹⁵²

The second reference to Cassandra occurs in the *Memoires* when Berlioz describes his reactions to his critics. He compares their hatred of his music and their preference for the style of others to a rejection of muses of higher stature (symbolized by worthy women from myth and Shakespearian plots) in favor of inferior muses (symbolized by ancient prostitutes) who lack honor and dignity:

The muse of such people is called Lais, Phryne, occasionally but very rarely Aspasia (she was too intelligent), whereas for noble minds, and lovers of great art the goddess has names like Juliet, Desdemona, Cordelia, Ophelia, Imogen, Virgilia, Miranda, Dido, Cassandra, Alcestis—names that evoke images of poetic

¹⁵⁰ Hector Berlioz, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, trans. David Cairns (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 2002), 532.

¹⁵¹ Dane Thomas Stalcup, “Fragmented Totalities: The Autobiography of Composer Hector Berlioz” (PhD diss., New York University, New York City, 2013), 232, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

¹⁵² Berlioz, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, 532.

passion, dignity, restraint, self-sacrifice, where the former suggest only base sensuousness and prostitution.¹⁵³

In an attempt to defend his compositional integrity, Berlioz informs the reader that the critics only want to hear operas about courtesans like Lais and Phryne who are sexually enticing, but with lower artistic merit. In this dichotomy, the mythical Cassandra ranks higher as a muse for music than Lais and Phryne, despite the princess's limited role in classical myth.

Berlioz's final mention of Cassandra occurs when he describes how certain sections of the opera move him:

Of all the passionately sad music that I have ever written I know of none to compare with Dido's in this passage and the aria which follows, except for Cassandra's in parts of *The Capture of Troy*, which has not yet been performed anywhere. Oh my noble Cassandra, my heroic virgin, I must resign myself: I shall never hear you—and I am like the young Coroebus.¹⁵⁴

Berlioz laments the cuts made by the director, Léon Carvalho, due to budgetary constraints. The abridged version of the opera did not include Cassandra, so Berlioz never heard the music performed though he greatly respected both the epic and operatic Cassandra.

Beth Hart presents three different reasons as to why Berlioz picked Cassandra. Her first argument claims that Berlioz was horrified at the treatment of Cassandra and wanted to preserve her dignity and virginity.¹⁵⁵ This reasoning could be plausible, assuming that Berlioz had read other stories that included the brutal treatment of Cassandra, since Virgil's epic provides few explicit details. My argument against this is that he does not mention that he reacted in horror to Cassandra (he only mentions

¹⁵³ Berlioz, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, 538.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 539.

¹⁵⁵ Beth Hart, "The Loves of Hector Berlioz, in His Life and in *Les Troyens*," *Opera Quarterly* 19, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 341.

Dido),¹⁵⁶ that he wanted to save her virginity or dignity, or that he consulted any other literary sources in his *Memoires* such as *Agamemnon*. In fact, the only time he mentions her virginity is when he laments that he might never see his “heroic virgin.”¹⁵⁷

Hart’s second reason lies in the treatment of women in opera. She argues that Berlioz saw Cassandra as an image or object to be worshipped and controlled. By keeping her in the archetype of the unviolated, virginal Madonna, she becomes something to be revered rather than someone who exists separately from the man. Hart references past operatic traditions of lamenting the dying virgins and heart-of-gold prostitutes as they never become a separate person before they die. They represent only what the adoring male wants them to represent. This is plausible since Berlioz seems to idolize the women who treat him well or do good and destroy those who hurt him or behave rudely to him, as shown in the first chapter.

The third reason presented by Hart is more tenable in comparison to the first: Berlioz identified with Cassandra and her struggle to be believed.¹⁵⁸ This theory aligns with Stalcup’s argument that Berlioz identified with Cassandra as a victim.¹⁵⁹ Though he received positive critiques at times, he frequently felt misunderstood, like Cassandra, following Apollo’s curse. Berlioz often crossed the boundaries of convention in his compositions and performances, and only later these techniques became common practices or led to innovations in music. In his *Memoires*, he describes his battles with the critics when the opera first opened:

¹⁵⁶ Berlioz, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, 539. It is possible that he might value her virginity due to his Catholic upbringing and the sociopolitical influence of Napoleon I’s Civil Code.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Hart, “The Loves of Hector Berlioz,” 341.

¹⁵⁹ Stalcup, “Fragmented Totalities,” 194-95.

Others held forth in the corridors with comical vehemence, heaping abuse, upon me, declaring that such music could not and should not be ‘allowed.’ Five papers were crudely insulting in terms nicely calculated to wound my feelings as an artist.¹⁶⁰

Berlioz frequently experienced harsh reviews about his novel practices. It is plausible that his subconscious saw the similarities between Cassandra and himself. Her sacrifice for the Trojan imperial objective reflects how Berlioz interpreted his compositional career. His creative compositional risks represent his sacrifice for musical advancement, which eventually bore fruit.

If Berlioz identified with Cassandra, then what does that convey about Berlioz’s opinions about the Empire? No single character can neatly represent all aspects of Berlioz’s emotions and opinions towards the Second Empire. Like Cassandra, the composer exhibits a complex attitude that he does not always overtly express. Though he identified himself as a *bonapartiste*, Berlioz primarily concerned himself with how the administration valued music. He viewed himself as a misunderstood, underappreciated genius and wanted to have the creative opportunities to compose daring works like his colleagues in other countries. To accomplish this, the composer needed commissions from wealthy patrons, civil partnerships with impresarios, and a government that supported the arts. As long as the government adequately supported musical growth, he would support them. In that sense, Cassandra’s inability to be believed aligns with Berlioz’s inability to please the French public or his peers. Both the prophetess and the composer focused on the future while the people around them focused on the present. When Troy falls, Cassandra sees the imperial future for her people and presses upon

¹⁶⁰ Berlioz, *The Memoirs, of Hector Berlioz*, 538.

Aeneas to fulfill that destiny. When Napoleon III became emperor, Berlioz saw a future where he could experience appreciation and patronage, or so he thought.

As the first chapter demonstrated, the roles of various women in Berlioz's biography had parallels in their circumscribed roles in French society at large. Similarly, Berlioz's depiction of Cassandra has a parallel in French politics. Edward Said asserts that Berlioz utilized *Les Troyens* to deliver his opinions about the Second Empire's colonial endeavors in North Africa.¹⁶¹ Said postulates that the Trojans and Cassandra represent the ancestors of the French, whereas Dido and Carthage represent a North African monarch and land.¹⁶² More specifically, the Trojan portion represents the era after the revolution in 1848,¹⁶³ when political unrest and a rebellion in February created the Second Republic. Louis-Napoleon won a presidential election, promising to take care of those who were hungry, in debt, and unemployed. Three years later, after a *coup d'état*, the people voted him (and he declared himself) Emperor Napoleon III.¹⁶⁴ In Said's political allegory, Cassandra and the Greeks represent the French citizens who suffered before Louis-Napoleon's reign. Just as Cassandra gave voice to the Trojan mission to found Rome, so, too, the French electorate's votes for Louis-Napoleon gave voice to nineteenth-century French imperialism. The Greeks, representing elements of antagonism and violence that are hallmarks of the shadow archetype, would then represent the opposing republican government that exacerbated the economic suffering.

¹⁶¹ Edward Said, *Music at the Limits*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 183.

¹⁶² Cooper, "Frenchmen in Disguise," 121.

¹⁶³ David Baguley, *Napoleon III and His Regime: An Extravaganza* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 8.

¹⁶⁴ Roger Price, *The French Second Empire: An Anatomy of Political Power* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 11-27.

Conclusion

Berlioz's alterations to the Virgilian Cassandra enlarged her representation as a female character and her archetypal structure. His expansion of the few short lines provided by Virgil into two full acts develops her inner thoughts, love, and sacrifice, all of which provided Cassandra with a voice and redemption from victimhood. Cassandra's suicide and leadership thwarts the Greeks, giving her agency and freedom. Nevertheless, her role in the overarching storyline situates her as a supporter of Aeneas's destiny and the Roman Empire rather than granting her a separate fate of her own. Evidence of her destiny occurs in Act V, where Cassandra appears to Aeneas as a ghost devoid of personality. She now fully embodies the sage archetype as she guides the hero to "Conquer and Found." Cassandra's ghost represents the physical shape of her body and her ultimate purpose in the narrative: to provide Aeneas with the wisdom he needs to complete his destiny.

Berlioz also embeds the word "ivresse" into the opera to describe when characters become drunk with emotions or desires. This repeated word morphs with each character in the opera to represent which distraction that will bring doom. For the Trojans, their reliance on false hope leaves them too inebriated to hear that the Greeks hid inside the wooden horse. The Greek soldiers, drunk on the bloodlust of war, pillaging, and rape, become distracted by the Trojan women and miss their opportunity to steal the treasure, capture Aeneas and his men, or claim the women as sexual prizes. Cassandra benefits from her drunken harmonies as she sings of death, which allows her to control how she dies and proclaim the Trojan destiny.

Musical support for the sage archetype occurs in the first and second acts through her motive written in a French overture style and the lack of signifiers of madness. Cassandra delivers her prophecy through lyrical melodies that follow traditional musical forms and lack unnecessary vocal acrobatics and excessive chromaticism. Once the prophecy occurs, the audience no longer hears her motive, indicating the prophetess no longer embodies the sage archetype. Her brief embodiment of the caregiver archetype lies in the anima-animus mirroring relationship she has with Coroebus. She channels his patriotism and is supported by militaristic topics during Act II that reference the Trojan anthem. The use of the waltz genre in the suicide scene refers to the gendered idea of the waltz as dance genres were considered to be feminine. This gendered connotation increases with the waltz as it is viewed as a highly sexualized dance. When the women sing and play their lyres in this style, they can distract the men who view them to be like Bacchantes. Cassandra returns to her sage archetype in the final act as a ghost. The composer supports this archetype with aspects of the *ombra* topic such as monotone singing, dotted rhythms, and dissonance in the accompaniment. In this scene, Cassandra mostly embodies the sage archetype because her motive no longer appears with her: she merely exists as a vessel of prophecy. Her lyrics, sung in monotone and without emotion, reiterate that she provides only wisdom to Aeneas. Berlioz's musical reinforcement of these archetypes offers further evidence of Cassandra's gendered and supportive role to Aeneas's destiny, as created by Berlioz's libretto through his adaptation of Virgil's work. Berlioz reflects his admiration, empathy, and identification with Cassandra in her expanded role in the plot, but he never removed her from the gendered roles prescribed to her by a patriarchal, imperial society.

Chapter Three: Dido's Demise

Queen Dido of Carthage is a familiar character in operatic history. Before *Les Troyens*, her story appeared in the operatic canon first in Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, in lesser-known cantatas written by composers such as André Campra, Laurent Gervais, and Michel de Montéclair, and finally as an opera libretto by the poet Francesco Busenello.¹⁶⁵ The tragedy of Dido moves readers and listeners alike, from her romance to her abandonment and untimely death. This chapter examines three aspects of Berlioz's adaptation of Virgil's Dido: the fundamental similarities between the *Aeneid* and *Les Troyens*; changes that Berlioz made in Dido's motivations as a ruler and as a lover; the libretto's omission of passages in the epic and alterations of the order of events from the epic inserted to explain Dido's motivations.

In antiquity, tensions from within the protagonists committed to making a morally valid choice in complex situations are developed through gods who interfere directly with the lives of humans.¹⁶⁶ The gods act as literary devices and are not to be interpreted as active elements in the lives of the characters or the readers. Throughout Book IV of the *Aeneid*, Dido struggles to maintain autonomy over her choices because her love for Aeneas overwhelms her logical commitment to remain a widow devoted solely to the care of her city. In the epic, the gods devise schemes that manipulate Dido's emotions and lead to her demise. The conversations between Juno (personifying duty to Carthage and marriage) and Venus (personifying erotic love) display the internal conflict Dido

¹⁶⁵ Stephen T. Newmyer, "Some Lesser Lights at Dido's Pyre: Forgotten Musical Portraits of Virgil's Queen," *Vergilius* 36 (1990): 35-41.

¹⁶⁶ Vassiliki Panoussi, "Vergil's Ajax: Allusion, Tragedy, and Heroic Identity in the *Aeneid*," *Classical Antiquity* 21, no.1 (April 2002): 96.

experiences as she struggles with her love for Aeneas. By contrast, the opera's libretto does not include the interventions by the gods other than Mercury's brief statement of "Italy" (Italie) at the end of Act IV. Berlioz's libretto displays Dido's internal struggle through her lyrics and emotional reactions rather than divine personifications. Berlioz's interpretation focuses on the romantic idea of the personal response rather than Virgil's classical idea of narrative form with the inclusion of divine personifications. This alteration provides more autonomy and holds the characters more accountable for their thoughts and actions.

Berlioz kept Dido's narrative almost identical to the Virgilian epic while expanding upon sections with musical support. In both versions of the myth, Dido appears first as a ruler archetype leading the city of Carthage as their widowed queen. She serves her citizens to the best of her abilities, and they adore her as they thrive in prosperity. With encouragement from her sister, Anna, Dido opens her heart to Aeneas when he arrives in her city, seeking refuge. As their love grows in intensity, Dido stops having the connotations typical of the ruler archetype and takes on those of a lover archetype and then an unbalanced anima archetype. More and more, she loses her sense of self and neglects her responsibilities to her people. Eventually, Aeneas decides to leave Carthage to follow his destiny, and this fact, in turn, breaks Dido's heart. She then decides to kill herself with a sword while mounting a funeral pyre of his belongings. Evidence that Berlioz depicts Dido's gendered archetypal journey from a ruler to a lover and unbalanced anima as the outcome of her personal motivations is established once again by applying Jung's archetypal theory, interpreting musical topics, and with the aid of Berlioz's *Memoires*.

Dido: *Aeneid* versus *Les Troyens* Act III

Virgil's Dido begins her role in the myth embodying the ruler archetype displaying a balance between masculine (logic) and feminine traits (empathy and kindness). It is in her kingdom that the gods choose to provide sanctuary for the Trojans. After having received from Jupiter the confirmation that Aeneas's destiny remains in Rome, Venus appears to Aeneas in disguise. She explains to him that Dido, a former Tyrian princess, built Carthage after she escaped from her murderous brother, Pygmalion. After Venus describes the actions Dido took to free herself and others, she acknowledges that the queen exhibited strength and determination:

Dido prepared for flight, joined by others who either feared or hated the cruel tyrant. They commandeered ships, loaded them with gold, and all the wealth of avaricious Pygmalion was shipped out to sea. *A woman did this* [my emphasis]. They arrived at the place where now you see the soaring walls of a new city—Carthage.¹⁶⁷

By having the goddess share Dido's origin story, Virgil provides an example where Dido used logic and problem-solving skills of a ruler archetype and overcame a terrible situation. Venus' comment, "A woman did this," acknowledges that Dido not only was intelligent enough to devise such an escape, but also defied the gendered expectation for a woman.

Literary evidence corroborates her embodiment of the ruler archetype. Virgil provides information about the prosperity of Carthage when Aeneas and his men head to the temple to meet with Dido:

Looking down, Aeneas was amazed at the sheer size of the place—once a few hovels—The city gates, the bustle on the paved streets. The Tyrians were hard at work, building walls, fortifying the citadel, rolling boulders by hand, marking out sites for houses with trenches. As Aeneas watched, they made laws, chose officials, installed a senate. Some were dredging the harbor, others laying the

¹⁶⁷ Virgil, *Aeneid*, trans. Stanley Lombardo (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2005), 1.442-48.

foundation for a theater, carving huge columns out of a cliff to grace the stage that was yet to be built.¹⁶⁸

The description of Carthage presents a city that is not only surviving, but thriving economically, politically, and artistically. In addition, Virgil equates Dido to Diana, the virgin goddess who is known for her disinterest in men.¹⁶⁹ By comparing the widowed queen to a virgin goddess, he accentuates in her the attributes typical of the ruler archetype because her mind is focused on governing rather than love. As the Trojans enter the city, they see Dido running her country as a leader rather than a powerless feminine figurehead: “Dido, moving through their midst, urged on the work of building a kingdom. Then, under the temple’s vaulted entrance and flanked by guards, she ascended her throne. She was making laws for her people, distributing duties or assigning them by lot.”¹⁷⁰ Dido, as a queen, fosters building projects and is aware of the importance of the law. Without a romantic love, she remains balanced in both her masculine and feminine characteristics. Dido is altruistic towards the Trojans, offering them refuge in her city, while remaining unaware of what their visit will bring for her future.¹⁷¹

Dido’s archetype soon begins to shift from a ruler to anima/animus and lover archetypes as a result of divine intervention during the welcome feast. Virgil explains her emerging infatuation with Aeneas in the dialogue between Venus and Cupid, who plot to fill the queen with love towards Aeneas. Venus fears that Juno, a goddess who hates the Trojans and does not want to see them achieve greatness, will try to manipulate Dido into thwarting Aeneas’s destiny because she loves Carthage. To prevent this, Venus sends her

¹⁶⁸ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.517-27.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 1.614-16.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 1.619-24.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 1.364-71.

son Cupid in disguise as Ascanius, Aeneas's son, who casts a spell over Dido so that she falls passionately in love with Aeneas, thereby ensuring the Trojans' safety in Carthage.¹⁷² Before the spell, Dido felt love only for her deceased husband. Under Cupid's influence, the queen becomes enamored with Aeneas as he recounts the events of the Trojan War.

Dido tries to fight the feeling of passion that grows inside her, but she is no match for Cupid's powers.¹⁷³ The queen confides her fears of falling in love with Aeneas to Anna, her sister. Dido believes that she should abstain from her passion because she made vows to her late husband.¹⁷⁴ Anna, concerned that her sister will waste her youthful years as a sad spinster and never bear children, tells Dido that she should indulge in this love, and that it might be destined by the gods and politically advantageous.¹⁷⁵ The gods indeed blew the Trojan ships towards Carthage, but their desires lie with Aeneas and the founding of Rome. The lovelorn queen persuades herself to calm her concerns by following her sister's advice and submits to the overwhelming feelings of desire building inside her. Unfortunately, the desires create an imbalance in her characteristics. The once logical, responsible, and fair queen becomes distracted by love and begins to neglect her city:

Dido is burning. She wanders all through the city in her misery, raving mad...The half-built towers rise no higher, the men no longer drill at arms or maintain the city's defensive works. All work stops, construction halts on the huge menacing walls. The idle derricks loom against the sky.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.810-80.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 4.1-7.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 4.10-20.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 4. 54-58.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 4.80-81, 4.102-5.

All of her ambitions are pushed aside by feelings of love and desire for Aeneas. Dido no longer embodies the ruler archetype, but a lover archetype. Because she lacks a stable balance of masculine and feminine characteristics as she neglects her city, she also manifests an unbalanced anima to Aeneas, her animus.

In different ways, both Virgil and Berlioz establish the ruler archetype immediately. The third act of the opera opens with a visual and aural display of how Dido's citizens view her leadership, which fuel Carthage's prosperity. A large chorus of Carthaginian citizens sing of the city's success and peace, which seamlessly transitions to a chorus where the royal court praises Dido:

Glory to Dido, our beloved queen! Queen by her beauty, grace, and great spirit,
Queen by favour of the gods, Queen by the love of her happy subjects.

Gloire à Didon, notre reine chérie! Reine par la beauté, la grâce, le génie, Reine par
faveur des dieux, Et reine par l'amour de ses sujets heureux.¹⁷⁷

Her people surround her and wave palm leaves and flowers at her. These actions and lyrics represent how they feel about Dido. She rules not merely as a figurehead, but as a beloved queen and thanks to her masculine qualities. Dido delivers evidence of her leadership skills in the following recitative.

While embodying the ruler archetype, Dido exhibits logic and fairness. Berlioz allows Dido to expound upon Carthage's success in the recitative and aria in No. 19 "Nous avons vu finir." From her throne, she describes the short history of her founding of Carthage and how prosperous it has become in only seven years:

Only seven years have passed since the day when, to foil the hatred of the tyrant
who murdered my noble husband, I had to flee with you from Tyre to the African
shore; And already we see Carthage arise, her fields blossom, her fleet built;
already from far-off lands where the sun rises you, toilers on the sea, bring back
corn, wine, wood, iron, and the products of skills unknown to us.

¹⁷⁷ Hector Berlioz, *Les Troyens: Opera in Five Acts*, trans. David Cairns (New York: G. Schirmer, 1973), 9.

Nous avons vu finir sept ans à peine, Depuis le jour où, pour tromper la haine du tyran meurtrier de mon auguste époux, J'ai dû fuir avec vous, de Tyr à la rive africaine. Et déjà nous voyons Carthage s'élever, ses campagnes fleurir, sa flotte s'achever! Déjà des bords lointains où s'éveille l'aurore vous rapportez, laboureurs de la mer, le blé, le vin et la laine et le fer, et les produits des arts qui nous manquent encore.¹⁷⁸

Instead of utilizing Venus or another goddess to recount Dido's experiences, Berlioz has Dido address her people, an opportunity to use French grand opera's penchant for large choruses. By emphasizing that Carthage has become a city through its sovereignty, military power, and trading agreements, Berlioz gives evidence of Dido's great leadership. He further stresses her unwavering leadership skills by having her mention that the Numidian king, Iarbas, wants to marry her and take over her lands and that she does not agree with this proposal. She plans instead to use her military to protect her people, and they are willing to protect her as they respond, "Every one of us is ready to give his life for her" (Chacun de nous est prêt à lui donner sa vie!).¹⁷⁹

After Dido's introduction, Berlioz again alters Virgil's epic by changing the order of events so that Dido and Anna discuss love before the Trojans request the queen's presence. The first sign that love will alter Dido's path is a fleeting moment in the twenty-fourth number. It allows the audience to be privy to Dido's matters of the heart. Anna implores her to open her heart to love again, but Dido refuses for her reputation and honor.¹⁸⁰ In the duet, "Les chants joyeux," Dido argues that, despite her youth, she must remain a celibate and faithful widow, stating, "May the gods and my people curse me if I ever forsake this consecrated ring." (Puissent mon peuple et les dieux me maudire, si je

¹⁷⁸ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 9.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 10.

¹⁸⁰ Panoussi, "Vergil's Ajax," 104.

quittais jamais cet anneau consacré).¹⁸¹ Her statement about the repercussions that should befall her if she breaks her vow reiterates the value she places on her integrity and reputation. Despite her resolute language of negation, Dido responds to her sister's suggestion to find a new love, by saying that such thoughts give her a "dangerous delight" (la dangereuse ivresse) and that she struggles to not hope for love.¹⁸² Emily Pillinger asserts that Dido's "ivresse" represents a "misguided hope" for a narrative that cannot exist.¹⁸³ Despite the delight she experiences, the queen displays an understanding of the negative repercussions that taking a lover could cause for her and Carthage.

As Dido contemplates her love, Iopas, the court poet, enters and informs the queen that emissaries from a distant land wish to speak with her. She kindly agrees to receive them as she and her people were also once in a similar situation. She acknowledges that their presence gives her a sense of fear.¹⁸⁴ Berlioz does not explain this fear, but her words subtly foreshadow that Carthage's visitors will bring negativity to the city. In the *Aeneid*, the gods ensure that Dido will provide the Trojans with hospitality by calming Dido's concerns, whereas, in the libretto, Berlioz adopts an emotional strategy: empathy. Aeneas's son, Ascanius, requests shelter for his people and answers Dido's questions about their origins. Another Trojan, Panthus, steps forward to inform Dido that Jupiter fated Aeneas to seek Italy and die a glorious death in the quest to give his people a country.¹⁸⁵ Dido agrees to accept Aeneas into her court to speak with him.

¹⁸¹ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 11.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Emily Pillinger, "Translating Classical Visions in Berlioz's *Les Troyens*," *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics (Third Series)* 18, no. 2 (Fall 2010), 87."

¹⁸⁴ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 11.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 12.

Her generosity and empathy, representing the feminine elements of her ruler archetype, are purely at her discretion as a ruler.

Impressed by the war stories about the Trojan captain, Dido respects Aeneas. Berlioz increases that respect by creating an opportunity for Aeneas to save Dido from ruin. In No. 28, finale, “Sur cette horde,” Dido’s fields are under siege and unequipped to fight until Aeneas offers his warriors. The queen responds to Aeneas that the Trojan assistance would be most welcome because the god of war unites the Carthaginians with the son of Venus and his people, but then also confesses matters of the heart to her sister in an aside:

I accept such an alliance with pride. Aeneas armed for my defense—the gods have taken our part. (aside to Anna) Oh, my sister, how superb he is, this son of the goddess! And what grace and nobility is seen on his brow!

J’accepte avec orgueil une telle alliance! Énée armé pour ma défense! Les dieux se déclarent pour nous. (à part, à Anna) Ô ma soeur, qu’il est fier, ce fils de la déesse, et qu’on voit sur son front de grâce et de noblesse!¹⁸⁶

It is clear from her aside to her sister that Dido is becoming romantically interested in Aeneas, despite her reservations, and without the structural presence of the gods. Berlioz enriches the plot by employing archetypal elements of a love story. Dido’s behavior is in stark contrast to the capable leader who brought Carthage to success without the help of a king at her side. Accepting help from an ally alone does not represent weakness or a change in archetype. However, when it is paired with her aside to Anna, it denotes that her motivations for action are slowly shifting.

¹⁸⁶ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 12.

Dido: *Aeneid* versus *Les Troyens* Act IV

In the *Aeneid*, Dido continues to be a pawn in the feud between Venus and Juno as the two goddesses decide that Dido and Aeneas should wed. Each has her motive: Juno wishes to thwart Aeneas's destiny, and Venus desires for her son to be treated well while in Carthage.¹⁸⁷ Juno tells Venus that while Dido and Aeneas are on a woodland hunt, she will send down a violent storm that will separate the hunters from the two lovers. Once they are secluded inside a cave, Juno will preside over their sexual union and ordain the marriage.¹⁸⁸ The goddess's proposal goes according to plan, and the two lovers arrive at the same cave where they consummate their relationship and allegedly are married. Juno personifies Dido's desire of legitimacy for this union. Politically, the marriage provides Dido with a consort to assist in governing and to ward off suitors from other cities and nations. Venus personifies the erotic love that builds inside of Dido, and though a marriage appears to be the answer for Dido, it unfortunately spells her ruin. This event not only seals their union, but is also symbolic of the shift in Dido's archetype. At this point, the queen displays all the characteristics that Jung assigns to the lover and unbalanced anima archetypes. Virgil's text comments on the encounter in the cave in a negative manner:

That day was the first cause of calamity and of death to come. For no longer is Dido swayed by appearance or her good name. No more does she contemplate a secret love. She calls it marriage, and with that word she cloaks her sin.¹⁸⁹

The last sentence creates confusion about the validity of the marriage, which is important.

Virgil wrote the *Aeneid* within the Roman traditions that marriage occurred through the

¹⁸⁷ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.121-31.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 4.132-46.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 4.192-97.

consent of both parties and in a public setting, it is possible that Dido and Aeneas interpreted the fact in a different way: Dido believed that they were married while Aeneas thought that they were just having sex.¹⁹⁰ No matter the Roman traditions, Aeneas's destiny brought him away from Carthage. This meant that his relationship with Dido could never continue, creating an imbalance in the anima-animas relationship. Dido wanted to restore her reputation with her marriage and use it to build a political alliance with Aeneas by her side,¹⁹¹ but that would not occur.

In the opera's fourth act, Berlioz switches the order of Virgil's events. By beginning with Dido and Aeneas consummating their love, the composer-librettist reiterates the predominance of the lover archetype in the queen in the scene where Ascanius takes Dido's ring. As a result, Dido's wise ruler archetype becomes suppressed by a lover archetype and an unhealthy anima-animus relationship. The "Royal Hunt and Storm" (*Chasse Royale et Orage*) opens the fourth act. Primarily instrumental, the piece marks the change in Dido and Aeneas's relationship. Berlioz's score indicates that Dido appears dressed as Diana, the virgin goddess of the hunt, with a "bow in hand and quiver on shoulder" (*l'arc à la main, le carquois sur l'épaule*).¹⁹² However, in Book IV, Virgil compares the queen to "a doe pierced by an arrow"¹⁹³ and describes her as wearing a Phoenician purple cloak with embroidery, complete with a gold clasp and quiver during the hunt.¹⁹⁴ Virgil's description implies that Dido wears the clothing of a queen and that she displays the disposition of a wounded animal rather than that of an indomitable

¹⁹⁰ Marilyn Desmond, *Reading Dido: Gender, Textuality, and the Medieval Aeneid* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1994), 29.

¹⁹¹ Panoussi, "Virgil's Ajax," 105.

¹⁹² Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 13.

¹⁹³ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.82.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.156-59.

goddess. Instead, Berlioz's description of Dido follows Virgil's description of the queen in Book I, where he likens Dido's leadership to that of the virgin goddess Diana, who hangs a quiver from her shoulder and leads her nymphs.¹⁹⁵ By comparing her to Diana at the beginning of the hunt, Berlioz implies that Dido still embodies the characteristics of the ruler archetype and that she intends to remain committed to her city and to her vow to her late husband.

As the storm strengthens, Dido and Aeneas alone retreat into the cave, as directed in the libretto,¹⁹⁶ which implies that the two are consummating their relationship.

Woodland nymphs then appear with "disheveled hair, on top of the crag, and run back and forth, shouting and gesticulating wildly." The nymphs see Aeneas with Dido and furiously gesticulate, crying out "Italy" (a recurrent verbal motive of Aeneas's destiny) while the storm climaxes with lightning striking a tree, causing it to catch fire.¹⁹⁷ The cries of "Italy" imply that Aeneas has become distracted by Dido because their relationship thwarts his destiny and that of Rome. The nymphs' reaction also signals that Dido is breaking her vow to her husband. Nymphs frequently consort with the goddess Diana in many of her myths. Since Berlioz describes Dido as being dressed as Diana, it would be plausible that the nymphs are also warning the queen about Aeneas's dynastic mission. Dido nevertheless allows the patriarch of the Roman Empire to conquer her body, while also breaking her vow of fidelity to her husband. After the scene, Dido's attitude towards chastity and Aeneas changes. Dido embraces the characteristics of the lover archetype and, ultimately, displays an unbalanced anima and animus relationship.

¹⁹⁵ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.613-16.

¹⁹⁶ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 13.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

The following recitative between Anna and Narbal delivers information that accentuates the adverse effects of Dido's lover archetype on her psyche. Some time has passed between the scene in the woods and their current situation. Narbal is concerned about the state of Carthage, even though the Numidians were defeated. Anna questions his anxieties, and he replies:

But Dido is now forgetting the enterprises that were once dear to her heart; She spends her time in hunting and feasting; All work is at an end; the workshops stand empty. The Trojans stay on in Carthage. That is why I am anxious; and the people feel it too.

Mais Didon maintenant oublie les soins naguère encore à son esprit si chers; En chasses, en festins, elle passe sa vie; Les travaux suspendus, les ateliers déserts, Le séjour prolongé du Troyen à Carthage me causent des soucis que le peuple partage.¹⁹⁸

In this depiction of her character, it becomes clear that Dido lacks a balance between work and love, which stems from the formation of her unhealthy anima-animus relationship with Aeneas after the royal hunt scene. Narbal's assessment of her behavior indicates that the queen no longer embodies the characteristics of a ruler archetype: her governing lacks logic; she has only the name of a leader; the people no longer have faith in her rule. Anna once again defends her sister's choice by stating that it is good that Dido has found love again and that Aeneas will make a great king.¹⁹⁹ Anna wants her sister to be happy and assumes that if she is happy, then her queenly duties will be met. In Anna's logic, a king would meet Dido's needs as a lover and as a governing consort. Carthage does not need a king, however, as they thrived under Dido's rule before Aeneas arrived. The only reason Dido needs a king is to ward off other male suitors looking to expand their empires with Dido as their consort.

¹⁹⁸ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 14.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

What follows this argument is a presentation of dancers. Though ballet scenes are a requisite part of the French grand opera tradition, this one also acts as a further surrogate display of Dido's imperial strength and her distraction because of her love affair. As Inge Van Rij argues, Berlioz's specification that the dancers are slaves directly implies that Carthage conquered these people under Dido's leadership. This display of military success strengthens her characteristics as a powerful and effective ruler. Van Rij argues that, as a colonizer herself, Dido intended for the entertainment to display her own and Carthage's imperial strength to her new lover, but instead, the overt sensuality of the dancers undermine her power.²⁰⁰ In the final sequence of the ballet, Van Rij explains, the sensual movements of Nubian slave dancers become an extension of Dido's female charms.²⁰¹ If the dances were not emphatically sensual, then it would be plausible to deny any subversion of her power to her passionate affair. The problem, Van Rij argues, occurs in the correlation of feminine sensuality with conquered foreign slaves, which implies that Dido's sensuality is concurrently prevailing over her power as queen since female sensuality is to be conquered and controlled.²⁰² Her association with the subjugated slaves further exhibits the negative aspects of her archetypal relationship. Dido no longer has a balance of her "masculine" traits of logic and intelligence, but instead embodies an infatuated lover and unbalanced anima archetype, whose actions are controlled by her passion. The ballets act as a distraction for the couple and their entourage. They also reflect that Dido and Aeneas have seduced each other away from

²⁰⁰ Inge Van Rij, *The Other Worlds of Hector Berlioz: Travels with the Orchestra* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 314.

²⁰¹ Van Rij, *The Other Worlds of Hector Berlioz*, 312.

²⁰² Ibid., 314.

their duties.²⁰³ Simultaneously, the ballets of enslaved women display that Dido, as a ruler, is losing her sovereignty to the imperial power that is invading her heart, which is Aeneas.

In the *Aeneid*, Venus sends down Cupid, disguised as Ascanius, in order to put a love spell on Dido, as the widowed queen could not resist a child. Berlioz's instructions in the libretto describe Ascanius as leaning on his bow like the god of love.²⁰⁴ The librettist also has Anna describe the boy as resembling Cupid as he removes Dido's ring. Dido retrieves her ring from Ascanius, but she then forgets it on the couch when she moves out to the courtyard to share a duet with Aeneas. By removing her ring, Ascanius frees Dido from the visual reminder of her vow to her deceased husband and her commitment to her city. Pillinger identifies this moment as a reflection of Dido's "ivresse."²⁰⁵ Though not used in the libretto in this scene, the "ivresse" Pillinger refers to is love and lust that Dido experiences with Aeneas, which is the theme of their duet in No. 37. With her vows now forgotten and her heart absolved of guilt, Dido fully commits to her new relationship, leaving behind the last physical vestige of her ruler archetype.

No. 37, "Nuit d'ivresse et d'extase," allows Dido and Aeneas to express their love in song. Their duet features the greatest "ivresse" in the opera: Dido's erotic intoxication, which distracts her from her duties and leads to her demise.²⁰⁶ They sing that they will be experiencing a "night of intoxication and endless ecstasy" (Nuit d'ivresse et d'extase infinie), and they reminisce about how Dido relinquished her chastity to Aeneas in the woods. Both sing about other encounters of mythical lovers during moonlit nights such as

²⁰³ Van Rij, *The Other Worlds of Hector Berlioz*, 312.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Pillinger, "Translating Classical Visions in Berlioz's *Les Troyens*," 88.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

theirs. It is interesting to note that the relationships they allude to are not successful ones. Dido first recalls the relationship between Aeneas's mother and father, Venus and Anchises, "On such a night, her brow wreathed in blossom, your mother Venus followed the fair Anchises to Ida's groves" (Par une telle nuit, le front ceint de cytise, votre mère Vénus suivit le bel Anchises aux bosquets de l'Ida).²⁰⁷ Venus seduced Anchises and gave birth to Aeneas, but told Anchises not to brag about the boy because Jupiter would kill him. When he bragged about the child, and Jupiter smote Anchises with a thunderbolt. Aeneas, in turn, reminds Dido of the love between Troilus and Cressida of Troy.²⁰⁸ Aeneas sings, "On such a night, mad with love and joy, Troilus awaited, under the walls of Troy, the lovely Cressida" (Par une telle nuit, fou d'amour et de joie, Troïlus vint attendre aux pieds des murs de Troie, la belle Cressida), but leaves the myth at that.²⁰⁹ Though Cressida and Troilus loved each other, their relationship ended in betrayal and heartbreak. Cressida, traded to the Greeks, and flirted coyly with her captor, Diomedes. Eventually, she gave him her love token from Troilus and agreed to become Diomedes' lover, a scene Troilus witnessed. Cressida became a literary archetype of the unfaithful woman. Aeneas's comparison of Dido to an unfaithful lover reminds the listener that the queen has betrayed her vow to her deceased husband through her relationship with the Trojan hero. In keeping with the same idea of unfaithfulness, Dido by choosing Aeneas over her city, neglected her royal duties as queen (as stated by Narbal in No. 30). The

²⁰⁷ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 16.

²⁰⁸ William Shakespeare adapted this story as a play. Berlioz frequently expounded upon his admiration for Shakespeare and the desire to combine Shakespearean structure with musical structure, which makes it unsurprising that Berlioz references it. This story is relevant to the male protagonist and also a reference to the literary figure he admired.

²⁰⁹ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 16.

reference to Cressida's betrayal of her lover also foreshadows the outcome of Aeneas and Dido's relationship, as the hero betrays the queen for destiny.

Aeneas references the final unfortunate relationship between Diana and Endymion: "On such a night the modest Diana at last let fall her gauzy veil before Endymion's eyes" (Par une telle nuit la pudique Diane laissa tomber enfin son voile diaphane aux yeux d'Endymion).²¹⁰ Diana, the virgin goddess who refused to marry, fell in love with Endymion and raped him while he slept.²¹¹ It is unfortunate because Endymion did not give consent, and Diana broke her vows of chastity. Berlioz linked Dido and Diana in the royal hunt scene as he had Dido dress like the goddess. Dido acted upon her passionate love and broke the vow of chastity that she made after her husband's death, just as Diana let her lust overtake her vow to remain chaste. Aeneas twice compared Dido to women who did not uphold their promises to their lovers or themselves. This reference leads to the verse where the lovers reflect upon their relationship.

Dido sings, "On such a night Cytherea's son responded coldly to the passionate love of Queen Dido!" (Par une telle nuit le fils de Cythérée accueillit froidement la tendresse enivrée de la reine Didon!). Aeneas responds, "On that same night, alas, when the Queen unjustly accused her lover, he gladly gave her the tenderest forgiveness." (Et dans la même nuit hélas! L'injuste reine, accusant son amant, obtint de lui sans peine le plus tendre pardon). The duet follows the same structure as the dialogue between Jessica and Lorenzo in *The Merchant of Venice*, which includes Jessica questioning Lorenzo's

²¹⁰ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 16.

²¹¹ Ovid, *Heroides*, trans. Harold Isbell (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), 143n.

love and Lorenzo forgiving her.²¹² Unlike Dido and Aeneas, the story of Jessica, who willingly leaves her family and faith, ends happily and she and Lorenzo celebrate their love. By continuing the play's dialogue pattern, Berlioz makes his adaptation of the Shakespearean scene seamless, portrays Dido's lover and unbalanced anima archetypes that lead to her demise, and creates dramatic ironic tension that foreshadows Aeneas's decision to leave.

After these lines, the lovers repeat their opening verses about a never-ending night of ecstasy. Though the verses suggest that their relationship is beginning to collapse, they continue to sing to each other as they exit the stage. These allusions to the gods lead to the only appearance of a deity in the opera. Mercury presents himself as a catalyst of fate for Aeneas and the foundation of Rome. When he enters at the end of the duet, he strikes Aeneas's shield, and then sings "Italie" three times.²¹³ These actions remind Aeneas of his goal without the need of a verbose speech as in the *Aeneid*.

Dido: *Aeneid* versus *Les Troyens* Act V

Dido's passion and negative relationship with her animus reaches its pinnacle in the final act. The audience witnesses Aeneas's decision to abandon Dido for his heroic destiny, Dido's stubbornness and desperation as she copes with her abandonment, and her final act of authority by way of suicide. Berlioz, generally following Virgil, portrays her as an emotionally vulnerable woman who becomes argumentative and unstable. The differences lie in the interaction between Dido and Aeneas, a lack of references to the gods, and Dido's vision at the end of the opera.

²¹² Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, act five, scene 1.

²¹³ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 16.

In the epic, after Mercury delivers the message from Jupiter, Aeneas begins to gather his men in preparation to depart Carthage. Aeneas knows that he must follow the gods' commands, and he is eager to fulfill his destiny, but he does not want to break Dido's heart. He decides that he must be the one to inform Dido of his departure since she is unaware of his destiny.²¹⁴ Unfortunately for Aeneas, Dido knew of her lover's plan to abandon her because Rumor spread the news about the Trojans' imminent departure causing her desperation and fury. Virgil likens her behavior to the madness of "a maenad when the holy mysteries have begun, her blood shaking when she hears the cry 'Bacchus!'"²¹⁵ This reference to maenads and Bacchus depicts the intensity of her fury upon receiving the news.²¹⁶ She lacks logic and relies on her emotions. Dido and Aeneas represent an unbalanced anima-animus relationship, as can be seen in their behaviors. Their relationship is not healthy because Aeneas's destiny dooms their love. Dido cannot easily act logically or make value judgments when her love is all-consuming. The same overwhelming romantic passion turns her anger into rage, which causes her to resort to verbal brutality and impulse, completely obliterating her ability to make solid value judgments about their situation.²¹⁷ Her rage and rash language in her ensuing exchanges with Aeneas further serve as evidence of her unbalanced anima archetype.

Their relationship cannot continue to exist since they each have obligations that necessitate separation. Dido cannot sail with Aeneas to found Rome because she was not

²¹⁴ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.310-31.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.337-42.

²¹⁶ Mario Augusto Maieron, "The Meaning of Madness in Ancient Greek Culture from Homer to Hippocrates and Plato," *Medicina Historia* 1, no. 2 (2017): 73. Maieron describes this madness as prophetic madness. He states that, when confined to a ritual, the woman could exorcise and control their fury. Virgil's usage depicts the intensity of Dido's rage rather than her control over it.

²¹⁷ Stephen A. Martin, "Anger as Inner Transformation," *Journal of the C.G. Jung Foundation for Analytical Psychology* (Spring 1986): 32.

invited on the journey, and it is not her destiny to abandon her city. Aeneas cannot ignore the will of the gods. When Dido finally encounters Aeneas, she questions if he ever loved her, pleads for him to stay, and laments that they do not have a child together so that she could then at least have that memory of them in her palace instead of looming death:

Traitor! Did you actually hope to conceal this crime and sneak away without telling me? Does our love mean nothing to you? Does it matter that we pledged ourselves to each other? Do you care that Dido will die a cruel death?... Is it me you are fleeing? By these tears, I beg you, by your right hand, which is all I have left, by our wedding vows, still so fresh... I beg you, please change your mind. It is because of you the Libyan warlords hate me, and my own Tyrians abhor me. Because of you that my honor has been snuffed out, the good name I once had, my only hope to ascend to the stars... If you had at least left me with child before deserting me, if only a baby Aeneas were playing in my hall to help me remember you, I would not feel so completely used and abandoned.²¹⁸

Vassiliki Panoussi states that this first confrontation with Aeneas presents two sides of Dido: her masculine side whose political language suggests that Aeneas broke a contract, and the feminine side which pleads with him as a lover.²¹⁹ From this point until her death, the queen oscillates between her ruler archetype and the lover and unbalanced anima archetypes. Dido's heart breaks at the thought that her beloved could abandon her when their love is so new. She appears to be overly dramatic by stating that she will die if he leaves her, but she is not exaggerating, as her safety is no longer guaranteed. Because their love affair made Dido lax in her royal duties, she lost favor among her people and neighboring allies. By finally taking a lover, she also fueled the anger of rejected potential suitors from other more powerful countries. Physically Dido is in danger, but she is also in danger emotionally, as she genuinely believes she will die of a broken heart

²¹⁸ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.334-74.

²¹⁹ Panoussi, "Vergil's Ajax," 105.

if the Aeneas abandons her. Aeneas's departure for his destiny endangers both the lover and ruler archetypes.

Aeneas's response does not calm her spirit. He tells her that he has to leave and follow his destiny because his country comes first, something she can easily understand.²²⁰ The statements that bother Dido most are "Nor have I ever proposed marriage to you or entered into any nuptial agreement"²²¹ and "It is not my own will—this quest for Italy."²²² Dido does not believe that the gods are controlling him because she thinks him spiteful. Aeneas's denial of their marriage fuels Dido's rage as she believed that she married him and created a strong political alliance through their love. To Dido, his story about fulfilling a destiny sounds false. She believes that this behavior is all under his control and threatens to haunt him long after her death:

Your mother was no goddess, you faithless bastard, and you are not descended from Dardanus either... now the gods' herald, sent by Jupiter himself, has come down through the rushing winds with dread commands! As if the gods lose sleep over business like this! Go on, leave! I'm not arguing with you anymore. Sail to Italy, find your kingdom overseas, But I hope, if there is any power in heaven, you will suck down your punishment on the rocks in mid-ocean, calling Dido's name over and over, Gone I may be, but I'll pursue you with black fire, and when cold death has cloven body from soul, my ghost will be everywhere. You will pay, you despicable liar, and I will hear the news; word will reach me in the deeps of hell.²²³

Seething with resentment, Dido threatens Aeneas with revenge. Aeneas laments that he cannot comfort her and that he abandons the woman he loves in order to obey the divine commands. Later, when Dido sends Anna down to plead with him to stay one more time, one of the gods "sealed" his ears to prevent him from deviating from the plan, despite his

²²⁰ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.378-415.

²²¹ Ibid., 4.386-87.

²²² Ibid., 4.415.

²²³ Ibid., 4.419-48.

emotional pain and Dido's tears.²²⁴ Dido's vitriolic language and desperation stem from the rage of her unbalanced anima. Panoussi states that because Dido's political persona (ruler archetype) suffered due to her private persona (lover/unbalanced anima), Dido experiences intense anger.²²⁵ Carthage serves as the foundation of her ruler archetype, so when she became sick with love for Aeneas, the political consequences of this sickness weakened her city.²²⁶

Dido resolves herself to death as her only option when bad omens appear before her and she realizes that her honor has been compromised. The queen's mental agony and pride, rather than madness, lead to her decision of suicide because the agony provides her with the mental clarity to weigh her options.²²⁷ Dido's grief takes hold of her, and she can no longer see a way to live without her love and honor. Her anima is unbalanced, and without her animus, Dido is unable to find a purpose for living. With passionate love so strong inside her, she lacks the option of embodying another archetype to rebuild her reputation. Her motivation to live resided with her new love.

To keep her sister from thwarting her plans of death, Dido pretends to be resilient in the face of such pain and tells her sister that, though she is hesitant to resort to magic, she has heard of a priestess who can free broken hearts.²²⁸ She instructs Anna to gather all the gifts from Aeneas and place them on a pyre, as instructed by the priestess. Anna, believing that this heartbreak could not be worse than the death of Dido's husband, follows her sister's instructions because she trusts that her sister will not kill herself.²²⁹

²²⁴ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.486-520.

²²⁵ Panoussi, "Vergil's Ajax," 107.

²²⁶ Desmond, *Reading Dido: Gender, Textuality, and the Medieval Aeneid*, 30.

²²⁷ Panoussi, "Vergil's Ajax," 107.

²²⁸ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.558-70.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.571-85.

As they prepare the pyre throughout the evening, Dido contemplates her options once more and in the end, she decides that she deserves to die.²³⁰ While Dido prepares for her death, Aeneas sleeps and is visited by Mercury in his dreams. The god tells Aeneas that he needs to leave now before leaving is not an option.²³¹ Shocked by the dream, he immediately gathers his men, and they depart.

As the dawn arrives, Dido sees the ships in the distance and curses the Trojans, briefly toying with the idea of destroying them now and reflecting on how she should have destroyed them earlier. Though destroying an enemy's boats would be within her rights as queen, thoughts of vengeful behavior further support the notion that she exemplifies an unbalanced anima archetype since her military decision would have been made through emotion rather than strategic logic. In rage, she curses the Trojan fleet and Trojan descendants with the prospect of continuous war.²³² After this curse, Dido sends away the nurse who was attending her, storms the pyre "like a madwoman," grabs the Trojan's sword and says:

Love's spoils, sweet while heaven permitted, receive this soul, and free me from these cares. I have lived, and I have completed the course assigned by Fortune. Now my mighty ghost goes beneath the earth. I built an illustrious city. I saw my walls. I avenged my husband and made my evil brother pay. Happy, all too happy if Dardanian ships had never touched our shores! We will die unavenged, but we will die. This is how I want to pass into the dark below. The cruel Trojan will watch the fire from the sea and carry with him the omens of my death.²³³

With these final words, she stabs herself with the sword. Anna rushes to Dido's side to speak with her as she holds her. She tells her that she has destroyed not only herself but

²³⁰ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.586-641.

²³¹ Ibid., 4.650-65.

²³² Ibid., 4.715-33.

²³³ Ibid., 4.755-68.

her sister and the city as well.²³⁴ Dido tries to prop herself up, but she falls back to the pyre as her spirit begins to leave her.

The love that settled in Dido's heart left her without control over her decisions as she oscillated between the ruler archetype and lover and unbalanced anima archetypes. The once balanced queen who ruled with logic and kindness became an irrational lover and anima in an ill-fated pair. Even after the relationship ended, Dido could not bring herself back to her former archetype because passion overcame her, and led to momentary oblivion of her political reputation. Aeneas used Dido to meet his needs and those of his people without any regard for what it would cost Dido or her citizens. Dido could not adapt to the new world that emerged for her when Aeneas departed.²³⁵ Virgil described her madness in feminine terms throughout Book IV, but her final act of suicide by the sword reflects a masculine action.

Aeneas announces to his crew that they must leave because he has spent too much time with Dido rather than completing his journey and fulfilling his destiny. He tells his men how he explained to the queen why he must leave. Aeneas describes Dido as pale (*pâleur*) and silent (*silence*). The depiction mirrors her reaction in the epic.²³⁶ Unlike the epic, however, Berlioz leaves their interaction with just the powerful look rather than Dido spewing acerbic accusations and insults. Dido's muted response, terrible stare, and time apart from Aeneas provide her dignity in her rage in comparison to her behavior in the epic in which Virgil likened her to a maenad.

²³⁴ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4. 795-98.

²³⁵ Panoussi, "Vergil's Ajax," 113.

²³⁶ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 18.

Berlioz softens Dido's rage, but he also borrows heavily from Dido's dialogue in the epic. In their final interaction in No. 44, the Trojan hero explains that he genuinely loves her and grieves their parting, but he must return to his quest. Dido responds in a predictably emotional way for someone who feels abandoned and betrayed: she is enraged. Her operatic response mirrors her Virgilian epic monologue, including her reference to her death and lost honor:

Silence! Nothing can stop you—Not death hovering over me, my shame, my love, our wedded life begun, my name wiped from the book of honour! Yet had I but a tender pledge of your trust, yes had I, cradled in my arms, Aeneas's son, his proud, sweet face smiling at me, to remind me of you, I would be less forsaken.

Tais-toi! rien ne t'arrête; la mort qui plane sur ma tête, ma honte, mon amour, notre hymen commencé, mon nom du livre d'or dès ce jour efface! Encor, si de ta foi, j'avais un tendre gage, oui, si d'un fils d'Énée le fier et doux visage me rappelant tes traits, souriait sur mon sein, je serais moins abandonnée...²³⁷

Dido's reference to the "book of honor" shows that she now suffers the negative repercussions that she had wished upon herself if she broke her vows.²³⁸ Though Berlioz borrows most of Dido's dialogue from the *Aeneid*, it is not quite as vitriolic as that from the epic. The composer breaks up the queen's monologue into statements in the duet with Aeneas. Every time Dido delivers a statement of anger, Aeneas interjects with statements of his love, grief, or duty. In this dialogue Berlioz's Aeneas is significantly different from the Virgilian Aeneas who, though he felt love and respect for Dido, did not display his emotions as strongly as his operatic counterpart, who professes his undying love to Dido.²³⁹ Aeneas sincerely regrets that he must leave her and does not want her to believe that he is leaving of his own will. His final words to her are, "Yes, but to die, obedient to

²³⁷ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 20.

²³⁸ Pillinger, "Translating Classical Visions in Berlioz's *Les Troyens*," 88.

²³⁹ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 20.

the gods, I go, and I love you” (Mais pour mourir, obéissant aux dieux, Je pars et Je vous aime!).²⁴⁰ This declaration of love does not soothe her heartache. Dido ends their interaction with a brief cursing of Aeneas and the gods, “Do not let my tears delay you longer! Monster of piety! Go, get you gone! I curse your gods and you” (Ne sois pas plus longtemps par mes cris arête, Monstre de piété! Va donc, va! Je maudis et tes dieux et toi-même!).²⁴¹ Once again, Berlioz reserves the harsh language of the queen’s rage by limiting her lengthy Virgilian curse to a simple line. Dido’s powerful monologue of scathing accusations and verbal abuse creates a tense, rage-filled setting. In contrast, the operatic dialogue causes the tension to rise and fall until she leaves, conserving the intensity for the very end of the opera. The forty-fourth number is the one scene where Berlioz portrays Dido in a reasonable state of anger rather than a blind rage induced by Aeneas’s invocation of his destiny. Dido’s rationality erodes with each successive aria as she loses any of the clarity and logic that remained when she fell so deeply in love.

In No. 45, Dido expresses her pain as a lover as she focuses on the passion she and Aeneas shared. Anna laments that she encouraged her sister to embrace love and blames herself for Dido’s pain.²⁴² She tells Dido that Aeneas did love her, but that divine destiny compels him to leave. The queen does not address her sister’s guilt. Instead, Dido vacillates between her anger towards Aeneas and her sadness, just as she does in the epic. She denies that he ever loved her or was capable of such emotions, but then pleads with her sister and Narbal to beg him to stay just a few more days.²⁴³ This number shows the feminine side of Dido’s pain as she focuses on the love she and Aeneas shared. The

²⁴⁰ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 20.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid.

queen discovers in the next scene that Aeneas's ships have already departed for their journey.

Like her Virgilian counterpart, Berlioz's Dido wishes revenge upon her lover. Without Aeneas to interrupt her, the anger that was evident in the epic transfers to the opera. Her prose expresses her rage as it almost mirrors every sentence of her monologue in the epic while she calls upon her people to destroy the departing Trojans. Here, the audience witnesses her masculine side through her anger at Aeneas for violating the political alliance that formed through their relationship. Aeneas not only hurt Dido but the Carthaginians as well. She regrets providing hospitality to Aeneas and his people and wishes she had annihilated them. The queen blames herself for not realizing that Aeneas would betray her and imagines that if she had known, then she would have "served him his own son's limbs" (*lui servir enfin les membres de son*). With Aeneas gone, all that remains of him are the gifts they exchanged, which she requests to be burned in a pyre by the priests of Pluto.²⁴⁴

Berlioz alters Dido's emotional responses in the scenes leading to her suicide in order to expose her internal suffering as a lover. In the epic, Dido invokes a dark magic ritual to heal her heart, whereas in the opera she demands that the priests of Pluto set up the pyre. At this point in the original plot, Dido has a calm demeanor towards her sister and palace staff and appears to be grieving like a normal woman. Her demeanor in the opera, however, is that of pure rage, causing Narbal and Anna to be fearful of her.²⁴⁵ She then orders them to leave her alone. The composer displays the duality of Dido's private life and her public duty throughout the final act, but the monologue in No. 47 focuses

²⁴⁴ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 21.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

only on the feminine, personal pain typical of the lover archetype while she decides that she must die. Berlioz alludes to Dido's final words on the pyre from the epic about dying unavenged, but dying all the same.²⁴⁶ In the epic, the thought of dying unavenged troubles the queen who also wishes that Aeneas will see the smoke from the pyre and gain awareness of her death. It is a political desire to thwart his destiny. In this version, Dido hopes that her unavenged death will bring Aeneas pain as a lover. She wishes for him to weep when he sees the light emanating from the pyre. Exclusive to the opera, Dido begs Venus to return Aeneas to her, yet she knows that her prayer will go unanswered. As both the goddess of love and Aeneas's mother, the request represents the queen's pain as a lover. Berlioz creates this section for the audience to focus on her loss of love before her political prophecy in the final scene. The shift to her ruler archetype occurs after she avows that death is her only option.²⁴⁷

Dido's aria, No. 48, "Adieu, frère cité", presents the feminine side of her ruler archetype that audiences witnessed at the beginning of third act. In a moment of clarity, Dido realizes she must die because her love affair damaged her reputation. She calmly sings about how, in death, she will leave behind her sister and the city she loves so deeply. Berlioz allows Dido to reflect upon her success as sovereign. She bids her country farewell:

Farewell, the fair skies of Africa, stars I gazed on in wonder on those notes of boundless ecstasy and rapture I shall see you no more, my career is ended.

Adieu, mon peuple, adieu; adieu, rivage vénéré, Adieu beau ciel d'Afrique, astres que j'admirai aux nuits d'ivresse et d'extase infinie. Je ne vous verrai plus, ma carrière est finie...²⁴⁸

²⁴⁶ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 21.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 21-22.

Pillinger states that Dido recognizes that the “ivresse” she shared with Aeneas led to her current situation.²⁴⁹ Her words “my career is ended” reveals that her impending death has political motives. Dido’s reputation as an effective queen who embodied all the qualities of the ruler archetype no longer exists due to the love she shared with Aeneas.

As the priests begin the ritual, Anna and Narbal reiterate the curse against the Trojans. In No. 50, Dido enters the ritual, and the audience sees the effects this doomed love had upon Dido. Berlioz describes Dido’s speech pattern as though she were in a dream. The queen resolves herself to death as she tells her sister, “I feel peace returning to my heart” (*Je sens rentrer le calme dans mon coeur*).²⁵⁰ The composer then goes on to describe her appearance: her hair is disheveled, one foot is bare, and her movements are halting.²⁵¹ A lucid person’s appearance would be complete and clean, and their body movements precise. Dido appearance reflects her exhaustion from her emotions. Berlioz intensifies this image of madness by describing her ascent to the pyre as “seized by a convulsive energy” (my translation) (*saisie d’une énergie convulsive*).²⁵² She resolves to burn all of Aeneas’s belongings until she sees his armor. Berlioz’s stage instructions read, “She throws herself on the bed, kissing it and sobbing uncontrollably. Then she rises, and, taking the sword, speaks in prophetic tones” (*Elle se prosterne sur le lit, qu’elle embrasse avec des sanglots convulsifs. Elle se relève et prenant l’épée elle dit d’un ton prophétique*).²⁵³ The composer presents two different ideas in these statements. In the first sentence, she appears unstable and emotionally unwell. The following sentence

²⁴⁹ Pillinger, “Translating Classical Visions in Berlioz’s *Les Troyens*,” 88.

²⁵⁰ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 22.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Ibid.

implies that the prophetic tones are from the gods. Her emotions change while she transitions from madness to divine clarity as she embodies the sage archetype. It is then that she declares the fates of Carthage and Rome (this continues into No. 51 and No. 52):

My memory will live throughout the ages, my people will fulfill a heroic destiny.
One day in the land of Africa from my ashes, a glorious avenger will be born.
Already I hear the thunder of his conquering name—Hannibal, Hannibal! My soul swells with pride! No more bitter memories; Thus, it is fitting to go down to the shades below! (She pulls the sword from the scabbard, stabs herself, and falls on the bed)
The fates are against us...their hate unrelenting...Ah! Carthage will perish...
Rome...Rome...eternal.

Mon souvenir vivra parmi les âges. Mon peuple accomplira d'héroïques destins.
Un jour sur la terre africaine, Il naîtra de ma cendre un glorieux vengeur...J'entends déjà sonner son nom vainqueur. Annibal! Annibal! D'orgueil mon âme est pleine! Plus de souvenirs amers! C'est ainsi qu'il convient de descendre aux enfers!(Elle tire l'épée du fourreau, se frappe et tombe sur le lit.)
Ah! Des destins ennemis... implacable fureur...Carthage périra!
Rome... Rome... immortelle!²⁵⁴

This portrayal is in stark contrast with that of the epic where Dido hopes that Aeneas will see the flames of the pyre and carry with him the negative omens of her death. In the epic she wishes for an avenger, but she does not name a specific warrior or leader. The substitution of a prophecy allows Dido to appear as a vessel of the gods, delivering a divine message to the people. Her prophecy reiterates her ruler archetype's motivations and ensures that her death does not become a voyeuristic image of female madness. Dido sees her death as part of Carthage's destiny, which will grow and be ruled by formidable generals such as Hannibal. Her vision depicts Hannibal's attempt to overthrow their rivals, but in the end, the Roman Empire continued to dominate Carthage. In that moment of prophecy, she believes that the only way to restore her reputation as a leader is through suicide. Berlioz utilized the final act to juxtapose Dido's strength and vulnerability by

²⁵⁴ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 22-23.

exposing both her feminine, despondent lover archetype and her masculine, politically motivated ruler archetype, each affected by the unhealthy anima relationship to Aeneas.

The composer has Dido pronouncing a monologue to mourn her failed relationship and an aria to reflect upon her leadership. This structure creates the emotional build-up to her political prophecy and masculine suicide by the sword. Both acts reveal that resistance to the empire is futile as Rome will prevail. Berlioz's changes to the plot and literary references present the complexity of the gendered archetypes that Dido embodied. The prophecy also structurally links Cassandra's prophetic moment to Dido and promotes a political metaphor that nineteenth-century audiences likely recognized. The prophecy implies that, like their Roman ancestors, the Second Empire will build an illustrious empire that will dominate other countries.

Berlioz carefully chose elements from the last few pages of Dido's Virgilian story to create an image of both a despondent lover and conquered ruler. She represents an empowered woman and a victim of a power greater than she.²⁵⁵ In *Les Troyens*, Dido built a thriving city and personified the ruler archetype only to be brought down by a love that could not coexist with Aeneas's destiny. As a lover, Dido could not survive without her animus, and as a queen, she could no longer safely rule her city with dignity against their enemies. Dido's role in the epic and the opera was always gendered despite her strength and wisdom. Though the queen exhibited her own imperial power, her accomplishments were suppressed and conquered by the Trojan imperial destiny.

²⁵⁵ Dane Thomas Stalcup, "Fragmented Totalities: The Autobiography of Composer Hector Berlioz" (PhD diss., New York University, New York City, 2013), 249, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

Dido: Music in Act III

A traditional component of the French grand opera genre, the processional march features triple meter, a tempo marking of *maestoso non troppo lento*, and strong quarter notes in the instrumental foundation. Edward Said argues that the expressive triple meter and non-militaristic style represent a submissive society that is destined to be conquered.²⁵⁶ The audience can hear the reverence that the Carthaginians feel for their majestic queen as they sing of her beauty and grace in such a stately manner (See Example 3.1). Berlioz exploits her femininity and her subjects' devotion by framing her leadership with a less militaristic style.

Example 3.1: *Les Troyens* Act III No. 18 Measures 7-12: *Maestoso* Quarter Notes

The musical score for Example 3.1 is presented in a standard musical notation format. It includes vocal parts for Soprano 1, Contralto 1, Tenor 1, Bass 1, Soprano 2, Contralto 2, Tenor 2, and Bass 2, as well as instrumental parts for Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Double Bass. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo is marked *Maestoso*. The lyrics for the vocal parts are: "Gloi - re, gloire à Di - don, no - tre rei - ne ché - ri - el". The instrumental parts feature strong quarter-note patterns, with dynamics ranging from *mf* (mezzo-forte) to *f* (forte). The score is divided into measures 7-12, with a repeat sign at the end of measure 12.

²⁵⁶ Tom Cooper, "Frenchmen in Disguise: French Musical Exoticism and Empire in the Nineteenth Century" in *Empire and Culture: The French Experience, 1830-1940* ed. Martin Evans (New York City: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 121.

Van Rij argues that the Carthaginian national anthem represents a hymn sung by peaceful people rather than a militaristic national anthem due to the combination of the triple meter, stately tempo, and praise.²⁵⁷ Dido's people view her as a capable ruler, but they focus on her feminine aspects instead of her leadership skills and successes. Thus, this stately march keeps her locked in her femininity.

The audience first hears Dido's voice in the recitative and aria that follow the Carthaginians' words of praise. In the key of G major, Dido begins the recitative singing the Carthaginian origin story at a *moderato* tempo. Her voice reflects a calm attitude as the vocal line stays within an octave, and the words are sung clearly without flourishes. Dido modulates to new key signatures every time she introduces a new idea.²⁵⁸ Her aria begins in E-flat minor and modulates to G-flat major while she praises her people's hard work during times of peace. When she asks for their heroic gestures in war, the key changes to D major. She shifts again to another key, B-flat major, as she describes why they need to go to war. Dido transitions smoothly between these key signatures while maintaining clear diction even with the addition of a broader vocal range and short melismatic flourishes. Berlioz had already used the last of these keys, B-flat major, throughout the earlier portion of the opera in relation to heroism and military.²⁵⁹ The composer further supports the idea of war in the dotted-rhythm accompaniment during Dido's explanation (See Example 3.2). A foundational part of the musical military topic, this rhythmic pattern frequently creates associations with military strength and war in multiple genres of music outside of opera. The military topic rhythm appears in scenes of

²⁵⁷ Cooper, "Frenchmen in Disguise," 121.

²⁵⁸ Julian Rushton, "The Musical Structure," in *Hector Berlioz Les Troyens*, ed. Ian Kemp (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 132.

²⁵⁹ Rushton, "The Musical Structure," 132.

military might and heroism throughout *Les Troyens*.²⁶⁰ Dido's people respond to her request by singing of their loyalty to her with their national anthem melody in the key of heroism and military strength. The tempo also increases from *moderato* to *allegro assai con fuoco*, creating energy appropriate to the confidence the soldiers have in their military might.

Example 3.2: *Les Troyens* Act III No. 19 Measures 66-68: Dotted Rhythmic Figures

The musical score for Example 3.2 shows measures 66-68 of Act III No. 19 from *Les Troyens*. The score is written for five parts: Dido (soprano), Vn I, Vn II, Altos, and Vls et C.-B. (bass). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The music features dotted rhythmic figures. Dynamics include *mf*, *dim.*, and *p*. The lyrics for Dido are: "Ie fa-rou - chel - ar - bas* veit m'im - po".

Musically Berlioz introduces Dido as a beloved queen and provides aural evidence of her feminine and masculine aspects of her ruler archetype as they appear in the epic. The stately national anthem supports the gendered praise, which reveals the gentler side of a ruler archetype. Dido's recitative and aria, in contrast, represent her masculine attributes as queen. The vocal lines present her as a magnanimous, level-headed leader who has not only the military might to defend her city, but also the loyalty of her people who are willing to fight for her.

The following three numbers feature a musical procession of workers in Carthage: the builders, the sailors, and the farmworkers. No. 23 finalizes the processions as Dido awards a prize to the farmworkers, honoring them for their services to Carthage.

²⁶⁰ Rushton, "The Musical Structure," 132.

According to Stalcup, Berlioz uses these scenes to reenact the Emperor's presentation of awards to France's best at the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1855, during the time when Berlioz was encouraged by Princess Sayn-Wittgenstein to undertake the opera's composition.²⁶¹ This reference to Napoleon III's national exhibit of imperial status implies that the operatic Carthage includes elements suggestive of French imperialism.

Example 3.3: *Les Troyens* Act III No. 24 Measures 88-89: Fate Motive

Berlioz's Dido displays an interest in romance in No. 24, a duet with her sister. This fleeting thought of love appears before she meets Aeneas or even knows that the Trojans are in her city seeking refuge. While vocally the two argue about the possibility of Dido finding love, the orchestra features carefully placed fate motives in both the original and an altered form of the figure, which subtly suggests archetypal change.²⁶² Anna tells Dido that she is too young and beautiful to remain a widow and that Carthage needs a king. Berlioz places the fate motive underneath a portion of her musical line in the cello and double bass line (See Example 3.3).²⁶³ Though she has not met her lover,

²⁶¹ Stalcup, "Fragmented Totalities," 244, 250.

²⁶² Julian Rushton, "The Overture to 'Les Troyens,'" *Music Analysis* 4, no. 1/2 (1985): 141.

²⁶³ Rushton, "The Overture," 141.

the fate motive implies that love will influence Dido's fate. This use of the motive foreshadows her change from a ruler to a lover archetype.

The fate figure generally appears as repeated short notes on the downbeat which are preceded by a short note on the upbeat, but there are exceptions. For example, Rushton states that an altered form of the fate motive that lacks an upbeat appears during Dido's response to Anna's suggestion that she will find love again.²⁶⁴ Dido contradicts her sister, saying that she is forbidden to feel a new passion. The motive appears in the cello and double bass line while she sings, "Ah, all new passion is irrevocably forbidden to my heart" (Non, toute ardeur nouvelle est interdite à mon coeur sans retour) (See Example 3.4).²⁶⁵ By placing the altered fate motive under her adamant views that she is not allowed to find a new love, the composer creates a subtle musico-dramatic irony since she will indeed find love again. Rushton identifies the altered form in these measures, but he does not recognize it when it appears several measures later as Dido tells her sister, "No, a faithful widow must subdue her soul and abhor love" (Non, la veuve fidèle doit éteindre son âme et detester l'amour) (See Example 3.5).²⁶⁶ The music slows to an *andantino* tempo and transitions to a six-eight meter signature after Anna predicts that Dido will love again and, as a result, her oath to her husband will not last. Here Dido sings about how Anna's words bring her a "dangerous delight" (*dangereuse ivresse*).²⁶⁷ The six-eight meter allows for more expression as she sings over simple *pianissimo* ostinatos in the low strings. Supported by the violins, her thoughts of love glide through a lyrical melody with stepwise motion on "dangereuse ivresse." Dido's

²⁶⁴ Rushton, "Musical Structure," 132.

²⁶⁵ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 11.

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ "Ivresse" directly translates to "drunkenness," but here Cairns translates it as "delight."

contemplation of love repeats as Anna sings about how Dido is trying in vain to resist love. All the while, the accompaniment becomes more complicated until Dido thinks of her late husband, when the strings begin to play steady sixteenth notes descending by step while Dido's melody becomes more rhythmically complex with sixteenth notes as she begs her husband's forgiveness. Berlioz exposes Dido's vulnerability to love in this section of the duet through her simple, expressive lyricism.

Example 3.4: *Les Troyens* Act III No. 24 Measures 73-75: Altered Fate Motive

Non, toute ar-deur nou - vel - le Est in - ter - dite à mon coeur sans re - tour

Example 3.5: *Les Troyens* Act III No. 24 Measures 79-85: Altered Fate Motive

Non, non, la veu-vefi - dé - le Deit é - teindreson à - me, é-teindreson âme et détester l'a-mour.
Vous âme reznasoeur... Di

Narbal interrupts this reverie, announcing to the court that Carthage is under attack by Iarbas. At this point, Aeneas reveals himself. A key change occurs when Aeneas steps forward, but his introduction does not include any subtle motives of death or fate or any other musical topic that would suggest a change in archetype. During the “Finale,” Dido remarks to her sister that Aeneas is “superb” (fier), but her lines are not accompanied by any motives or musical topics to suggest that she is further drawn to him.²⁶⁸ The smooth melody and steady rhythmic accompaniment merely continues the musical idea that the queen remains a ruler archetype as she asks a handsome ally to assist her troops in battle.

Musically, Act III supports both the feminine and masculine elements of Dido’s ruler archetype and foreshadows the dominance of the lover archetype through the use of musical forms, style, and motives. Dido’s people sing her praises in the stately march. She then presents herself as a level-headed and benevolent ruler in her recitative, embracing the feminine side of the ruler archetype. Her people gladly give her their support for a war to protect her and Carthage, singing the melody of the national anthem from the previous number in a key associated with heroism. The composer uses three instrumental processions and a recitative and aria to display Carthage’s imperial strength, which is a reference to Napoleon III’s imperial exhibition in France. Though she distinctly represents the ruler archetype, Berlioz also discreetly indicates that Dido’s archetype will soon change through the employment of the fate motive that sounds below her adamant stance against a new love and Anna’s belief that Dido does not need to follow the gendered rules of widowhood.

²⁶⁸ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 12. Cairns translates “fier” as superb, but the direct translation is “proud.”

Dido: Music in Act IV

“Chasse royale et orage” is arguably one of the opera’s most popular selections due to its beauty and Berlioz’s creative compositional skills. Written with hunt, pastoral, and *tempesta* topics, this scene contains the crucial moment when the audience hears and sees the love shared between Aeneas and Dido. The music represents more than just a royal hunt in the woods; it portrays sexual attraction and turmoil. Traditionally the act of hunting involves pursuing animals for food, but medieval aristocrats also equated it with their courtly love traditions.²⁶⁹ As with hunting, pursuing a lover requires men to venture into a similar scenario of the unknown and unpredictable. Pastoral scenes, both physically and aurally, recreate the simplicity and freedom of nature, which, in turn, includes sexual freedom.²⁷⁰ *Tempesta* typically represents storms and passionate emotional states such as madness, rage, or terror.²⁷¹ These topics do not exist in isolation and intertwine to create an aural environment. Each of these topics brings to life the physical and emotional scene of the hunt.

Pastoral music can feature a few different characteristics such as drones, six-eight or other duple meter signatures, and instruments mimicking elements of nature such as animals and streams.²⁷² The royal hunt scene opens with sparse scoring with the pastoral signifier being the trilling woodwinds that mimic birds as the naiads (water nymphs) bathe. These “birds” sweetly sing the death motive, which Rushton identifies as “2-4 very short notes, usually upbeat to a longer note,”²⁷³ as triplet sixteenth notes followed by an

²⁶⁹ Raymond Monelle, *Musical Topic: Hunt, Military and Pastoral* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006), 67.

²⁷⁰ Monelle, *Musical Topic*, 195.

²⁷¹ Clive McClelland, “*Ombra and Tempesta*,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. Danuta Mirka (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 282, 286.

²⁷² Monelle, *Musical Topic*, 243.

²⁷³ Rushton, “The Musical Structure,” 132.

eighth note above a simple string accompaniment (See Example 3.6).²⁷⁴ The death motive might seem to arise a little early in this scene as the couple’s tragic destiny has yet to appear, but Berlioz frequently uses motives subtly to foreshadow events. The pastoral topic continues as the meter changes to six-eight in an *allegretto* tempo, and a drone plays in the lower woodwinds (See Example 3.7).

Example 3.6: *Les Troyens* Act IV No. 29 Measures 9-10: Death Motive in the Flutes and Examples of “Bird” Trills

The musical score for Example 3.6 shows measures 9-10 of Act IV No. 29 from *Les Troyens*. The score is for six instruments: Flute, Oboe, Clarinet in Bb, Violin I, Violin II, and Viola. The Flute part begins with a trill (tr) on a high note, followed by a triplet (3) of eighth notes. The Oboe part has a piano (p) marking and a trill (tr) on a high note. The Clarinet in Bb part has a trill (tr) on a high note. The Violin I and II parts play chords. The Viola part has a piano (p) marking and a long note.

The *allegretto* section also introduces the hunt topic signifier. The hunting call is played on a nineteenth-century brass instrument, the saxhorn, and is identified by the regal and sometimes pompous sound it makes as it cuts through the pastoral signifiers underneath.²⁷⁵ Military bands frequently employed saxhorns during the 1840s, but briefly stopped using them after a government decree in 1848. Napoleon III reversed the decree and returned the saxhorns to military music, which solidified the militaristic connotations with their sound.²⁷⁶ Berlioz uses saxhorns for the Trojan march and as hunting horns in the woods. Van Rij argues that the saxhorns do not represent military power in this sense

²⁷⁴ Rushton, “The Overture,” 140.

²⁷⁵ Monelle, *Musical Topic*, 35.

²⁷⁶ Van Rij, *The Other Worlds of Hector Berlioz*, 269.

because they represent the hunting horns.²⁷⁷ However, the idea that the hunt implies sexual overtones and the fact that Aeneas conquers Dido sexually suggest that the saxhorns function as subtle imperialistic undertones for the scene. The call alternates between the first and third saxhorns. The first part, marked at a *forte* dynamic, is the closer horn call. The second one represents another part of the hunting group farther away at a *mezzo forte* dynamic. Berlioz writes in the stage directions that the water nymphs listen anxiously to the distant horn calls (Les Naïades semblent écouter avec inquiétude les fanfares lointaines de la chasse). The horn call appears again when the hunters appear on stage. Berlioz also scores agitated scale flourishes when the hunters enter with dogs, which represents the anxiety of the naiads who are hiding in the reeds.

Example 3.7: *Les Troyens* Act IV No. 29 Measures 44-52: Pastoral Elements and Hunting Call

The musical score for Example 3.7 is a page from a score for Hector Berlioz's *Les Troyens*, Act IV, No. 29, measures 44-52. The score is for a full orchestra and includes parts for Saxophones 1 and 2, Horns, Basses, Violins I and II, Alto, Viola, Cello, and Double Bass. The tempo is marked 'Allegretto' and the key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). The score shows a hunting call motif in the saxophones, with dynamics ranging from forte (f) to mezzo-forte (mf) and piano (p). Stage directions in French are present: '(Les Naïades semblent écouter avec inquiétude les fanfares lointaines de la chasse)'. The score also includes markings for 'solo', 'pizz', 'dim', and 'p'.

As the hunt intensifies, Berlioz adds the *tempesta* topic to represent the storm. The *tempesta* topic appears in a variety of forms, but the most important signifiers in this scene are restless rhythmic motion, quick scale passages, repeated notes, loud dynamics,

²⁷⁷ Van Rij, *The Other Worlds of Hector Berlioz*, 255.

strong accents, full scoring of the orchestra including brass and timpani, pronounced string scoring, and full textures.²⁷⁸ Berlioz mentions in his stage directions at measure 29 that the storm is approaching. Here the strings begin to have a rhythmic drive, and a crescendo builds as the storm strengthens. The crescendo grows into a *fortissimo* in measure 135 with increased instrumentation, and scale patterns appear in the strings and flutes. Repeated notes in octaves follow as well as the addition of the timpani (See Example 3.8). The storm intensifies and subsides multiple times, as is reflected in the instrumentation and the music.

Example 3.8: *Les Troyens* Act IV No. 29 Measures 132-38: Elements of *Tempesta* Topic Increase

Different aspects of the *tempesta* topic occur, such as the sweeping scales or prominent string scoring to mimic a terrible gale, but Rushton notes that a foreboding omen sounds at measure 227 as the death motive plays in the timpani as two eighth notes followed by a

²⁷⁸ McClelland, "Ombra and *Tempesta*," 282.

quarter note (See Example 3.9).²⁷⁹ The storm's climax occurs right before Aeneas and Dido enter the cave with full orchestration and *fortissimo* tied notes, some of which are doubled in octaves.

The *tempesta* topic represents not only the physical storm but the chaos that this union will create. Though neither of the lovers speak in this scene, Ian Kemp argues that the music reflects their love and passion by using instrumental themes in the *larghetto* tempo that increase to an *allegretto* tempo as their passion deepens.²⁸⁰ As previously mentioned, composers employed the double entendre of the hunt when they wanted to portray the courting between lovers. Dido and Aeneas chase each other through the beginning of the hunt and ultimately catch one another during the storm with passions high, reflected by the *tempesta* topic, while the hunt theme plays over their union.

Example 3.9: *Les Troyens* Act IV No. 29 Measures 227-28: Death Motive in Timpani During Storm

The image displays a musical score for measures 227 and 228 of Act IV No. 29 from Hector Berlioz's *Les Troyens*. The score is written for a large orchestra, with multiple staves for woodwinds, strings, and percussion. The timpani part is highlighted, showing a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The score includes dynamic markings such as *dim.* (diminuendo) and *f* (fortissimo). The notation is in French, with the title *Les Troyens* and the act/number *Act IV No. 29* clearly visible.

²⁷⁹ Rushton, "The Overture," 140.

²⁸⁰ Ian Kemp, "Commentary and Analysis," in *Hector Berlioz: Les Troyens*, ed. Ian Kemp (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 155-56.

The chorus singing over the nymphs' gesticulations in the woods is also noteworthy. As the nymphs witness the storm and Aeneas and Dido's rendezvous, a lightning bolt strikes a nearby tree. Nymphs shout and gesture about while a limb burns. The audience hears the word "Italie" sung multiple times, which appears throughout the latter portion of the opera as fate calling Aeneas. Underneath the repetitions of "Italie," the strings play sextuplets and eighth notes, creating a sense of urgency and energy at the climax of the allegretto section (Example 3.10). This powerful reminder that Aeneas must eventually leave his love echoes the inauspicious sentiments of the death motive heard during the *tempesta* passage. These musical characteristics spell doom for the future of their romance.

Example 3.10: *Les Troyens* Act IV No. 29 Measures 242-54: Vocalizations of Italie over Sextuplets and Eighth Notes

The musical score for Example 3.10 from *Les Troyens*, Act IV No. 29, Measures 242-54, shows a vocalization of "Italie" over a background of sextuplets and eighth notes. The score includes parts for Soprano and Contralto, Tenor, Bass, and a Chorus (Soprano, Tenor, Bass). The instrumental parts include Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Double Bass. The vocal parts sing "I-ta-li" over a background of sextuplets and eighth notes. The score is marked with *ff* (fortissimo) and *p* (piano).

The pastoral and tempesta musical topics, marking the consummation of Dido's physical love with Aeneas, denote a pivotal juncture in her transition to a lover archetype. She no longer resists her sister's urging to seek a new love or struggles to maintain her vow of chastity but instead yields to her passion. However, she has not yet relinquished her royal duties. In the ensuing scene, after some time has passed, Narbal expresses his concerns that Dido is neglecting her duties. Though Anna believes that Dido's love affair will bring happiness to her sister and Carthage, Narbal's observation of Dido's behavior shows that the queen does not perform her job as she once did and exhibits characteristics of an unbalanced anima. Narbal's fears prove correct in the next scene when Dido and her court gather to watch three ballet performances.

The ballets of No. 33 reiterate that Dido is distracted from her royal duties and is neglecting her city. The third ballet also depicts elements of imperialism during the Second Empire. Berlioz utilizes common elements of nineteenth-century musical exoticism and sensual choreography to cast the slaves as the sexual "other." The most notable exotic elements that mimic "foreign" music occur in the instrumentation. Woodwinds doubled in octaves recreate the "primitive pipe," a tambourine replicates the tarbuka drum, and the singing of some of the slaves in an invented language focuses on the minor third.²⁸¹ The strings play somewhat chromatically, but their primary role is to create a seductive melody for the erotic choreography.²⁸² Berlioz utilized these elements of musical exoticism to exhibit "otherness" so that the audience could easily recognize that the dancers were from conquered lands less powerful than Carthage.

²⁸¹ Julian Rushton, *The Music of Berlioz* (Oxford: Oxford Press, 2001), 147.

²⁸² Rushton, *The Music of Berlioz*, 146.

Van Rij argues that the ballet's sensuality equates Dido's sensuality with that of the conquered performers, thereby subverting her power. The music would suggest that soon the queen will be defeated just as the dancers have been overcome. The final ballet of the Nubian slaves musically identifies Carthage as the feminine "other," which supports Said's argument that the submissive Carthaginians are destined to be conquered by the masculine Trojans.²⁸³ The distraction of the ballets does not calm Dido's internal struggle over her love for Aeneas. After the ballet concludes, she flits from one distraction to another as she requests that Iopas sing, but then interrupts him, that he cannot calm her "extreme restlessness" (*inquiétude extreme*).²⁸⁴ This begins No. 35 where she asks Aeneas to tell her of the fate of Andromache.

French grand opera traditionally features a "frozen ensemble," a quintet or larger number of singers who maintain static affects throughout a scene, which makes No. 36 integral to the opera's form. Berlioz's quintet allows Aeneas to tell Dido about the Trojan defeat and sets up the environment for Dido to disregard the vow to her husband. During the quintet (featuring Aeneas, Anna, Dido, Iopas, and Narbal), Ascanius removes Dido's ring from her hand, and, as he does, the woodwinds play the fate motive at a *pianissimo* dynamic level while Anna sings of his resemblance to Cupid (See Example 3.11). The fate motive resounds softly, yet it anticipates that soon Fate will overwhelm the once powerful monarch.

Aeneas and Dido's love blossoms in their love duet, No. 37. They serenade each other with descriptions of other lovers that experienced nights such as theirs. As

²⁸³Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press), 63. Susan McClary further notes that nineteenth-century Europeans in general frequently associated the foreign "other" as sexual and feminine.

²⁸⁴Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 15.

mentioned in the libretto analysis, the loves they reference are all relationships or interactions that ended terribly for those involved. The musical journey of this duet takes the listener through the sensual nature of Dido and Aeneas's love to the foreboding doom of their relationship's inevitable end through the key signature, meter signature, types of chords used, rhythmic structure in the accompaniment, and movement of the vocal lines.

Example 3.11: *Les Troyens* Act IV No. 35 Measures 75-77: Fate Motive While Ascanius Steals Dido's Ring

Flute

Oboe

Clarinet in B \flat

Bassoon

Anna

Voy-ez Voy - ez, Nar bal , la main lé - gé - re De cent en fant sem blable à Cu pi

Berlioz composed the duet in G-flat major, a common key for nineteenth-century love duets that was considered representative of “sensuousness and mysterious ecstasy.”²⁸⁵ Meyerbeer most notably used it in *Les Huguenots* (1836). Berlioz also heightens the sensual nature of the duet through the *andantino non troppo lento* tempo, flowing melodic lines, and the six-eight meter. Though the nine-eight meter appears more commonly with the G-flat major key, the six-eight, compound meter allows for more flexibility in expressive lines.²⁸⁶ The opening refrain of the duet is diatonic, mostly on the tonic and dominant. As the couple progress to individual verses, the chordal

²⁸⁵ Hugh MacDonald, “[G-Flat Major Key Signature],” *19th-Century Music* 10, no. 3 (Spring 1988): 226.

²⁸⁶ MacDonald, “[G-Flat Major Key Signature],” 231.

accompaniment moves down a half step with each measure (See Example 3.12a). The downward chromatic motion facilitates the use of minor chords in the key, which provides an ominous and mysterious foundation for the lyrics involving failed or unhealthy relationships. Aeneas's verse also features the fate motive in the double bass as he sings about Troilus and Cressida, whose betrayal of love foreshadows Dido's abandonment by Aeneas (See Example 3.12b). The first two verses consist of straightforward accompaniment lines in the strings and winds with very few rhythmic embellishments.

Example 3.12a: *Les Troyens* Act IV No. 37 Measures 25-33: Descending Chromatic Movement in Dido's Verse

When the refrain appears again in measure 49, the couple begins on the submediant (E-flat minor) rather than tonic or dominant. For the audience, this refrain sounds sadder than the first iteration as it explores more minor chords than the first. Rhythmically it is still relatively simple and similar to the opening refrain. Aeneas's next verse no longer consists of simple accompaniment as the strings alternate between upward chromatic flourishes and quick arpeggios with very few sustained notes, creating a sense of unease. These musical elements of unease continue into the couple's final

verses, where Dido accuses Aeneas of spurning her love, and he responds that he forgives her for the untrue accusation. Both of their second and third verses explore chords outside of the key of G-flat major, but ultimately Aeneas ends on the tonic, and they enter into the final refrain together on the dominant. Their final refrain follows diatonic progressions and ends on tonic, which leads to a sense of false bliss for the audience.

Example 3.12b: *Les Troyens* Act IV No. 37 Measures 39-46: Descending Chromatic Movement in Aeneas's Verse and the Fate Motive

As the two lovers sing of their night of ecstasy, their vocal lines reflect an almost flirtatious or sensuous pattern. The voices rarely cross as Aeneas's part sounds an octave lower than the written line. Flirtatious motions occur when Dido and Aeneas sing the refrain together through rhythmic patterns and direction of the vocal line (See Example 3.13). Their voices begin together in homophonic motion until the third measure on the word "ecstasy" (extase). Dido's line becomes dance-like in rhythm and lowers in pitch, moving closer to Aeneas's sustained note. They return to homophonic motion briefly before moving in opposite directions, intertwining as they sing, which is symbolic of their sensual pleasures associated with the night of ecstasy. As they reach the end of the

phrase, they return to the mirrored rhythms as their musical lines pull away from each other, almost teasing, and then meet on the final quarter note of “endless” (infinie).

Berlioz repeats these motions during the reiterations of the refrain, expressing the lust the two lovers have toward each other. The sensuous movement of the vocal lines aurally supports the love and lust behind the romantic references and, therefore, confirms that Dido embodies the lover archetype in this scene.

Example 3.13: *Les Troyens* Act IV No. 37 Measures 49-56: Flirtatious Movement in the Duet Refrain

The musical score for Example 3.13 is a duet refrain between Didon and Énée. It is written in 8/8 time, key of B-flat major, and marked 'dolce'. The lyrics are: "Nuit d'i-vresse et d'ex ta - se, ô nuit, nuit d'i vres - se et d'ex - ta se in fi ni e!". The score shows the vocal lines for both characters, with Didon's part starting on a higher pitch than Énée's. The melody is characterized by a mix of eighth and quarter notes, with some syncopation and dotted rhythms.

Berlioz employed another element of composition that mirrored Meyerbeer's for this scene: the ending that shatters the ecstasy. Meyerbeer ends his duet with the toll of a bell in D major.²⁸⁷ Berlioz does the same while altering it to fit his plot. After Dido and Aeneas sing their final refrain, the winds modulate into D major. Mercury enters and sings “Italie” three times in a succession of two sixteenth notes followed by a quarter note tied to an eighth note while striking Aeneas's battle armor hanging nearby on a pillar (See Example 3.14). This motive, now written in the *ombra* topic style, ends the romantic duet with a sour mood of foreboding doom. Berlioz utilizes conventional *ombra* characteristics such as dotted rhythms, syncopation, and repeated pitches, but a more ominous characteristic is the dynamic contrast between Mercury's voice and the instrumental accompaniment. At a *piano* dynamic, short, chromatic, stepwise dotted

²⁸⁷ MacDonald, “[G-Flat Major Key Signature],” 228.

rhythms occur on either side of the word “Italie.”²⁸⁸ This scoring leaves one and a half beats of the god’s voice resonating over silence, making the *mezzo-forte* voice sound louder than the accompaniment, which creates a sense of foreboding. The number finishes on an E minor chord, the supertonic of the new key. Even though the couple appears to be in a blissful state, Berlioz’s harmonies and the ombra topic aurally communicate to the audience that something terrible is to come.

Example 3.14: *Les Troyens* Act IV No. 37 Measures 136-42: Mercury Singing Italie to Death Motive



In Act IV the music expresses the lust and love between Dido and Aeneas through topics, motives, and compositional style. The pastoral and hunt topics for the royal hunt represent the sensual freedom the lovers have in the woods as well as the thrill of the romantic chase. The saxhorns, partly acting as a martial signifier, represent the imperial implications of Aeneas sexually conquering Dido. The *tempesta* topic embodies the turmoil of their passion and foreshadows the doom their relationship will bring upon them. Berlioz inserts the death and fate motives to imply that specific actions (i.e. the consummation of their love in the woods, Mercury’s message to Aeneas, Ascanius stealing the queen’s ring, and the duet of ill-fated lovers) affect the course of the events. Throughout the act, Berlioz uses triple and compound meters when love is involved in the libretto. This allows for a more fluid expression, but also represents the vulnerability

²⁸⁸ McClelland, “Ombra and Tempesta,” 282.

and defeat of Dido. Finally, the composer employs conventional compositional elements associated with the French grand opera tradition such as combinations of particular key and meter signatures to create familiar aural settings. All of these elements help illustrate that while Dido is first represented with the attributes associated with the ruler archetype, once she submits to Aeneas, her ruler archetype becomes overwhelmed with features associated to the archetype of the lover and that of the unbalanced anima archetype.

Dido: Music in Act V

Dido's fate directly relates to her archetype as she becomes first a lover and then embodies the unbalanced anima archetype. Berlioz provides a musical foreshadowing with the recurrent fate motive. In the forty-fourth number, Dido confronts Aeneas while he attempts to explain that his departure is beyond his control and in the hands of the gods. The idea of fate permeates this number's text and music. Before Dido sings a word, the strings play a version of the fate motive that moves by upward leaps instead of remaining on repeated pitches. Though the fate motive generally appears on repeated pitches, this altered melodic example still represents the fate motive because the rhythmic pattern remains that of three short notes.²⁸⁹ Initially marked with a soft *piano* dynamic, it quickly crescendos to a *fortissimo*, indicating that the fate of the queen is developing as the rage of her unbalanced anima begins to grow (See Example 3.15).

The motive occurs again in her first outburst to Aeneas and most explicitly as she sings, "You are preparing your flight?" [my translation] (*Tu prépares ta fuite?*). In the queen's first entrance, sparsely scored winds and strings allow her to be the focus of

²⁸⁹ Rushton, "The Overture," 142.

attention. As she questions her lover, the composer further limits the scoring to the strings below her vocal line. She asks her question in an almost subdued monotone until an octave leap underscores the word “fuite” (flight) (See Example 3.16). The fate motive continues past her question and emotional octave jump, perhaps foreshadowing that Aeneas’s fate will continue without her.

Example 3.15: *Les Troyens* Act V No. 44 Measures 3-4: Crescendo in Fate Motive

Example 3.15 shows five staves of music. The first three staves are marked with *p* and *cresc.*, while the last two are marked with *ff*. The music features a rising melodic line in the upper staves and a more static line in the lower staves, both contributing to a crescendo effect.

Example 3.16: *Les Troyens* Act V No. 44 Measures 17-19: Fate Motive During Question

Example 3.16 shows five staves of music. The top staff is for the vocal line (Didon) with lyrics "Tu pré-pa - res ta fui - te?". The bottom four staves are for the instrumental accompaniment (Vn I, Vn II, Altos, Vlles et C.-B.). The music features a rising melodic line in the upper staves and a more static line in the lower staves, both contributing to a crescendo effect.

Dido’s rage and the fate motive appear simultaneously again as she responds to Aeneas’s excuse that he has ignored the gods and their commands too long. Her rage and scorn, uttered in short interjections, limit Aeneas’s chances to explain himself. The fate motive accompanies her at a *piano* dynamic, steadily moving lower in pitch as she sings,

“And not a single tear moistens his eye at the sight of such misery” [my translation] (Sans qu’à l’aspect d’une telle misère la pitié d’une larme humecte sa paupière) (See Example 3.17).²⁹⁰ From that point forward, while she spends the rest of the duet singing caustic remarks towards her lover, her accompaniment changes to descending eighth-note and quarter-note patterns that provide movement during her half notes and dotted half notes, and no longer includes the fate motive. Dido projects her anger through a *fortissimo* syllabic, melodic line that features simple rhythms and repeated notes followed by leaps and descending quarter notes. The changes in accompaniment, the clarity of the syllabic line, and the *fortissimo* dynamic reflect the instability of her rage as an unbalanced anima because she lacks control over her emotional responses.

Example 3.17: *Les Troyens* Act V No. 44 Measures 62-69 Fate Motive

The musical score for Example 3.17 shows measures 62-69 of Act V No. 44 from *Les Troyens*. The score is written for five parts: Didon (soprano), Vn I, Vn II, Altos, and Vclles. The key signature is three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics for the Didon part are: "Sans qu'à l'aspect d'une telle misère la pitié d'une larme humecte sa paupière!". The Vn I and Vn II parts play a descending eighth-note pattern. The Altos part plays a descending quarter-note pattern. The Vclles part plays a descending half-note pattern.

After Aeneas protests that his love is undying, the queen responds angrily because their relationship tarnished her reputation as a ruler. When Dido explains that her love for Aeneas has brought her shame, melodic sweeping scale lines, associated in Acts I and II with Cassandra’s agitation and prophecy,²⁹¹ appear in a downward motion: “Not death that hovers above my head. My shame, my love, our union just begun” (La mort qui

²⁹⁰ Rushton, “The Overture,” 142.

²⁹¹ Rushton, “The Musical Structure,” 132.

plane sur ma tête. Ma honte, mon amour, notre hymen commencé). A full descending scale motion accompanies her as she laments, “My name struck forth today from the golden book” (Mon nom du livre d’or dès ce jour efface) (See Example 3.18a and 3.18b).²⁹² Dido now realizes that she no longer will be known as a great ruler of Carthage because of her infatuation with Aeneas. During this number, the rage of Dido’s unbalanced anima dominates both her lover archetype and her ruler archetype and allows her to acknowledge the repercussions of her actions with Aeneas as she berates him for his part in her demise.

Example 3.18a: *Les Troyens* Act V No. 44 Measures 99-106: Dido Singing That Death Hangs Over Her Head in a Downward Scale Motion Indicative of Agitation and Fate

Didon

La mort qui pla-ne sur ma tête, Ma hon-té, mon a-mour, notre hy-men com-men

Example 3.18b: *Les Troyens* Act V No. 44 Measures 107-11: Accompaniment Support in a Dotted Rhythm by the Strings While Dido Singing That Death Hangs Over Her Head in a Downward Scale Motion Indicative of Agitation and Fate

Didon

cè Mon nom du li-vre d'or dès ce jour ef-fe-cél...

Vn I

Vn II

Altos

Berlioz’s depiction of Dido’s rage appears as a realistic reaction. She remains silent at first and then becomes vitriolic in her words towards her lover. Berlioz’s

²⁹² Rushton, “The Musical Structure,” 132.

portrayal of her rational behavior contrasts with the madness depicted in the epic.

However, Dido's sanity deteriorates as the final act reaches its inevitable conclusion.

In the previous scene, Dido portrayed a strong, scorned woman who no longer suffers noncommittal men. Her oscillation between the political language of her ruler archetype and the despondent language of her lover archetype is supported through musical devices. In the next scene, Dido's mood quickly shifts to that of the desperate, regretful woman. She begs her sister to find Aeneas and ask him to stay. These two sections starkly contrast with each other in tempo and style. The forty-fourth number features *allegro* tempos with additional adjectives such as *agitato* and *con fuoco* and heavily articulated rhythmic sections. Her behavior in this number continues the display of emotional instability that stems from her unbalanced anima, but she experiences sadness and desperation instead of rage.

In contrast, the forty-fifth number assists in illustrating Dido's desperation through a solid *andante non troppo lento* tempo and lyrical accompaniment with the occasional pointed articulation of the death motive in the bass line (See Example 3.19). The death motive alludes to the queen's inevitable suicide as it accompanies every passage she sings in this number. Her drastic change in demeanor reflects the imbalance from her anima-animus relationship, but Berlioz still limits the level of madness and the inevitability of Dido's death in comparison to Virgil. The queen describes her feelings of love and humility while acknowledging the power of her love for Aeneas over her pride. Dido still sees a potential future with Aeneas. She then demands that her sister speak with Aeneas and convince him to give the queen a few more days.²⁹³ These events contrast

²⁹³ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.486-90.

with their counterparts in the *Aeneid*, where Dido tells Anna, “Beg from him this last favor, Sister. If he grants it, I will pay it back with interest—by my death.”²⁹⁴ At this point in the epic, Dido has already come to terms with her inevitable death, whereas Berlioz delays Dido’s decision to die.

Example 3.19: *Les Troyens* Act V No. 45 Measures 1-4: Lyrical String Section Accompaniment with Death Motive in the Bass Line

Example 3.20: *Les Troyens* Act V No. 46 Measures 1-10: Death Motive in Strings and Woodwinds as the Trojan Ships Depart

²⁹⁴ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.505-6.

Dido's misery fades quickly in the forty-sixth number as Iopas informs her that the Trojans have set sail. Berlioz supports this musically with a crescendo of the death motive in the strings and woodwinds as the chorus counts the ships (See Example 3.20). With her mood switching from disconsolate to vengeful, Dido calls upon her troops to vanquish the Trojans. The music supports her rage through a change in tempo, syncopated rhythms, and chromatic flourishes. The tempo increases to *allegro assai* with a quick rhythmic pattern of alternating quarter notes and eighth notes. An ascending chromatic scale in eighth notes follows each of Dido's statements until her final commands are answered with punctuated, long, ascending chromatic notes (See Example 3.21). Despite being filled with rage, Dido's words remain clear. Similar to *infuriata* or *parlante* arias of opera seria, Dido sings one note per syllable without flourishes and usually on short note values.²⁹⁵ When combined with the quick tempos and chromatic runs, this style of singing reveals to the audience that rage consumes the queen.

The rest of the scene alternates between fast tempos with pointed accompaniment and sections with just Dido until she decides to build the funeral pyre. This section features only winds playing ominous soft chords. These frequent juxtapositions of musical style reflect her rage-induced mental instability, especially when she calmly begins planning her death, which she disguises as a ritual offering to the gods of all of the possessions Aeneas left behind.

In the forty-seventh number, the stage directions describe the queen in a state of distress, as she "runs about the stage, tearing her hair, beating her breast and uttering inarticulate cries." Berlioz once again represents Dido's mental instability primarily in

²⁹⁵ Betty Jane Grimm, "A New Look At—The Solo Vocal Form," *The Choral Journal* 1, no.4 (October 1960): 5.

the tempo changes in her monologue, in which she narrates how she will get revenge on Aeneas by killing herself. To categorize her as mad in this scene, however, would do her an injustice. Her monologue lacks the extensive use of coloratura and freedom of form and rhythm that one would usually associate with madness in Italian opera, although some chromaticism exists in this piece and she is the only person on stage losing whatever emotional control she seemed to have.²⁹⁶ Instead, the audience witnesses the journey on which Dido decides to die. Berlioz's setting of this scene differs from the epic, where Dido experiences supernatural omens that convince her that she is doomed, such as the sanctified water turning black and congealing into blood, hearing her deceased husband's voice, and night terrors that lead her to madness.²⁹⁷

Example 3.21: *Les Troyens* Act V No. 46 Measures 21-35: Dido's Call to War Punctuated by Chromatic Answers in Scales and Half Notes Tied to Quarter Notes

The musical score for Example 3.21 is a vocal and instrumental setting of Dido's Call to War. It is in 4/4 time and consists of measures 21-35. The score is written for a vocal soloist (Dido) and a chamber orchestra. The vocal line is in French and includes the lyrics: "Armezvous, Tyriens! Carthagi nois, courez, poussezvous les rochers! Coubezvous sur les rames, Volez sur les eaux, Lancez les flammes, Brûlez leurs vais." The instrumental accompaniment features a variety of instruments, including strings (Violins I and II, Viola, Violoncelle, Double Bass), woodwinds (Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon), and brass (Trumpet, Trombone, Tuba). The score is characterized by its chromaticism and the use of scales and half notes tied to quarter notes.

²⁹⁶ Mary Ann Smart, "The Silencing of Lucia," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 4, no. 2 (July 1992):127-41.

²⁹⁷ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.521-38.

Berlioz once again omits supernatural influences in order to portray Dido in a manner that demands sympathy for her heartbreak. As a lover archetype, she mourns the loss of her love and what it means for her future. Dido's lyrical vocalization that she has nothing more to look forward to except death presents a calm and dignified ruler who knows what she must do to regain her honor.

A stark contrast exists between the lyrical aria of the forty-eighth number and the previous pieces. Instead of agitation, the vocal line and the accompaniment feature smooth lyricism in an *adagio* tempo. As Dido looks upon the night sky, she remembers how she gazed at it during the "nights of boundless ecstasy" (*aux nuits d'ivresse et d'extase infinite*).²⁹⁸ Pastoral topic elements such as the slow six-eight meter, the drone in the bass clarinets and horns, the almost bird-like sighs in the flutes, and the rhythmic simplicity reflect a sense of serenity in Dido as she sings her goodbyes.²⁹⁹ The melody of the love duet accompanies her direct lyrical reference (See Example 3.22). The aria's reflective lyrics and peaceful musical topic stray from her madness in the *Aeneid*, but they provide Dido with a moment to recognize all that she has accomplished during her reign. Even in her grief-stricken state, Dido appreciates what she has created, the love of her sister, and the respect of her people. At this moment, Dido briefly reverts to her ruler archetype. This scene serves as a reminder that the queen was a good leader and achieved great feats before she met Aeneas.

²⁹⁸ Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 22.

²⁹⁹ Monelle, *Musical Topic*, 243.

Example 3.22: *Les Troyens* Act V No. 48 Measures 27-30: Verbal and Musical Reference to the Love Duet

The musical score for Example 3.22 shows measures 27-30 of Act V No. 48 from *Les Troyens*. The score is in 6/8 time and B-flat major. It features parts for Flute (Fl), Horn (Hb), Didon (soprano), Violin I (Vn I), Violin II (Vn II), Alto (Altos), Viola (Vlles), and Cello/Double Bass (C.-B.). The vocal line for Didon includes the lyrics: "Aux nuits d'i-vresse et d'ex-ta - scin - fi - ni - c,". The score is marked with "pp" (pianissimo) in several places.

The love duet in the fourth act revealed Dido's guilt about her love affair and foreshadowed her doom. It is only fitting that these lyrical and melodic references return as she now faces the consequences of her relationship. Dido knows that her love affair created a situation she can no longer tolerate now that her relationship with Aeneas has ceased. Death provides her an honorable way to atone for her choices. A reiteration of the fate motive at the end of the scene occurs after Dido sings that her life is done (See Example 3.23).³⁰⁰ Her farewell to all she knows acts as the last glimpse of the Dido the audience met in the third act.

Committed to dying, Dido demands that the priests prepare a pyre for a ritual. No one on stage knows that she is preparing for her death, but the music betrays Dido's secret. The *ombra* topic and death motive return in No. 49 as the priests of Pluto prepare the pyre to burn Aeneas's belongings. Elements of *ombra* that occur in the number are:

³⁰⁰ Rushton, "The Overture," 141.

slow tempo, minor key, lower range of voice and instruments such as bassoons and trombones, dotted rhythms, rising and falling scales, sudden textural and dynamic contrasts, and doubled octaves.³⁰¹ This ominous scene, performed at a *moderato un poco sostenuto* tempo and cast in the key of C-sharp minor, features the timpani softly playing the death motive during the opening and throughout the ritual language of the priests (See Example 3.24). It returns in measures 50-63 when the chorus of priests sing again. The motive is not heard again for the rest of the opera.

Example 3.23: *Les Troyens* Act V No. 48 Measures 36-42: Fate Motive in the Bass and Trombone Lines After Dido Sings About Her Life Being Complete

Example 3.24: *Les Troyens* Act V No. 49 Measures 1-5: Death Motive in the Timpani That Occurs Until Measure 17

³⁰¹ McClelland, "Ombra and Tempesta," 282.

The culmination of Dido's emotions explodes through action in the fiftieth scene as she, the priests, and Anna and Narbal proceed to the funeral pyre. She is calm until mid-procession when she decides to quickly climb up the pyre (*Didon monte d'un pas rapide les degrés du bûcher*). The audience once again hears the fate motive in the brass and timpani as Dido mounts the funeral pyre (See Example 3.25). This motive alerts the audience that Dido's climactic moment has arrived.

Example 3.25: *Les Troyens* Act V No. 50 Measures 15-19: Fate Motive in the Brass and Timpani Lines as Dido Storms the Funeral Pyre

The musical score for Example 3.25 shows measures 15-19 of Act V No. 50. The score includes parts for C. a P (La), Tromb. 1, Tromb. 2, Timb., and Didon. The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is common time (C). The brass and timpani parts feature a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes, while the vocal part (Didon) is mostly silent, with a few notes at the beginning of the first measure.

An ominous melody in the low strings precedes Dido's prophecy, where she predicts Hannibal avenging her legacy, which brings her temporary pride and peace in the face of death.³⁰² This section represents prophecy rather than madness, not only in the words she speaks, but also in the recurrent excerpts of Cassandra's prophecy motive, which the audience heard previously in the first act (See Example 3.26). Dido no longer focuses on her past or present, but upon the future of Carthage. Elements of Cassandra's motive hint that the future resides with the Trojans as the motive only appears with Cassandra and the city. She sings clearly and smoothly without coloratura and chromaticism. Though the audience and onstage characters might perceive her as a spectacle, the scene lacks a sense

³⁰² Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, 22.

of voyeurism that one would expect from a mad scene like that of Shakespeare's Lady Macbeth or Donizetti's Lucretia Borgia.³⁰³ Dido believes Hannibal will avenge her, so she decides the only proper way to die is by her hand defending her honor, in a fashion similar to that of Cassandra's death in the second act.

The reaction of the chorus, Anna, and Narbal is that of panic. Their beloved queen has taken her life, and they are in disbelief and unable to help. Even if they could help, fate is inevitable. Rushton argues that amidst the cries of horror, the violins move the piece forward in a triplet version of the fate motive (See Example 3.27).³⁰⁴ Dido rises and falls, trying to muster the life she has left to voice another section of the prophecy: Carthage will fall. In recitative, she articulates her vision. Berlioz details in the score that the audience sees her vision as she describes it. This prophecy leads to the final number as the key changes to B flat major. It is at this moment when Dido realizes that her vengeance will not be realized, she cries, "Rome... Rome...immortal" (Rome... Rome... immortelle!) and dies in her sister's arms.

Example 3.26: *Les Troyens* Act V No. 50 Measures 50-53: An Excerpt of the Cassandra Motive in the Accompaniment of Dido's Prophecy Section

The musical score for Example 3.26 shows Dido's vocal line and the instrumental accompaniment for Violins I and II, Violas, Cellos, and Double Basses. The score is in B-flat major, 4/4 time, and features a triplet of eighth notes in the violin parts. The lyrics are in French: "Un jour sur la terre a-fri - cai - ne. Il nai-tra de ma cendre un glo - ri-eux ven".

³⁰³ Smart, "The Silencing of Lucia," 127-41.

³⁰⁴ Rushton, "The Musical Structure," 147.

Example 3.27: *Les Troyens* Act V No. 51 Measures 6-11: Fate Motive in the Violins as the Chorus and Narbal Sing about the Horror the Day has Become After Dido's Suicide

Dido concedes that Rome will prevail. The Trojan march, with its militaristic saxhorn, resounds as the Roman victory cry while the Carthaginians sing curses against Aeneas and the Trojans. Their singing, though mighty in its rhythmic union, doubled octaves, and militaristic triplets, creates what A.E.F. Dickinson refers to as a “counterpoint of anathema” to the triumphant Trojan march.³⁰⁵ Fitzgerald argues that the Carthaginian curses do not clash with the Trojan anthem but instead receive support from it as the Carthaginian rage echoes in the march.³⁰⁶ The Carthaginians are the voice of the conquered who continue to resist. Even though they are singing curses, they do little to distract from the emphatic march, signaling that their curses are useless against the might of the future Roman Empire. Dido dies not as an illustrious leader or an avenger of her country, but as a cog in the patriarchal, imperial formation of Rome, as it is not a theme extolling Dido or Carthage that we hear in Rome's success, but Aeneas's Trojan March.

³⁰⁵ A.E.F. Dickinson, “Music for *the Aeneid*,” *Greece and Rome* 6, no. 2 (October 1959): 141.

³⁰⁶ William Fitzgerald, “Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici,” *Re-Presenting Virgil: Special Issue in Honor of Michael C. J. Putnam*, no. 52 (2004): 205.

Berlioz and Dido

Les Troyens juxtaposes empowerment and victimhood as elements of Dido's character. This juxtaposition derives in part from the *Aeneid* and in part from Berlioz's self-identification with Dido. Though the epic features Aeneas as the hero, Berlioz identified with Dido more than he did the Trojan. His identification with her shapes his development of the opera and ultimately sheds light on his relationship with the Second Empire and Napoleon III. According to Berlioz, his relationship with Virgil's Dido began around age 11, when he translated Book IV of the *Aeneid* for his father.³⁰⁷ Paying special attention to her death scene, he recalled being overcome with emotion as the gods sent Iris to relieve her of life. Stalcup believes that Berlioz identified with Dido during her moment of death because he experienced a sexual awakening while reading the scene.³⁰⁸ His argument rests on the idea that Virgil's description of Dido's death awakened an "erotic sadness" in Berlioz because the composer described being taken over by a "shudder" and being confused by an emotion.³⁰⁹ By contrast, Berlioz described Aeneas as a "false-hearted lover,"³¹⁰ who accordingly represents the enemy in Berlioz's eyes.

Berlioz felt as though he could empathize with the characters of the epic because of his life experiences: his love and his career. He wrote in his *Memoires*, "The fact is I had already experienced the cruel passion so well described by the author of the *Aeneid*—a passion that is rare (whatever people may say about it), but very potent with certain natures."³¹¹ Berlioz suffered the sting of heartbreak at the age of fourteen when his first

³⁰⁷ Hector Berlioz, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, trans. David Cairns (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 2002), 9.

³⁰⁸ Stalcup, "Fragmented Totalities," 194-95.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 193-95.

³¹⁰ Berlioz, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, 9.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*

love, Estelle Dubœuf, did not reciprocate his feelings. He saw himself as Dido, passionately loving someone whose fate meant that their love could not be. His connection with Dido continued with the anger and brash actions of a wronged lover when his second love, Camille Moke, betrayed him by abandoning him for a wealthier suitor. The twenty-six-year-old composer felt rage as he plotted to kill her, her lover, and himself, but he abandoned his plan after a serious accident. He almost met the same fate as Dido in his premeditated suicide. Berlioz understood passionate love and heartbreak in his youth, and as an adult, he learned the pain and anger that fuels revenge.

Berlioz witnessed his father abandon his mother. His father loved his bride when they first married, but he eventually admitted that he lost any real affection for her.³¹² She became merely his wife and the mother of his children. Her husband neglected her as a romantic partner. His mother's experience deeply affected Berlioz, but not so much that he would avoid that same behavior.

Berlioz also abandoned women himself when he experienced a passionate love for an actress, Harriet Smithson. This love coincided with his relationship with Camille Moke until it ended, when he focused his devotion on Smithson. His love for Smithson blossomed when he first saw her perform Shakespeare's Ophelia on stage in 1827, and it quickly progressed to an unnerving level of admiration that culminated in his writing the *Symphonie fantastique* in an attempt to woo and astonish her. They eventually met with Harriet's consent and were married in 1833. Later Berlioz realized she was not any of the characters she played on stage. The veil of passion slipped, and his love for her faded. He eventually left her for a lover, Marie Recio.

³¹² Beth Hart, "The Loves of Hector Berlioz, in His Life and in *Les Troyens*," *Opera Quarterly* 19, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 335.

Berlioz returned to care for Smithson after she suffered several strokes that left her paralyzed, and he remained with her until she died.³¹³ Like Aeneas, Berlioz was well aware of the pain he caused his wife. But unlike Aeneas, he eventually returned to her in her time of need. The composer saw himself in many of the characters of the *Aeneid*, and related his own life experiences to their misfortunes. Nevertheless, Berlioz's empathy and identification with his beloved Dido was not enough to provide her agency outside of the confines of the assigned gender stereotypes envisioned in a patriarchal society.

Stalcup argues that Berlioz's *Memoires* present an allegorical parallel between Berlioz's career and Dido's ill-fated reign.³¹⁴ The queen, an abandoned lover and victim of a passionate love affair that overtook her ability to make sound decisions, sacrificed herself for honor and for her city. Berlioz, in turn, saw himself as an abandoned artist who, in a quest to bring music to a new sublime level, sacrificed himself for the greater musical good. It is in this metaphor of *Les Troyens* that the composer saw his relationship with his own Aeneas, Napoleon III.

Berlioz's attitudes toward Napoleon III changed during the course of the Second Empire. He initially respected Napoleon's imperialistic views, which linked France with the Roman Empire, and he took satisfaction in Napoleon's support for the arts. But Berlioz soon discovered that the Emperor supported the arts only when they symbolized the Empire's power,³¹⁵ as he learned when he tried to solicit the Emperor's assistance in persuading the Opéra to perform *Les Troyens*. Since the libretto aligned with the Emperor's imperialistic goals, Berlioz naively thought that Napoleon III would contact

³¹³ Hart, "The Loves of Hector Berlioz," 349-51.

³¹⁴ Stalcup, "Fragmented Totalities," 250.

³¹⁵ Ibid., 249.

the Opéra and convince them to stage the work, just as Napoleon I had done for Berlioz's teacher, Le Sueur.³¹⁶ Napoleon III agreed to read the libretto when he had spare time, but he instead gave it to a minister in the office of Controller of Theaters. The minister regarded the work as too large and costly, but after some time, the director of the Opéra informed Berlioz that the Minister of State had approved Berlioz's opera production.³¹⁷ Nothing ever became of this supposed approval, so Berlioz resorted to performing a significantly abridged version of the opera at the Théâtre-Lyrique without imperial support. To make matters worse, the Emperor never came to a performance.³¹⁸ Though the opera saw some success, Berlioz never heard the opera in its entirety as it continually suffered devastating scene cuts. Just as Dido is both empowered and victimized, Berlioz also embodies two attitudes towards the Empire and imperialism. As a summation of his lifelong passion for Virgil, it is no accident that both the 1864 postface of Berlioz's *Memoires* and one of Dido's soliloquy's in the opera's libretto contain a modified version of a line from Shakespeare's *Othello*: "my career is over."³¹⁹ Like Dido, who honorably sacrificed herself for her people, Berlioz believed that he sacrificed a prosperous career that would have garnered him respect to bring music and literature into a sublime marriage. Though not his final composition, *Les Troyens* marks the pinnacle of all his work. His sacrifice fell on deaf ears as music critics and composers alike ridiculed him long after his death.

³¹⁶ Berlioz, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, 533-34.

³¹⁷ Ibid., 534-35.

³¹⁸ Ibid., 246, 248.

³¹⁹ Stalcup, "Fractured Totalities," 251.

Edward Said argues that Berlioz also used the opera as an instrument to comment on the Second Empire's colonial endeavors in North Africa.³²⁰ The *Aeneid* already presents an imperialist narrative, making it an ideal plot for the composer to deliver messages about French imperialism. Said explains that Dido and Carthage represent a North African monarch and land, while the Trojans represent the French.³²¹ Although Dido did not govern the largest or most powerful city in the region, she did manage to forge Carthage into a city that flourished economically, artistically, and militarily. Berlioz illustrates Carthage's increasing imperial power through the procession of workers (referencing Napoleon III's imperial exposition) and the Nubian slave dance (the musical exoticism defines them as the feminine "other"). Aeneas and his fellow Trojans essentially colonize the grand city as they work and form relationships with the Carthaginians. The queen's sovereignty begins to erode as she falls in love with Aeneas, weakening her city economically and creating unrest amongst her people and her enemies. The process obviously will be completed in the future when the Romans, descendants of the Trojans, will defeat Carthage and obtain control over the Mediterranean basin.

When Aeneas departs, Dido, essentially conquered, is left with a ruined reputation, a mismanaged city, and enemies and former allies who judge her decisions. When she prophesies that Hannibal will rise to avenge her, she gathers the courage to honorably end her life, but she immediately sees that Rome, the empire born from the descendants of her lover, will ultimately prevail. She utters her last cries of defeat knowing that her conquerors will remain victorious. As mentioned in the first chapter,

³²⁰ Edward Said, *Music at the Limits*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 183.

³²¹ Cooper, "Frenchmen in Disguise," 121.

Berlioz originally intended for this scene to overtly allude to France's supreme rule in Northern Africa through Dido's dialogue, but he changed it to closer resemble Virgil's words.³²² In this subtler manner, Berlioz implies that no matter the uprisings or setbacks that occur in the colonies of conquered lands, the Second Empire will prevail, as if it were their imperial destiny.

Like Berlioz, the queen both prospered and suffered at the hands of Aeneas. She built her young city so successfully that it began to develop imperial strength. When Aeneas arrived, she did not see herself as subservient to him, but instead saw him as a contributor to Carthage's growing imperialism. Dido fell in love, pursued him, showed him her imperial power in the ballets, and kept him by her side as a consort. She saw herself in a position of power because the Trojans were refugees whom she had led to a new land. Instead, she and Carthage merely offered a safe harbor for the Trojans before they left her city in shambles to found their own empire. Both Berlioz and Dido supported empire-driven men, thinking they would have fostered their goals, but they suffered when their dreams became secondary to the agenda of the same power-driven individuals.

Conclusion

Berlioz's decisions to eliminate the influence of divine and supernatural beings and to alter the order of events in the *Aeneid* impacted Dido's representation as a female character and her archetypal structuring. The queen's ruler archetype appears in the

³²² Hector Berlioz, *CG: Correspondence Générale V: 1855-59*, ed. Hugh Macdonald and François Lesure (Paris: Flammarion, 1988), 401. Berlioz does not state what Dido lines were before he changed them. He only states that it would be inappropriate.

eulogy sung by her subjects, her retelling of the origin of the city, and her honoring of her workers. Dido's ruler archetype exhibits more feminine qualities than Virgil's because her people focus on her beauty. Even though she commands an army, it is only mentioned when she and the city need protection from a rebuffed suitor rather than conquering lands. Berlioz exploits her femininity when shaping her lover archetype by positioning her as a "damsel in distress," reordering the events that led to her falling in love, and the adaptation of Shakespearean dialogue. The representation of Dido as victim of an unbalanced anima is juxtaposed with both political and private feelings of the lover and ruler archetypes. Though the display mirrors most of the rage and sadness in the *Aeneid*, Berlioz provides her with dignity through his structure of the scenes. Dido's brief embodiment of the sage archetype provides the audience with a final image of Dido as a leader rather than a despondent lover even though her prophecy turns out to predict Rome's imperial legacy. Virgil's plot and Berlioz's libretto elicit sympathy for her and identify her as the victim of a passionate power beyond her control.

Dido's decline from the ruler archetype to the unbalanced anima begins with the consummation of her love for Aeneas in the cave during "The Royal Hunt in Storm" and is confirmed later in that act when Ascanius steals her ring. Even as the lover archetype in the duet, Dido still questions what her relationship says about her honor. When Aeneas tells her that he must leave, the audience observes responses from Dido's ruler and lover archetypes, both affected by her unbalanced anima. In the end, Dido's death by the sword terminates her relationship with Aeneas and removes her from being an obstacle to his destiny. Her brief embodiment of the sage archetype occurs during her prophecy when

she vocalizes not only her defeat but also that her final act could not save her people from future Roman oppression.

Musically, Dido's progression through her archetypal changes receives support through the death and fate motive and musical topics. The wise ruler archetype appears as regal, non-militaristic topics at the beginning of Act III. Dido's transition from the ruler to lover and unbalanced anima archetypes occurs through pastoral, hunt, and *tempesta* topics. As her passion for Aeneas grows, the frequency of the death and fate motives increase. These are directly related to her slowly slipping into mental instability that represents her unbalanced anima in her relationship with Aeneas, her animus. The music also supports the instability in Act V when Dido drastically switches tempos and even styles when coming to terms with her decision to die. The music also provides Dido with dignity. Her death scene could quickly have become a voyeuristic spectacle, but Berlioz wrote for her a scene that prioritized her ideals rather than creating a sound of madness in her voice. Despite that dignity, it is Dido who suffers defeat because in her vision of Roman victory, it is the Trojan march adopted by the future Romans that resounds as the opera ends, not a motive for her or the Carthaginians.

The music also supports the imperialistic undertones of the opera through the use of triple meter, contrasting anthem styles, and the military topic. Berlioz used musical elements specific to the Second Empire such as the processions of workers, the use of saxhorns for the Trojan anthem, and musical exoticism and sexualization of the foreign "other" in the ballets. All of the imperial elements further reinforce the gendered aspects of Dido's ruler archetype.

Many aspects of Berlioz's life influenced his final depiction of Dido from his identification with her, his imperialist political views, and his relationships with women. Despite changes in the plot, the composer followed the archetypal structure that Virgil created in the epic. His music and libretto enhanced Dido's internal struggle as she tried to balance her ruler, lover, and anima archetypes. Though her ruler archetype and masculine suicide appeared to free her from traditionally inflected gendered roles, Dido's reputation suffered because of her love affair, while Aeneas experienced no societal repercussions. The Trojan returned to his journey heart-broken, but ready to pursue his destiny. Berlioz's adoration and identification with Dido in her passion and pain might have been the reason behind his empowered, dignified depiction of Dido's ruler archetype, but it was not enough to save her from being represented as a victim of the patriarchal founder of imperial Rome.

Chapter Four: Conclusion

Carl Jung's archetypal framework is fitting for this study as archetypes form in the collective unconscious and are expressed through myth. The *Aeneid* is the epic that inspired *Les Troyens*. The importance of the archetypes in this study relates to how Berlioz manipulated his operatic characters and plot using these archetypes. The main archetypes that Berlioz's female protagonists embody are sage, caregiver, ruler, lover, and anima. Both Cassandra and Dido embody more than one archetype at a time as the archetypes shift in dominance. The archetypes at work in the psyche and actions of these female characters of the opera ultimately determine that their actions serve Aeneas and men rather than themselves.

Cassandra's expanded role in the opera allows her to embody three archetypes: the sage, the anima, and the caregiver. This expansion results in her character gaining agency and redemption from victimhood. She begins displaying the behavior of a sage archetype as she attempts to persuade her fiancé and other Trojans that death and destruction lie ahead for their people. Her relationship with her fiancé, Coroebus, embodies the Jungian anima-animus relationship and allows her to exhibit his patriotism and leadership. Later she exhibits the characteristics of the caregiver archetype when she rallies the women to commit suicide and take control of their fate. Cassandra's sage archetype returns as she tells the women and the Greeks about Aeneas and his men fleeing to found Italy. A phantom Cassandra returns in Act V as a sage archetype to encourage Aeneas to leave Carthage in order to "Conquer and Found."

In connection with Dido, Berlioz maintains the archetypal structure that makes her memorable in the epic while using the libretto to enhance sympathy for the internal struggle she experiences. The composer alters the order of events which places Dido as the protagonist and shapes her representation. She begins as a powerful queen in which we can see the features typical of the ruler archetype and embraces the possibility of becoming a lover after Aeneas offers to defend Carthage from Iarbas. Dido begins the royal hunt scene as a ruler archetype and ends as a lover archetype after they consummate their relationship. Narbal recognizes that she neglects her duties after this episode due to her lover archetype overpowering her ruler archetype. The disregard for her political duties signifies that her anima-animus relationship with Aeneas is unbalanced. Dido experiences a duality of archetypes, lover and ruler, with her unbalanced anima archetype steering her decisions, evident when she forgets her ring, the symbol of her vow.

Throughout the final act, Dido oscillates between her lover and unbalanced anima archetypes and her political ruler archetype. Her lover and anima archetypes desire reconciliation and compromise to continue the romance and companionship. In contrast, her ruler archetype wants revenge because this relationship with a former ally has decimated her political plans and reputation. Dido decides that death is her only option, and, though she also bemoans the loss of her relationship, this decision is made as a ruler archetype because she is politically motivated in her final words. Berlioz deviates from the epic and ends the opera with Dido displaying the sage archetype as she delivers a prophecy about the fates of Carthage and Rome.

Berlioz's version of Cassandra and Dido depicts complex characters that evolve with the plot as they express different points of views and emotions. Jung's theorization

about archetypes allows the reader to frame these complexities and clarifies the role that Cassandra and Dido play in the overarching story of Aeneas's quest to found Rome, their motivations.

Berlioz's use of musical topics and other compositional elements provide aural allusions to common themes in music that help us to understand the make-up of the character and the archetypes they embody. In the first and second acts, Berlioz's Cassandra is shaped with the characteristics visible in the sage archetype with the assistance of a motive written in the French overture style that links her to the Trojan fate. Her truthfulness is underscored by a lack of musical signifiers of madness as she delivers her prophecy and sings lyrical melodies written in traditional forms and without excessive chromaticism or unnecessary vocal acrobatics. Once the prophecy occurs, the audience no longer hears her motive in full, but an abbreviated version appears before she tells the women that Aeneas and his men will found a new Troy. Berlioz supports the validity of her prophecy with elements from the Trojan anthem.

Eventually the caregiver archetype, which is inherently gendered, is attributed to Cassandra and Berlioz represents it through the feminine musical support of the waltz genre. In Act V, Berlioz also links Cassandra to the ghostly sage archetype by employing elements of the *ombra* topic such as dotted rhythms, dissonance in the accompaniment, and monotone singing. Her motive no longer appears because her death, and the success of the Trojans, have already occurred. In life, she sang about a variety of topics in multiple styles to convey her thoughts. In death, Cassandra exists only as the messenger, or vessel, of prophecy with one mission. Her monotone and emotionless lyrics reiterate

that she has become the spokeswoman for the patriarchal Trojan imperial destiny and in support of Aeneas.

Dido first appears in the opera as a leader, exhibiting the characteristics of a ruler archetype. Berlioz reiterates the archetype through regal, non-militaristic music in a triple meter. Though the Carthaginian anthem is not militaristic in meter, it still presents regality. The composer utilizes fate and death motives throughout the Carthaginian portion of the opera to signal that Dido's archetype will change because of her amorous involvement with Aeneas. Dido's shift from strong queen to the lover who displays an unbalanced anima and features tied to the lover archetype is visible with the consummation of her love in the cave during "The Royal Hunt in Storm." This scene employs triple and compound meters and pastoral, hunt, and *tempesta* topics. These topics reveal the sensual nature of the scene, which culminates in Dido embracing aspects of the lover archetype. The fate motive resounds when Ascanius removes Dido's ring symbolic of her vow. The music in this way further supports Dido's entanglement with the Trojan fate and as prey of a new and doomed love. The expressive G-flat major key and six-eight meter support Dido's lover archetype as it enhances the flirtatious patterns of the vocal lines assigned to her.

Act V displays the volatility of an unbalanced anima as Dido oscillates between her lover and ruler archetype characteristics. Berlioz allows the music to further express her instability through extreme shifts in tempos and styles as she alternates between wanting Aeneas back (lover) and desiring his destruction (ruler). Berlioz utilizes the music to provide Dido with dignity as her singing clearly prioritizes her words without any of the musical elements of madness. Portions of the Cassandra motive return as Dido

delivers her prophecy, which connects her vision to Cassandra's visions, thereby supporting Dido's embodiment of the sage archetype. Dido's motives for her suicide are political, as is her vision. Berlioz scores the militaristic Trojan anthem, which validates her vision and supports her sage archetype. Similar militaristic styles occur in the Carthaginians' vocal lines as they declare their revenge on the Trojan people.

Berlioz's libretto and music enhance the feminine and masculine aspects of the archetypes employed to depict the female characters. Cassandra's ability to advise and to foresee the future (features in turn linked to the sage archetype) is connected to her femininity. In fact, her prophetic abilities stem from Apollo, who punished her for not having sex with him. No one believes her prophesies. This silences her when she tries to warn her people about the threat of the Greeks. Her prophecy about Italy does not assist her, but helps Aeneas and his men as they escape and continue the Trojan bloodline. In death, the music associated to the *ombra* topic confirms this idea.

The final scene of Act II juxtaposes her feminine and masculine attributes. In her anima archetype, Cassandra mirrors Coroebus's masculine characteristics (*animus*), and leads the women in a mass suicide while receiving musical support through masculine, militaristic elements of the Trojan anthem. The suicide scene displays women who exhibit agency by controlling their deaths in a masculine manner by the blade against feminine musical support of the waltz genre. Not only is the waltz considered feminine, but Cassandra and the women are also, in turn, protecting the sanctity of the female body and the Trojan lineage. Their sacrifice protects their honor and the Trojan future. Her final intonation of "Italy" reiterates that her actions protect the Trojan future. Though she exhibits agency, leadership, and contempt of men, her actions serve Aeneas.

Dido is depicted as a feminist icon through the characteristics of her ruler archetype. Just as with Cassandra, Dido's archetypes and musical structures represent gendered aspects of these archetypes. Dido's embodiment of ruler archetype depicts both masculine and feminine characteristics. The masculine aspects of her archetype lie in her leadership ability as the city flourishes. Her leadership is supported by a feminine national anthem in triple meter. This meter creates space for feminine expressiveness, but not masculine military precision found in a duple meter. Her depiction of the lover archetype also receives support from expressive triple meters any time her love for Aeneas is presented. The lover archetype is not necessarily feminine, but her moral struggle with finding love and its repercussions are gendered. Unlike her lover, the embodiment of the lover archetype affects more than her heart, but also her reputation amongst her people and abroad.

The anima and animus relationships are gendered since Dido should display a balance of feminine and masculine characteristics. Since it is an unbalanced relationship, Dido is depicted as argumentative and irrational. Berlioz's music displays this lack of balance with gendered outbursts through quick tempo and style changes. The gendered aspect of the sage archetype returns with the abbreviated Cassandra motive, which qualifies Dido's prophecy and serves the Trojan imperial destiny.

Berlioz saw himself in many guises, as hero, sage, caregiver, and lover. The composer considered himself to be the hero of his narrative. His goal was to unite Shakespeare, literature, and music into a sublime artistic synthesis that would advance music. He embodied characteristics of the lover archetype as he pursued his romantic interests with women who served him as his muses. However, Berlioz also saw himself in

Cassandra and Dido once he read the *Aeneid*. The composer identified with Cassandra a prophetess who was not trusted by her people. He sees what music can become and composes daring music that will elevate the art, but his critics and countrymen as a whole, do not listen. Berlioz acts as a caregiver to music, willing to sacrifice his own reputation among the critics and French people to advance music. He identified with Dido through her victimhood, as he felt that he was the victim of what he considered to be base musical tastes of the French people and his emperor, Napoleon III.

Les Troyens can be viewed as a metaphor for Berlioz's career and political sentiments. The Greeks represent the republican government that threatens Berlioz's career. He, as a professed imperialist, wished for royal patrons to revitalize French music. The Second Empire seemed to be his answer. Berlioz eagerly composed *L'Imperiale* (1854) for Napoleon III's exhibition and dedicated it to him. The arts concerned Berlioz the most, so if the government treated music well (specifically his music), then he supported them. Cassandra's aid to the future rulers of the world echoes his support of Napoleon III and the Second Empire. Berlioz relates to Cassandra's inability to communicate her prophecies because he struggles to please the French public or his peers with his music. They each focused on the future while the people around them focused on the present. When Troy falls, Cassandra sees the imperial future for her people and presses upon Aeneas to fulfill that destiny. When Napoleon III becomes emperor, Berlioz sees a future where he can experience appreciation and patronage, or so he thinks. No empire exists without sacrificing others. Dido represents Berlioz because of his identification with her victimization and his narrative of a martyred artist. Like Dido, who hoped that Aeneas would be an asset to her reign, Berlioz hoped that his Aeneas,

Napoleon III, would benefit his music. The emperor supported Berlioz in the mid-1850s, but then abandoned him when he needed him most. This abandonment occurred when the director of the Opéra refused to produce *Les Troyens*, so Berlioz hoped that the emperor would assist on his behalf as Napoleon I did for Berlioz's mentor. No such intervention occurred, leading Berlioz to produce his opera in an extremely reduced format. Napoleon III, like Aeneas, had his own imperial destiny in mind that did not include assisting the composer's artistic mission. Berlioz used imperial ideas to create power in his music, whereas Napoleon III used music to support his imperial image. Disillusioned with Napoleon III and the French, Berlioz refused to revive *Les Troyens* in Paris and instead spent his final years traveling abroad to conduct his works.

The libretto tells two stories: one is the creation of the Roman Empire while the other is the glorification of the Second Empire. Napoleon III reigned as emperor when Berlioz began to work on *Les Troyens*. A fanatic of the Roman Empire, Napoleon III dreamed of creating the Second Empire in its image because he believed that he and the French were the descendants of this imperial lineage and, therefore, it was essentially their birthright to build an empire. Berlioz admired Napoleon III because of his early support for music and the arts (though his interest lay in the imperial symbolism presented by the art rather than in the art itself) and sought his support for his opera, *Les Troyens*.

The opera itself contains elements of imperialism as the original epic is the story of Aeneas's destiny to found the beginnings of the Roman Empire. The composer built upon those imperial elements with references to imperial life and experiences in the Second Empire. This representation relies on the archetypes and the musical support that Berlioz established. The Trojan half of the opera focuses on the origin of the imperial

destiny. For the Second Empire, this half represents the 1848 revolutions that led to the republican controlled Second Republic that thwarted the president-elect, Louis-Napoleon. In that sense, Cassandra, embodying the sage archetype, represents the citizens of France who look to Louis-Napoleon (Napoleon III) as a beacon of hope for the future. The Greeks embodying the antagonism and violent actions of the shadow archetype, in that regard, represent the republican government that created economic and political turmoil that harmed the French people. Aeneas and the Trojans represent the Second Empire as the hero archetype. Dido and Carthage represent the civilizations in Northern Africa that Napoleon III desired to conquer. Berlioz even mentioned in a letter to his friend, Princess Sayn-Wittgenstein, that he had initially ended the opera with Dido's dialogue referencing the French's supreme authority over Northern Africa (an area that the Second Empire was trying to conquer and colonize), but later changed the ending. Instead, her dialogue closely follows the Virgilian version and Berlioz uses Rome and Carthage as metaphors for the might of the Second Empire over their conquered lands. Even with that previous ending removed, the opera itself still contains allusions and metaphors for the Second Empire through the archetypal characters and plot.

Musical support for the metaphor lies in distinguishing the masculine, imperial victors from the feminine "other." This distinction mainly occurs in the anthems for the Carthaginian and Trojan nations. The Trojan anthem, representing the Second Empire, has militaristic topics and shares elements with the French national anthem. Berlioz includes saxhorns in the orchestration, which provide aural references to the Second Empire's military bands, who used them under Napoleon III's reign. Carthage's peaceful anthem, representing the North African countries, though regal, is feminine and

submissive to the masculine militaristic Trojan anthem in duple meter. Berlioz further identifies Carthage and Dido as the “other” through musical exoticism. He distinguishes the erotic dancers in the Nubian slave dance portion of the ballets as the “other” who have been conquered by Carthage. This scene subverts Dido’s power since the sensuality of her lover archetype is overpowering her ruler archetype, and female sensuality is meant to be conquered. Therefore, Carthage and Dido become the “other” and are conquered by the end of the opera when the Trojan anthem plays over the threats of revenge by the Carthaginians.

This method of analysis built upon previous gender and imperialism research concerning *Les Troyens* and Berlioz to determine why Berlioz portrayed his muses, Cassandra and Dido, as he did. Through an analysis of the character archetypes, the libretto, the musical support, and Berlioz’s *Memoires*, this thesis provides evidence for the reasoning behind the inspiration and construction of *Les Troyens* and an insight into Berlioz as an artist. Berlioz demonstrated through his autobiographical writing and letters that the opera was constructed methodically and revised multiple times before he settled on the final version. Every aspect of the opera serves a purpose in order to fully create the synthesis between Shakespeare, music, and literature. With this knowledge, the analysis of the archetypes provides stronger evidence to support previous gender theory research. Berlioz provided the characters agency and dignity because of his identification with them and the archetypes they embodied. Their roles remain gendered due to the imperialistic connotations represented in the opera as well as the expectations for their gender in both antiquity and nineteenth-century France. Berlioz purposefully placed references to imperial life in France because he saw an opportunity to gain favor with the

Emperor. The archetypal analysis provided a foundation for understanding Berlioz's Cassandra and Dido, which in turn revealed connections to Berlioz's own psyche. This thesis proves that one cannot study the theoretical structures or performances of a musical composition without considering how the composer's life, beliefs, and political environment helped shape the work. This argument is not to say that one should search for an autobiographical or historical meaning behind every aspect of various musical compositions. It does mean that, when the composer explicitly provides his or her views on politics, religion, or the state of music during that era, one must consider it to obtain an in-depth understanding of the piece.

Berlioz's life experiences and personal identity shaped his vision of his opera, *Les Troyens*. This vision provided Cassandra and Dido agency and dignity through their gendered archetypes while also promoting the imperial destiny of his country, France. Despite his respect for these characters, they still served gendered roles as cogs in the imperial machine of the Trojan destiny. Due to Berlioz's verbose documentation of his experiences, passions, and political ideology, we can determine just how much of his life influenced this work and how much of himself he saw in these characters. Scrutinizing elements of a biography and applying this archetypal framework would not be beneficial to the in-depth study of every composer. However, in the case of Hector Berlioz, it allows scholars to uncover the effect of the nineteenth-century historical events and ideologies of this male composer on two of his greatest female muses.

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