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EDITORIAL

BRYAN WHITE

Coming to the task of writing an editorial just a few days after 22 November has for many reasons left me reflecting about St Cecilia's Day. It tends to be a busy time for musicians. Many concerts are held to honour the occasion, and there is a wealth of excellent music (and poetry) that takes Cecilia as its theme. I had double duties this year: a concert with my choir at St Anne's Cathedral in Leeds and a talk on St Cecilia's Day at the university later in the same day, both, as it happened, on the 23rd. English Cecilian celebrations from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century have been a research interest of mine for many years. They first came to my attention as a post-graduate student in Bangor, where I was exposed, amongst other things, to Henry Purcell's 'Hail, bright Cecilia' written for the London Cecilian celebrations of 1692. The work, one of Purcell's best, is, apart from his theatrical works, his longest, and it represents the summit of his achievement in terms of a through-composed musical structure. It offers meticulously planned tonal organization, the greatest variety of moods, effortlessly executed erudite musical devices, and a virtuoso approach to orchestration – but one in which this virtuosity is always yoked to expressive function.

It has always impressed me that this work was written as a celebration of the patron saint of music, so that in effect, one of Purcell's greatest musical works is written in praise of music. For the musician and musicologist it provides a certain level of validation – a very particular kind of music for music's sake. Furthermore, as a person with a secular turn of mind, Purcell's ode offers a large-scale Baroque vocal work in which I feel no disjunction between the music and its goal. Only the weekend before I had enjoyed my first opportunity to sing in a complete performance of Bach's *B minor Mass*, not an experience I will soon forget. However, whatever the joys of hearing and performing this work, I for one am reminded about the gap that exists between what I think and feel the music is doing on a moral and spiritual level and what Bach thought and felt the music was doing. For him a work such as the *Mass* was unambiguously aimed at glorifying God. In 'Hail, bright Cecilia' I imagine Purcell aiming at the glorification of music.

St Cecilia's status as the patroness of music is not at all straightforward. Her story, first told in the fifth or sixth century *Acts of St Cecilia*, gives little indication of her musical prowess. She was a Roman noblewoman and Christian, jealous of her virginity, since she had given herself fully to Jesus Christ. To her great distress, she was betrothed by her family to a young pagan aristocrat, Valerian. Valerian, who found Cecilia very beautiful, looked forward with some expectancy to their wedding night, though the revelation she provided him in the bridal chamber was surely not the one he expected. She told him of 'a waighty matter … I have an Angel of God in my company, who is jealous of me, and guardeth my body very diligently. If he see thee so hardy, as to come near, or touch me, with carnal or lascivious love, he will chastise thee rigorously.'[1] Valerian, though 'somewhat troubled' by her words, was intrigued by her faith and desired to see the angel. Since he only appeared to Christians, Valerian sought out Pope Urban and was converted. Returning to Cecilia he saw the angel, who, in recognition of his faith, acted as a sort of genii, granting him a wish. Valerian asked that his brother Tibirtius might also be converted, which was subsequently done. They proceeded to do good Christian works for which they were matyred (by decapitation). Cecilia was in turn brought to the Roman prefect, Almachius, who discovered her to be a Christian. He ordered her to be taken back to her house and shut in an empty bath under which a fire was lit. Though it burned for a whole day and night 'the holy saint received not any hurt thereby, but it seemed to her a place rather of pleasure and refreshing, than otherwise'. This angered Almachius further, and he ordered an executioner to behead her – though even after three strokes he failed to do so, leaving her head 'even as it was hanging by the skinne'. She survived three days in this way, converting all those she came into contact with.

You will note that in the story Cecilia is not described as having any musical gifts. There is, however, a line that provides a rather tangential excuse for associating her with music. Chaucer, for instance, who follows the Acts fairly faithfully, includes in his account of Cecilia in *The Second Nun's Tale* the line:

> And whil the organs maden melodie,
> To God allone in herte thus sang she.

The word 'organ' here in fact derives from a common mistranslation of the Latin 'organis' meaning 'instruments'. The juxtaposition of Cecilia singing inwardly, i.e. praying, while music was playing, whether it be on an organ or other instrument, was too much for artists to resist, and so from the middle of the fifteenth century, Cecilia came to be portrayed

with instruments, and most frequently the organ. This tradition gradually established her as the patron saint of music (and inventress of the organ), and from the late sixteenth century, Cecilian societies developed on the continent, especially in France and in Italy where Palestrina founded the *Accademia di Santa Cecilia* in Rome. Eventually the tradition crossed into protestant England, where, as far as is known, St Cecilia's Day was first observed in 1683 in London, for which festival Henry Purcell composed 'Welcome to all the pleasures'. From thence forward, English musicians aggressively adopted Cecilia as the patron saint of their art.

Cecilia makes no other appearance in this issue of *EMP*, though Dryden is unlikely to have described the recorder as 'the soft complaining flute' in his Cecilian ode of 1687 were it not for the development of the French Baroque recorder, the story of which Anthony Rowland Jones plausibly reconstructs in his article on 'Hotteterre-style' instruments. He includes a painting of Ste Cécilie, but since she is playing the harp rather than the recorder, her depiction is cut in favour of the recorder at her feet. James Weeks offers his thoughts on the madrigals of Monteverdi, Tomkins, and Banchieri, making a very welcome call for greater appreciation of Tomkins especially, a composer who is a personal favourite of mine, and one who is too often overlooked. Geoffrey Webber describes his reconstruction of a work by Buxtehude – and offers the score for you to test and play for yourselves. Finally, amongst the news items you will learn, if you have not already heard on the radio or read about it in the papers – or bought the CD – that we can welcome Sting to the fold of early music performers. Io Cecilia!

1 Edward Kinesman, *The Lives of the Saints Newly perused* (Paris, 1628). Cecilia's transformation into a musical saint is examined in detail in Richard Luckett's article 'St Cecilia and Music', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 99 (1972), 15-30.

A ticket to the 1696 London Cecilian celebration at Stationers' Hall. Reproduced courtesy of the British Library

Front cover: a wood-cut from Charles Emmanuel Borjon's *Traité de la musette* (Lyon, 1672) reproduced from *An Illustrated Catalogue of the Music Loan Exhibition held ... by the Worshipful Company of Musicians at Fishmongers Hall, June and July 1904* (London, 1909). Reproduced courtesy of the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

Lully's First Use Of 'Hotteterre-Style' Late Baroque Recorders - Some Conjectures[1]

Anthony Rowland-Jones

Musical instruments need to change to meet changing tastes and performance conditions, but few instruments could have been subjected to such sudden and complete redesigning as were the hautboys and the recorder in mid seventeenth-century France, apparently to satisfy the demands of Lully.[2] The early seventeenth-century recorder, referred to in this article as 'old-style', was made from a single piece of wood, with a mainly cylindrical bore. Except for some refinements in the profile of the bore, particularly at the bell end, it resembled the recorders of a hundred years earlier. Then, with dramatic suddenness, by around 1670 a new type of recorder emerged, with a very different sound and in a very different shape. This is the now familiar 'late Baroque' recorder. It is made in three sections with protective bulges at the joints. The head section is cylindrical, but the body and foot are tapered. The windway became wider, curved, and shallow at its exit facing a curved labium edge.

At roughly the same time, reed instruments were subjected to an equally thorough-going redesign, which resulted in new oboes and bassoons. The process is described by Bruce Haynes, both in his recent book *The Eloquent Oboe* and his contribution to the *New Grove* 'Oboe' article.[3] It was also described, some fifty years after the event, in a letter written by the flautist Michel de La Barre, who says that Lully, presumably after having gained the powerful court position of *Maitre de la musique de la famille royale* in 1662, caused 'the downfall of all the old instruments except the hautboy, thanks to the Philidors and Hotteterres, who spoilt so much wood and played so much music that they finally succeeded in rendering it usable in ensembles.'[4] La Barre tells us that *violons* (meaning the complete violin family) and *flûtes douces* (the newly-designed recorders) took the place of the old instruments; the redesigned transverse flute came later (probably about 1700). La Barre's letter names the autocratic Lully as the instigator of the mid seventeenth-century redesign of the wind instruments. Members of both the Hotteterre and Philidor families were employed in the King's wind-instrument ensembles, and were also instrument makers. Haynes, describing 'The Development of the New Hautboy, 1664-1670', notes that in 1664 Lully stopped using hautboys in his dramatic productions and that the instrument did not reappear until the production of *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* in 1670.[5] Flutes (i.e. recorders) continued to be used in several of the large-scale ballets and *comédies-ballets* which Lully wrote during this period, being designated more frequently than they had been in earlier works, and more often on their own without the support of other instruments. Haynes suggests that Lully deliberately allowed the oboe players a period of grace during which they could work on the design of the new instrument and the technique of playing it.[6] He lists the fifteen experienced oboe players who were retained by Lully for this purpose, amongst whom are two members of the Hotteterre family (Jean and Nicolas) and Jean Philidor, established wind-instrument makers who would have been those most closely involved in the redesigning processes.[7]

It may be a coincidence, but there seems also to have been a period when Lully made no use of recorders in his ballets. No document of their use exists between 1659 and 1663, and at their reappearance in January 1663, Lully presented the recorders with a particularly striking *Ritournelle de flustes a 4. Parties.*

The changes in the tone-qualities of the wind instruments which Lully required were basically the same for both the oboe and the recorder. They related to the transformation of the violin from its sixteenth-century status as primarily a dance instrument not held in especially high esteem, to the developments and refinements of Cremona makers, such as the Amati family, to the violin, viola and bass violin as the dominant instruments of the emerging orchestra. By 1656 Lully had been given command of the King's *petite bande* of sixteen (later twenty-one) string players, and they played, in five parts, most of the music for his early ballets. Lully found that the players he had inherited were somewhat disorganised, indulging in excessive ornamentation and haphazardly extemporising parts, but he soon trained them to play in a highly disciplined manner. In 1664 he took control of all the King's string players, creating through his rigorous direction an ensemble that was famed throughout Europe for its elegance and refinement. Lully also inherited a substantial reed woodwind band which provided the loud ceremonial music of the court, as well as military music.[8] All the players, but especially one inner group, the *hautboys et musettes de Poitou*, were required to perform on a variety of wind instruments, including recorders. References to 'hautboys' were thus to the players, whatever instruments they were playing. The sounds of a band of shawm-type hautboys could hardly have been 'elegant and refined', and the recorders of the time, derived from Renaissance models, would also have been too open-toned and assertive to blend well with the reformed string band. Moreover their high notes tended to be coarse, and there were tuning and pitch problems as well. Lully did not want to discard the recorders altogether as their presence, more than that of any other instrument, symbolised the pastoral ideals, the carefree and amorous lives of shepherds and shepherdesses, which were the main substance of his early ballets. But he needed instruments which shared the expressive qualities and delicacy of the violins, in soft contrast with no hint of harshness. It seems natural that he would ask – or demand – those members of his own band who were already skilled in making recorders to experiment in order to produce the sounds he required; and he would have looked primarily to the Hotteterre family. Until this was done he presumably had to tolerate the use of old-style recorders.

Nicholas Lander's data-base of surviving recorders shows that all the extant recorders made by French makers who were active during the fifty years 1640-90 come from one or other of the three Hotteterre workshops, a total of seventeen recorders, although some of these with the Hotteterres' makers' marks could have been produced after 1690.[9] This complication is the result of the custom of the eldest son of a family, who inherited a workshop, to be named after his father, so there are a series of 'N' (Nicolas) and 'L' (Louis) Hotteterre's across several generations.[10] The eldest of the three instrument-making sons of Loys de Haulteterre, wood-turner of La Couture-Boussey in Normandy (renowned both for its boxwood plantations and the many wind-instrument makers who used the wood they supplied) was Jean. He did not use his initial on his instruments, only the name 'HOTTETERRE' with an anchor as his workshop's makers' mark; the Nicolas workshop used a six-pointed star, and the Louis workshop a fleur-de-lys.[11] The markings give no indication as to which member of each workshop made each of the surviving instruments, nor when they were made.

Design considerations are hardly more helpful. No early prototypes of the new design exist – they must have been 'spoilt wood' – nor do any old-style Hotteterre recorders survive. In fact the products of the three workshops which, being close together in Paris, probably exchanged ideas or even collaborated, are so similar in design as to defy attempts to put the surviving instruments into any sort of chronological order, let alone to date them. A feature of some Hotteterre-style recorders, however, is a markedly curved-over mouthpiece, and iconographic evidence suggests that this is found more frequently in earlier models.[12] Illustrations 1 and 2 show this characteristic clearly, and it may also be seen, but less clearly, in illustration 3, taken from the earliest painting to show a Hotteterre-style recorder in its entirety.[13] It is unfortunate that there are so few surviving instruments, despite evidence that a considerable number of recorders were made by the Hotteterres.[14] Many were probably lost during the French Revolution when outdated and useless symbols of the *ancien régime* were destroyed. Most of those which are left are in museums and, even if dendrochronology could be carried out without handling them, it would still be difficult to date the portion of core-wood which a maker would have selected. In these circumstances, conjecture, however fanciful, can probably be justified.

Jean Hotteterre, founder of the senior branch of the family of instrument makers, was probably the first to establish a workshop in Paris, where he had settled by 1636, whilst still maintaining the links with La Couture referred to above.[15] He was apparently renowned as a flageolet player; he made improvements to the musette, and Anthony Baines suggests that he may have applied his knowledge of the bore profile of the bagpipe or musette chanters to his redesigning of recorders.[16] Perhaps this accounts for recorders becoming endowed with the elegant

Illustration 1 Detail from left-hand side of the frontispiece, by Simonneau (?), to Marin Marais' *Pièces en trio* (Paris, 1692). This shows, with the lower recorder, the extent of 'curve-over' at the mouthpiece beak. The whole frontispiece is reproduced in Laurence Pottier's article 'The Iconography of the Recorder in France in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century' in *The Recorder in the Seventeenth Century* (STIMU, Utrecht, 1995) as Plate 13 on p.138.

Illustration 2 A very accurate depiction of the head of a Hotteterre-style recorder from a Vanitas attributed to the 'Circle of Michel Bouillon (op. 1638-1660)' when it was auctioned by Sotheby's, Paris, in June 2006 (I am grateful to Nicholas Lander for drawing my attention to this item). However, a still-life from 1654 attributed directly to Michel Bouillon (Sotheby's, London, July 2001) depicts a cylindrical 'old-style' recorder. Moreover, the Vanitas of Illus.2 is in the conventional style of later seventeenth-century Vanitas paintings, such as those by Evert Collier, with symbols including a skull, an hour-glass, a guttering candle and a crumpled sheet of music. The music is legible but is probably representational, not actual, and is therefore not identifiable or dateable. A more unconventional aspect of this Vanitas is a sleeping (or perhaps dead?) baby lying on a cushion with his head on the skull, as well as the symbolism of the playing cards, hearts referring to love and marriage, and the spade (is it the nine of spades as in *Carmen*?) to death. In drama, recorders were often associated with death, as also in the cantatas of J.S. Bach and others. But dating this painting is so uncertain that it provides no hard evidence regarding the origins of the Hotteterre-style recorder. It could easily have been painted during the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

wood-turning and ivory decorations expected by aristocratic purchasers of the fashionable musette.[17] Borjon's *Traité de la musette* of 1672 (see front cover) refers to Jean as unique for the construction of recorders, among other instruments, 'even for making complete families of all these instruments. His sons are in no way inferior to him in the practice of this art.' Jean Hotteterre's elder son, also called Jean, joined his father as an equal partner in the Paris workshop in 1654. The younger son Martin, born in Paris about 1635, was already playing at court in 1657, and in 1659 he joined the select group of wind-instrument players, the *hautboys et musettes de Poitou*. He, too, became a renowned wind-instrument maker. By 1660 Nicolas, the elder Jean's nephew, was also in Paris 'earning his living by making musical instruments and teaching how to play them', for he asked his father, also Nicolas, to join him that year, probably bringing two other sons with him. Both workshops, the Jean workshop and the Nicolas workshop, especially the former, seem by 1660 to have built up thriving businesses. Members of the family were wealthy enough to purchase new properties, and their circle of friends included goldsmiths and wine merchants.[18] Jean's workshop was especially esteemed both for its musettes and for its recorders, and Jean certainly showed a penchant for innovation in adding a second narrow-bore chanter to the musette to double its compass. If one has to name a source of the invention of the newly-designed French late Baroque recorder it would have to be the Jean Hotteterre workshop, the one with an anchor as its makers' mark.

It is significant that the first reference to Hotteterre family participation in Lully's early ballets appears in the *livret* (libretto) published by Ballard for distribution to the audience at the performance of *L'amour malade* in the Louvre on 17 January 1657.

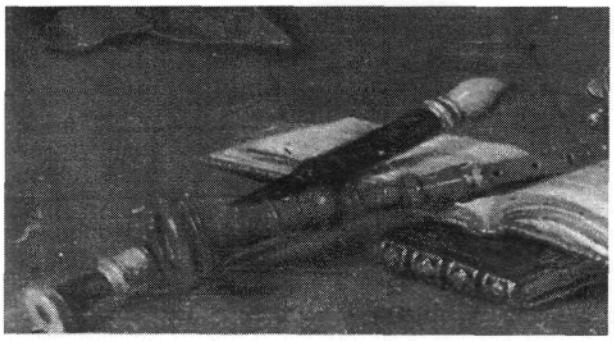

Illustration 3 Detail from bottom right-hand corner of *Ste Cécile jouant de la harpe* (1691) by Pierre Mignard (1610-1695). Again note the 'curved-over' profile of the mouthpiece head. The whole picture is reproduced as Pottier's Plate 8, p.134. Pottier (p.135) comments on the recorder's resemblance to the instruments of Pierre Bressan, and Legêne refers to it as the earliest representation in French painting of a late Baroque recorder. The same detail is shown in the *New Grove* 'oboe' entry.

The *Dernière Entrée* is a *Concert champestre de l'Espoux, une Nopce de Village* in which ten 'hautboys' took part, including 'Les Sieurs Obterre le pere, Obterre fils aisné, and Obterre le cadet', being Jean I, Jean II and Martin.[19] The editor of Lully's ballets, comédie-ballets and some later works, Henry Prunières, suggests in his introduction that the 'hautboys' then played the shawm type of early oboe as well as recorders. The village wedding ballet (which combines two aspects of recorder symbolism) is, in thirteen sections, quite long. It is generally in Lully's standard five-part string band scoring, but it has four *Ritournelles*, including the two that end the ballet, which are in only four parts. This suggests the use of the wind band at these points, but it is unlikely that recorders were used as they would have been drowned by the loud noise of the old type of hautboy.

Recorders were, however, called for to be played on stage in a *Concert Rustique* given by twelve shepherds in the *Deuzième Entrée* of the third part of the *Ballet Royal d'Alcidiane et de Polexandre* given on 14 February 1658.[20] To express their joy upon hearing of the arrival of the hero Polexandre, the shepherds join in the *Concert Rustique* (hautboys on stage, perhaps supported by the violin band) 'to which a Choir of Recorders and several other instruments respond'.[21] As all the music is in five parts, my imagination is that Lully here sweetened the sound of the old-style recorders with off-stage violins. The recorders did not play on their own. The twelve shepherds included 'Hobterre pere, et les deux Hobterre freres'.[22] Bruce Haynes says that the Hotteterres, along with several other members of the *hautbois et musettes de Poitou*, would then, and indeed regularly, have been expected to perform on recorders.[23]

The year 1659 presents two insoluble problems to those trying to elucidate the role of the recorder in Louis XIV's royal ballets. Recorders were reported to have been used in Robert Cambert's *Pastorale d'Issy* performed before the royal family that year[24], but the music is lost, and there is no way of discovering whether the recorders played on their own, or, like the 'Choeur de Flustes' in Lully's *Ballet Royal d'Alcidiane* of the previous year, with other instruments. The sounds of the music played by the recorders were, however, unusual enough for their use to have been commented upon, even though the association of recorders with pastoral occasions was commonplace. What was it that evoked this comment?

An article by Rebecca Harris-Warrick, mainly relating to her preparation for a forthcoming new edition of Lully's complete works of the ballet *Les nopces de village* (1663), makes a brief reference to the *Ballet de la raillerie* performed at the Louvre on 19 February 1659.[25] She says 'The score for the *Ballet de la raillerie* shows that the two violins, two flutes (recorders) and two voices mentioned in the *livret* do not form a six-part ensemble, but echo each other in pairs.' She adds that this is very exceptional, as groupings of performers in the ballet *livrets* generally suggest that wind ensembles functioned to provide blocks of sound, that is, they played as consorts of like instruments. Such a pairing would emphasise the contrast between the clarity and delicacy of the voices (French singers were taught not to sing loudly as this distorted a natural delivery of their words), the refined sounds of the reformed Baroque violins, and the recorders' tone-qualities. But were these old-style recorders, or had the Hotteterres already produced a prototype of the new-style recorder? If they had been old-style, they could well have sounded too open-toned and assertive for Lully's purposes. If so, why did he use them – and here for the first time on their own? Or was it in this context that he fully realised how much he needed recorders with a softer, more velvety sound, and felt all the more determined to encourage his instrument makers' redesigning? Surviving Hotteterre instruments show exactly what he wanted. Eva Legêne, referring to an instrument in St Petersburg, says 'It is one of the most beautiful French recorders I have played – soft and gentle, and exquisitely *tendre* in playing French ornamentation.'[26] I have experienced this same rich, velvety and sensuous sound in playing the Pierre Bressan recorders at the Grosvenor Museum in Chester.[27] French *flûtes douces* had a full and resonant lower register and a thinner but sweet-sounding upper register. Generally, Lully's music for recorders does not use the second-octave higher notes.

After February 1659, the Lully sources, such as

they are, do not appear to specify the use of recorders again until their spectacular appearance in the *Ballet des arts* performed in the Palais Royal in Paris on 8 January 1663.[28] This work included a *Ritournelle de flustes a 4. Parties* for alto (in f'), tenor (in c'), basset-bass ('Petite Basse de Flûtes' in f) and a 'Grande Basse de Flûtes' (contra-bass in F). Such consorts of Renaissance-type recorders of course existed in the earlier seventeenth century, and are referred to by Mersenne in 1636[29], but there is not much evidence of their remaining in general use after that period and it is very unlikely that Lully would have used archaic instruments so prominently before a King with a taste – like Lully himself – for novelty. On the other hand we know that the Hotteterres made complete consorts, and even among the eighteen surviving Hotteterre recorders three are basset-basses. In what was probably a resonant acoustic the effect must have been stunning – exactly what Lully intended. It is certainly very tempting to regard this occasion as the first appearance of the new Hotteterre-style late Baroque recorders.

In the article already referred to, Harris-Warrick reproduces the opening pages of the *livret* of *Les nopces de village*.[30] At the start of this *Mascarade villageois*, given in a large room in the Château of Vincennes on 3 October 1663, a travesty of the god Hymen in village garb introduces himself accompanied by *une harmonie rustique* played by eight 'villagers', including 'les quatres Hopteres' (being Jean père, Jean fils, Martin and Nicolas). Harris-Warrick argues that throughout this farcical and noisy piece the rustic harmony would have been played on (old-style) oboes, as there was no opportunity in an open room space shared with an audience to change instruments without spoiling the continuity of the action. The 'hautbois' players named, however, are those whom Haynes says were associated with recorders[31], and the words of the two stanzas of Hymen's *Recit.* would not have been heard against an accompaniment of eight hautboys. After a purely instrumental *Ritournelle* in three parts, the wedding couple are led on to the playing area by 'les violons & les hautbois', in procession from the side of the room, for the *Premiere Entrée* dance, scored in five parts. Perhaps the hautbois changed instruments at this point; or possibly the eight recorders continued to play along with the eighteen string players.[32] Recorders would have been ideal to symbolise the pastoral *paisible bocage* as well as marriage. If, as it seems, some new Hotteterre instruments were now ready for use (at least if played by their makers), Lully would have had no doubts about them playing on their own, softly accompanying the opening *Récit.*, followed by its *Ritournelle*. But certainly noisy hautboys would have been right for the last *Entrée* of this *Mascarade* where the *livret* describes a fray and general disorder.

A year after their presentation in the *Ballet des arts*, and also in the theatre in the Palais Royal in Paris, Lully again calls for a recorder consort. It features in *Les amours déguisés* presented on 13 February 1664, the recorders being chosen to symbolise 'the character of Loves'.[33] Perhaps a parallel may be drawn between this occasion and a similar one in a later ballet, *Le Triomphe de l'amour*, where Cupid enters. The score for this *Prélude pour l'Amour* specifies the four-part wind ensemble as 'Tailles ou Flute d'Allemagne, Quinte de Flutes, Petite Basse de Flutes, and Grande Basse de Flutes et Basse-Continue', the same four instruments as in the *Ballet des arts*. This ballet was also given indoors, at St-Germain-en-Laye, and was presented on 21 January 1681. The music is in B flat, a key well suited to the recorders. It is interesting that transverse flutes are shown as alternatives to the alto recorders in the top part.

Lully and Molière combined to give *Le mariage forcé* in the Louvre on 29 January 1664.[34] For the seventh *Entrée* of the ballet, *Un Charivari Grotesque*[35], the players included 'les trois Opterres frères' (presumably Jean, Martin and cousin Nicolas). The music consists of a five-part *Rondeau* and *Air*, but gives no indication as to what instruments were used, although Prunières refers to 'oboes and recorders'.[36] The names of the players chosen to perform at this point, and the subject of the ballet as a whole – another marriage – give some credibility to this conjecture.

Lully's and Molière's second association was truly spectacular. It was a *divertissement* spread over three days from 7 May 1664, given by Louis XIV in honour of his mother, Anne of Austria, and his queen, Marie-Thérèse. It started with a choreographed tournament (*course de bague*), followed by the *comédie-ballet Les Plaisirs de l'Ile enchantée* on three consecutive evenings in different parts of the gardens of Versailles.[37] Six hundred guests were invited. The first part took place in a garden area surrounded by high hedges (see Illustration 4), and lit by four thousand candles and flambeaux. Lully had now been given total command of all the King's musicians, of whom thirty-four were 'on stage', elegantly dressed, for playing the overture before the dance of the Seasons. This long overture is mainly in five parts, but with short sections in three and in four parts, and even two bars in two parts. This suggests that Lully might have used different instrumental groupings for tonal contrasts, especially as the engraving shows the on-stage musicians arranged in well-separated groups.

During the first and only *Entrée*, fourteen musicians lead on the gods Pan and Diana 'with an agreeable harmony of recorders and musettes' – both instruments for which the Jean Hotteterre workshop

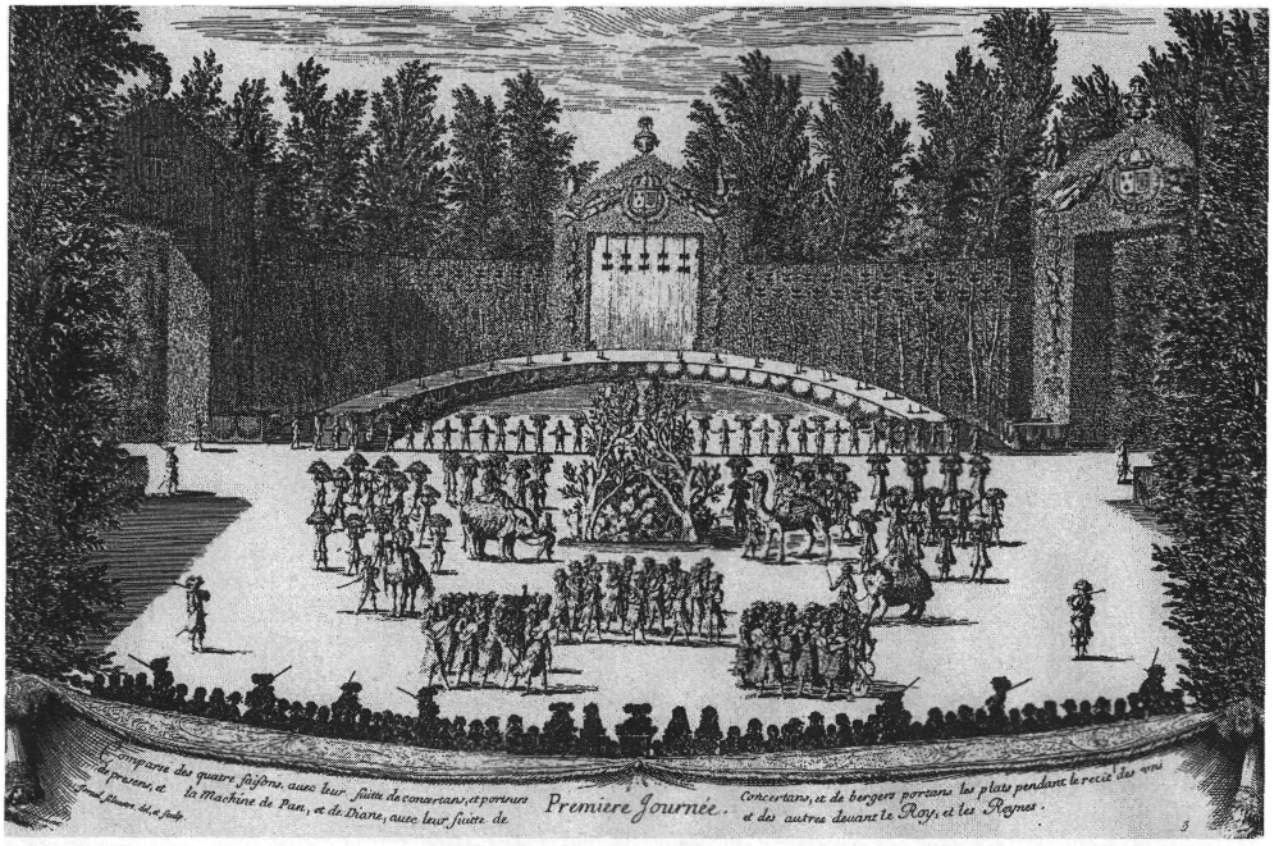

Illustration 4A Engraving by Israel Silvestre (1670) of the end of the first day of the *grand divertissement, Les Plaisirs de l'Ile enchantée* held in the gardens of Versailles on 7 May 1664. The recorders and musettes are played by the group of 14 musicians at the centre, shown in the detail in **Illustration 4B**.

Illustration 4B

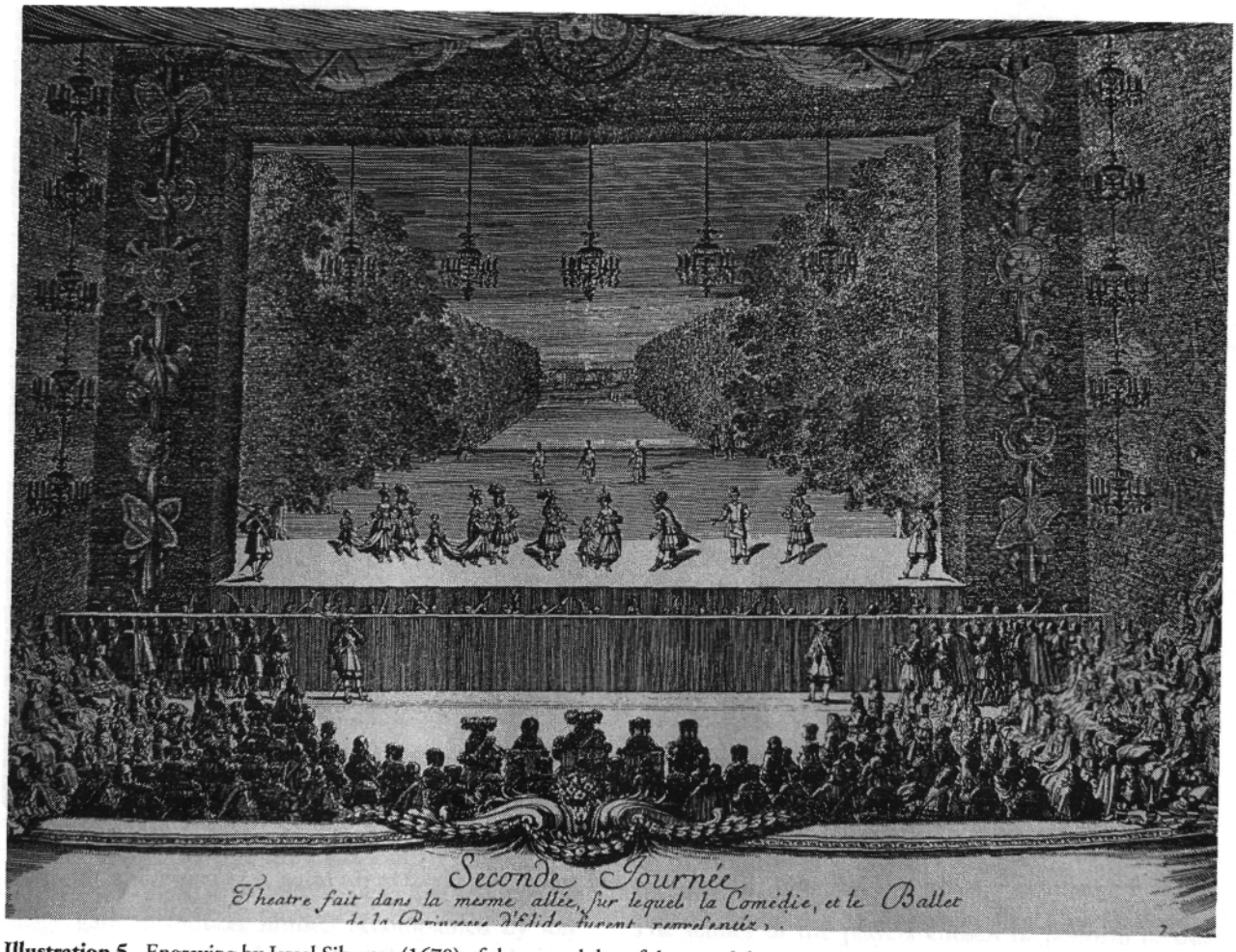

Illustration 5 Engraving by Israel Silvestre (1670) of the second day of the *grand divertissement*, 8 May 1664, in the partly open theatre designed by Carlo Vigarani in the *grande allée* at Versailles. The façade of the palace can be seen in the distance.

was renowned. This five-part *Marche* for Pan and his suite is indicated as being for the 'hautbois', here referring to the players rather than to their instruments which had already been specified (see Illustrations 4 and 6). Next there is a *Ritournelle,* a 'Rondeau pour les Flûtes et les Violons' approaching the King's table (laden with *les Délices*), again in five parts, as expected for the strings.

It happened that it was a very windy day. Presumably at rehearsal (in the afternoon while the *course de bague* was taking place elsewhere?) it was felt necessary to stretch large cloths around the playing area for the evening performance. It is difficult to play recorders outdoors if a strong wind blows across the windway exit, and this could have been another reason for putting up the wind-breaks, even though this problem is less troublesome with late Baroque recorders than with the old-style instruments. The former have a much shallower windway exit requiring a higher breath-pressure to compensate for the resistance of the shallow windway, but which also increases the dynamic flexibility of notes without their going out of tune. Old-style recorders have a deeper windway exit which makes the larger recorders rather more vulnerable to the effect of breezes, unless the instrument is constantly blown hard – which then makes it loud and coarse.

For the second evening of the divertissement, the ballet of *La Princess d'Élide,* the audience moved down the *grande allée* of the park at Versailles to where the architect Carlo Vigarani had erected a covered theatre with a deep stage, open at the back (Illustration 5). This gave opportunities for stage machinery effects, a feature of French *ballets de cour* as important as the dancing and the music. Lully used recorders, with their advantage of portability, to spectacular effect at the climax of the second day of *L'Ile enchantée.* The *livret* requires a tree to rise up from beneath the stage on which there were 'sixteen fauns, of whom eight play recorders and the others violins, to provide the most delightful concert in the world' – a phrase Lully would have been less likely to use if those recorders had been old-style instruments blending poorly with the new violin sounds. Four shepherds and two shepherdesses, the pastoral element symbolised by the recorders, were required to sing and dance, and the whole ensemble included, off-stage, thirty string players as well as six others

Quatorze concertants de Pan et de Diane précédoient ces deux divinités avec une agréable harmonie de flûtes et de musettes.

MARCHE de Hautbois pour le Dieu Pan et sa suite.

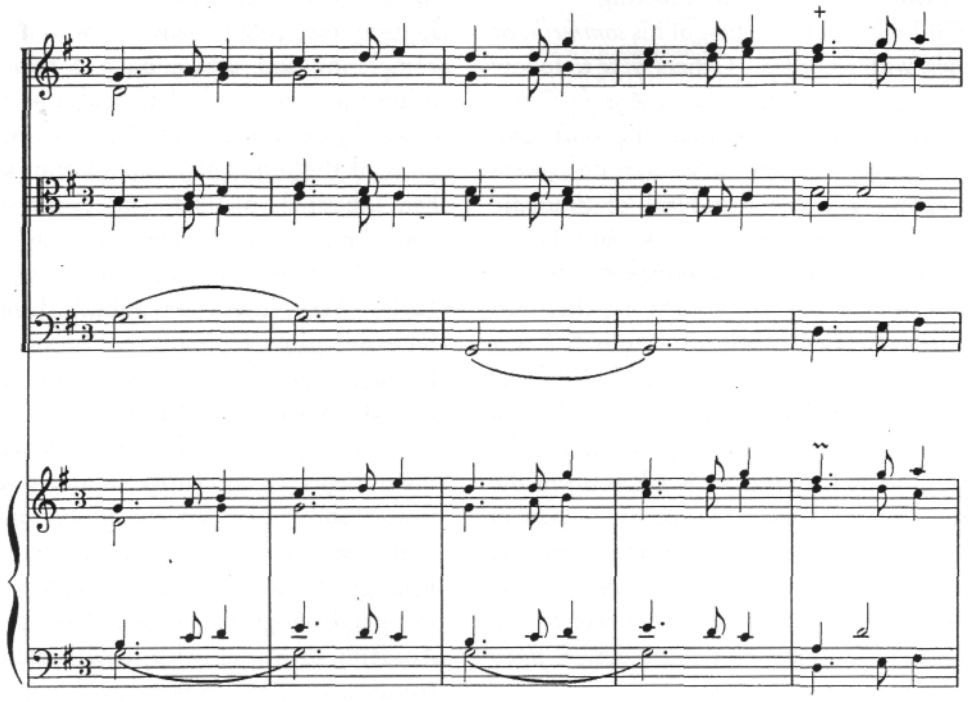

Illustration 6 Excerpt from Prunières, Lully, comédie-ballets ii (p.9), from *Les Plaisirs de L'Ile enchantée* where, at the end of the first evening, the royal family are served with a *magnifique collation* of *délices,* shows how confusing Lully's sources can be. Prunières has amalgamated relevant excerpts from the *livret* published for the performance on 7 May 1664 with a later version of the score compiled by André Danican Philidor *l'aîné* for Louis XIV's library at Versailles some time after 1684. The *livret* is clear that the music for Pan and Diana is to be played by flutes (recorders) and musettes, a most unusual combination of two instruments with long-standing pastoral associations but lately elevated, with much softer sounds, to a classical Arcardian status – ideal for Pan, if rather less so for Diana. Lully had excellent players of both instruments at his command and he would certainly have intended the sound as a novelty. The March is in fast three-time, one step to a bar. But the score refers to it as a *Marche de Hautbois.* There is no other music following the stage-direction, so this has to be the music for the recorders and musettes, not for the raucous old-style oboes, although they too might have been appropriate for Pan; unless perhaps part of the original music was lost – together with any further reference to Diana. The *Hautbois* here means members of the King's *hautboys et musettes de Poitou,* the special group who were skilled players of a variety of wind instruments, and this is confirmed by Silvestre's engraving (Illustrations 4A and B).

playing clavecins and theorboes. It is worth noting that by the summer of 1664 Lully had available eight presumably new-style recorders and eight musicians able to play them in ensemble at an important occasion.

The third and final night took place, appropriately, on an 'enchanted island' in a lake in the Versailles park, ending with the destruction of the enchantress Alcina's palace in a conflagration of fireworks. Silvestre must have enjoyed doing his engraving of this (he also did one of the palace before it was burnt down).

Vigarani's theatre in the *grande allée* at Versailles was again in use on 18 July 1668 (the *livret,* printed in advance, says '15 July' but the event had to be postponed because of the indisposition of the Queen). This was for the production of Molière's comedy *George Dandin*, which, however, took second place to a ballet by Lully which was presented between the acts, constituting another *grand divertissement royal de Versailles.*[38] As so often before, the subject was the amours of shepherds, and, as expected, on-stage shepherds played recorders. The four playing the recorders as part of an ensemble of eight for the opening number were Descousteaux, Philbert and 'Jean et Martin Hottère'. A married shepherd day-dreams, and is only disturbed by the dance for which the music is provided by the eight players. This is followed by an *Air* for the shepherds, 'Joué alternativement par les Violons et les Flutes'. The opening is in five parts for the strings, and the recorders then, in three parts (the lowest part was

probably doubled), play a long section of 32 bars in triple time, with a reprise of the first section for strings. Finally, after a *chansonette* sung by two shepherdesses, the recorders and strings together play the music of their song, in three-part scoring.

In 1670 Lully wrote the first of his *sommeils*, or slumber scenes, with recorders. Others were to follow later in his operas, most famously in *Atys* (1676).[39] Lully must have appreciated that the soft and soothing sounds of the new-style recorders were particularly appropriate for this kind of dramatic context.[40] This first *sommeil* is in Lully's *Divertissement royal, Les amants magnifiques*[41], given at St-Germain on 4 February 1670. During the third *intermède*, three shepherds, one of whom has just bewailed the coldness of his beloved shepherdess, Caliste, find her lying sleeping, to the sounds of a slow three-part *Ritournelle pour les flutes* in parallel thirds in 3/2 time. This measure is taken up in the following trio, *Dormez, dormez, beaux yeux*. Later in this *intermède* the recorders play a lively three-part ritournelle introducing the final chorus. The recorders' *sommeil* section lasts for a mere twelve bars, but only the new Baroque Hotteterre-design *flûtes douces* could do justice to this music.

FURTHER COMMENTARY ON ILLUSTRATION 4

Silvestre's prints of *Les Plaisirs de l'Ile enchantée* were, it seems, not published until 1670 by which time the new recorders had become better known, although the actual event took place in 1664. This gap of six years could be thought to cast doubt upon their reliability as iconographic evidence. Did Silvestre in 1670 just work from Lully's *livret* and from hearsay?

It is extremely likely, however, that Silvestre was present at the occasion in order to make copious notes and sketches for his engravings; these, as with any other engravings, would be worked up into finished plates at a later stage ready for printing and publication. Silvestre had begun his commissioned series of Louis XIV's royal palaces around 1660 (*Veue d'une partie du Chasteau neuf de Sainct Germain en Laye*) and, although not formally appointed as *Dessinateur du Roy* until 1667, he would have been the King's natural choice to perpetuate the splendours of that three-day celebration at Versailles in 1664.

One can make conjectures to explain the long delay in publishing the prints of that occasion. First of all, even for Silvestre, these prints are incredibly detailed, and he would have had to get his work checked by Vigarani and Lully and perhaps the King himself, and possibly then taken to a second or later state before final approval. Moreover, soon after 1664, he was commissioned to work on depictions of the Château of Fontainbleau, a time-consuming job; these were published from 1665 onwards. Then in 1668, as a royal artist and craftsman, he was required to move his now very extensive workshop, together with his many assistants, into ateliers in galleries in the Louvre. During the 1660s, Silvestre was also occupied in completing and marketing a considerable series of prints from sketches he had made during visits to Italy, especially of Venice and Rome, as well as handling most of the prints of Jacques Callot whose plates he had inherited in 1661. In circumstances of such considerable activity, six years can pass by quickly.

Even allowing for time-gaps, taken together, Lully's *livret*, the later published music, and the Silvestre prints represent a striking conjunction of literary, musical and pictorial sources. Although several scholars have long considered such a variety of sources, together with the evidence of surviving instruments, as an entity in the study of recorder history and symbolism, this process is now becoming more structured and more central to music iconography as a whole. Examples include Debra Pring's Iconography Study Group at the Royal Academy of Music (with special reference to Vanitas paintings) and the work on mythological iconography being carried out by Ellen van Keer at the Centre Leo Apostel at the Brussels Free University. This approach, I believe, is likely to have outcomes of considerable interest in the study of performance practice.

NOTES

Sources for Lully's early ballets and comédies-ballets are scarce, and, apart from the facsimiles of some *livrets*, I have not consulted originals, as the publications of other researchers have provided sufficient material for my conjectures. I wish to acknowledge my reliance on these publications, in particular to the scholarly, though incomplete, edition by Henry Prunières of *J.B. Lully: Les oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1930-39). References in these notes to Prunières are abbreviated to 'P.' 'b (i) or (ii)' (ballets, volumes i and ii) or 'c-b (i), (ii) or (iii) (comédies-ballets, volumes i, ii and iii). I am grateful to the staff of Cambridge University Library for their unstinting help. I also especially acknowledge the help which Nicholas Lander has given me regarding original Hotteterre recorders, and thank him for commenting on the first draft of this article.

Catalogue numbers of Lully's works use 'LWV' numbers assigned in the *Catalogue Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Werke von Jean-Baptiste Lully*, ed. H. Schneider (Tutzing, 1981) and drawn from the listings at the end of the 'Lully' entry by Jérôme de la Gorce in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 2/2001), Vol.15, 292-308. References to *New Grove* in these notes are abbreviated to '*NG2*' followed by the volume number.

Final note: As the title states, this article relates to the use of one type of recorder by one composer. It is not intended to question the possibility that three-section late Baroque recorders in other designs might have been developed at around the same time, or even earlier, by makers elsewhere, possibly in Nuremberg or in the Netherlands, both active centres of woodwind making (see in *The Recorder in the Seventeenth Century* articles by Martin Kirnbauer at pp.91-103 and by Jan Bouterse at pp.77-90). Dutch makers were experimenting with different bore profiles, and Hotteterre-style recorders were slow to gain ground there, although they had invaded England by 1673 and made inroads upon Germany. The Dutch maker Richard Haka (1645/6-1705), like the painter Evert Collier, worked both in England and Holland and made (or painted) both Dutch transitional recorders and Hotteterre-style late Baroque instruments (see J. Bouterse *Dutch woodwind instruments and their makers 1660-1760* (Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Musiekgeschiedenis, 2005), and his 'The Woodwind Instruments of Richard Haka' (1645/6-1705), *From Renaissance to Baroque*, 63-72).

1 An earlier version of this article appeared, translated into German, in *Tibia* 4/2004, 264-74. We are grateful to Sabine Haase-Moeck, editor of *Tibia*, for permission to reproduce it here. The article itself is developed from my chapter, 'The Iconographic Background of the Seventeenth-Century Recorder', in *From Renaissance to Baroque: Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Jonathan Wainwright and Peter Holman (Aldershot, 2005) 87-111. This book is based on contributions to a conference held at York in July, 1999, under the auspices of the UK National Early Music Association, in association with the Department of Music of York University and the York Early Music Festival. The recorder chapter combines presentations made by Professor Eva Legêne and myself. I acknowledge the permission of the editors to use material from this chapter as a starting point for this article

2 Other late-Renaissance wind instruments, such as the cornett and the crumhorn families, were allowed to go out of use during the late seventeenth century. The reasons for the survival of the recorder and its redesign, especially the effect of its symbolic associations (pastoral, etc.), are discussed in Ch.12 of *From Renaissance to Baroque*.

3 Bruce Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe: a History of the Hautboy, 1640-1760* (Oxford, 2001); 'Baptiste's *Hautbois*: The Metamorphosis from Shawm to Hautboy in France, 1620-1670', *From Renaissance to Baroque*, 23-46; 'Oboe', II. 2 – History to 1800, *NG2*, vol. 18.

4 This translation is taken from Marc Ecochard, 'A Commentary on the Letter by Michel de La Barre Concerning the History of Musettes and Hautboys', *From Rennaissance to Baroque*, 48. La Barre's letter is also referred to by Eva Legêne in 'The Early Baroque Recorder', *The Recorder in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. David Lasocki (STIMU, Utrecht, 1995, being the proceedings of the International Recorder Symposium held at Utrecht in 1993), 106; Legêne's note refers to Marcelle Benoît, *Musiques du Cour: Chapelle, Chambre, Ecurie, 1661-1733* (Editions A.& J. Picard, Paris, 1971), 455.

5 Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 56-9.

6 Ibid., 57.

7 Ibid., 58-9.

8 Ibid, 49-56; in *NG2* 18, p.261, Haynes suggests that the instrument Lully inherited 'was an early form of hautboy. Such an instrument was introduced into the French military in 1663. By the 1660s ... instruments that shared characteristics of both shawm and oboe were shown on tapestries made by the royal Gobelins studios.' These same tapestries also show old-style recorders.

9 Openly available in N.S. Lander's Recorder Home Page: Original Recorders, Makers & Collections, http://www.recorderhomepage.net/original.html (accessed 14 June 2004).

10 See Jane M. Bowers, 'The Hotteterre family of woodwind instrument makers' in *Concerning the Flute*, ed. Rien de Reede (Amsterdam, 1984); and Tula Giannini, 'Jacques Hotteterre le Romain and his father, Martin', in *Early Music* 21 (August, 1993), 377-95, and also her 'Hotteterre' entry in *NG2*, vol. 11.

11 For makers' marks, see Giannini, 'Jacques Hotteterre le Romain and his father, Martin', 381-2.

12 Most photographs of original recorders are taken face on, making it difficult to see how curved-over the beak is.

13 Legêne (see note 4), 106; and, in the same book, Laurence Pottier's 'French Recorder Iconography', 134-5.

14 As demonstrated in the workshop inventory quoted by Giannini in 'Jacques Hotteterre le Romain and his father, Martin', 390.

15 For Jean Hotteterre I, see Bowers (note 10), 34-5. Her article gives excellent accounts of each of the instrument-making members of the family, except for Jean II, but Giannini's research fills this gap. I am indebted to both these scholars for the detailed information,

including contemporary references, contained in this paragraph.

16 Anthony Baines, *Woodwind Instruments and their History* (London, 3/1967), 275-7.

17 The musette was a small soft-sounding bagpipe, under-arm bellows blown, developed from a peasant bagpipe into a luxurious courtly instrument. As renowned makers, the Hotteterres, who greatly improved the musette, must have considerably benefited from its becoming so fashionable.

18 This fascinating scrap of information emerges from Martin Hotteterre's wedding contract quoted by Giannini, 'Jacques Hotteterre le Romain and his father, Martin', 385.

19 P. b (i), 98-110, and see Prunières' Introduction p.XXII. *L'amour malade* is LWV 8.

20 P. b (ii), 99-105. *Alcidiane* is LWV 9.

21 P. b (ii), 28 of *livret* facsimile.

22 P. b (ii), 29 of *livret.*

23 *The Eloquent Oboe*, 53.

24 David Lasocki, 'Recorder', *NG2*, vol. 21. 48.

25 'From score into sound: questions of scoring in Lully's ballets', *Early Music* 21 (August, 1993), 354-362. The reference to the *Ballet de la raillerie* (LWV 11) is at p.357.

26 Legêne, *op.cit.* (note 4), 121, n.7

27 Bressan, and Rippert, whose recorders are similar, may have been trained in a Hotteterre workshop in Paris, but the only evidence in support of this is that they each made instruments in the Hotteterre style (see *NG2* entry 'Bressan').

28 For a description of this and other recorder episodes, see Jürgen Eppelsheim, *Das Orchester in den werken Jean-Baptiste Lullys* (Tutzing, 1961), 80-93. The *Ballet des arts* is LWV 18.

29 *Harmonie Universelle* (Paris, 1636), Traité des instruments, Livre cinquiesme des instruments à vent.

30 Harris-Warrick, 'From score into sound', 354. LWV 19.

31 See note 23.

32 For the marriage symbolism of recorders, see my articles 'The Recorder and Marriage' in *The Recorder Magazine* 19 (Spring, 1999), 3-7, and revised version in *Zeitschrift SAJM* 28 (2000), 2-14; and 'The Recorder and Marriage, Part II' in *The Recorder Magazine* 22 (Autumn, 2002), 92-7.

33 The reference to *Les amours déguisés* (LWV 21) is in the Jérôme de la Gorce's 'Lully' entry, *NG2* vol. 15. The score for the four-part wind ensemble from *Le triomphe de l'amour* (LWV 59) is reproduced on p.299.

34 LWV 20

35 P.c-b (i), 45-47.

36 P. c-b (i), Introduction, xxi.

37 LWV 22. P. c-b (ii). The descriptive details are from Prunières' Introduction. The *Ouverture* is at pp.3-7, the *Marche* pp.9-11, and the *Ritournelle* pp.11-13. The excerpt from the *livret* describing the stage machinery tree is at p.63 and the music on pp.64-5.

38 LWV 38. P. c-b (ii), 153-225. The reference to Vigarani's theatre is in Prunières' Introduction p.xiii, and the *Ouverture* and *Aire* in which recorders took part are on pp.155-9.

39 LWV 53

40 And for others as well – Lully designates recorders on 39 occasions in a wide range of recorder symbolisms. See pp. 99-100 of Ch.XX of *From Renaissance to Baroque.*

41 LWV 42. The *sommeil* is referred to in *NG2* 'Lully', p.299. P. c-b (iii), the third *intermède* being at pp.173-204.

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Drama and the Madrigal
A context for Monteverdi, Tomkins and Banchieri[1]

James Weeks

Music divine, proceeding from above,
Whose sacred subject oftentimes is Love,
In this appears her heavenly harmony
Where tuneful concords do agree
And yet in this her slander is unjust,
To call that Love which is indeed but Lust.

The power of music to transform the baser emotions into the lofty – and thereby to deceive us (or perhaps, excuse us) – is invoked wittily in the text of Tomkins' famous madrigal. No doubt that most serious musician had a more profound Love in mind in works such as *O let me live for true love* than did his irremediably carnal colleagues – certainly the glorious music with which he cloaks it suggests so. Indeed, one can only wonder what he would have made of Monteverdi's unashamedly pornographic *Si ch'io vorrei morire*, from his Fourth Book of Madrigals; but one thing these two masters would certainly have agreed on is the power of music to go deeply into the emotional meaning of a text and to express those emotions with intensity and subtlety.

At the start of the seventeenth century, this power was being explored to further and further extremes, most particularly in Italy. Beginning with the madrigal in mid-sixteenth century, the urge to ally music more closely and directly to the portrayal of the text's emotional meaning and character had led to extraordinary innovation, both in terms of the building blocks of music and in the forms and genres used by composers. It led, for example, to solo song, and most importantly, to opera, with its musical declamation of dramatic texts in *stile recitativo*.

But madrigals – the only serious vocal ensemble genre of the time – were where it all began. On the face of it, the madrigal is an unlikely genre for realistic musical drama: it is inherently artificial – with as many as six voices all singing the 'part' of a single amorous swain like some love-sick hydra. Some composers, such as Marenzio in his earlier works, gleefully exploited this artifice, indulging in delightful contrapuntal wordpainting (birds chirping, water babbling, nymphs and shepherds enjoying their sylvan trysts) or just ignored the nuances of the words and wrote essentially contrapuntal instrumental music with words attached (most of Palestrina's madrigals, for example). Others, following Cipriano de Rore (perhaps the greatest mid-century madrigalist), were interested in serious emotional texts, often laden with pathos. It is here that the real innovation began.

The Mantuan Giaches de Wert was the first composer to try for a really avant-garde, almost 'expressionistic' style, the music matching and even surpassing the extreme emotionalism of the texts. His late style, which reached its culmination in the 1590s in Mantua (where he worked alongside the young Monteverdi), abounds in dissonance, interrupted flow, metric changes, strangely twisted or stretched melodic lines, unusual effects of texture, and even abrupt silences where the text suggested it. Most notable of all is his use of declamatory style, in which all the singers chanted the text to a chord in speech rhythm, as if they were a single actor or orator.

This declamatory style reflects unmistakably the most crucial intellectual stimulus on the development of the *stile nuovo*: the humanist music movement begun in Florence in 1570s, often called the Florentine Camerata. This group of intellectuals, among them Vincenzo Galilei (father of Galileo), gathering at the house of Count Giovanni de' Bardi, concerned themselves with investigating the role of music in Ancient Athenian drama. The most influential of these theoreticians, Girolamo Mei, believed that Greek tragedy had been sung throughout, and thus the Camerata attempted reconstructions of that music, the repercussions of which were to lead to the birth of opera. In their imagination, music had at all times to be placed at the service of the words, and not, as was the case in most composition at the time, the other way round. In this they were following Plato, whose famous passage in the Republic (398d) insists that *melos, harmonia* and *rhythmos* follow the *logos* – the word or thought. In the strictest style, therefore, musical rhythm should be that of speech, the melody simply mimicking the rise and fall of an orator's voice (with a few extra embellishments where desirable); and harmony was

restricted to a few chords, played by instruments imitating lyres, such as the chitarrone. Thus was born the *stile recitativo*, and thus too the first operas, which aimed at no less than a reconstruction of the style (and of course the expressive power) of Greek drama.

Monteverdi's mature madrigals (from the Fourth Book of 1603 onwards) need to be considered in this context: as attempts, even in an 'artificial' medium, to strike at the heart of the text's emotional meaning using innovative musical resources. Famously, indeed, these madrigals led him into a furious dispute with the arch-conservative Artusi over the liberties he was taking with technical conventions; to which his response was that the words must be the mistress of the harmony, so that if the text demanded crudity, the music must provide it. Not surprisingly, the texts Monteverdi favoured are often explicitly dramatic – whole scenas, for example, often including speeches by characters. Moreover, he was fortunate in being able to draw on two new sources of texts of high literary merit and seriousness, as well as emotional directness and sincerity: Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* and Guarini's *Il pastor fido*. Tasso in particular would have favoured Monteverdi's appropriations, for he himself had issued a call for composers to renounce the artifice, excessive decoration and musical luxury prevalent in madrigals of 1580s and to aim instead for the emotional heart of the text. Following this call, the 1590s saw a number of composers – Marenzio, Gesualdo, Luzzaschi among them – grappling with Tasso's challenge and taking off from Wert's lead. For Monteverdi, the Fourth Book, the result of a decade of experimentation, was the breakthrough that signalled both his incipient maturity and his rise to the forefront of the avant-garde.

Two examples from the Fourth Book will serve to show the uniqueness of Monteverdi's achievement, in the unparalleled depth and subtlety of his musical response to his texts:

Volgea l'anima mia soavemente
quel suo caro, e lucente
sguardo, tutto beltà tutto desire,
verso me scintillando, e parea dire:
"Damm'il tuo cor, ché non altronde io vivo."
E mentre il cor sen vola ove l'invita
quella beltà infinita,
sospirando gridai: "Misero, e privo
del cor, chi mi dà vita?"
Mi rispos'ella in un sospir d'amore:
"Io, che son il tuo core."

My sweetheart gently turned
those dear and radiant eyes of hers –
all beauty, all desire – toward me sparklingly,
and seemed to say:
"Give me your heart, for nothing else gives me life."
And while my heart
flew off to where it was invited
by the infinite beauty,
I sighed and called out:
"Unhappy man that I am,
and bereft, who will give me life?"
She answered with a loving sigh:
"I, for I am your heart."

The first four lines describe the turning of the glance, as if in slow-motion, towards '*scintillando*'; Monteverdi's music begins delicately and dramatises that gesture by building up gracefully, pushing the music forwards on '*tutto belta, tutto desire*' before almost swooning onto '*scintillando*'. The passion of the glance then shows through as he elides 'and seemed to say' into '*Damm'il tuo cor*', which is given a wonderful upwards yearning motion. The Wertian recitativo declamation style is used for the emphatic lamentation '*misero, e privo del cor*', which is again elided with the words '*sospirando gridai*'. The best is left till last, as Monteverdi's amazingly careful attention to the cadence of human speech allows him to find the ideal pitch and texture for the sigh, '*Io*', which he elongates in the soprano as the other voices sing slow falling scales below it. The result is like a chromatogram or a time-lapse-film of a lover's sigh – stretched out with infinite tenderness and unmistakable eroticism – exactly as the besotted narrator might replay it in his imagination.

There is so much more than this here, too: the piece is also a miracle of tonal balance, each harmonic gesture weighted precisely to have the right impact in its context – this is an art of the finest musical and emotional nuance. Another example:

Longe da te, cor mio,
struggomi di dolore,
di dolcezz'e d'amore.
Ma torna omai, deh torna! E se'l destino
strugger vorrammi ancor a te vicino,
sfavilli e splenda il tuo bel lume amato
ch'io n'arda e mora, e morirò beato.

Far from you, my heart,
I am consumed with sorrow,
tenderness and love.
But return now! And if fate
wills me still to suffer when near you,
let your beautiful dear eyes shine and sparkle,
so that I burn and die from them, and I will die blessed.

Monteverdi begins with a *grido,* an outcry of pain, flung out from the lover towards his far-off beloved as if covering the great distances of their separation, then in same breath, '*cor mio*', clasps her to the yearning centre of his being. Not only does Monteverdi achieve this lacerating disparity of scale, but the initial outcry lingers through the entire madrigal by virtue of its extraordinary harmony: it modulates instantly to a sharper key, abandons it for '*struggomi di dolore*' and never returns there, except fleetingly, for the rest of the madrigal, so it is left tonally as well as gesturally hanging above what follows. Equally remarkable is the way the harmony melds together the sorrow, tenderness and love into aching yet beautiful strings of diatonic dissonances; or the way he pushes on then pulls back the music's flow, alert to every quickening or faltering of the besotted narrator's hope of joy.

Thomas Tomkins' madrigals present us with another musical world, ostensibly lacking the ineffable hyper-sensibility and bold Titianesque colouring of the Monteverdi (though he also lacks the texts – what, we may wonder, could he have done with an English version of Tasso or Guarini?). In general, the English madrigal as it developed following the publication in 1588 of Nicholas Yonge's *Musica transalpina* was based not on the avant-garde of the Italian madrigals but on the earlier, lighter 'pastoral' Italian madrigal styles of early Marenzio and others, apparently only fleetingly aware of Wert and certainly not aware at all of the sort of theoretical research and musical innovations that were fuelling the most progressive Italian composition. Tomkins' madrigals were published slightly after the main madrigal craze – though perhaps aptly, for his mien is graver and more stolid than the flamboyant Weelkes or the commercially-aware Morley, having more in common with composers such as Gibbons or Byrd, neither of whom was a noted follower of fashion. Above all, Tomkins' is a serious art: he doesn't renounce counterpoint, such as in *O let me live for true love*, with its extended, almost instrumental fantasia of falalas, which seems old-fashioned next to that of a young contemporary like Lawes. Accustom your eyes to the style, though, and Tomkins seems arguably the technical and imaginative equal of Monteverdi. Certainly, his 1622 collection of *Songs of 3, 4, 5 and 6 Parts* is a pinnacle – if not *the* pinnacle – of the English madrigal repertory. *Music Divine*, for example, is not remotely dramatic, but is nonetheless a fantastic study in varieties of vocal texture (are any two bars for the same combination of voices?) and declamation: within a much narrower range than Monteverdi he is just as effective and just as thoughtful a reader of human emotion. *O let me live for true love* shows him transcending the empty formulaic falalas of the typical English ballett by turning them into little vocal fantasias which enhance the meaning of the texted sections like a sort of musical commentary.

And so finally to Banchieri, and a rather different sort of dramatic madrigal.

The *Barca di Venetia per Padova* was written in 1605, the same year as Monteverdi's Fifth Book. It is sometimes grouped with his madrigal comedies, though strictly speaking it is not one: a madrigal comedy, such as his equally famous *La pazzia senile*, is, like the literary comedy genre, usually a satirical or humorously moralistic portrayal of dramatic scenes imitating real life. *Barca*, by contrast, is really a miscellany of different madrigal and song styles, ripped off rather brilliantly by Banchieri, using the boat trip from Venice to Padua (during which the pieces are sung) as an amusing continuity device.

In truth, this work wasn't for acting, but for singing in company, 'for no other end than to pass the hours of leisure', as Banchieri put it, though in I Fagiolini's brilliant staging the officious captain, the amorous boatowner, and the whole grotesque gallery of singers, slappers, soaks and con artists that populate the piece are brought vividly to life.

At the helm of this floating menagerie is Banchieri himself – a musical jack-of-all-trades – at home pastiching great madrigalists such as Marenzio and Gesualdo as well as some more homespun musical styles. This is the sort of piece which lives by its wits, and wit it certainly has in abundance, sufficient indeed to make it quite as delightful now, in the 400th-anniversary year of its publication. Its immediacy and hilarity alone should be enough to persuade us not to patronise it, for not only is Banchieri a consummate operator in any and every modern style, but he sees the world with the eye of a master satirist. He presides over the *Barca* like one who's seen it all, which given his lifelong commitment to the monastic life (entering a seminary at 21) seems rather extraordinary; but his musical and literary output shows his catholicism of taste and appetite for knowledge: psalms, masses, motets, madrigal comedies, canzonets, copious theoretical treatises of considerable intellectual scope and imagination, books about Bolognese dialects and architecture, and popular theatrical texts under the bizarre pseudonym of Attabalippa dal Peru. Banchieri was indeed a man who delighted in the sheer diversity of life; the *Barca* is an uproarious paean to this spirit.

James Weeks is a composer and conductor, and director of the contemporary music specialists EXAUDI Vocal Ensemble. His music is performed and broadcast worldwide and represented by the British Music Information Centre's New Voices scheme. With EXAUDI he has performed at many of the UK's most prestigious festivals and venues and made discs of Finnissy, Fox and Lutyens for NMC. He is a regular contributor to new music journals and teaches at Winchester and Eton Colleges.

The original version of this article was prepared for a pre-concert talk at the Wiltshire Music Centre in November 2005. The concert was given by I Fagiolini, directed by Robert Hollingworth, and featured madrigals by Monteverdi and Tomkins, and the Barca di Venetia per Padova by Banchieri.

Revisiting a Buxtehude curiosity: the *Sonata* BuxWV Appendix 5

Geoffrey Webber

One of the earliest and most important manuscript sources of Buxtehude's organ works, the Lowell Mason Codex at Yale University (LM 5056), contains a "Sonata â 2 Clavir Pedal" (pp. 81-3) ascribed to Buxtehude. The work is clearly not an organ piece, but rather a transcription of a string sonata, though the only published copy of the work is a transcription included in the not widely available original two-volume version of Klaus Beckmann's 1971 edition of the organ works for Breitkopf (Sämtliche Orgelwerke Vol. II, pp. 165-7). Kerala Snyder, writing in her 1987 monograph on Buxtehude *(Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck)*, proposes that the work was originally scored for violin, viola da gamba and continuo (p.300), following the suggestion made by Eva Linfield in her 1984 dissertation ('Dietrich Buxtehude's Sonatas: A Historical and Analytical Study', Ph.D., Brandeis University). Here I aim to present the first published critical edition of the work, and to suggest that the work may have originally been scored for two viola da gambas and continuo.

The Yale copy is written in an unusual notational hybrid mixing tablature and score notation, tablature being used for the Pedal part. The manuscript has a Central German provenance (probably Dresden *c.*1688) and includes transcriptions in score of many North German organ works that were almost certainly originally written in the tablature form of notation favoured by North German organists at the time. It is thus likely that the transcription was made by a North German organist, perhaps Buxtehude himself. The annotation "Viol d Gamb" is written between the two staves at the start, but unfortunately this positioning does not allow one to infer whether it was intended to refer to the upper stave, the lower stave, or both. The main reason to suggest that the top part was originally composed for violin is its predominant tessitura: the main clef used is C1, and the top note is c'''. However, in the final section of the work, from bar 48, the upper part looks much more like a gamba part, combining obbligato lines above the continuo line with sporadic doublings of the continuo line itself (in the bass clef), though the top part of the range remains high reaching up to a''. A number of different solutions could be proposed for this problematic passage (bars 48-54), some of which might involve both obbligato instruments, but the nature of the given line raises the possibility that the whole Sonata may have been conceived for two gambas and continuo rather than violin, gamba and continuo.

The well-known sets of instrumental sonatas by Buxtehude published in his lifetime are scored for violin, viola da gamba and continuo. Further sonatas that survive in manuscript also have this scoring, but one, BuxWV 268, is for solo viola da gamba and continuo, and another, BuxWV 267, is scored for viola da gamba, violone and continuo. The manuscript collection that contains the Sonata BuxWV 268, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus. Sch. D.249, nos. 18-23, seems to be of Lübeck provenance. It includes a sonata for viola da gamba and continuo attributed to the Lübeck musician David Adam (?Arnold) Baudringer, and an anonymous D minor sonata that has been tentatively attributed to Buxtehude in a recent edition, *Luebecker Violadagamba Solo*, ed. G. and L. von Zadow (Heidelberg, 2006). In addition, there are four suites for two gambas by another Lübeck musician, Peter Greck or Grecke, in another Oxford manuscript in the same hand, MS Mus. Sch. D.253; see the modern edition of two of them, P. Grecke, *Two Suites for Two Bass Viols*, ed. D. Beecher (Ottawa, 1998). If one

transposes the top line of the Yale Sonata down an octave the part becomes comfortably playable on the gamba and brings about a pleasing dialogue between the two identical instruments, the second sometimes moving above the first, and no technical infelicities occur in the harmony. The only adjustment required occurs in the problematic bars 48-51, where the low passages in the bass clef need to stay at the given pitch. If the original form of the work was indeed for two viola da gambas, then a transcription for organ might well be expected to take advantage of the wider compass of the instrument (assuming an 8'-based pitch-level for both solo parts) and provide conventional hand positions. However, to transpose these short phrases in the bass clef in bars 48-51 up an octave would have resulted in doubling at the octave, contradicting the unison doubling that is a feature of the idiom and giving a less dramatic effect. But this type of speculation is tenuous, and the original scoring of the piece is destined to remain uncertain.

Beckmann's transcription aims to give an accurate rendition of the manuscript's contents, but the present edition corrects several obvious errors (as noted below) and adds a number of possible missing accidentals (given in brackets). The edition envisages three different performance options, as indicated, the top stave in reduced type giving the upper stave as it appears in the manuscript (though with altered clefs), and the second line down offering a suggested reconstruction of a second obbligato part for viola da gamba. Suggested figures have been added to the continuo line. Performance on the organ is probably most effective when reed combinations are used, at least for the two obbligato lines, in order to project the low notes. If the original work for strings (of whatever description) and its transcription for organ are both by Buxtehude, then they provide yet another example of the way in which the young J. S. Bach may have found inspiration from Buxtehude during his famous visit to Lübeck, before making his own transcriptions of string sonatas for the organ and ultimately composing his original Trio Sonatas.

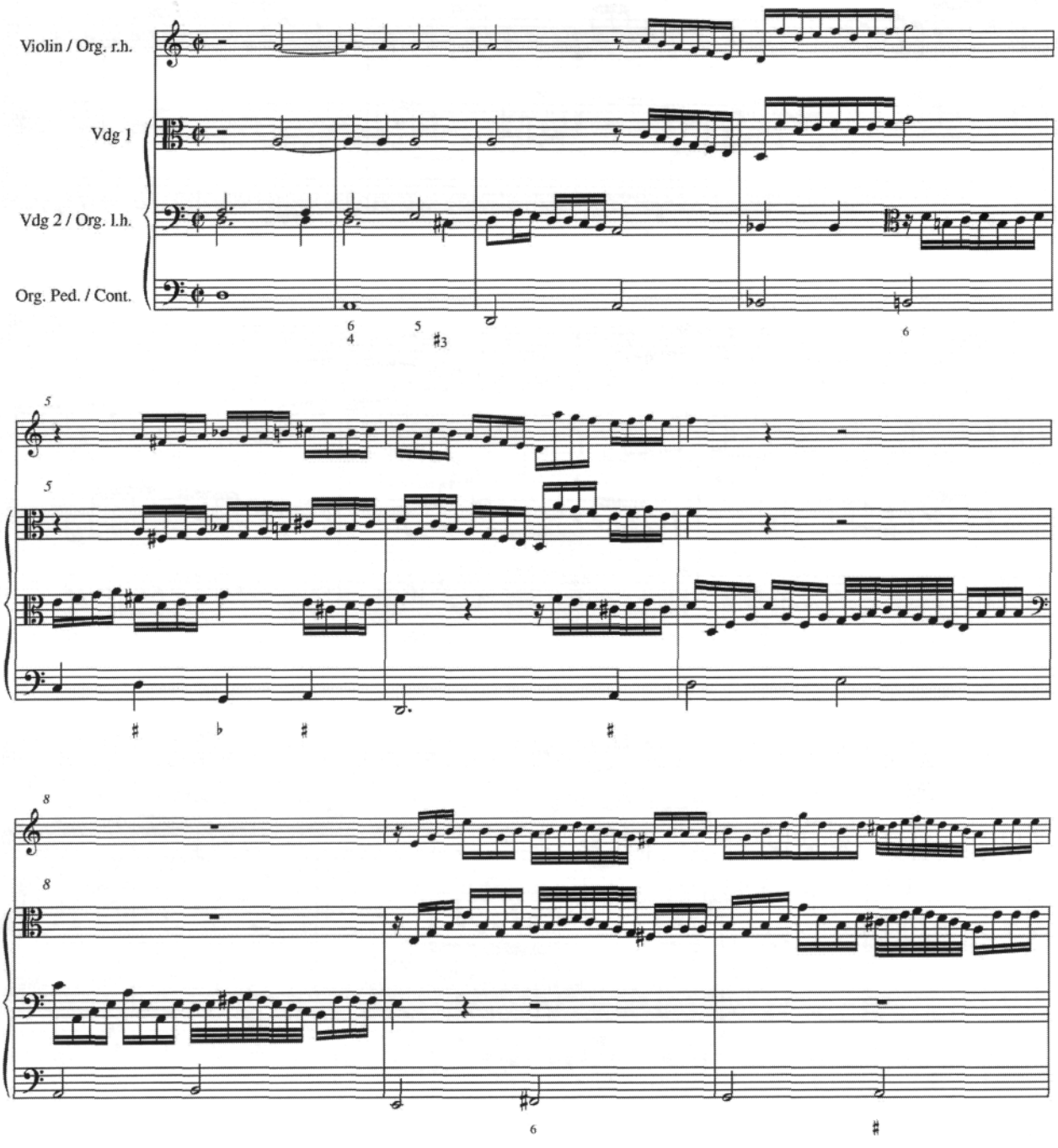
Editorial Note.

The original source is written on two staves, with the upper stave written in the C1 clef (apart from the passages in the bass clef in bars 48-51), and the lower stave written in a variety of clefs, F4, C1, C3 and C4. The edition restricts clef usage to G2, C3 and F4. The use of accidentals has been modernised. The lowest voice in the source is written in tablature beneath the lower stave except for bars 48-51 where it is entered in staff notation on the lower stave. There are no figures in the source. Altered notes: Violin / Org. r.h. b.12 1st semiquaver group = d"-a'-a', b.15 dotted quaver = f#", b.31 2nd quaver = c", b.39 1st quaver = d"; Vdg 2 / Org. l.h. b.42 quavers 2-4 = f-e-f, b.57 2nd minim c. The proposed solution for performing Scoring II is my own.

Sonata

Suggested performmance scorings
I: Viola da gamba 1 & 2, Continuo
II: Violin, Viola da gamba (2nd line up), Continuo
III: Organ (2 Manuals and Pedal, as shown)

Dieterich Buxtehude



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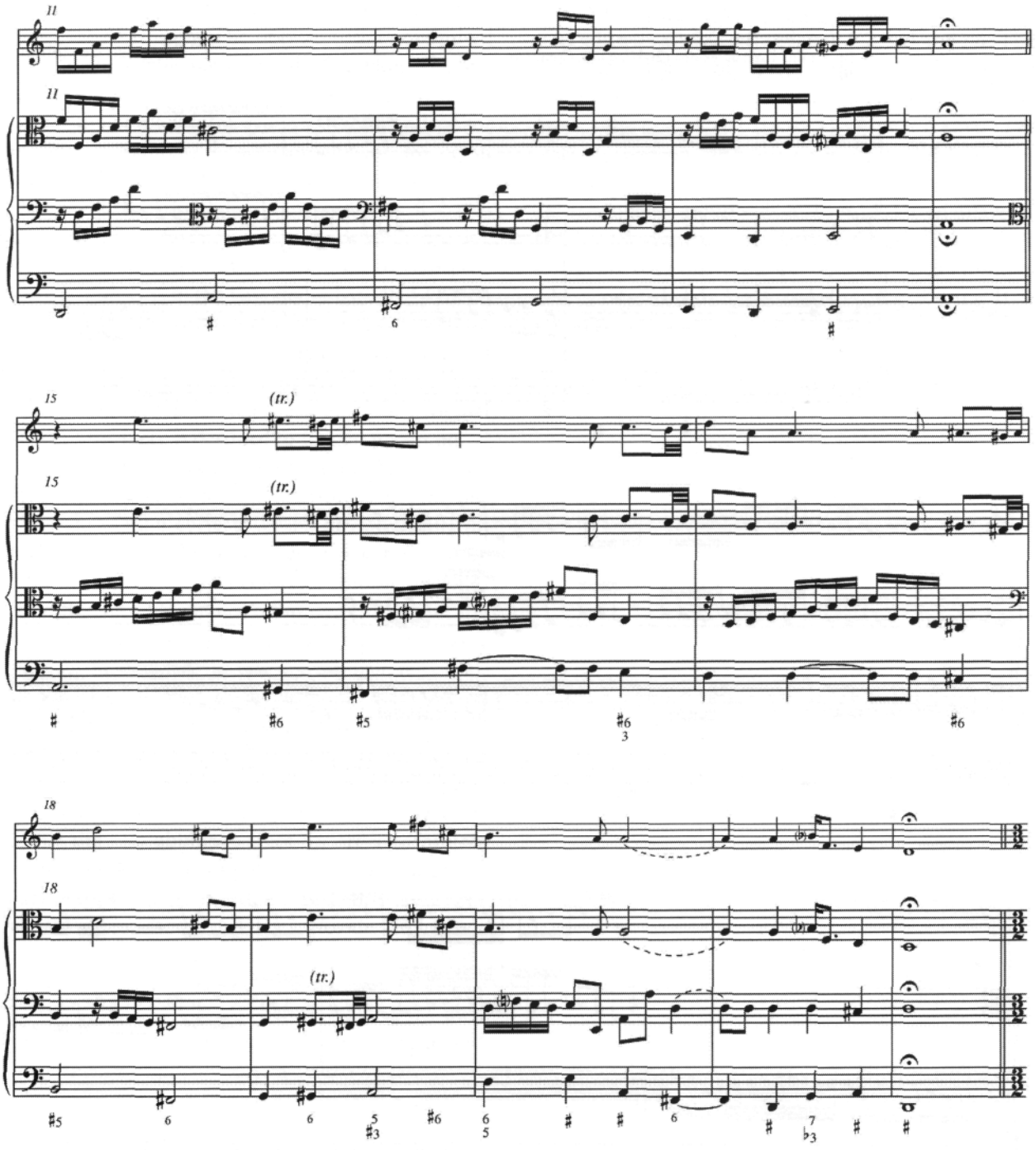

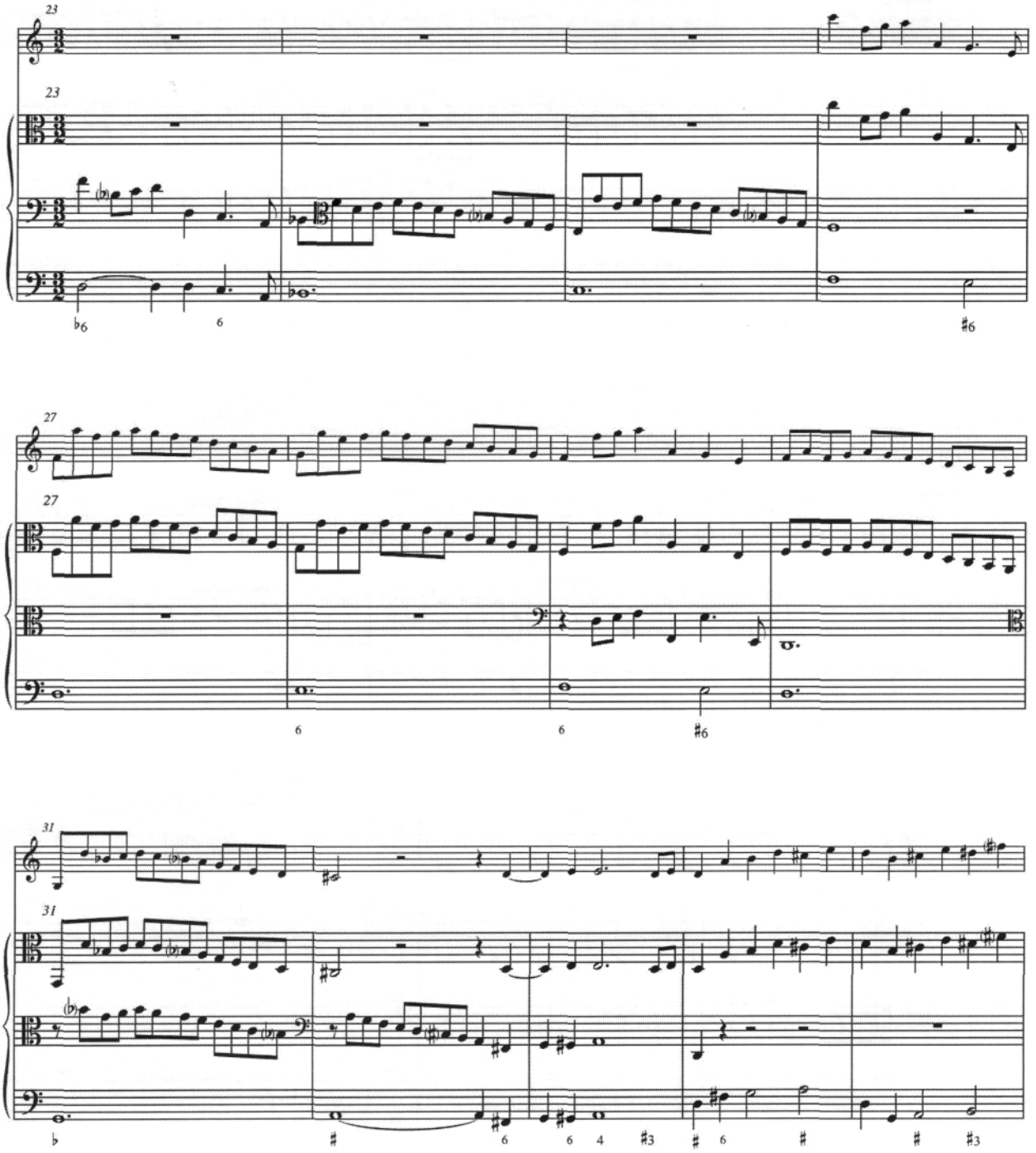
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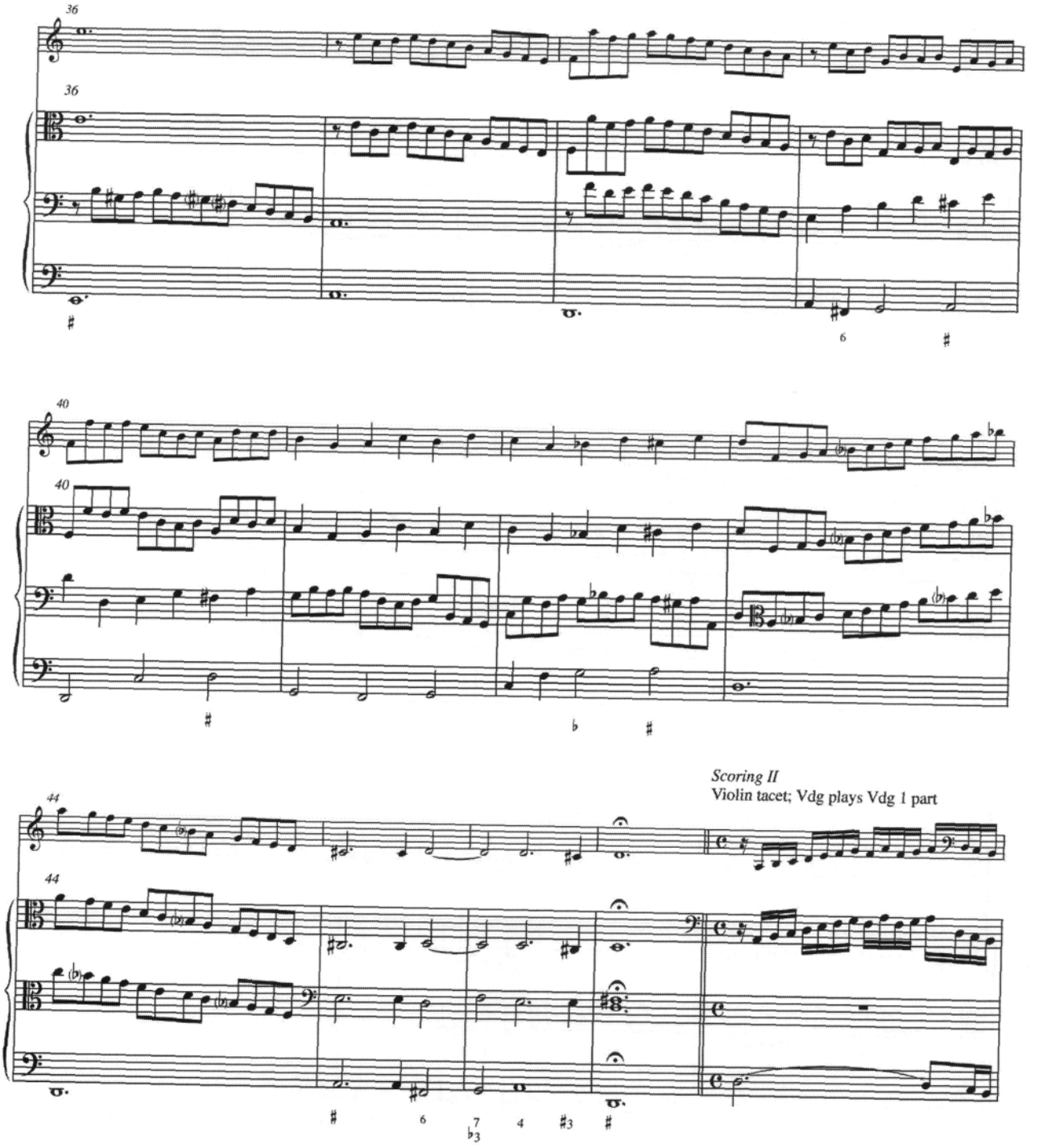
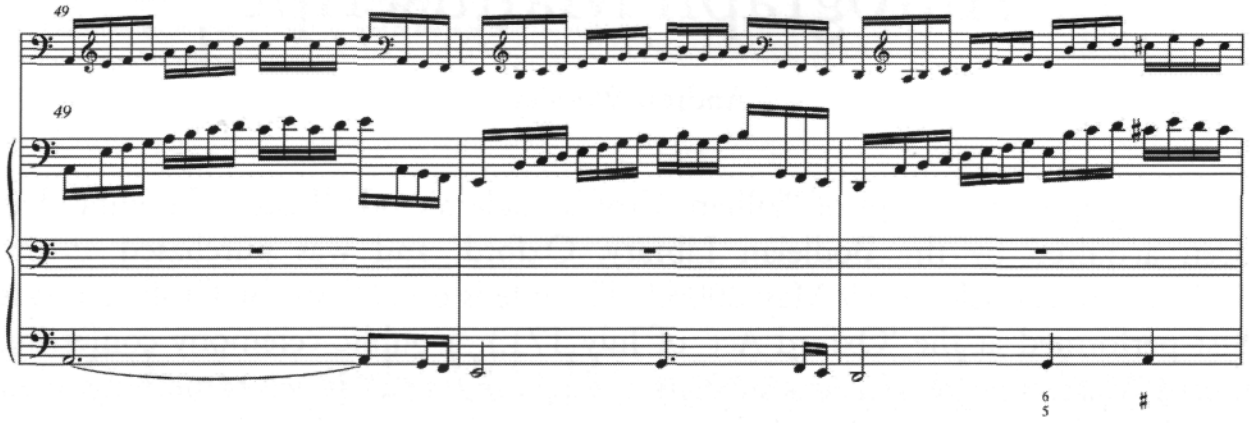
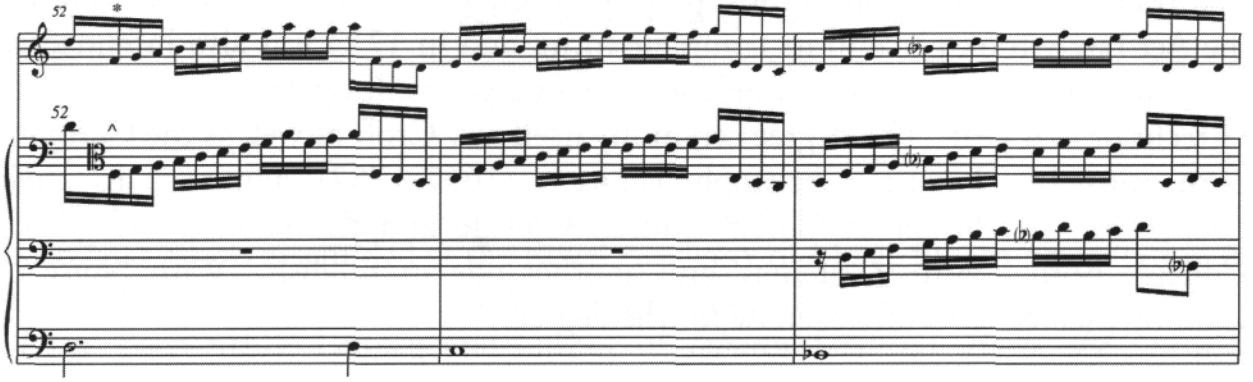
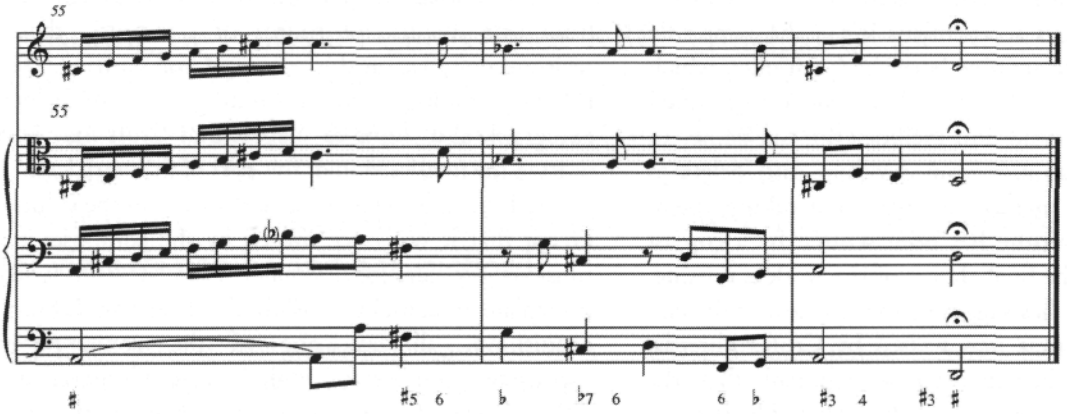


Scoring II
Violin tacet; Vdg plays Vdg 1 part



Scoring II
Violin resumes at *; Vdg tacet from ^, resuming in bar 54, 2nd line up





A New William Croft Autograph Manuscript

Andrew Woolley

An autograph manuscript of William Croft's academic ode 'Laurus Cruentas' has been acquired by the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and was purchased at the Sotheby's music sale on 19 May 2006.[1] The ode is one of two by Croft that was first performed at the 'Oxford Act' of July 1713, a public ceremony conferring mostly Masters degrees in Arts subjects at the University.[2] It was something of an occasion: the 1713 Act lasted for four days and included Latin orations and lectures in Latin, as well as musical performances. By the early eighteenth century the Act rarely took place in its complete form, and in 1713 was also intended to celebrate the peace between England and France resulting from the Treaty of Utrecht of that year. The degree ceremony itself saw Croft as well as the German-born musician Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667-1752) admitted to their doctorates, the former at Christ Church College and the latter at Magdalen College. Both 'Laurus Cruentas' and another ode in English, 'With Noise of Cannon', served as Croft's exercise for the degree.

The 'Laurus Cruentas' autograph is a welcome addition to the music manuscripts which contain Croft's handwriting.[3] The volume is a folio entitled 'Musicus apparatus accademicus [*sic.*]', the same title given to a print containing both the Croft odes, which probably dates from 1720.[4] There are twenty-seven pages in Croft's hand and included are the names of singers as well as numerous revisions and deletions suggesting the manuscript was a working copy. However, the overture has been written by a copyist and the end of the final chorus of the work is missing. Harry Johnstone has suggested that the text at the end of 'Laurus Cruentas' was revised by Croft's librettist Joseph Trapp when it became apparent that the performance of the work was to be attended by the Earl of Oxford, regarded as the chief architect of the Treaty.[5] The text that was eventually set by Croft ended by lauding Oxford, but a unique printed copy of the poem, intended for the use of audience members at the performance, gives different words at this point plus an additional concluding stanza.[6] It is possible that these words were what Trapp originally wrote as it is apparent from one manuscript source of the music that a revision took place at this point in Croft's setting.[7] The lack of an ending for the concluding chorus in the new autograph also seems to suggest that Croft may have written the final version of this part of the work later.[8]

Little is known of the provenance of the volume, except that it was once owned by the composer and musicologist Sir John Stainer (1840-1901), whose bookplate it contains. With the Bodleian Library's acquisition, all but one of the contemporary manuscript sources for both 'Laurus Cruentas' and 'With Noise of Cannon' are now kept in the same place.[9] However, a more detailed study of the makeup and contents of the manuscript, which also includes working copies of odes by other composers, is yet to be undertaken.

1 For information concerning the sale and the contents of the manuscript I am gratefully indebted to Peter Ward Jones of the Bodleian Library and Harry Diack Johnstone of St Anne's College, Oxford.

2 See H. D. Johnstone. 'Music and Drama at the Oxford Act of 1713' in S. Wollenberg and S. McVeigh (eds.), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot, 2004), 199-218.

3 For many of these, see the work-list in W. Shaw and G. Beeks, 'Croft, William', *New Grove Dictionary*, ed. S. Sadie, vol. 6 (Oxford, 2/2001), 713-716, and also R. Shay and R. Thompson. *Purcell Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 2000), *passim*. In addition, I have identified some keyboard pieces in Croft's hand which appear in a manuscript at Christ Church Library; I hope to discuss this in my forthcoming dissertation, 'The context of English keyboard

manuscripts, *c.* 1660- *c.* 1720' (PhD, University of Leeds).

4 See Johnstone (2004), 207.

5 Ibid., 208 and 214.

6 *GB-Ob* MS Ballard 47.

7 *GB-Ob* Tenbury MS 1231; the words 'Reginae et Illi cui dederunt/ *Oxonii* titulos Camenae' are set at the foot of the page after the main part of the work was copied.

8 Harry Johnstone, private communication.

9 The exception is a copy made by Croft's pupil James Kent, held at the University of Washington, Seattle (M 782.8 C874t).

Christoph Wolff receives the first Bach Prize

PETER HOLMAN

On 16 October 2006 a distinguished invited audience of scholars, performers and Bach enthusiasts assembled at the Royal Academy of Music for the presentation of the 2006 Bach Prize to Professor Christoph Wolff of Harvard University, Director of the Bach-Arhiv, Leipzig and author of *Johann Sebastian Bach, the Learned Musician* (Oxford, 2000). The Bach prize has been established by the Kohn Foundation in conjunction with the Royal Academy of Music to reward lifetime achievements in Bach performance or scholarship. It is awarded by a committee consisting of Professor Curtis Price KBE, Principal of the Royal Academy of Music, Professor Laurence Dreyfus of Oxford University, Professor John Butt of Glasgow University and Dr Ralph Kohn of the Kohn Foundation. After an introduction by Dr Kohn, Laurence Dreyfus and John Butt gave fine performances of Bach's sonatas in G major BWV 1027 and D major BWV 1028 for viola da gamba and harpsichord.

The main part of the proceedings consisted of a lecture by Professor Wolff entitled 'News from the Trenches of Bach Research', in which he discussed the results of a systemic search currently being conducted by the Leipzig Bach-Archiv for new documentary sources relating to J. S. Bach, his family, colleagues and pupils. After mentioning a project listing all those holding posts as cantors or organists in Thuringia from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries (which will be available on line in about a year), Professor Wolff described some of the important new material that has come to light in the Berlin Sing-Akademie Archive, missing since the Second World War and rediscovered in Kiev in 1999. Examples included a manuscript that contains a group of contrapuntal exercises, partly in J. S. Bach's hand and partly in the hand of his eldest son, Wilhelm Friedemann, that Wolff thought was the result of contrapuntal 'duels' between them. Another is a set of instrumental parts in Bach's hand of a second Palestrina mass, 'Ecce sacerdos magnus', at Leipzig; it has long been known that he performed Palestrina's 'Missa Sine Nomine' there. These parts show, of course, that Bach was not interested in historical performance practice; like Handel (arrangements of Jacob Handl and Carissimi) and Mozart (orchestrations of Handel oratorios), when he performed old music he modernised it by adding an accompaniment using the instruments of his own time.

Professor Wolff turned next to discoveries at Weimar. The first major find was a strophic aria, 'Alles mit Gott, und nichts ohn' ihn', written there by Bach in 1713 for the birthday of Duke Wilhelm Ernst of Sachsen-Weimar. The aria has twelve verses, and each verse lasts four minutes, so a performance of the whole work would be a complete half of a concert! It is an inventive piece, with a rich string ritornello between each verse, though it is easy to imagine the Duke's courtiers becoming bored long before the end. Other exciting finds include two manuscript copies in the hand of the young J. S. Bach of organ music by Buxtehude and Johann Adam Reinken. The first, of a Buxtehude chorale prelude written in German organ tablature, seems to have been written when Bach was 13 or 14, and is therefore the earliest music manuscript in his hand. The second, written in 1700, is also in organ tablature, and consists of a copy of Reinken's chorale fantasia on 'An Wasserflüssen Babylon'. This is particularly interesting because of the famous anecdote, told in Bach's obituary, that he improvised on 'An Wasserflüssen Babylon' 'for almost half an hour' when playing to the aged Reinken while on a visit to Hamburg in 1720. Reinken exclaimed: 'I thought that this art was dead, but I see that in you it lives'. Now we know Bach knew Reinken's setting of the chorale while he was still a teenager.

After this fascinating lecture, the Bach Prize was awarded to Professor Wolff by the President of the Royal Academy, the Duchess of Gloucester. As with the best events of this sort, the evening ended with a reception. Unfortunately, your reporter had to leave at that point because he had a train to catch.

Sting Records Dowland

PETER HOLMAN

John Dowland has probably received more publicity in the last few weeks than he ever received in his lifetime, or in the 380 years since his death. The cause is a new CD by the rock singer Sting of songs and lute pieces by Dowland, recorded with the Bosnian lutenist Edin Karamazov. It is entitled *Songs from the Labyrinth* and is on the Deutsche Grammophon label, B000G8OYZS. At the time of writing (mid-October 2006) the CD is at the top of the classical charts, and is making its way up the pop charts as well. Readers of *EMP* may be expecting the worst, though I was pleasantly surprised. Sting has a light, slightly husky tenor voice, sings in tune, and knows how to use the words to put over a song; for this reason, his performance of 'In darkness let me dwell' is outstanding. There are some pop-derived vocal mannerisms, and a mid-Atlantic accent, though I found them no more irritating than the more familiar mannerisms of modern concert singers. Sting has an untrained voice, and this is a positive advantage, since he does not have the plummy, covered quality that is still unfortunately the default, even among many early music specialists. Dowland lived long before modern vocal training developed, and his songs, with generally short phrases and modest ranges, are ideally suited to sensitive singers with untrained voices, as the late Robert Spencer used to demonstrate so eloquently. The main problem with the recording is not Sting but the lutenist, who makes a guitar-like 'rubber band' sound, does not seem to have that much control over his instrument, and rushes, particularly in passages of fast notes, which become a scramble. It is a pity that Sting did not collaborate with one of the virtuosi who play the lute properly, such as Paul O'Dette or Nigel North. Nevertheless, the recording is well worth investigating, and if it brings Dowland and his marvellous music to a new audience, that is all to the good.

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