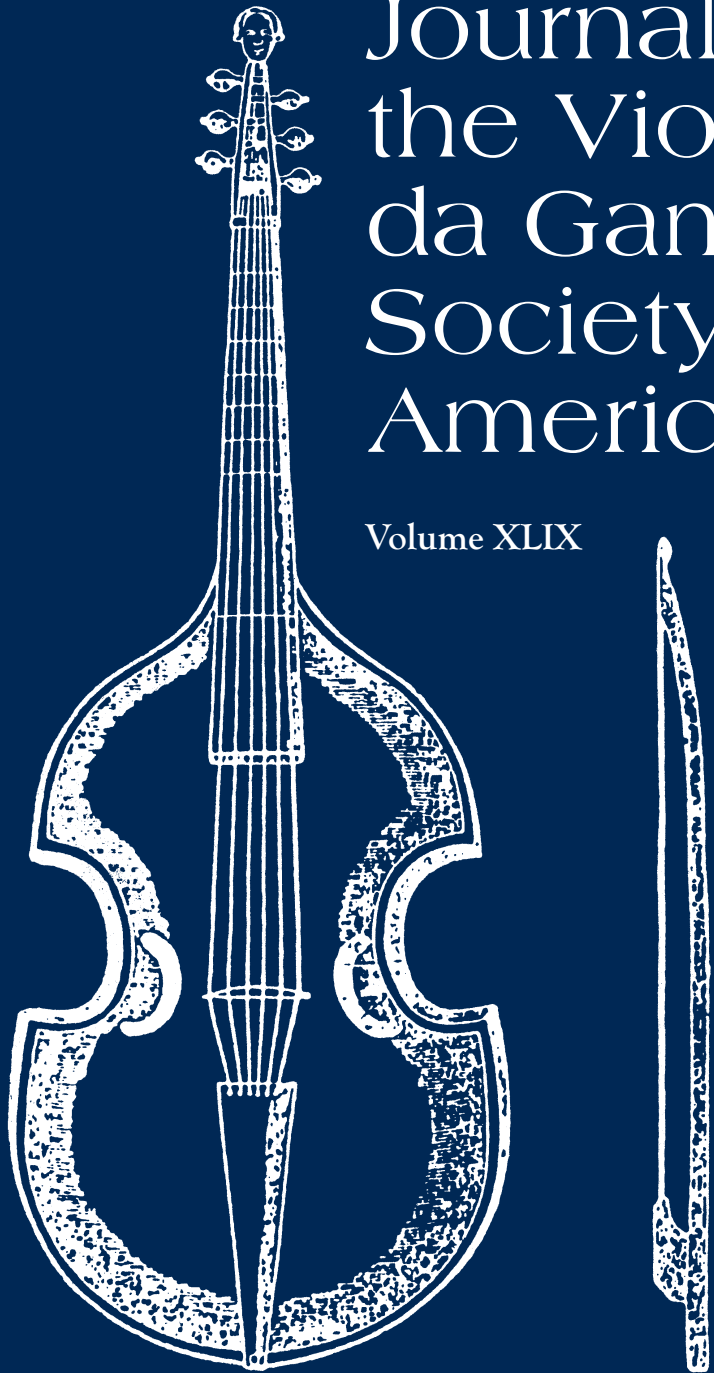


# Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America

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**JOURNAL OF THE  
VIOLA DA GAMBA SOCIETY  
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## VIOLA DA GAMBA SOCIETY OF AMERICA

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The Viola da Gamba Society of America is a not-for-profit national organization dedicated to the support of activities relating to the viola da gamba in the United States and abroad. Founded in 1962, the VdGSA is a society of players, builders, publishers, distributors, restorers, and others sharing a serious interest in music for viols and other early bowed string instruments. VdGSA members receive a quarterly newsletter and this periodic journal, and have access to the many activities and valuable resources of the Society. The website provides additional information on the annual Conclave, instrument rentals, the microfilm lending library for researchers, and other offerings.

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**EDITORIAL NOTE**

This issue contains three articles that discuss the music of the viol and its players in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Mary Cyr reflects on the importance of programmatic titles in the music of Marin Marais. Myrna Herzog takes issue with the treatment of Sainte-Colombe in the movie *Tous les matins du monde* based on current research and teases out what it tells us about his personality and his relationships with his students. She also presents some new ideas concerning one of the programmatic titles that he used. Finally, Janet Page examines the importance of the viol in the musical activities of nunneries in Vienna.

The section devoted to reviews of recent publications includes two complementary discussions of the edition of Telemann's recently discovered fantasias for solo viol, and a review of the Broude edition of Louis Couperin's extant works for wind and string ensembles edited by Mary Cyr. The issue includes Ian Woodfield's regular list of recently published research.

Robert A. Green

**THE PEASANT AND THE GRASSHOPPER:  
MARIN MARAIS AND THE  
*PIÈCE CARACTÉRISÉE***

**Mary Cyr**

Abstract

François Couperin's descriptive titles in his harpsichord music have long held interest for scholars and performers, but little attention has thus far been given to the titles in Marais's viol music. This essay examines the historical context for descriptive titles in French Baroque music, which were used in seventeenth-century lute solos and, increasingly after 1690, in harpsichord and viol music. The growth in the popularity of descriptive titles can also be seen in Marais's use of titles in his five books of viol solos, the first of which appeared in 1686. By the time his fifth book was published in 1725, more than half of the pieces carried a descriptive title. Both Couperin and Marais made extensive use of descriptive titles, but they did so in different ways. Couperin took inspiration mainly from the theater, but Marais's titles tend to be related to everyday life and his own experiences. He was also fond of demonstrating how expressive the viol can be, by imitating sounds of nature, peasant life, and other musical instruments. A few titles recognize prominent individuals, and some of them also offer clues about Marais's compositional method. Marais was the first composer to use the term *pièce caractérisée* for such works, and he also included a few words of advice about performing them in his *avertissements*. Although the meanings of certain titles remain mysterious, many of them furnish important hints about character and therefore contribute significantly to our understanding of his music.

Ever since the beginning of the modern revival of interest in historical performance practice, listeners have been fascinated by the evocative nature of descriptive titles in French Baroque music. Hearing Louis-Claude Daquin's *Le Coucou* (The Cuckoo) or Jean-Philippe Rameau's *La Poule* (The Hen) performed on the harpsichord provided audiences with an entertaining glimpse into a largely forgotten repertoire. Today, listeners and players continue to find meaning in descriptive titles of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French works, but scholars have tended to treat such assumptions with skepticism.<sup>1</sup>

1. See, for example, studies by David Fuller (cited below in fn. 5), Sara Gross

One obvious reason for their cautious approach is that the meaning of certain words in the titles may have changed over time. In other cases, the meanings of some titles may be ambiguous, especially when composers incorporated puns, archaic words, or “coded” language. Studies of manuscript sources that transmit French works have also demonstrated that a title may not have originated with the composer of a particular work; instead, it may have been added by a copyist or an owner of a manuscript. The disparity between the meaning that audiences and performers might wish to draw from the titles and the cautionary views that scholars have expressed presents a dilemma for modern players who wish to perform French Baroque music.

Turning to the viol repertoire, we find that the question of what significance the titles in French music hold for performance is especially challenging. Whereas the origin and meaning of François Couperin’s titles in his harpsichord music have been studied extensively, Marin Marais’s titles have received comparatively little attention.<sup>2</sup> A similar situation can be observed when one considers the viol repertoire more broadly. There are hundreds of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French works for viol with descriptive titles by composers such as Jean de Sainte-Colombe, Antoine Forqueray, Louis de Caix d’Hervelois, and Jean-Baptiste Forqueray, but their meaning and significance have rarely been discussed in the viol literature.

There are a few works by Marais that have earned special recognition by virtue of their unusual titles. *Le Tableau de l’Operation de la Taille* (Portrait of a Gallstone Operation)<sup>3</sup> is probably the best-known example, a work that is unique both within the context of Marais’s works and within the viol repertoire as a whole. In this case, brief textual descriptions within the work

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Ceballos, and Lucinde Braun (cited in fn. 67). Catherine Cessac also recommends a cautious approach to extracting musical meaning from titles in Nicolas Clérambault’s and Jean-Féry Rebel’s sonatas, in her book *Nicolas Clérambault* (Paris: Fayard, 1998), 47–54.

2. Brief discussions of Marais’s titles are included in Sylvette Milliot and Jérôme de La Gorce, *Marin Marais* (Paris: Fayard, 1991), 114–32 passim, and Deborah A. Teplow, *Performance Practice and Technique in Marais’ Pièces de viole* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), 29.

3. Marin Marais, *Pieces de viole, cinquieme livre* (Paris, 1725), 101–2; and Marin Marais, *The Instrumental Works*, ed. John Hsu (New York: Broude, 1980–2002), vol. 5, No. 108.

recount in some detail the stages of an operation to remove a stone. The programmatic nature of the movement has elicited frequent comment from scholars, who have expressed differing opinions about Marais's objective. Some writers have understood the work to be a highly expressive, possibly even an autobiographical account of a lithotomy, which was considered to be a life-threatening surgical procedure in the eighteenth century, whereas other writers have understood the exceptionally vivid musical gestures as evidence of Marais's sense of humor.<sup>4</sup> This dichotomy and the meaning of some of Marais's other mysterious titles raise a larger question: when did Marais begin to use descriptive titles, and for what reason? With the present study, I intend to investigate how extensive Marais's use of descriptive titles was in his solo viol music and chamber works and what significance they may hold for our understanding of his music. Historical accounts can help us to form a larger picture of how popular the use of titles became in the first half of the eighteenth century, and we can also observe Marais's individuality in his choice of titles and the unique way that he used them.

### The Historical Context for Musical Titles

Titles that evoke an image in listeners' minds or that honor a prominent individual have been used throughout music history. Most familiar to modern listeners are the many examples associated with nineteenth-century program music. When we attempt to identify an earlier practice in which descriptive titles were used at a given time and place, the task can be challenging. In seventeenth-century France, descriptive musical titles appear to have come about as an outgrowth of a literary tradition in which authors created "portraits" in verse or prose. The movement in literature flourished briefly around 1660, initially as an amusement for salon-goers in Paris and prominent members of society such as Madeleine de Scudéry.<sup>5</sup> Literary portraits, also known as *pièces*

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4. Marais may have undergone the operation about 1720. On the modern literature, both musical and medical, see Mary Cyr, *Style and Performance for Bowed String Instruments in French Baroque Music* (Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2011), 155–57. Julie Anne Sadie suggests that the work shows Marais's sense of humor in "Marin Marais and His Contemporaries," *The Musical Times* 119 (August 1978): 674.

5. For a detailed study of the literary background to the use of descriptive titles in music, see David Fuller, "Of Portraits, 'Sapho' and Couperin: Titles



*galantes*, developed in parallel fashion with musical *pièces* by composers for the lute such as Ennemond Gautier (or Gaultier, also known as “*vieux Gautier*”) and his cousin, Denis (“*jeune Gautier*”), and prominent keyboard composers such as Jacques Champion de Chambonnières and Louis Couperin.<sup>6</sup> As David Fuller has observed, works of literature and music from the mid-seventeenth century share common features often described as *preciosity*, which is characterized by sophisticated and elegant expression.<sup>7</sup> During an early stage for musical titles, spanning the period from about 1660 to 1700, Fuller indicates that three sorts of titles were used: the name of a *chanson* on which a work was based, a proper name, or a description corresponding to “things, qualities, actions or types of persons.”<sup>8</sup>

During the second half of the seventeenth century, titles began to be used more often in lute solos, but they remained relatively rare in harpsichord and viol music. Composers such as Charles Mouton and Jacques Gallot carried on the tradition already established by the two Gautiers. Gallot, a pupil of *vieux Gautier*, mentions his debt to the master in the *avertissement* to his *Pieces de Luth* (c. 1681–83),<sup>9</sup> and both he and Mouton used titles in many of their works, usually in combination with the name of a dance.<sup>10</sup>

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and Characters in French Instrumental Music of the High Baroque,” *Music and Letters* 78 (May 1997): 149–74. Julie Anne Sadie also points to the significance of Mademoiselle de Scudéry in “*Musiciennes of the Ancien Régime*,” *Women Making Music, The Western Art Tradition, 1150–1950*, ed. Jane Bowers and Judith Tick (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 191.

6. Fuller, “Of Portraits,” 160–61. The term *galant* is widely known for its significance to art, literature, and music in the eighteenth century. For a study of its earlier development during the reign of Louis XIV, see Georgia Cowart, “Critical Language and Musical Thought in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” *College Music Symposium* 27 (1987): 14–29, especially pp. 15–17 for discussion of the movement called *galanterie* in literature and its relationship to opera.

7. Fuller, “Of Portraits,” 160–61.

8. Fuller, “Of Portraits,” 162.

9. Jacques Gallot, *Pieces de Luth composées sur differens modes* (Paris, n.d.), *avertissement*, n.p. A date in the 1670s was formerly proposed for this collection, but Catherine Massip argues convincingly that a date between 1681 and 1683 is more likely (Gallot died in 1690). See her “Recherches biographiques” in *Oeuvres de Gallot*, ed. Monique Rollin (Paris: CNRS, 1987), xix.

10. On the use of titles in lute music in the seventeenth century, see Denis Gautier, *La Rhétorique des dieux*, ed. David J. Buch (Madison, WI: A-R Editions,

During the 1670s and '80s, we find only a few examples of descriptive titles in printed collections of solo suites for harpsichord. Chambonnières's *Les Pièces de Clavessin...livre premier* (Paris, 1670) includes a few examples, and Marais also included several titled works in his *Pièces a une et a deux violes* (Paris, 1686).<sup>11</sup> Pieces called *tombeaux*, composed in memory of a prominent individual who had died, also appeared in solo collections, especially those for plucked instruments and for solo viol. After 1700, when titles began to be used more frequently, composers sometimes included in their preface or *avertissement* statements about how and why they chose their titles. In such comments, we can observe a diversity of opinions about the function of titles and how they ought to be understood, but one common feature they share is that composers often referred to the titles as a way of indicating the "character" of a work.

The French word *caractère* and its English cognate "character" have several nuances of meaning. In its oldest usage, character referred to a printed mark, such as a letter or symbol. In music, it was used in this sense to describe symbols such as pitch and time signatures. It was also used to describe an artist's approach to conveying character through visual means.<sup>12</sup> Another important meaning of *caractère* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is associated with the rules of declamation and expression of the passions.<sup>13</sup> One meaning that is still in common use today is described in Antoine Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel* as "specific characteristics that distinguish one thing from another, so that one can easily recognize it."<sup>14</sup> In music, we can understand *character*

1990), Introduction, ix–xi.

11. Marin Marais, *Pièces a une et a deux violes* (Paris, 1686/1689); Marais, *The Instrumental Works*, ed. Hsu, vol. 1.

12. See Sarah R. Cohen, "Body as 'Character' in Early Eighteenth-Century French Art and Performance," *The Art Bulletin* 78 (September 1996): 454–66.

13. See Patricia M. Ranum, "Les 'caractères' des danses françaises," *Recherches sur la musique française classique* 23 (1985): 45–70.

14. Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel contenant généralement tous les mots françois tant vieux que modernes* (Paris, The Hague, and Rotterdam: Arnoult and Reinier Leers, 1690), 1:315, art. *caractere*: "Caractere, signifie aussi, une maniere, un air, un assemblage de qualitez qui resulte de plusieurs marques particulieres, qui distingue tellement une chose d'une autre, qu'on la puisse reconnoître aisément. Il se dit de l'esprit, des moeurs, des discours, du stile, & de toutes autres actions."

as a set of musical features that together make up a distinguishing mood or expression for a work. Character was also used in music to describe the individuality of one's playing. In this sense, Jean Le Gallois uses the word *caractère* to contrast the playing of Chambonnières and Louis Couperin, one of whom "touches the heart, and the other touches the ear."<sup>15</sup> Character therefore lends a sense of uniqueness to a work and also to its performance, and the composer and the players share responsibility for capturing and conveying a work's character to listeners.

In a broader sense, the subject of character also arose in discussions among French aestheticians and theorists with reference to the ability of instrumental music to express sentiment and emotion in music. Jean-Baptiste Dubos was one of the first writers to engage with the notion of character in music in relation to its ability to imitate nature, especially in the purely instrumental portions (*symphonies*) of opera. In his *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture* (Paris, 1719), he cites the tempest in Marais's *Alcione* (1706) as a particularly effective example of how music can effectively imitate nature.<sup>16</sup> Overall, Dubos raises significant issues about character and expression and relates them to visual art and poetry, ideas that continued to circulate among knowledgeable musical audiences in the 1720s and thereafter.<sup>17</sup>

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15. David Fuller, "French Harpsichord Playing in the 17th Century—after Le Gallois," in *Early Music* 4 (January 1976): 22–26, quoting the *Lettre de Mr Le Gallois a Mademoiselle Regnault de Solier touchant la Musique* (Paris, 1680). Concerning Louis Couperin and Chambonnières, Le Gallois writes (pp. 85–86): "... il est certain neanmoins qu'ils avoient deux jeux dont les differens caracteres ont donné lieu de dire que l'un touchoit le coeur, & l'autre touchoit l'oreille; c'est à dire en un mot qu'ils plaisoient, mais qu'ils plaisoient diversement, à cause des differentes beautez de leurs manieres de jouer." Fuller translates *caractère* in this case as "characteristics of their playing," which clarifies the nuance implied in Le Gallois's text.

16. Jean-Baptiste Dubos, *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture* (Paris: Jean Mariette, 1719), Part I, 638–39.

17. The literature on character as discussed by Dubos and other eighteenth-century writers on aesthetics is large. See Maria Rika Maniates, "'Sonate, que me veux-tu?' The Enigma of French Musical Aesthetics in the 18th Century," *Current Musicology* 9:9 (1970): 117–40; and Jane R. Stevens, "The Meanings and Uses of *caractère* in Eighteenth-Century France," in *French Musical Thought, 1600–1800*, ed. Georgia Cowart (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), 23–52. An excerpt from Dubos's *Réflexions critiques* is included in Caroline Wood and Graham Sadler, *French Baroque Opera: A Reader* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2000), 83–85. On Dubos, see also Georgia Cowart, *The Origin of*

In the context of such a variety of applications for the word *caractère*, it is hardly surprising to find that its use in specific musical contexts can differ substantially. Statements from French composers who use *caractère* with reference to the title of a work are relatively common from about 1690 until at least 1730. Although their statements are often disappointingly brief, the frequency with which they appear demonstrates that character was widely acknowledged as an element of a work's identity and novelty and, increasingly during the same period, that descriptive titles were also broadly understood and appreciated by listeners.

One of the earliest comments about character in relation to musical titles comes from Jean-Henry D'Anglebert, who described the airs from Lully that he included in his *Pieces de Clavecin ... Livre premier* (1689) as "several [works] of different characters."<sup>18</sup> Each of these transcriptions bears a title that indicates a well-known scene or air from one of Lully's stage works. About a decade later, Charles Desmazes refers to the titles of four of his *Pieces de Simphonies* for four-part string ensemble as being "so well-known by their characters that I don't need to explain [them]."<sup>19</sup> In a similar vein, Nicolas Siret remarks in the *avertissement* to his harpsichord collection of 1710 that "I have tried to give each type [of piece] its true character."<sup>20</sup> In this case, his statement appears to apply not only to titled pieces, of which there are very few in his collection, but also to the various dances in his suites. In 1724, by which time titles had come to be used frequently in

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*Modern Musical Criticism, French and Italian Music, 1600–1750* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), especially the chapter entitled "Les goûts réunis," 87–113. On the historical context, see especially Thomas E. Kaiser, "Rhetoric in the Service of the King: The Abbé Dubos and the Concept of Public Judgment," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 23:2 (Winter 1989–90): 182–99.

18. Jean-Henry D'Anglebert, *Pieces de Clavecin ... Livre premier* (Paris, [1689]): "J'y ay joint quelques Airs de Monsieur de Lully. Il faut avoüer que les Ouvrages de cet homme incomparable sont d'un goût fort superieur a tout autre. Comme ils reüssissent avec avantage sur le Claveçin, J'ay cru qu'on me sçauroit gré d'en donner ici plusieurs de different caractere." *Preface*, n.p.

19. Charles Desmazes, *Pieces de Simphonies pour les Violons, flutes et Hautbois* (Marseille, 1702): "... celles [les pièces] qui ont de titre par titulaires comme *Le triomphe du Roy, Le carrillon, Les reveries, et La deroute* sont assez connoître par leur caractere ce que jay Voulu Exprimer." *Preface*, n.p.

20. Nicolas Siret, *Pieces de Clavecin Dediées A Monsieur Couperin* (Paris, [1711]): "J'ay tâché de donner a chaque Espèce [de pièce], son veritable Caractère." *Avertissement*, n.p.

both solo and chamber music, Jean-François Dandrieu describes in more expansive terms how the titles for each movement of the five suites in his collection were to be understood:

For the titles that I have chosen, I have suggested that I drew them from the character of the works to which they are attached, so that they [the titles] can determine the style and tempo [of the works], revealing simple ideas acquired by the most everyday experience, or ordinary and natural feelings of the human heart ....<sup>21</sup>

Dandrieu's comment supports the notion that titles convey information about performance specifically related to tempo and to certain other unspecified features of a work's style. François Couperin's advice to harpsichord players on the meaning of the titles in his first book of harpsichord solos is often cited as evidence for a close relationship between titles and interpretation. His comments are useful but also unusual in the context of composers' comments about titles, because he does not use the word "character":

I have always had in mind an object when composing these pieces: different circumstances furnished them to me. Thus the titles correspond to the ideas that I have had; one will not expect me to account for them; however, since, among the titles there are some that appear to flatter me, it is good to advise that the works that bear them are a type of portrait that is lifelike under my fingers, and that most of these attractive titles are given to the highly regarded individuals that I wanted to represent rather than to the images I have made of them.<sup>22</sup>

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21. Jean-François Dandrieu, *Livre de pièces de clavecin* (Paris, 1724): "Pour les noms que j'ai choisi, j'ai pretendu les tirer du Caractère même des Pieces qu'ils designent, afin qu'ils pu[i]ssent en determiner le goût et le mouvement, en reveillant des idées simples et aqises par la plus comune experience, ou des sentimens ordinaires et naturels au coeur humain ...." *Preface*, n.p.

22. François Couperin, *Pieces de clavecin ... Premier livre* (Paris, 1713): "J'ai toujours eu un objet en composant toutes ces pièces: des occasions différentes me l'ont fourni, ainsi les Titres répondent aux idées que j'ai eues; on me dispensera d'en rendre compte, cependant, comme parmi ces Titres, il y en a qui semblent me flater [*sic*], il est bon d'avertir que les pièces qui les portent, sont des espèces de portraits qu'on a trouvé quelques fois assez ressemblans sous mes doigts, et que la plupart de ces Titres avantageux, sont plutôt donnés aux aimables originaux que j'ai voulu représenter, qu'aux copies que j'en ai tirées." *Preface*, n.p. Later in the same introduction, he does use the word *caractère* when he describes "les caractères nouveaux et diversifiés" in his own works.

Rameau's well-known letter to the librettist Houdar de La Motte, dated October 25, 1727 and published in the *Mercure de France* after the composer's death, also refers to character as a significant and obvious feature of both his vocal and instrumental works:

It is only up to you to come and hear how I have characterized the melody and dance of the *Sauvages* [from *Les indes galantes*] that was heard at the Italian Theater a year or two ago, and how I have rendered these titles: *Sighs*, *Tender Complaints*, *Cyclopes*, *Little Whirlwinds* (that is to say, the whirlwinds of dust created by strong winds), *Conversation of the Muses*, a *Musette*, a *Tambourin*, and so forth.<sup>23</sup>

By 1730, the vogue for descriptive titles had reached a high point, but they continued to be used, gradually to be replaced by titles that were proper names. Overall, for the period from 1690 to 1730, we can observe that most, but not all, French composers supported the notion that titles were assigned because of certain musical features that together designated the character of a work. The title was sometimes chosen as an inspiration prior to composing a work, but often it was chosen afterwards for its ability to evoke a visual image of the desired sound and to stimulate players' imaginations. As we might expect, composers were not unanimous in their acceptance of descriptive titles, and we find a few statements that run counter to the prevailing opinion. For example, Michel de La Barre, who supplied titles for some of the works in his *Pieces pour la flute traversiere, avec la basse-continue* (Paris, 1703), comments that he did so

only because there are several of the same type, and that I have drawn these names from people whom these works have had the good fortune of pleasing, or from places where I composed them, without pretending that these names indicate their character in any way."<sup>24</sup>

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23. *Mercure de France* (March 1765): 36. The original text of the letter, found in La Motte's papers after his death, is quoted from the *Mercure de France* in Louis Laloy, *Rameau*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1919), 29–31. On the relationship of the letter to Rameau's early career, see Neal Zaslaw, "Rameau's Operatic Apprenticeship: The First Fifty Years," in *Jean-Philippe Rameau colloque international organisé par La Société Rameau Dijon, 21–24 septembre 1983* (Paris: Champion, 1987), 23–50, especially p. 44.

24. Michel de La Barre, *Pieces pour la flute traversiere, avec la basse-continue ... oe. 4<sup>e</sup>* (Paris, 1703): "Je crois encore être obligé de dire, que je n'ay

In this passage, La Barre clearly distances himself from what he may have seen as a rising tide of interest on the part of players in works with descriptive titles. His statement serves as a warning to players today that differences of opinion did exist, even though his view appears to have been a minority one.

### Marais's Titles

In August 1679, at the age of 23, Marais was appointed *joueur de viole de la Chambre du Roi*, replacing Gabriel Cagnet.<sup>25</sup> Several years earlier, he had taken part as an on-stage viol player in a performance of Lully's *tragédie Atys*, and he soon also began to take a serious interest in composing for the stage. In 1686, an *Idyll dramatique* composed by Marais was performed at court, but this work has not survived.<sup>26</sup> The same year also marked the beginning of an active schedule of publishing his compositions that continued for nearly forty years thereafter. In all, he published five collections of solo music for viol and *basse continue*, two chamber music collections, and three operas.<sup>27</sup> Especially during the early stages of his career, Marais also devoted considerable time and effort to performances at the Paris Opéra. In 1704 or thereabouts, he replaced André Campra as *batteur de mesure* (conductor) at the Opéra, and in 1709 he conducted the première of his own opera *Alcione*, the *tragédie* that became his most successful stage work. His employment at the Opéra continued until at least 1713. His five collections of suites for viol and *basse continue*, a total of 598 individual movements, would constitute a large body of music for any composer, but in the context of the heavy responsibilities of

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donné des noms à ces Pièces, que parce qu'il y en a plusieurs de la même espèce, & que j'ay tiré ces noms ou des Personnes à qui elles ont eü le bonheur de plaire, ou des endroits où je les ay faites, sans pretendre par ces noms marquer leur Caractere en aucune maniere." *Avertissement*, n.p.

25. Marcelle Benoit, *Musiques de cour: Chapelle, Chambre, Écurie 1661–1733* (Paris: Éditions A. & J. Picard, 1971), 68.

26. Sylvette Milliot and Jérôme de La Gorce, *Marin Marais* (Paris: Fayard, 1991), 31 and 38–39.

27. The chamber music collections are *Pièces en trio pour les flûtes, violons et dessus de viole avec basse continue* (1692) and *La Gamme et autres morceaux de Symphonie pour le violon, la viole et le clavecin* (1723); the three operas are *Ariane et Bacchus* (1696), *Alcione* (1706), and *Sémélé* (1709), all *tragédies*. A fourth opera, *Alcide*, composed with Louis Lully and performed in 1693, was not published.

conducting, composing, and publishing opera, his viol music and other chamber works stand out as an extraordinary achievement.

Marais began to use descriptive titles for some of his instrumental works early in his career. The first works with such titles that survive date from before 1685 and are preserved in the Panmure manuscripts.<sup>28</sup> Beginning with his first publication and for each collection thereafter, he included some works with descriptive titles. His first book (1686/1689) contains only 4 such pieces out of a total of 93 individual movements, but Books 2 and 3 each include significantly more: 26 (out of 142) in Book 2, and 25 (out of 134) in Book 3. In Books 4 and 5, these numbers increase dramatically to 47 (out of 107) in Book 4, and 57 (of 115 total) in Book 5, where the titled works represent about half of the total contents. In his collection of trios, published in 1692, Marais also included several works with descriptive titles, at least one such work in each of the six suites.<sup>29</sup>

Marais does not comment on the descriptive titles in his works until Book 3 (1711), where he specifically mentions two of the titled pieces in his *avertissement*:

This additional sign (/) which is found beside some chords, indicates that it is necessary to separate the notes of the chord starting with the bass and continuing up to the top note, which one can also call *harpégement*. It is very essential in certain pieces, as in *La Guitare* and *Le Moulinet*.<sup>30</sup>

Although he does not elaborate on how the *harpégement* might be realized, his advice implies that the titles *La Guitare* (The Guitar) and *Le Moulinet* (The Mill) contribute in some way to the

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28. On the Panmure manuscripts of Marais's works (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MSS 9465, 9466, and 9467), see Marais, *The Instrumental Works*, ed. John Hsu, vol. 7, Introduction, xv–xvi and the catalogue of Marais's works in these three manuscripts in Appendix 2, pp. 151–54. Two works have descriptive titles: *La bagatelle* (MS 9466, 11v–12r) and *La paysane* (MS 9466, 18r). The latter work was also published in Marais's Book 1.

29. Marais, *Pieces en trio pour les Flutes, Violon, & Dessus de Viole* (Paris, 1692); critical facsimile ed. John Hsu (New York: Broude Trust, 2001), and modern critical edition, Marais, *The Instrumental Works*, ed. Hsu, vol. 6.

30. Marais, *Pieces de viole, troisieme livre* (Paris, 1711): "Cet autre signe (/) qui se trouve a côté des accords, marque qu'il faut les séparer en commençant par la basse et continuant jusques à la partie superieure, ce que l'on peut encores appeller harpégem[en]t Cela est très-essentiel dans certaines pièces, comme dans celles de la guitare et du moulinet." *Avertissement*, n.p.



players' understanding by evoking familiar images in their minds.

Marais's two subsequent comments about descriptive titles link them more specifically with the character of the music. In Book 4 (1717), he introduces the titled pieces with a statement that closely parallels Furetière's definition of character (quoted earlier), as a set of specific features that together distinguish one work from another. Marais is remembered today as the first composer to apply the term *pièce caractérisée* to such works:

One will find in this second part a number of character pieces, which will certainly bring pleasure when one will possess the style and tempo of the pieces, because they do not otherwise have an obvious melody.<sup>31</sup>

In his fifth book (1725), Marais once again acknowledges *pièces caractérisées* in the *avertissement*, in this case by drawing attention not only to his own works, but also to the popularity of "character pieces" with players:

... and because character pieces are received favorably today, I have judged it timely to include several. The different titles will indicate the characters easily, without the need to mention them here.<sup>32</sup>

Marais's statements, together with his record of increasing interest in using descriptive titles in the first two decades of the eighteenth century, offer guidance about how we might understand the character of individual movements as derived from the unique combination of melody, tempo, and other musical features that together form their style. Experience in translating that meaning into sound can be further developed by examining different ways that Marais uses descriptive titles and the various meanings they might hold.

The most outstanding feature of Marais's titles is their remarkable diversity. No other French composer for the viol explored as broad a range of titles that suggest places, people, objects, other musical instruments, and emotional or physical

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31. Marais, *Pieces de viole, quatrieme livre* (Paris, 1717): "On trouvera dans cette second partie nombre de Pieces caracterisées, qui plairont certainement quand on en possedra bien le goût et le mouvement, parcequ'elles ne laissent pas d'avoir un chant suivi..." *Avertissement*, n.p.

32. Marais, *Pieces de viole, cinquieme livre* (Paris, 1725): "... et comme les pieces de caracteres sont aujourd'huy receües favorablement, j'ay jugé à propos d'en inserer plusieurs. Les differents tiltres [*sic*] les indiqueront aisement, sans qu'il soit besoin d'en faire mention." *Avertissement*, n.p.

states. In all five books, we find works with descriptive titles in each suite, some of which are relatively simple to play and others that require considerable skill from the viol soloist. His earliest examples of titled pieces, preserved in the Panmure manuscripts, are free-form works (neither binary nor *rondeau*, as is more common for movements within a suite). Overall, he uses titles in many ways, sometimes in combination with the name of a particular dance, such as *Gigue La Favorite* (Favorite Gigue), or simply as a generic name such as *Caprice* or *Fantaisie*, or as a title that evokes a specific character for a single work. Taken together, the titled works include many that are *rondeaux* or are in binary form, but the inclusion of some works that are free-form ones appears to have offered Marais a way of adding formal variety to suites that may include twenty or more movements. Following are a few observations that illustrate how Marais used titles and what they can tell us about his *pièces caractérisées*.

Among the most prevalent descriptive titles in Marais's music are those that evoke familiar states of mind or images of everyday life. One group of titles that shares certain common features are those related to the countryside or village life. They include the frequently used title *La paysane* (The Peasant), as well as related ones such as *Fête Champêtre* (Country Celebration), *La villageoise* (Villager), *Branle de village* (Village Branle), and several other titles that include the word *paysan(ne)*. Common to works in this group are musical features such as short phrases, stepwise melodies, and use of open strings. Several movements also bear tempo marks such as *gaiement* or *légèrement*. A number of pieces also demonstrate unique or unusual features, such as the use of double stops in a low register and wide melodic skips, as in the *Bourée Paysane* (Peasant Bourée, Example 1).<sup>33</sup> Most unusual of all is the extended movement entitled *Fête Champêtre*,<sup>34</sup> which is a multi-sectional work that begins as a *rondeau*, followed by a *muzette* and a *tambourin*, both in binary form and each with a different meter. In all, this movement appears to conjure up the pleasures of an outdoor entertainment or celebration by incorporating contrasts of timbre, texture, and tempo.

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33. Book 3, p. 69; vol. 3, No. 72. Titles of pieces used in this section will be identified in a footnote in the following way: the number of the Marais book and page number for the solo viol partbook, followed by the volume and piece number for the critical edition edited by John Hsu.

34. Book 4, p. 55; vol. 4, No. 61.

**Example 1.** Marais, *Bourée Paysane*, from *Pieces de viole* (Book 3, 1711), p. 69, viol part only.

Also abundant in all five books are titles related to passing fancies, whims, or playful gestures, such as *boutade*, *caprice*, *badine*, *badinage*, *bourasque*, and *folette*. The words *badine* and *badinage*, according to Furetière’s dictionary, indicate a pleasant diversion that is fanciful, sometimes even ridiculous,<sup>35</sup> and similarly *folette*, the diminutive form of *fou* (foolish), corresponds to a pleasant but foolish whim.<sup>36</sup> In works such as *Gigue La badine* (Bantering Gigue)<sup>37</sup> and *Gavotte La badine* (Bantering Gavotte),<sup>38</sup> we might understand the titles to refer to a spirited tempo as well as a lighthearted, fanciful, even somewhat foolish mood. *Caprice* represents an unusual and novel style and a work that goes outside of the ordinary rules, according to Furetière.<sup>39</sup> Other titles in this

35. Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, 1:179, arts. *badin(e)*: “galanterie, etc. Folâtre, enjoué, peu sérieux, qui fait des plaisanteries.... jeu d’enfants ... se prend aussi pour sot, ridicule;” and *badinage*: “galanterie, enjouement...aussi, Maniere sotté & ridicule.”

36. Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, 1:936, art. *follet(te)*: “diminutif de *fou*. Qui est un peu fou ou gaillard. Il est badin, gaillard, & *follet*.”

37. This title appears twice in Book 2, pp. 82 and 107; vol. 2, Nos. 73 and 103.

38. Book 3, p. 30; vol. 3, No. 32.

39. Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, 1:312, art. *caprice*: “Fantaisie ... ces sortes de

group have similar meanings, such as *Bourasque* (Squall), whose title suggests that it is pursued with “much noise but is short-lived,”<sup>40</sup> and *La Boutade* (Quip), which Furetière describes as “a caprice or impetuous transport of the spirit without reason.”<sup>41</sup> Among the titles in this group, *boutade* appears to have held a certain appeal for Marais, who used it four times in all, and for a few other French viol composers.<sup>42</sup> All of Marais’s examples appear to suggest his improvisatory approach and, quite possibly, that players might attempt to capture a similar sense of invention or improvisation in performance.

A particularly fascinating group of titles are those related to a compositional technique. Titles in this group serve primarily to alert players to the specific compositional device that is used throughout a work, such as a ground bass, shifting meters, syncopation, or dialogue between the viol and *basse continue*. For example, the movement entitled *La Sincope* (Syncopation)<sup>43</sup> features syncopation as both a harmonic and melodic event. As understood by seventeenth-century players, syncopation consisted not only of a tie from a weak beat to a strong one, but also as consonant chord tones that are held over and become dissonant on the succeeding strong beat.<sup>44</sup> Thus, in this case, the viol and the *basse continue* both participate in producing the desired effect: in the solo viol part, half notes begin on the second half of the first beat and are held over to the stronger second beat (Example 2, mm. 1 and 2). In the *basse continue* part, the syncopation is produced by suspending implied chord tones from

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compositions qui sorte des regles ordinaires, doivent être d’un goût singulier, & nouveau.”

40. Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, 1:265, art. *bourasque*: “Bourasque, se dit aussi d’une émotion populaire qui fait beaucoup de bruit, & qui dure peu.”

41. Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, 1:271, art. *boutade*: “Caprice, transport d’esprit sans raison, & avec impetuosité.”

42. Marais uses the title *Boutade* in Books 1, 2 (twice), and 4. A work by Hotman entitled *Boutade* is also found in the Cracow viol manuscript; see *Recueil de pièces de basse de viole dit manuscrit de Cracovie*, Warsaw Biblioteka Warszawskiego Towarzystwa Muzycznego MS In. 377/No. 221 – WTM Sygn. R. 221/inv. 377, with introduction by Commander Gordon J. Dodd (Geneva: Minkoff, 1995), no. 111, fol. 74v. A *Boutade de Saint Germain* is included in Jacques Morel, *Le livre de pieces de violle avec une chaconne en trio* (Paris, 1709), 18.

43. Book 5, p. 7; vol. 5, No. 9.

44. See the article *syncope* in Sébastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire [sic] de musique* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1703), 147–54.

weak to strong beats. In measure 2 of the bass part, for example, a consonant E, part of the implied root position harmony on the last quarter note of the measure, is suspended over the barline and becomes a ninth above the bass note D on the downbeat (as implied by the figure 9/7). Another compositional technique that also involves both parts is found in the movement that is appropriately titled *Dialogue* (Dialogue),<sup>45</sup> an unusually long *rondeau* with six *couplets* in which the viol and *basse continue* exchange rhythmic statements, sometimes at a considerable distance and other times (as in the fourth *couplet*) in close succession. Their close proximity results in several brief moments of silence (Example 3, mm. 40–43, marked “*Doux*”), followed by close imitation with the additional mark “*Fort et animé*” (m. 44). In *Contrefaiseurs* (Imitators),<sup>46</sup> the technique hinted at in the title governs the entire work, which is a canon in two parts at the distance of a half note (Example 4). Marais adds a further comment in the solo partbook to indicate that it can be played by two viols alone, without *basse continue*. The act of imitating suggested by the title probably not only applies to the compositional technique, but also suggests that the second viol player might mimic the bowing and ornaments of the first viol part, not all of which are indicated precisely in the *basse continue* part.

*Gayement*

The image shows two systems of musical notation. The first system consists of two staves: a treble clef staff (violin) and a bass clef staff (basse continue). The second system also consists of two staves: a treble clef staff (violin) and a bass clef staff (basse continue). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, ornaments (e), and fingerings (t, 2, 3, 4). Below the staves are figured bass notations: #6\_s, 6, 9/7, 8/6, #, 4, #6\_s, 6, #6\_s, 4, #, #.

**Example 2.** Marais, *La Sincope*, from *Pieces de viole* (Book 5, 1725), p. 7 in the *viola* part, and pp. 5–6 in the *basse continue* part.

45. Book 5, p. 84; vol. 5, No. 91.

46. Book 3, p. 132; vol. 3, No. 134.

33 *4<sup>e</sup> couplet*

36

40

43

*p*

*e*

*Doux*

*Fort et animé*

*Fort*

5 6

# 6 s # #

6

Example 3. Marais, *Dialogue*, from *Pieces de viole* (Book 5, 1725), p. 84 in the *viole* part, and pp. 71–74 in the *basse continue* part.

On peut jouer cette piece a deux Violes egales  
en faisant servir la basse continue du seconde partie.

un peu legerement

The image displays a musical score for 'Contrefaiseurs' by Jean-Marie Leclair, originally from the Notebook for Anna Bach. The score is presented in two systems, each with a viola part (treble clef) and a basso continuo part (bass clef). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major/D minor), and the time signature is common time (C). The tempo/style marking is 'un peu legerement'. The score includes various musical notations such as fingerings (1-4), breath marks (e), and figured bass notation (e.g., 6 #6, 6 #, 6, #4/2, 6, 6 4 5 # 6, #6/5, 6, 7 6, #, 6, 5, #4/2, #6, 6, 3, 6/4). The first system covers measures 1-3, the second system measures 4-6, the third system measures 7-8, and the fourth system measures 9-10.

**Example 4.** Marais, *Contrefaiseurs*, from *Pieces de viole* (Book 3, 1711), p. 132 in the *viola* part, and p. 110 in the *basse continue* part.

Titles can also identify a specific playing technique that is used throughout a work. In some cases, Marais further explains an unusual technique in his *avertissement*, as we have already observed for the oblique line (/) that he introduced in Book 3. In the *Prélude en*

*Harpegement* (Arpeggiated Prelude),<sup>47</sup> he uses this sign to indicate that all chords are to be played in a broken fashion. Another movement that calls for a specific technique is *Le Tact* (Tap),<sup>48</sup> whose title refers to an unusual left-hand technique that he describes in the *avertissement* to Book 5 as being more familiar to players of the lute or theorbo. He describes this movement as “very unusual” (*tres particulaire*) and difficult owing to the left-hand strength required. The short phrases of “tapping” alternate with bowed phrases, marked *archet*, and the dynamic contrasts are indicated by rests in the *basse continue*, presumably to allow for the soft tapping sound in the solo part, with *fort* and *doux* marks for the bowed phrases (Example 5). Perhaps understanding the significant challenge for the viol soloist posed by this work, he also included a second version without the *tact* for the left hand.

The image shows three systems of musical notation for the piece 'Le Tact'. Each system consists of a top staff (Viol) and a bottom staff (Basse Continue).  
 System 1 (Measures 1-4):  
 - Measure 1: Viol has a 'Tact' marking with a circled 'o' and a triplet of eighth notes. Basse Continue has a whole rest.  
 - Measure 2: Viol has a triplet of eighth notes. Basse Continue has a whole rest.  
 - Measure 3: Viol has an 'Archet' marking with a circled 'x' and a quarter note. Basse Continue has a quarter rest.  
 - Measure 4: Viol has an 'Archet' marking with a circled 'x' and a quarter note. Basse Continue has a quarter rest.  
 System 2 (Measures 5-8):  
 - Measure 5: Viol has an 'Ar[chet]' marking with a circled 'x' and a quarter note. Basse Continue has a quarter rest.  
 - Measure 6: Viol has a 'Tact' marking with a circled 'o' and a quarter note. Basse Continue has a quarter rest.  
 - Measure 7: Viol has an 'Archet' marking with a circled 'x' and a quarter note. Basse Continue has a quarter rest.  
 - Measure 8: Viol has a 'Tact' marking with a circled 'o' and a quarter note. Basse Continue has a quarter rest.  
 System 3 (Measures 9-12):  
 - Measure 9: Viol has a 'Doux' marking and a quarter note. Basse Continue has a quarter rest.  
 - Measure 10: Viol has a 'Tres doux' marking and a quarter note. Basse Continue has a quarter rest.  
 - Measure 11: Viol has a 'Doux' marking and a quarter note. Basse Continue has a quarter rest.  
 - Measure 12: Viol has a 'Tres doux' marking and a quarter note. Basse Continue has a quarter rest.  
 The score includes various musical notations such as triplets, slurs, and dynamic markings like 'p' (piano) and 't' (tapping).

**Example 5.** Marais, *Le Tact*, from *Pieces de viole* (Book 5, 1725), pp. 109–10 in the *violle* part, and pp. 90–91 in the *basse continue* part.

47. Book 5, p. 16; vol. 5, No. 16.

48. Book 5, p. 109; vol. 5, No. 114. I have translated “*Le Tact*” as tapping, since Marais’s description implies that it is produced by striking or tapping a finger on a fret in order to produce a sound. When the *tact* is marked on an open string, it presumably requires a plucking motion of the left hand.



Marais names certain prominent individuals, including musicians and composers, in several of his titles. His *tombeaux* are well-known examples that commemorate the deaths of the viol player Meliton (Book 1), Marais's mentor Lully (Book 2), his teacher Sainte-Colombe (Book 2), and his son Sylvain (Book 5). Of the remaining works that bear proper names, we can mention *Caprice Bellemont* (Book 5), named for Monsieur de Bellemont, the viol player whom Hubert Le Blanc called a "virtuoso,"<sup>49</sup> and *Allemande la Dornel* (Book 5), named for the organist and composer Louis-Antoine Dornel, who had titled one his own violin sonatas *La Marais*.<sup>50</sup> *Rondeau le Villeneuve* (Book 5) probably recognizes the viol player Jean-Pierre de Villeneuve, who is remembered today as the compiler of a manuscript of works by Marais arranged for *pardessus de viole*.<sup>51</sup> The origins of a few other titles are more obscure. The title of *Allemande la Marianne* (Book 5) may refer to Marais's daughter, Marie-Anne, born in 1697, and *La Georgienne dite la Maupertuy* (Book 5) may refer to the *abbé* Jean-Baptiste Druet de Maupertuy (1650–1730), or perhaps to Pierre-Louis Moreau de Maupertuis (1698–1759), a mathematician and supporter of the arts with whom Rameau was acquainted.<sup>52</sup> The individuals named in the titles of *Allemande la Guinebault* (Book 4) and *Prelude le Soligni* (Book 5) have not been identified. By the time Marais published his fifth book in 1725, the fashion for adding descriptive titles was shifting towards naming works for prominent individuals, and several viol collections published thereafter by Caix d'Hervelois and Jean-Baptiste Forqueray demonstrate the same trend.

Marais appears to have selected titles that would be recognizable to his audience, even though some titles may not be easily understood by players today. For example, Marais uses the word

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49. Hubert Le Blanc, *Defense de la basse de viole contre les Entrées du violon Et les Prétentions du violoncel* (Amsterdam, 1740), 6.

50. Louis-Antoine Dornel, *Sonates a violon seul et suites pour la flûte traversiere avec la basse ... oeuvre second* (Paris, 1711).

51. Paris, BnF Vm<sup>7</sup> 6275. See Hazelle Miloradovitch, "Eighteenth-Century Manuscript Transcriptions for Viols of Music by Corelli & Marais in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: Sonatas and 'Pieces de Viole,'" *Chelys* 12 (1983): 47–73.

52. Graham Sadler, *The Rameau Compendium* (Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2014), 128–29.

*saillie* in two titles: *Saillie du Caffé* (Coffee Witticism, Book 3) and *Saillie du Jardin* (Garden Retreat, Book 5). The word *saillie* had multiple meanings in Marais's day,<sup>53</sup> and my translations for these two titles are by no means conclusive. In architecture, *saillie* referred to a structure without foundation, a definition that seems appropriate for *Saillie du Jardin* in Book 5, but for the work from Book 3, another definition of *saillie* as a synonym for *boutade*—in this case a witty, brilliant retort—may be more in keeping with the reference to coffee in the title. Coffee had been introduced in France in the mid-seventeenth century and was viewed initially as potentially harmful and even dangerous, but these fears gradually diminished as its popularity spread in the years between 1670 and 1700. Also during the same period, treatises became available on coffee, tea, and chocolate, in which physicians made claims for the health benefits of these new items.<sup>54</sup> Public enthusiasm for it also increased after coffee houses opened in Paris, the first of which is reported to have been established by Francesco Procopio dei Coltelli and still exists today as *Le Procope*.<sup>55</sup> Coffee was also offered for sale by a new tradesman called a *Caffetier* (Coffee-Man), a familiar sight on the streets of Paris from about 1695 on.<sup>56</sup> There may be little musical meaning that can be drawn from Marais's single reference to coffee, but both *Saillie du Caffé* and *Saillie du Jardin* do appear to convey the notion of music as a pleasant diversion either with coffee or in the garden.

Several titles also refer to exotic subjects. For these titles, it can be difficult to identify a specific point of origin that would have been familiar in Marais's day. Exotic titles would include, for example, *Allemande La Gotique*, *Gigue La Pagode*, *Marche Tartare*, *Marche a la Turquie*, and even *L'Americaine*. The latter title was probably a reference to a character from a stage work, but some of the other exotic titles may have been references to events

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53. Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, 2:788–89, art. *saillie*.

54. See, for example, Nicolas de Blégnny, *Le bon usage du thé, du caffé et du chocolat pour la preservation et pour la guérison des maladies* (Paris: Estienne Michallet, 1687).

55. See Christine A. Jones, "Exotic Edibles: Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, and the Early Modern French How-To," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 43:3 (2013), 632 and her fn. 29.

56. An engraving of a coffee-man (*Habit de Caffetier*) by Nicolas de Marmessin is reproduced in Jones, "Exotic Edibles," 644.

or published travel accounts, which were popular at the time.<sup>57</sup> As Julia Landweber has demonstrated, the French fascination with Turkey even extended to clothing and everyday household items, some of which began to be manufactured in France. Parisians could also observe Turkish characters and costumes in comedies performed at the Parisian fair theaters.<sup>58</sup> However, authenticity was rarely an objective when Turkish costumes or customs were represented, a circumstance that may help to explain why we find little evidence of specific musical features that are associated with most exotic titles.

Marais's titles are not always a key to understanding the character of a given work, but in many cases they do help us to understand what is already indicated or implied in the music. For example, among the many sarabandes in his suites, most belong to the slower type that had gradually replaced the older Spanish sarabande that was associated with dancing and accompanied by castanets and tambourine. Marais's *Sarabande a l'Espagnol* (Books 2 and 4) suggests a character in keeping with the older, quicker type of sarabande, whereas other titles such as *Sarabande la désoléé* (Book 2) and *Sarabande grave* (Books 2 and 3) belong to the more expressive type with a slower tempo.<sup>59</sup>

Whether any of Marais's titles reflect his sense of humor remains an open question. There are a few titles that may be candidates for consideration, such as *La sauterelle* (Grasshopper)<sup>60</sup> and *La sautillante* (Hopping),<sup>61</sup> both of which have obvious connections with the verb *sauter* (to jump). Furetière describes a *sauterelle* as an insect that jumps and flies in the garden, and *sautillante*

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57. On the context for the use of exotic titles by Marais and other French composers, see Ralph P. Locke, *Music and the Exotic from the Renaissance to Mozart* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), especially chapter 7, "Courtly Ballets," pp. 139–64; and David R. M. Irving, "Lully in Siam: Music and Diplomacy in French-Siamese Cultural Exchanges, 1680–1790," *Early Music* 11 (August 2012): 393–403.

58. Julia Landweber, "Celebrating Identity: Charting the History of Turkish Masquerade in Early Modern France," *Romance Studies* 23:3 (2005): 175–89, especially p. 181.

59. On the changes in the sarabande, see Patricia Ranum, "Audible Rhetoric and Mute Rhetoric: The 17th-Century French Sarabande," *Early Music* 14 (February 1986): 22–39; and Locke, *Music and the Exotic*, 126–28.

60. Book 4, p. 78; vol. 4, No. 75.

61. Book 4, p. 30; vol. 4, No. 30.

as making little jumps, as birds typically do.<sup>62</sup> The title of *La sauterelle* appears to refer not only to the skips across strings in the continuous eighth-note motion of the melody, but also to the bowing *p-t-t*, which is commonly used on repeated notes but, in this case, occurs on widely spaced intervals.<sup>63</sup> At a quick tempo, which is implied by the meter 3/8 and the mark “*très legerement*,” these features present a technical challenge to the viol player, and the image of a grasshopper could either suggest humor or reinforce the light character implied by the tempo mark. Another clue about the character of this work can be observed from Marais’s direction added to the *basse continue* part, which invites players to invent decorations for the bass line, which moves largely in dotted quarter notes:

This bass can be varied in several ways, such as by [adding] octaves, figuration, and in other ways, without interfering with the melody.<sup>64</sup>

*L’Asmatique* (The Asthmatic, Book 4) is also a highly unusual work, in this case for its use of quick alternations of sound and silence that produce an effect similar to wheezing or breathlessness. This work has generated less comment from writers in modern times than *Le Tableau de l’Operation de la Taille* (Book 5), but it has occasionally been cited for its unusual musical effect and has even been compared with a much later work for piano by Gioachino Rossini entitled *Étude Asthmatique*.<sup>65</sup> Unusual though Marais’s work certainly is, given the seriousness with which asthma was regarded in the eighteenth century<sup>66</sup> it appears likely that, in this case, the vivid musical gestures were probably not meant to convey humor.

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62. Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, 2:808 and 809, arts. *sauterelle* and *sautiller*.

63. On the *p-t-t* bowing in a Marais minuet, see Teplow, *Performance Practice*, 40; and John Hsu, *A Handbook of French Baroque Viol Technique* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1981), 13–14.

64. “Cette basse se peut varier de plusieurs manieres, Comme par octaves, batteries, et autrement, sans neanmoins préjudicier au sujet.” *La sauterelle, basse continue* partbook, p. 55.

65. See Mark Jackson, *Asthma: The Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 68; and Desmond O’Neill, “Medical Classics,” *British Medical Journal* 341 (September 25, 2010): 675.

66. See, for example, the lengthy discussion of various types of asthma and treatments in M. F. Deboze, *La pratique de medecine avec la theorie de Lazare Riviere, nouvelle edition* (Lyon: Jaques [sic] Certe, 1723), 1:521–42.

Couperin, Marais, and Rameau all indicate in the prefatory remarks to their published collections that the titles were inspirational to them in some way, and further that they used titles to convey meaning. Character therefore becomes a strong component of expression in their music. Nevertheless, how players were meant to understand the meaning of a title still offers some challenges to modern players. Couperin's inclination to introduce puns, double meanings, and coded or obscure references has generated considerable interest from scholars, but it has also fueled controversy in modern times.<sup>67</sup> Marais's titles differ from Couperin's in that they tend to be related to everyday life and his own experiences. They derive in large part from familiar images such as places, people, things, everyday experiences, or emotional states. He was also fond of demonstrating how expressive the viol can be, by imitating the sounds of nature, peasant life, and other musical instruments. For players, the titles often evoke a familiar sound or image that can help us to understand a point of technique or Marais's compositional method. As Marais began to use descriptive titles more in Books 4 and 5, we find at times that the character of these works can include some elements of improvisation on the part of both the viol soloist and the *basse continue* players.<sup>68</sup> The search for meaning and character in the titles may not always end successfully, but in many cases, the path can lead us toward a better understanding of his music.

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67. The literature on Couperin's titles is large. See, for example, Jane Clark, "Les Folies Françaises," *Early Music* 8:2 (April 1980): 163–69; Jane Clark and Derek Conlon, *The Mirror of Human Life: Reflections on François Couperin's Pièces de clavecin*, rev. ed. (London: Keyword Press, 2011); David Tunley, *François Couperin and "The Perfection of Music"* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), especially pp. 107–11 on "Pictorial and Programmatic Elements." Some controversial issues are raised by Sara Gross Ceballos, "François Couperin, *Moraliste?*" *Eighteenth-Century Music* 11:1 (March 2014): 79–110, and Lucinde Braun, "À la recherche de François Couperin," *Revue de musicologie* 95:1 (2009): 37–63.

68. For the context within which Marais's approach to the *basse continue* developed and the increased independence he gave it, see Mary Cyr, "Marin Marais, the *basse continue* and a 'Different Manner' of Composing for the Viol," *The Musical Times* 157 (Autumn 2016): 1–13.

# LOOKING THROUGH THE MIST OF *TOUS LES MATINS DU MONDE:* SAINTE-COLOMBE REVISITED<sup>1</sup>

Myrna Herzog

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## Abstract

Based on a novel by Pascal Quignard, the film *Tous les Matins du Monde* (1991) brought the viol into the spotlight. Notwithstanding its beauty and positive impact, the film thrived on the distortion of the main character, the Sieur de Sainte-Colombe. Using contemporary sources, the article puts together a more truthful portrait of the musician, his family, and his social circle, and offers a contemporary explanation for the composer's enigmatic title *Pianelle*.

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When the film *Tous les matins du monde* was launched in 1991, it was a big commotion for the small community of viola da gamba players worldwide. Until then, our instrument was largely ignored by the mass media, mostly known only by a small number of connoisseurs. One day we woke up and all of a sudden, everyone seemed to know what a viola da gamba is! The feeling was, for some, exhilarating.

Jonathan Dunford, an American viol player and researcher settled in France,<sup>2</sup> wrote from Paris in early 1992:

A new film about the viol (*All the mornings in the world*) by Alain Corneau was released in France on December 18, 1991. The film won a prize even before it was released, and sold more tickets than any other film for the whole year.... You can't go by a newsstand without seeing a magazine with a viol on the cover, and the original soundtrack is being played on the pop stations in the top ten! It's

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1. This is an expanded version of the paper presented on July 12, 2014 at a meeting of the Istanbul Psychoanalytic Association in Istanbul, Turkey. Our hearty thanks to Didem Aksüt, its godmother, as well as to François-Pierre Goy and Jonathan Dunford, whose comments and discussions brought significant contributions.

2. Dunford recorded Sainte-Colombe's viol solo music, released by the label Adès 204 912.

mind-boggling to say the least.... Never before have you seen so many viols on the silver screen, or people talking about them!<sup>3</sup>

In other places in the world, it was not so easy to digest such an unknown instrument. Several reviewers of the film refused to grant the viola da gamba a life of its own, and referred to it as some kind of cello. Even magazines as famous as *Vogue* published sheer nonsense on the matter:

The cello, originally known as the viola da gamba, emits the sound nearest to the human voice; to some it sounds like breath, to others like heartbeats.... In *Tous les matins du monde*... the cello is the instrument that can be heard by the other world, because Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe composes for his dead wife, who appears in the darkness with glistening eyes.<sup>4</sup>

This kind of fallacy generated irate letters by viol players, and prompted the Pacifica Chapter of the Viola da Gamba Society of America to place an information-filled flyer in the lobbies of the movie theaters showing the film, with the heading “It’s a viola da gamba!”<sup>5</sup>

But past the initial dazzle with the ascension of the viola da gamba to the spotlight, viol players started to realize that the film, although being good for viol players and for the revival of the viol, actually represented a betrayal of the characters it seemingly portrayed.

This view was expressed by musicologist and viol player George Houle in a short article published in December 1993:

The film *Tous les matins du monde* presents us with beautiful images and some lovely music, but may leave us puzzled as to whether its depiction of the life and character of Sainte-Colombe corresponds to what is known about him ... an inspiring, much appreciated teacher, virtuosic Parisian chamber musician and composer—not a relentlessly depressed, self-absorbed, self-righteous, anti-social martinet.... The depiction of Sainte-Colombe is ... fanciful, farcical and forgettable.<sup>6</sup>

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3. Jonathan Dunford, *VdGSA News*, March 1992: 9.

4. Joan Juliet Buck, *Vogue Magazine*, November 1992, quoted in *VdGSA News*, March 1993: 7.

5. *VdGSA News*, March 1993: 7.

6. George Houle, “The Day after *Tous les matins du monde*, or What do we

Houle's stern words denounce the fact that, notwithstanding all its beauty, the film thrives on the distortion of this most beloved personality of viol history: Le Sieur de Sainte-Colombe (c. 1620–d. by 1701).

### Quignard's Sainte-Colombe

*Tous les matins du monde* is a fantasy upon the relationship of Sainte-Colombe and his student Marin Marais (1656–1728), as it was imagined by writer Pascal Quignard in his book of the same name, written and published in 1991 and adapted to the cinema by film-maker Alain Corneau that same year.

The project was the fruit of a casual encounter between Corneau and Quignard at a viola da gamba concert. On this occasion, Corneau disclosed to Quignard that for years he had been dreaming of making a film about music:

I told him of my music-loving obsessions and he immediately reacted. 'The seventeenth century,' he told me, 'perfect: above all, not Versailles! What is entrancing in art is the seventeenth-century darkness, which rejects Versailles....' And we went for *Tous les matins du monde*.<sup>7</sup>

So from the start the film was born to be *noir*, anti-Versailles, with plot and characters matching this atmosphere.

Quignard found inspiration for his plot on a page on Marais in the book *Le Parnasse François (The French Parnassus)* by Titon du Tillet (1677–1762), published in 1732, shortly after Marais's death. *Le Parnasse* is a written monument to the poets and musicians circulating around Louis XIV, and it contains biographical notes and anecdotes about their lives. Here is the one in question:

It can be said that Marais brought the viol to its highest point of perfection, and that he was the first to reveal its range and its beauty by the many excellent pieces he wrote for this instrument,

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know about le sieur de Sainte-Colombe?," *VdGSA News*, December 1993: 4.

7. Alain Corneau, "Alain Corneau met en scène 'Tous les matins du monde'," *Diapason* 1991 no. 4: viii. "... je lui fais part de mes obsessions mélomanes, et il réagit immédiatement. 'XVIIe siècle, me dit-il, parfait: surtout pas Versailles! Ce qui est passionnant dans l'art, c'est le XVIIe noir, qui refuse Versailles ...', et nous sommes partis pour *Tous les matins du monde*."



and by the remarkable way in which he played them.

It is true that before Marais, Sainte-Colombe had brought some fame to the viol; he gave concerts in his house, in which two of his daughters played, one the treble viol, the other the bass, and they formed with their father a three-viol consort, which was a pleasure to listen to, even if it was made of rather ordinary instrumental pieces and of a harmony poor in chords.

Sainte-Colombe was actually Marais's teacher; but when he realized after six months that his pupil could surpass him, he told him that he had nothing more to show him. Marais loved the viol passionately, and wanted to learn more from his master to perfect his skill on this instrument; and since he had some entry into his house, Marais took the time in summer when Sainte-Colombe was in his garden, locked up in a little wooden cabin he had built between the branches of a mulberry tree, so as to play the viol without distraction and more beautifully. Marais slipped under the cabin; he could hear his master, and profit from special passages and bow strokes that the masters of the art like to keep to themselves. But this did not last long, as Sainte-Colombe noticed and took care not to be heard by his student. Sainte-Colombe nevertheless always gave him credit for the amazing progress he made on the viol; and once, as he was attending an occasion where Marais was playing the viol, he was asked by some gentlemen what he thought of his [Marais's] playing, and he answered that there were pupils who could surpass their masters, but young Marais would never find anyone to surpass him.<sup>8</sup>

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8. Évrard Titon du Tillet, *Le Parnasse François, dédié au Roi* (Paris, 1732), 624–25. Translation by François Velde and Myrna Herzog. All the other translations are by Myrna Herzog.

On peut dire que Marais a porté la Viole à son plus haut degré de perfection, et qu'il est le premier qui en a fait connoître toute l'étendue et toute la beauté par le grand nombre d'excellentes Pièces qu'il a composées sur cet Instrument, et par la manière admirable dont il les exécutoit.

Il est vrai qu'avant Marais Sainte-Colombe faisoit quelque bruit pour la Viole ; il donnoit même des concerts chez lui, où deux de ses filles jouoient, l'une du dessus de Viole, et l'autre de la Basse, et formaient avec leur père un concert à trois violes, qu'on entendait avec plaisir, quoiqu'il ne fût composé que de symphonies ordinaires et d'une harmonie peu fournie d'accords.

Sainte-Colombe fut même le maître de Marais ; mais s'étant aperçu au bout de dix mois que son Elève pouvoit le surpasser, il lui dit qu'il n'avoit plus rien à lui montrer. Marais qui aimoit passionnément la viole, voulut cependant profiter

Quignard focused on part of this fragment, and taking advantage of the mystery surrounding the figure of Sainte-Colombe, decided to disregard any information that would not suit his purpose, that would disturb the novel he began to concoct. As promised to Corneau, his novel would resemble “a Japanese tale, very stern and cruel, in a language re-created his own way.”<sup>9</sup>

In Quignard’s plot, Sainte-Colombe is away in the spring of 1660, playing by the deathbed of a friend, when at home his wife passes away. He does not find consolation for her loss, lives secluded, hardly speaks (“he was mute as a fish . . . all austerity and wrath”<sup>10</sup>) and is repeatedly visited by the ghost of Mme Sainte-Colombe. The cook of the house takes care of his two daughters, Madeleine and Toinette, whom he teaches the viol and with whom he gives home concerts. Wishing to hear Sainte-Colombe at the court, the King sends him a message through Gabriel Caignet, violist of the King’s Chamber,<sup>11</sup> whom Sainte-Colombe brutally expels from his home.

Sainte-Colombe accepts Marais as his student with reluctance,

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encore du savoir de son Maître pour se perfectionner dans cet Instrument ; et comme il avoit quelque accès dans sa maison, il prenoit le temps en été que Sainte-Colombe étoit dans son jardin enfermé dans un petit cabinet de planches, qu’il avoit pratiqué sur les branches d’un Mûrier, afin d’y jouer plus tranquillement et plus délicieusement de la Viole. Marais se glissoit sous ce cabinet ; il y entendoit son maître, et profitoit de quelques passages et de quelques coups d’archets particuliers que les Maîtres de l’Art aiment à se conserver ; mais cela ne dura pas longtemps, Sainte-Colombe s’en étant aperçu et s’étant mis sur ses gardes pour n’être plus entendu par son Elève : cependant il lui rendoit toujours justice sur le progrès étonnant qu’il avoit fait sur la Viole ; et étant un jour dans une compagnie où Marais jouait de la Viole, ayant été interrogé par des personnes de distinction sur ce qu’il pensoit de sa manière de jouer, il leur répondit qu’il y avoit des Elèves qui pouvoient surpasser leurs maîtres, mais que le jeune Marais n’en trouverait jamais qui le surpassât.

9. “... qui ressemble comme il me l’avait promis à un conte japonais, très dur et cruel, dans une langue recréée à sa manière.” Corneau, “Alain Corneau met en scène,” viii.

10. “Il était muet comme un poisson.... Il n’était qu’austérité et colère.” *Tous les matins du monde* (film): 4’42»–4’50».

11. Gabriel Caignet was *joueur de viole ordinaire de la musique de la Chambre du roi* from at least 1664 until his death in early 1679, being replaced by Marais. See Marcelle Benoit, *Musiques de Cour: Chapelle, Chambre, Écurie 1661–1733* (Paris: Picard, 1971), 10, 68.

after telling him: “You make music, sir, you’re not a musician,”<sup>12</sup> and behaves destructively, as someone envious of his student’s talent. After hearing that Marais played for the King, Sainte-Colombe is furious and ends up by smashing the young man’s viol in an outburst of rage. He then expels him decisively from his home and insults him: “You are a very big acrobat ... but you are a small musician,”<sup>13</sup> generating Marais’s comment to Madeleine Sainte-Colombe, “Your father is a wicked man.”<sup>14</sup>

Quignard’s Sainte-Colombe is also a Jansenist;<sup>15</sup> “He does not use a wig, he grows a beard, he looks for the shadow.”<sup>16</sup> In accordance with the Jansenist spirit of the time—which advocates austerity and a rejection of all that is superfluous—he renounces the world and withdraws from social life and from the court.

According to Jean-Pierre Marielle (the actor who portrayed him in the film), “Maybe Sainte-Colombe rejects everything that evokes the *beau monde* because he is also petrified in his pride”;<sup>17</sup> to Gérard Depardieu (the actor who interpreted Marais), “Sainte-Colombe exists only in the shadows, in the solitude.”<sup>18</sup>

Is there any similarity between this character and the real Sainte-Colombe? Let’s try to put together a more truthful portrait of Sainte-Colombe, examining not only the Titon du Tillet fragment, but other sources of information discarded by Quignard.

12. “Vous faites de la musique, Monsieur, vous n’êtes pas musicien.” *Tous les matins du monde* (film): 41’01».

13. “Vous êtes un très grand bateleur ... mais vous êtes un petit musicien.” *Tous les matins du monde* (film): 53’46»–54’02».

14. “Votre père est un homme méchant.” *Tous les matins du monde* (film): 54’53».

15. Jansenism was a Catholic theological movement developed in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from the writings of Dutch theologian Cornelius Jansen (d. 1638). Its headquarters was the Port-Royal Abbey in Paris.

16. “Il ne porte pas de perruque, se laisse pousser la barbe, cherche l’ombre.” Jean-Pierre Marielle, “Jean-Pierre Marielle, Sieur de Sainte Colombe,” *Diapason* 1991 no. 4: xvi.

17. “Peut-être Sainte-Colombe rejette-t-il tout ce qui évoque le beau monde parce qu’il est aussi pétrifié dans son orgueil.” Marielle, *ibid*.

18. “Sainte-Colombe n’existe que dans l’ombre, la solitude.” Gerard Dépardieu, “Gerard Dépardieu: L’Harmonie universelle,” *Diapason* 1991 no. 4: xv.

## The Mystery Surrounding Sainte-Colombe

When Sylvette Milliot published her 1991 book on Marin Marais she observed that Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe was probably the most mysterious of all the characters she addressed,

because nearly nothing was found about his life: not a single piece of archive that could reveal a first name, a date of birth, marriage, or death. One is reduced to approximations, to inferences, to finally locate his existence in a period between 1640 and 1692. He is indeed mentioned in Abraham du Pradel's *Book containing the addresses of the City of Paris* among the viola da gamba teachers practicing in 1692. Unfortunately, his address is replaced by an enigmatic dotted line.<sup>19</sup>

A first theory regarding the identity of Marais's teacher was put forward in January 1992, by an article in the French newspaper *Le Monde*, erroneously attributing it to a certain Augustin d'Autrecourt.<sup>20</sup> This was actually a misreading of the name of Joseph Augustin Dandricourt, a viol teacher from Lyon active during the same period, and who indeed used the pseudonym Sainte-Colombe.<sup>21</sup> But considering that in the seventeenth century it took some *ten days* to traverse the four hundred kilometers between Lyon and Paris, it is unlikely that Mr. Dandricourt could

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19. Sylvette Milliot and Jérôme de la Gorce, *Marin Marais* (Paris: Fayard, 1991), 17–18. "... car on n'a pratiquement rien retrouvé sur sa vie: pas la moindre pièce d'archives qui puisse révéler au moins un prénom, une date de naissance, de mariage ou de mort. On en est réduit aux approximations, aux recoupements pour finalement situer son existence dans une période comprise entre 1640 et 1692. Il est en effet mentionné, dans le *Livre commode contenant les adresses de la Ville de Paris* d'Abraham du Pradel, parmi les maîtres pour la viole exerçant leur profession en 1692. Malheureusement, l'adresse est remplacée par une énigmatique ligne de points de suspension." The book cited is Abraham du Pradel, *Le Livre commode des adresses de Paris pour 1692* (facsimile ed., Geneva: Minkoff, 1973).

20. Pierre Guillot, "L'envoi de Sainte-Colombe," *Le Monde*, January 18, 1992: 1. Guillot had apparently worked from secondary sources (hospice archives dating from the nineteenth century), which had mistakes.

21. A correction was published by the paper in 1996: Renaud Machard, "Enfin, des nouvelles du sieur de Sainte-Colombe," *Le Monde*, January 5, 1996: 19. See Jonathan Dunford, "The Sainte-Colombe Enigma: Current State of Research," in *A Viola Da Gamba Miscellanea*, edited by Susan Orlando (Limoges: Presses Universitaires de Limoges, 2005), 13–14.

be our Sainte-Colombe, teaching at the same time in Paris and Lyon—the high-speed trains did not exist yet!

François-Pierre Goy, researcher and librarian at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, who is writing an article on Dandricourt, kindly informs us that the Lyon viol player at some point moved to the city of Brioude in south-central France, where he was already music master when his daughter married in 1682 and where he died in 1688, being survived by his wife, Marie d'Estoupe, and leaving behind him seven viols (four basses and three trebles), among other instruments.<sup>22</sup> This confirms that he is certainly not our Sainte-Colombe, who was still alive in 1692, listed in Du Pradel's book of addresses.

A more convincing hypothesis about the identity of Sainte-Colombe was brought up in 1996 by Jonathan Dunford. In a Parisian seventeenth-century catalog of notary acts, he discovered a 1669 marriage act of a certain Françoise de Sainte-Colombe and Jean Varin, teacher of Mathematics of the King, having as witness a musician, the organist Nicolas Caron.<sup>23</sup> The father of the bride was named Jean de Sainte-Colombe, had two daughters (Brigide and Françoise), and resided at the rue de Betizy near the Louvre, in the quarter of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, where several violists lived—De Machy (?—before 1692), young Marin Marais, and Du Buisson (c. 1622—after 1681). Dunford points out that “in the late 1650s the houses on the Rue de Betizy (now rue de Rivoli) had large courtyards, as so many Parisian houses do today, with ample space for a hut for practicing purposes.”<sup>24</sup>

In the marriage act, Jean de Sainte-Colombe is designated as a *bourgeois de Paris*. This would not contradict Sainte-Colombe's

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22. François-Pierre Goy and Stuart Cheney (viol player and Professor of Musicology) are presently writing an article on Augustin Dandricourt with evidence that he, not Jean, is the Sainte-Colombe buried in Brioude. See also Claude Astor, “Musique et Musiciens à Saint Julien au XVIIe Siècle, Un Sainte-Colombe à Brioude,” *Almanach de Brioude et de son arrondissement* 1993: 89–107.

23. Dunford's first communication of his discovery was made at a symposium on the French viol held in La Borie-en-Limousin in 1996, under the direction of Christophe Coin.

24. Jonathan Dunford with Sylvia Abramowicz, [http://www.musicolog.com/colombe\\_life.asp#.U5HhuS-ix-g](http://www.musicolog.com/colombe_life.asp#.U5HhuS-ix-g)

description as viol teacher in Abraham du Pradel's book, because the *bourgeois* designation had been given in the past to other musicians, such as Sainte-Colombe's own teacher, Nicolas Hotman (c. 1610–1663), violist of the King's chamber.<sup>25</sup> Besides, it is possible that, like Hotman, Sainte-Colombe would have a good financial situation and would not have to rely on his musical activity to earn his bread. So he could be a *bourgeois* according to his financial status, and a viol teacher—like Hotman.

The contract of marriage throws light upon this Jean de Sainte-Colombe's entourage: most of his friends were Protestant—as he might also have been, suggests Dunford. This might explain why a member of his family lived in England and not in France.<sup>26</sup> Protestants in France had been granted religious, civil, and political rights by King Henry IV in 1598, through the Edict of Nantes. But since 1660, more and more decrees were issued limiting their activities, finally leading to the revocation of the Edict by Louis XIV in 1685. This caused the emigration of many, and certainly made life difficult for the ones who stayed: it could have prevented Sainte-Colombe from becoming violist of the King's chamber, when Hotman died in 1663.

But Jean de Sainte-Colombe, *bourgeois de Paris*, might still not be the same person as our musician, depending on whether our musician's name would have been a *patronyme* (family name) or a *nom de terre* (a name indicating the possession of land). Under the *Ancien Régime*, many French families, noble or not, used *noms*

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25. “De tous qui ont appris à jouer de la Viole de Monsieur Hotman, on peut dire que Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe a esté son Ecolier par excellence & que mesme il l'a beaucoup surpassé ...,” Jean Rousseau, *Traité de la viole* (Paris, 1687), 24, and “... car Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe & tous ceux qui ont appris de Monsieur Hotteman ...,” Jean Rousseau, *Réponce de Monsieur Rousseau a la lettre d'un de ses Amis qui l'avertit d'un libelle diffamatoire que l'on a écrit contre luy* (Paris, 1688).

26. Jonathan Dunford, “Les musiciens français antérieurs à Marin Marais (2),” *L'Écho de la Viole* 4 (Summer 2000). “Le fait que Sainte-Colombe aurait été Protestant explique, à mon sens, pourquoi sa biographie est tellement difficile à reconstruire, pourquoi sa musique est tellement différente de celle de ses contemporains, puis pourquoi un membre de sa famille vécut en Angleterre, et non en France.”

*de terre*.<sup>27</sup> It was not uncommon for people to sign their family name followed by their *nom de terre*, or solely their *nom de terre*, dropping the family name altogether.

If *de Sainte-Colombe* was a *nom de terre* and not the family name of the viol master, it would not appear in any official registry; it would only indicate the viol player's connection to a place called Sainte-Colombe<sup>28</sup>—nowadays one of no less than thirty-three French municipalities bearing this very same name! (The Sainte-Colombe located 30 km south of Lyon, on the right bank of the Rhône, might have originated Dandricourt's *nom de terre*.)

In short, nothing definite has been found so far about the identity of our Monsieur de Ste. Colombe. We suppose that he died between 1692 (date of the Du Pradel book) and 1696, when his name is absent from the tax register of musicians.<sup>29</sup> He was certainly dead in 1701, when Marais published his second book of viol pieces, containing a poignant *Tombeau pour M. de Ste Colombe*.

### Sainte-Colombe's Family

The Sainte-Colombe buried in Brioude did not lose his wife, and quite the opposite: she survived him, disposing of his instruments and music after his death. As it seems certain now that he is not our viol master, we are left presently clueless about Sainte-Colombe's wife and her life span.

The wife of Jean de Sainte-Colombe, *bourgeois de Paris*, was called Marguerite Pichille,<sup>30</sup> and the couple had two daughters, Brigide and Françoise, matching the two daughters portrayed in the film as Madeleine and Antoinette. But were those two

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27. Nowadays in France it is possible to legalize the *noms de terre* into family names, regaining the *nom de terre* once owned by one's family.

28. I am indebted to François-Pierre Goy for calling my attention to this matter.

29. Dunford, "The Sainte-Colombe Enigma," 17.

30. François-Pierre Goy, preface to *Recueil de Pièces pour Basse de Viole Seule, Manuscrit de Tournus* (Paris: Minkoff, 1998), 14. See also F. P. Goy, "Jean de Sainte-Colombe et le Manuscrit de Tournus dans l'histoire de la musique pour viole seule en France," *Société des Amis des Arts et des Sciences de Tournus* 94 (1995): 61–76.

daughters the musician's only children? In the page that inspired the film, Titon du Tillet states clearly that "two of his daughters played" in Sainte-Colombe's home concerts. It is clear, therefore, that Sainte-Colombe had more than two daughters. And in fact, Sainte-Colombe had sons as well, probably no less than three, and at least one of them illegitimate.

Rémond de Saint-Mard wrote in 1741 that he knew "a natural son of Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe, a simple man who lacked the necessary imagination to lie," who told him one day that "his father, having played a Sarabande in his own way to a man who had come to hear him, this man was so moved that he fell in weakness, from which it took all the cares in the world to make him recover."<sup>31</sup>

Sainte-Colombe had two other sons who were viol players. The first was a music and viol master named Peter St Columb, active from 1695 in Edinburgh, Scotland, who is mentioned in 1707 as giving private lessons to the extraordinary Lady Grisell Baillie, the Scottish heroine and songwriter of some renown.<sup>32</sup> He died before 1712, when his widow married again.<sup>33</sup>

The second, and Sainte-Colombe's most important child, was known as M. de Sainte-Colombe *le fils*, Sainte-Colombe the son (c. 1660–after 1724). He also left France for England. His presence in London is documented by the newspaper *The Daily Courant*,

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31. "Un fils naturel de Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe, homme simple, & qui n'avoit pas assez d'imagination pour mentir, me conta un jour que son pere ayant joué une Sarabande de sa façon à un homme qui étoit venue pour l'entendre, cet homme en fut tellement touché, qu'il tomba dans une foiblesse, dont on eut toutes les peines du monde à le faire revenir." Toussaint Rémond de Saint-Mard, *Réflexions sur l'Opéra* (La Haye, 1741), 60. This story is quoted some years later by Pierre Louis d'Aquin de Chateau-Lyon, *Lettres sur les hommes célèbres dans les sciences, la littérature et les beaux-arts sous le règne de Louis XV* (Paris, 1752), 19.

32. I am indebted to François-Pierre Goy for calling my attention to the entry by Barbara C. Murison, "Baillie, Lady Grisell (1665–1746)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). See also Ian Woodfield, "The Younger Sainte-Colombe in Edinburgh," *Chelys* 14 (1985): 43, and Peter Holman, *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), 89–90.

33. I am indebted to François-Pierre Goy for sharing the information about Peter Sainte-Colombe, soon to be published in an article.



in the advertisement of a concert of vocal and instrumental music “for the benefit of Mr. Ste Columbe” to be held there on May 14, 1713.<sup>34</sup> Another testimony of his activities in London might be found in the diary of Dudley Ryder (1715–16), who mentions a certain “M. Cynelum” as his viol master.<sup>35</sup>

The estimated date of birth of Sainte-Colombe *le fils* is around 1660<sup>36</sup> (coinciding with the film’s imagined date of death of Sainte-Colombe’s wife), and he is last mentioned in London in 1724.<sup>37</sup> Music written by him is preserved in a manuscript in the cathedral of Durham, in the north of England,<sup>38</sup> and comprises six suites for viol solo, including a most moving elegy for his father, *Tombeau pour Mr. De Sainte-Colombe le père*. It is interesting to note that although Sainte-Colombe *le fils* is carefully absent from *Tous les matins*, his music is not: it is heard in the background, subtly rearranged.

It is puzzling that so far no official record of Sainte-Colombe’s sons and additional daughters has been found anywhere in France. It is not likely that all the sons would have been illegitimate, and if they bore a family surname, their register should appear somewhere, as the daughters’ records would appear in their marriage acts. This absence might be a clue that Sainte-Colombe was in fact a *nom de terre* of our viol master and “the sons could have likewise dropped their real surname when they crossed the Channel and kept the name that had made their father famous.”<sup>39</sup>

But even if “de Sainte-Colombe” was actually a *nom de terre*,

34. Dunford, “The Sainte-Colombe Enigma,” 17. Benefit concerts were common practice in London, featuring English or foreign musicians: once a year they put on a concert for their own benefit joining several performers, with the sponsor of the concert playing or singing in part of the program.

35. Ian Woodfield, “Dudley Ryder 1715–1716: Extracts from the Diary of a Student Viol Player;” *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America* 21 (1984): 64–68. See also Holman, *Life after Death*, 72–73.

36. Catherine Cessac, “Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe *le fils*,” <http://www.ecoles.cfwb.be/argattidegamond/cartable%20musical/Sainte%20Colombe/Sainte%20Colombe%20le%20fils.htm>

37. I am indebted to François-Pierre Goy for this information.

38. See Margaret Urquhart, “Prebendary Philip Falle (1656–1742) and the Durham Bass Viol Manuscript A. 27,” *Chelys* 5 (1973–74): 7–20.

39. François-Pierre Goy, personal correspondence, February 4, 2016.

this does not prevent us from knowing quite a lot of important things about the viol player. So far we have seen that the true Sainte-Colombe had several children, that he had one or more sons out of wedlock, and also that his wife might have survived him.

But what about his social life? Was he this secluded person, a kind of misanthrope, averse to human contact?

### Sainte-Colombe's Social Life

The viol player was already famous in the early 1660s, when an anonymous poet set words to “A Sarabande by M de Sainte-Colombe” that were published around 1665 in a compilation of poetry set to music.<sup>40</sup>

In Paris it was customary for famous musicians<sup>41</sup> to organize concerts at their private *salons* (in the fashion of aristocrats and wealthy bourgeois), and so did Sainte-Colombe, performing with his daughters (as described by Titon du Tillet and portrayed in the film).<sup>42</sup> He not only opened the doors of his home to the cream of the Parisian *beau monde*, but also attended prestigious events, where his presence was delightedly acknowledged by the press.

In February 1678, the French gazette *Mercurie Galant* mentions “Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe, so celebrated for the viol” rubbing shoulders with the aristocracy in one of the biggest entertainments of that season’s carnival: performances of Charpentier’s opera *Les Amours d’Acis et de Galatée*, offered “with his usual magnificence” by M. de Rians, King’s Procurator, at his palace

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40. Bertrand de Bacilly, *Recueil des plus beaux vers qui ont esté mis en chant*, third part (Paris, c. 1665), 139. The compiler Bertrand de Bacilly and his colleague Michel Lambert (the influential father-in-law of Lully) were pupils and followers of Pierre de Nyert—an important musician reported by the *Mercurie Galant* to be present at the fabulous presentations of Charpentier’s opera in 1678 at the Rians Palace.

41. Such as Michel Lambert, the singer Hilaire Dupuis, the lutenist Gallot. See Georgia Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure: Louis XIV and the Politics of Spectacle* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2008□), 18.

42. It is quite possible that one of his daughters was the Mlle. Sainte-Colombe who sang the role of Mycene in Lully’s opera *Isis* performed in Paris in 1677. See Claude Parfaict and Quentin Godin d’Abguerbe, *Dictionnaire des théâtres de Paris: contenant toutes les pièces qui ont été représentées jusqu’à présent sur les différens théâtres François, & sur celui de l’Académie royale de musique*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1767), 209.

near Saint-Germain de l'Auxerrois. According to the *Mercure*, each performance was attended by more than four hundred listeners, “among them some people of the highest ranking who sometimes had trouble in finding a place to sit.”<sup>43</sup>

Two years later, in 1680, a letter from a certain François Le Gallois places the player in the first rank of those “who nowadays excel” on the viol.<sup>44</sup>

It is obvious that such celebrity would have been achieved only if a significant number of people had been exposed to the beauty and expressiveness of Sainte-Colombe's playing, which granted him also a number of important students, among aristocrats and professional musicians. As Sainte-Colombe had learned the viol from Nicolas Hotman, a protégé of Mademoiselle de Guise (Marie de Lorraine),<sup>45</sup> and had connections to Charpentier, another Guise protégé, musicologist George Houle put forward the hypothesis that Sainte-Colombe might have been a member of the Guise musical establishment.<sup>46</sup> From the 1670s Mlle de Guise had an important private musical establishment, whose musicians rivaled in excellence the best at the court. There, Sainte-Colombe would have been widely heard and known; there he could have acquired his fame.

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43. “Il y a eu icy ce Carnaval plusieurs sortes de Divertissements mais un des plus grands que nous ayons eus a esté un petit opéra intitulé Les Amours d'Acis et de Galatée, dont M. de Rians, Procureur du Roy de l'ancien Chastelet a donné plusieurs représentations dans son Hostel avec sa magnificence ordinaire. L'Assemblée a esté chaque fois de plus de quatre cens Auditeurs, parmy lesquels plusieurs Personnes de la plus haute qualité ont quelquefois eu peine à trouver place. Tous ceux qui chanterent et jouerent des Instrumens furent extrêmement applaudis. La Musique estoit de la composition de M Charpentier dont je vous ay déjà fait voir deux Airs. Ainsi vous en connoissez heureux talent par vous-mesme. Madame de Beauvais, Madame de Bouchera, Messieurs les Marquis de Sablé et de Biron, M Daniel, Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe, si celebre pour la Viole et quantité d'autres qui entendent parfaitement toute la finesse du Chant ont esté des admirateurs de cet opera.” *Mercure Galant*, February 1678 [vol. 2]: 215–18.

44. François Le Gallois, *Lettre de Monsieur Le Gallois à Mlle Regnault de Solliers touchant la musique* (Paris, 1680), 62, quoted in Paul Hooreman, *Concerts a deux violes esgales de Sieur de Sainte-Colombe* (Paris: Heugel, 1973), vii, and Goy, preface to *Recueil de Pièces*, 13.

45. See Patricia Ranum, “A Sweet Servitude: A Musician's Life at the Court of Mlle de Guise,” *Early Music* 15, no. 3 (August 1987): 347–60.

46. Houle, “The Day After *Tous les matins*,” 4.

### Sainte-Colombe's Music

A lot can be learned about the real Sainte-Colombe by looking at his music. Presently considered the most prolific composer for solo viol, what has come down to us from him are 180 pieces for solo viol and 67 *concerts* for two viols (*à deux violles esgalles*), preserved in manuscript.<sup>47</sup>

In the last years of the composer's life, the *concerts* for two viols were carefully copied,<sup>48</sup> given titles when those were lacking, organized, and even given an alphabetical table of contents by someone close to Sainte-Colombe, who took on the task with utmost dedication, striving to preserve every piece: "Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe ruined it by changes, I re-established it" (*Le changé, The Changed One*); "it was abandoned, I restored it" (*Le retrouvé, The Retrieved One*).<sup>49</sup>

The titles of Sainte-Colombe's pieces address mythological and mundane themes, pay homage to different people, and are devoid of any religious or sacred connotation. His music is not one-sided, depressive or dark, but rather comprises all the emotional states from sadness to joy. A good example is the *Concert Le Tombeau*, for two viols, based on Greek mythology—of which only the gloomiest part is heard in the film. This cinematographic *Concert* describes the voyage of the soul after death until reaching the blissful Elysian Fields: it starts with a lamentation (*Les Regrets*), followed by the tolling of bells (*Quarrillon*), the call of the ferryman Charon who transports the souls (*Apel de Charon*),

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47. Paul Hooreman, ed., *Concerts à deux violles égales du Sieur de Sainte-Colombe* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1973). A new edition (1998), revised by Jonathan Dunford, has articles by Corinne Vaast relating to the latest biographical discoveries and by François-Pierre Goy about the sources of Sainte-Colombe's works, in addition to Hooreman's original introduction. In the appendix there are edited pieces for solo viol from the manuscripts of Edinburgh and Tournus with passages matching the *concerts* for two viols, in addition to a new suite for two viols from the Edinburgh manuscript. See also Goy, preface to *Recueil de Pièces*.

48. The manuscript was copied after 1687, for it contains pieces by Lully written in that year.

49. "Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe le ruinait par des changements, je l'ai rétabli" (*Le changé*); "il était abandonné, je l'ay remis" (*Le retrouvé*). Hooreman, introduction to *Concerts*, xix–xxiii.

then the journey through Cocytus, the river of wailing, formed by the tears of the unhappy ones (*Les Pleurs*, extensively heard in the film), until reaching the joy of the Elysian Fields (*Joye des Elizées*), with its perfect happiness and eternal youth.

Sainte-Colombe's solo viol pieces are presented in the manuscript grouped together by key. In addition to movements typical of dance suites, such as Prélude, Allemande, Courante, Sarabande, Menuet, Gigue, Gavotte, Ballet, Chaconne, one finds also several *petites pièces*, and one Sarabande en passacaille. Some suites include character pieces such as *La Lyonnaise* (from Lyon—Dandricourt's city), *La Persiliade* (in the seventeenth century, a kind of stew made of beef slices with parsley), *Vielle* (i.e. *vielle à roué*, the hurdy-gurdy, an instrument with drones), and unusual qualifications like “*en bourrasque*” (tempestuously).

The enigmatic word “Pianelle” has been given as title to a number of pieces in triple time, and to a *concert* (*Le pianel*), and it appears also as an indication of character or genre (*en pianelle*). Interestingly, it has been used only by Sainte-Colombe. According to Paul Hooreman, the editor of the *concerts* for two viols, “the word, coming from the Italian *pianella*, means ‘slippers’ (*pantoufles*), and it is in this sense that Scarron uses it in his *Virgile travesti en vers burlesques*.”<sup>50</sup> Indeed, the Parisian writer Paul Scarron (c. 1610–1660) and other early French sources refer to *pianelle* as high-heeled slippers that made women look taller.<sup>51</sup> Their origin was Venetian, and the Victoria and Albert Museum tells us that

*Pianelle* were much like today's open-toed mules or platform sandals, but grew to *staggering heights* during the Renaissance, especially in Venice. This was ostensibly so a woman could keep her dress well above the muck and damp of the streets. But in

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50. “Le mot, venu de l'italien *pianella*, signifie ‘pantoufle’ et c'est dans ce sens que Scarron l'emploie dans son *Virgile travesti en vers burlesques*.” Hooreman, introduction to *Concerts*, xv.

51. “Mais sans patin ni pianelle, Elle avait huit grands pieds de haut.” Paul Scarron, *Le Virgile travesty en vers Burlesques, Livre Second* (Anvers, 1651), 206. See also the “Pianelle” entry in François-Antoine Pomey (1618–1673), *Le Dictionnaire royal, augmenté de nouveau ... Dernière édition, nouvellement augmentée de la plus grande partie des termes de tous les arts* (Lyon: L. Servant, 1716).

reality it allowed her to show off her wealth and her attractive swaying gait, since *in order to wear the shoes without falling over she had to have a servant in attendance on either side*.<sup>52</sup>

So one of the characteristics of *pianelles* was their significant height (Figure 1).



**Figure 1.** *Pianelle*, Venice, Italy, 1590–1610 (silk and metal).  
Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Although it is present solely in Sainte-Colombe’s works, many researchers consider the *pianelle* a dance.<sup>53</sup> But it would have been quite problematic for women to dance while wearing those

52. My italics. <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/t/clothing-and-jewellery/> See also the site “My Costume History,” <https://mycostumehistory.wordpress.com/tag/pianelle/> *Pianelles* are also called *chopines*.

53. Hooreman, introduction to *Concerts*, xv; Goy, “Jean de Sainte-Colombe,” 68; Jonathan Dunford, entry “Sainte-Colombe [Sainte Coulombe], Jean de,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 2001); Patrick Cadell, “French music in the collection of the Earls of Panmure,” in James Porter, ed., *Defining Strains: The Musical Life of Scots in the Seventeenth Century* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), 136.

tall slippers, and apparently it did not happen, at least not in Italy, as Pierre d'Avity tells us in his 1660 writings on the Duchy of Urbino: "It seems at the ball that they [the Ladies] stroll rather than dance, and do not leap, nor turn, or even do not leave their *pianelles*, or very high mules, to dance with regular shoes, as it is practiced in several places in Italy."<sup>54</sup>

On the other hand, the seventeenth-century Italian word *pianella* had more than one sense. In addition to "night slippers or *pantoufles*," an Italian-English dictionary of 1611 translates it also as "*Piàlla, Sonàre alla piàna*, to toll a bell leisurely, as for the dead."<sup>55</sup> In this case, would the music emulate the ringing of church bells? The music outline does not contradict this possibility (Figure 2).



**Figure 2.** Sainte-Colombe, *Pianelle*, mm. 1–7, from page 44v of the *Recueil de Pièces pour Basse de Viole Seule*, *Manuscrit de Tournus* (Paris: Minkoff, 1998).

But continuing to pursue the meaning of *pianelle* as lady's slippers,<sup>56</sup> I found out that besides their significant height they had another conspicuous characteristic, due to their thick wooden bases: they were *noisy*. This is clearly stated by Lucrezia Marinella, a writer who lived in Venice between 1571 and 1653. According to Paola Malpezzi Price and Christine Ristaino, in Marinella's 1645 *Essortationi alle donne et a gli altri, se a loro saranno a grado* (*Exhortations to Women and to Others If They Please*) she comments on the

controversial contemporary female fashion, that of wearing tall

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54. "Il semble au bal qu'elles [les Dames] se promonent plutost qu'elles ne dancent, & ne sautent point, ny se tournent, voire mesme ne quittent point leurs pianelles, ou mules fort hautes, pour dancer avec l'escarpin, comme on le pratique en plusieurs lieux d'Italie." Pierre d'Avity, *Description generale de l'Europe, quatriesme partie du monde*, vol. 3 (Paris: Bechet & Billaine, 1660), 494.

55. Entries "Pianella" and "Piàna" in John Florio, *Dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues* (London: Bradwood, 1611).

56. Prompted by Jonathan Dunford, to whom I am indebted.

‘pianelle’ or ‘zoccoli’ (slippers, clogs). Although impeding the movements of the women, these shoes provide, according to Marinella, a certain ‘gravitas’ to women and force men to raise their gaze to look at them.... Marinella justifies the noise made by those shoes on the basis that women should be allowed some ‘honest’ pleasure, such as the wearing of favorite footwear.<sup>57</sup>

If Sainte-Colombe’s *pianelles* refer indeed to those tall and noisy slippers with thick wooden base, two inferences can be drawn: first, that Sainte-Colombe traveled in aristocratic circles and therefore was well acquainted with the female fashion of the upper class; second, that his *pianelles* could be good-humored *pièces de caractère*: with their slightly disjunct melodic contours and fairly constant rhythmical patterns, they could recall the percussive sound of the feminine wooden slippers.

Sainte-Colombe’s *concerts* for two viols are elaborate pieces, possibly written to be played with his students, bearing picturesque titles given by the composer (some) and also by the diligent copyist (most): *Le trembleur* (*The Trembling One*) “because the melody represents a person who trembles”; *Le brun* (*The Dark*) “because it is like a somber and changing weather”; *Le villageois* (*The Villager*) “because it starts like a shepherd song”; *Le cor* (*The Horn*) “because the melody imitates the hunting horn in several places”; *L’infidelle* (*The Unfaithful One*) “because it seems full of reproaches from one part to the other,” and so on.<sup>58</sup>

Unfortunately the name of the committed copyist has been lost, but part of the inner circle of Sainte-Colombe is revealed in the pieces that bear the name of specific people. *La Caligie* (from the Greek *kalós*, nice, kind, fair) is a gallant title given by the viol master himself in homage to Mme. Sauzée (wife of the viol player Étienne-Mathieu de Sauzée<sup>59</sup>); *La Dubois*, *La Vignon* and *La Rougeville* took the name of three young women who were possibly his pupils, because they played those *concerts* so well;

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57. Paola Malpezzi Price and Christine Ristaino, *Lucrezia Marinella and the “Querelle Des Femmes” in Seventeenth-century Italy* (Madison and Teaneck: Associated University Press, 2008), 145.

58. Hooreman, introduction to *Concerts*, xix–xxiii.

59. Corinne Vaast, <http://www.er.uqam.ca/nobel/r14310/Luth/4.2.Testament.html>



*Dalain* could refer to a member of the Alain family of publishers who attended one of Sainte-Colombe's concerts, a friend of the copyist; and *La Pierrotine* was named by Sainte-Colombe himself, a demanding piece possibly dedicated to the viol player Pierrot.<sup>60</sup>

### Sainte-Colombe, the Teacher

And how was M. de Sainte-Colombe as a teacher? Was he really the envious and destructive character depicted in the film, “all austerity and wrath,” “mute like a fish,” stingy, determined to keep his technique and his music to himself? Would he really shut himself in the hut to hide from Marais the secrets of his art? Or rather, would he have done so in order to be able to practice undisturbed and without disturbing others (in old houses, the sound is amplified and carried everywhere), unnoticed, hiding from public eye not his art, which he displayed in concerts, but just the practicing process behind it?

Would an envious teacher praise his student publicly, as Sainte-Colombe did (reported by Titon du Tillet in the quote above), when he said that “there were pupils who could surpass their masters, but young Marais would never find anyone to surpass him”?

Sainte-Colombe was maybe the most important and valued viol teacher in the history of the viol. He taught not only upper-class amateurs, but the most distinguished French musicians and viol players—Marin Marais, Jean Rousseau (1644–1699), the Sieur de Danoville (fl. 1687), Jean Desfontaines (c. 1658–after 1752), M. de Méliton,<sup>61</sup> Louis de Caix d’Hervelois<sup>62</sup> (c. 1670–1759)—and he introduced significant changes in viol technique and in the viol itself.

Rousseau tells us that

besides the beautiful bow-strokes he learned from Mr. Hotman, we owe him [Sainte-Colombe] this beautiful way of holding the hand that gave the ultimate perfection to the viol, made performance easier and freer, and by which means it imitates the

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60. Hooreman, introduction to *Concerts*, xiii–xiv.

61. Nothing is known about him, except that he was a viol teacher, who according to Jean Rousseau “knew perfectly the character of the viol.” Rousseau, *Réponse de Monsieur Rousseau*.

62. Milliot and de la Gorce, *Marin Marais*, 85.

most beautiful qualities of the human voice, which is the sole model of all instruments; it is also to Mr de Sainte-Colombe that we owe the seventh string that he added to the viol.... Finally, he was the one who put the silver-spun strings into use in France, and who continually works to search out anything capable of adding an even greater perfection to this instrument, if this is possible.<sup>63</sup>

Although Sainte-Colombe learned from Hotman the traditional lute-derived approach to viol technique (related to the performance of polyphonic music), he saw the viol as the substitute of the human voice, and he modified the left-hand technique to best serve this ideal.

De Machy (also a former pupil of Hotman and possibly jealous of the success of his colleague) contested Sainte-Colombe's innovations, and wrote against them in the preface of his book of viol pieces<sup>64</sup> and later in an anonymous libel, of which he proceeded to "make several copies and slip them silently throughout Paris."<sup>65</sup> De Machy showed overtly his "disdain for Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe's playing, decrying it everywhere."<sup>66</sup>

Sainte-Colombe's ideas were defended with great enthusiasm by his pupils, in particular by Rousseau in his 1687 treatise and

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63. "... car outre ces beaux coups d'Archet qu'il a appris de Monsieur HOTMAN, c'est de luy en particulier que nous tenons ce beau port de main, qui a donné la dernière perfection à la Viole, a rendu l'exécution plus facile & plus dégagée, & à faveur duquel elle imite tous les plus beaux agréments de la Voix, qui est l'unique modèle de tous les Instruments: C'est aussi à Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe que nous sommes obligés de la septième corde qu'il a ajoutée à la Viole, & dont il a par ce moyen augmenté l'étendue d'une Quarte. C'est luy enfin qui a mis les cordes filées d'argent en usage en France, & qui travaille continuellement à rechercher tout ce qui est capable d'ajouter une plus grande perfection à cet Instrument, s'il est possible." Rousseau, *Traité de la viole*, 24–25.

64. Le Sieur de Machy, *Pièces de Violle* (Paris, 1685).

65. "... il a pris la résolution d'en faire faire quelques copies & des les glisser sourdement dans tout Paris." Rousseau, *Réponse de Monsieur Rousseau*, 1. The libel is now lost. See François Lesure, "Une querelle sur le jeu de la viole en 1688: J. Rousseau contre Demachy," *Revue de Musicologie* 46, no. 122 (December 1960): 181–99. Rousseau says that this libel was written possibly with the assistance of persons of De Machy's circle to which he refers many times as his "Cabale," meaning his clique, his acolytes, possibly most of them lute players (see pp. 184–198 and especially p. 192).

66. "... le mépris qu'il faisoit du jeu de Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe, le décriant partout." Rousseau, *Réponse de Monsieur Rousseau*, 4.

also in his 1688 *Response of Mr. Rousseau to a letter from one of his friends who warned him of a defamatory Libel written against him*—his answer to the anonymous libel coming from De Machy.<sup>67</sup>

The fact that Sainte-Colombe and De Machy had learned from the same teacher was possibly at the root of the rivalry and hostility expressed by De Machy. But Sainte-Colombe did not seem to nurture similar resentments. This may be inferred also from an anecdote told by Rousseau: that De Machy took his son to play for Sainte-Colombe, and after hearing the young fellow, Sainte-Colombe said “that he found him a beautiful boy, that he had enough talent, and that it was a pity that he was not in his hands, because he believed that he would accomplish good things on the viol.”<sup>68</sup>

As much as we can grasp, the figure of the real Sainte-Colombe, far from the irascible person portrayed in the film who broke pupils’ viols and unkindly expelled people from his home, comes to us as a generous man, admired, respected, cherished by his pupils, who expressed their recognition, their gratitude, and their emotional connection to him in diverse ways. Those demonstrations are the best answer to the question whether there is any similarity between Sainte-Colombe’s character in the film and the real Sainte-Colombe.

Marais, his most famous student, in his 1701 book, wrote for him a heart-breaking elegy, the *Tombeau pour Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe*. Of the four *Tombeaux* written by Marais (the others being for his colleague Mélon, for Lully, and for his son Sylvain called Marais *le Cadet*), this is perhaps the most touching one.

Another disciple, Le Sieur Danoville, in the preface of his 1687 book on the viol, expressed his feelings towards his teacher thus:

M. de Sainte-Colombe, whom we can justly name as the Orpheus of our time; his merit and his skill made him well known, and if he made some pupils beyond the ordinary, they owe this to his extraordinary goodness and to the special care he took to teach

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67. See note 25.

68. “... qu’il le trouvait joli garçon, qu’il avait assez de dispositions, que c’était dommage qu’il n’était pas entre ses mains et qu’il croyait qu’il en ferait quelque chose de bon.” Rousseau, *Réponse de Monsieur Rousseau*, 3.

them.... As for me, all my life I will proudly subscribe to his precepts, as to a Master to whom I owe all the skill that I possess on the Viol.<sup>69</sup>

But the most moving testimony of the love and admiration that the generous, warm, extraordinary figure of Sainte-Colombe generated during his lifetime is the one by Rousseau, who dedicates his *Treatise on the Viol* to his master,

as the one to whom this instrument owes all its perfection.... All the masters of this art who follow faithfully the footsteps that you so happily marked recognize how much we are obliged to you.

And he continues:

Monsieur, I feel very happy to find the occasion to give you a testimony of my own gratitude; as well as of the privilege I had of learning from you all that I can present for the instrument that I am discussing: you should therefore consider this work as a river that returns to its source.... With great respect and a strong affection, Monsieur, your very humble and very obedient servant, J. Rousseau.<sup>70</sup>

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69. Le Sieur Danoville, *L'Art de toucher le dessus et la basse de viole* (Paris: Ballard, 1687; facs. ed., Geneva: Minkoff, 1972), 4. "Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe, qu'on peut nommer avec justice l'Orphée de notre temps; son mérite & sa science l'ont fait assez connoistre, & s'il a fait quelques élèves qui surpassent le commun, ils en ont l'obligation à sa bonté singulière & aux soins particuliers qu'il a pris de les enseigner... pour moy je feray gloire toute ma vie de suscrire à ses precepts, comme à un Maistre duquel je tiens toute la science que je possède sur la Violle."

70. Rousseau, *Traité de la Viole*, Dedication: "... comme à celui de qui cet instrument tient toute sa perfection...Tous les maitres de l'Art qui suivent fidèlement les traces que vous avez si heureusement marquées reconnaissent combien nous vous sommes obligés. Monsieur, je me tiens tres-heureux de trouver l'occasion de vous en donner ce témoignage de ma reconnaissance particuliere; comme aussi des avantages que j'ay eu d'apprendre de vous tout ce que je peux produire pour l'instrument dont je traite: Ainsi vous devez considerer cet ouvrage comme un ruisseau qui retourne à sa source... Avec un grand respect et une forte passion, Monsieur, Vostre tres-humble & tres obeissant serviteur, J. Rousseau."

## VIOLS IN VIENNESE CONVENTS

Janet K. Page

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### Abstract

Viennese female convents enjoyed a Golden Age of music from the mid-seventeenth century through about 1715. Scores and documents reveal that the viola da gamba was a popular instrument in these institutions. Composers writing for the instrument included the court composer Carlo Agostino Badia, who wrote oratorios for the Ursuline convent, and the Augustinian canoness Maria Anna von Raschenau, who wrote for her own sisters at St. Jacob. The music for viola da gamba suggests that the nuns and pupils who played were not usually virtuosi, and that several sizes of instrument may have been used.

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**T**he musical activities of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Viennese nuns are much less well known than those of their Italian sisters. This is not entirely surprising, as there were vastly more nuns in Italian cities than in Austrian ones. The social customs of marriage and the high cost of wedding dowries in Italy dictated that a majority of noble girls entered convents; in Milan, a city of 100,000 in the mid-seventeenth century, for example, there were around six thousand choir nuns living in some forty convents.<sup>1</sup> In Vienna, a city of similar size at the end of the seventeenth century, there were only seven female convents, and around four hundred nuns.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, Vienna was an intensely musical city then, as now, and her convents produced notable music in a brief golden age lasting from the mid-seventeenth century through the early years of the eighteenth.<sup>3</sup>

At Vienna's musical convents, nuns sang in the daily office hours and regularly provided polyphonic music with instrumental accompaniment for mass, vespers, and other special services.

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1. Thanks to Matteo Magarotto for his assistance with Italian translation. Robert L. Kendrick, *Celestial Sirens: Nuns and Their Music in Early Modern Milan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 27, 38–39.

2. Janet K. Page, *Convent Music and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Vienna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 1–10. This number includes both choir nuns and lay sisters.

3. Scholarship concerning Italian convents and their music is much more advanced than that for Germanic convents; see Page, *Convent Music*, 13.

They also performed oratorios, plays with music, and concerts for their own entertainment and for visitors, especially members of the imperial family. Viols are named in musical scores from these convents and in documents recording life in them (see Table 1).

The earliest known reference to a viola da gamba in a Viennese convent is the travel diary of a Saxon official, Johann Sebastian Müller, who visited the city in 1660. Müller marveled at the music of the Augustinian convent of St. Jacob, where the nuns performed with “lutes, theorbos, a harp, violins, violas da gamba, dulcians, flutes, and especially a full-voiced choir of trumpets marine with timpani.” The choirmistress, he reported, “played the viola da gamba.”<sup>4</sup>

The earliest dated musical score from a Viennese female convent is an anonymous play with music and dance, *Beglückte Verbundtnüß des Adels mit der Tugend* (The happy union of nobility and virtue).<sup>5</sup> This entertainment, a complicated allegorical guide to proper noble behavior, was performed by the “highly noble and zealously virtuous group of boarding students at the female convent of St. Laurenz.” The imperial family usually visited this convent on or around the feast of St. Laurence, August 10, and this work was performed in their honor on August 11 and 12, 1688.<sup>6</sup> There were about twenty-five boarding-school girls in the convent, and they are named in the score, each assigned a role suited to her talents. The work is scored throughout for a

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4. Johann Sebastian Müller, *Einmal Weimar – Wien und Retour: Johann Sebastian Müller und sein Wienbericht aus dem Jahr 1660*, ed. Katrin Keller, Martin Scheutz, and Harald Tersch (Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 2005), 47: “die den Chor führte ... spielet auf der Violen da Gambe”; p. 79: “Lauten, Theorben, einer Harffe, Violen, Violen de Gambe, Dulcianen, Flöten, und sonderlich einen vollstimmigen Chor von Trompeten Marinen und Heerpaucken.” Quoted and translated in Page, *Convent Music*, 41–42. As Violen and Violen da Gambe are distinguished here and elsewhere, I interpret “Violen” as instruments of the violin family. It is impossible to determine if the flutes were recorders or transverse flutes, but the transverse flute was popular in Vienna by the early eighteenth century.

5. Austrian National Library, Mus. Hs. 18493, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00236475>.

6. Page, *Convent Music*, 111–12.

**Table 1.** Arias with viols from Viennese convents

All the scores listed here can be found online at [www.onb.at](http://www.onb.at). The URL is followed by the identifying numbers of the page scans.

Composer	Work	Date	Convent	Aria	Scoring	Location. All: Vienna, Austrian National Library, Music Collection
Anonymous	<i>Beglückte Verbundniß</i>	1688	St. Laurenz	“Unglücklich, unglücklich”	Violin, Viola da gamba (ten clef), S, bc	Score: Mus. Hs. 18493, <a href="http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00236475">http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00236475</a> , scans 43–49
Carlo Agostino Badia	<i>S. Ursula (Orsola) vergine, e martire</i>	1694	St. Ursula	“Signore, Signore, il tuo impero” “All’ armi, all’ armi” “E’ pur dolce”	A, Fagotto, Violetta (bass clef) Viola da gamba (bass clef), B, bc Viol 1 (sop clef), Viol 2 (alto clef), A, bc	Score: Mus. Hs. 16906, <a href="http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00481379">http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00481379</a> , scans 51–58 Scans 75–77 Scans 123–31
Badia	<i>Sant’ Orsola vergine, e martire</i>	1695	St. Ursula	“Rallegrati mio core” “Mentre il colpo sia pendente”	S. Violetta (ten & bass clefs), bc Violin, Viola da gamba (ten clef), S, bc	Scans 176–82 Score: Mus. Hs. 18767, <a href="http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00481380">http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00481380</a> , scans 82–87
Maria Anna Raschenau	<i>Le sacre stimmate di S. Francesco d’Assisi</i>	1695	St. Jacob	“Deh recatemi la morte”	Viol 1 (sop clef), Viol 2 (alto clef), T, bc	Score: Mus. Hs. 18507, <a href="http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00236489">http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00236489</a> , scans 35–37

Badia	<i>La Sepoltura di Christo</i>	Performed 1698; possibly written earlier	St. Ursula	“Su, su, su!” (“Aria con viole unisoni”)  “Ostinato peccatore” (“Aria con le viole”)	Viole (sop clef), S, bc  Viol 1 (sop clef), Viol 2 (alto clef), S, bc	Score: Mus. Hs. 16891, <a href="http://data.ob.ac.at/rec/AL00481390">http://data.ob.ac.at/rec/AL00481390</a> , scans 30–35  Scans 121–36
Badia	<i>Il ritorno di Tobia</i>	1698	St. Ursula	“Ingrati miei lumi”  “D’un cor devoto”	“Viole” (sop clef & alto clef), B, bc  “Viole” (sop clef & alto clef), A, bc	Score: Mus. Hs. 16305, <a href="http://data.ob.ac.at/rec/AL00481386">http://data.ob.ac.at/rec/AL00481386</a> , scans 33–41 Scans 154–60
Anonymous (Raschenau?)	<i>Trattimento estivo</i>	1705–11	St. Jacob	“Oh quanto s’inganna” (“Aria con viola da gamba”)	Viola da gamba (alto clef), S, bc	Score: Mus. Hs. 18606, <a href="http://data.ob.ac.at/rec/AL00236474">http://data.ob.ac.at/rec/AL00236474</a> , scans 20–25
Badia	<i>La fuga in Egitto</i>	1705	St. Ursula	“Argenti liquidi”	[Viol 1] (sop clef), [viol 2] (alto clef), T, bc	Score: Mus. Hs. 16585, <a href="http://data.ob.ac.at/rec/AL00503320">http://data.ob.ac.at/rec/AL00503320</a> , scans 136–38
Badia	<i>Il martirio di S. Susanna</i>	1707	St. Ursula	“Questo segreto orro”  “Caderà”  “Mira il fil di questa”	Violin, “Viol. Unissoni” (alto clef), S, bc  “Viol: unissoni” (sop clef), A, bc  Viols, [viols] (alto clef), B, bc	Score: Mus. Hs. 19166, <a href="http://data.ob.ac.at/rec/AL00236600">http://data.ob.ac.at/rec/AL00236600</a> , scans 57–65  Scans 69–76  Scans 127–33



violin, an instrument in tenor clef,<sup>7</sup> and basso continuo; the tenor-clef instrument is named only once, as a “viola da gamba.” The ensemble accompanying the girls may have been as small as a single violin, a viola da gamba, and a harpsichord—even the opening “sonata” is scored for this combination (Example 1).

Sonata

Adagio Anonymous

[Violin]

[Viola da gamba]

[Basso continuo]

2 9 8 4 # 7 6 # ♭ 4 3 # 6 [6]

6

6

6 7 6 4 #

14 Allegro

14

14

14 4 #

**Example 1.** Anonymous, *Beglückte Verbundtniß des Adels mit der Tugend* (1688), Sonata, mm. 1–4, mm. 14–18.

7. The first two measures of the opening “sonata” are in alto clef.

The aria specifying viola da gamba is the work's most sophisticated. Forty-three measures in length, it is set in ABA' form (slow-fast-slow), with obbligato parts for violin and viola da gamba. The A section provides a conventional musical depiction of sadness: minor key, falling lines, slow tempo, and viola da gamba among the obbligato instruments, setting the text "Unhappy, unhappy, is the youth who does not seek the glory of virtue." The middle section is a lively presto with the text "everything is lost that does not exist through virtue: thus without true virtue one has nothing." In the return of A, the instruments interrupt the opening statement with imitative instrumental contemplation (Example 2).<sup>8</sup> This aria makes a profound statement with limited means: it is also technically simple, spare in texture, and small in scale, suited to performance by a young singer and instrumentalists without great technical accomplishment.

The ancient Augustinian foundation of St. Jacob auf der Hülben (St. James on the Marsh) was noted for its music by 1650—in that year, the wandering Benedictine monk Reginbald Möhner praised the nuns' singing as "exquisitely beautiful."<sup>9</sup> According to the enormous and detailed history of Vienna and its churches completed in 1685 by the Viennese cleric Johannes Mathias Testarello della Massa, the convent's "lovely and perfect music" astonished local residents and visitors alike. Convent boarding-school girls received professional training in music, and the convent sent them out into the world and to other convents.<sup>10</sup>

During its musical golden age, the convent had a resident composer, Maria Anna von Raschenau (1644 or c. 1650–1714).<sup>11</sup> Raschenau, daughter of the doorkeeper of the imperial chamber, received an extensive musical and general education and served

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8. The aria is transcribed and discussed in Page, *Convent Music*, 123–26.

9. Reginbald Möhner, *Ein Tourist in Oesterreich während der Schwedenzeit*, ed. Albin Czerny (Linz: F. I. Ebenhöch'sche Buchhandlung, 1874), 127, cited in Page, *Convent Music*, 41. For a history of this convent and its music, see Page, 41–52.

10. Page, *Convent Music*, 41, 46–47.

11. Her biography appears in Page, *Convent Music*, 52–56, and in Grove Music Online, s.v. "Raschenau, Maria Anna von," by Janet K. Page, [www.oxfordmusiconline.com](http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com).

Emperor Leopold I and his first wife, Margareta Teresa of Spain, as a musician. She entered St. Jacob around 1672 and was serving as the convent's *Chormeisterin* in 1710. Raschenau played the viola da gamba, among many other instruments, and several works written by her, or possibly by her, include parts for viols.

[Adagio]

Violino

Viola da gamba

Aretina

Basso continuo

Un - glück - lich, un - glück - lich je - ne

[6] [b] [#] [#] b #

34

Ju - gend die nicht sucht Tu - gend Ruhm,

[6] [2] [#] b

**Example 2.** Anonymous, *Beglückte Verbundnüß des Adels mit der Tugend* (1688), “Unglücklich, unglücklich,” A’ section, mm. 30–43.

Raschenau’s oratorio *Le sacre stimmate di San Francesco d’Assisi* (1695) (The sacred stigmata of St. Francis of Assisi) includes an “Aria con 2 viole,” scored for instruments in soprano clef (range  $e'-f\#\prime$ ) and alto clef (range  $a-b'$ ), a solo voice in tenor clef, and basso continuo.<sup>12</sup> Determining what instruments

12. Maria Anna von Raschenau, *Le sacre stimmate di S. Francesco d’Assisi*, A-Wn Mus. Hs. 18507, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00236489>, scans 35–37.

might have been used here requires a closer look at musical instruments in Viennese convent culture and court culture. Both at court and in convents, the term “viol” could mean instruments of the violin family in general as opposed to violas da gamba;<sup>13</sup> it could be amplified by *da gamba*, *da braccio*, or *d’amore* to denote a specific instrument. At court, “viol” possibly sometimes identified instruments of the viol family as opposed to violins;<sup>14</sup> and in at least one case, the term encompassed all the bass stringed instruments, presumably both the violoncellos of the violin family and contrabass instruments of the viol family (“tutte le viole senza cembalo”).<sup>15</sup> “Viol” was also used generically, the instrumental writing sometimes providing no clues as to which instrument might have been used.

In court music, the standard orchestra in the later seventeenth century had two violin parts in treble clef; two violas, in alto and tenor clefs; and basso (cello, violone, etc.). In the last years of the century, the scoring began to change to the more modern Italianate group of two violins, one viola, and basso. In scores, the instruments are usually not named, so well understood was the combination. In the early eighteenth century, there were around twenty violin or viola players in the court *Kapelle*, but only two to four viola da gamba players.<sup>16</sup> Thus, by this time, a part designated “viol” or in alto or tenor clef and unmarked was probably played by a viola da braccio, unless some feature suggested otherwise.

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13. See note 4 above.

14. Rocco Maria Rossi, *Nabuccodonnosor; Oratorio cantata nella Cesarea Cappella ... L'anno 1706 ... Musica del P. Attilio Ariosti* (Vienna: Gli Heredi Cosmeroviani, [1706]), “Aria con Trombe, Arpe, Leuti, Viole, Hautbois, Mandolini, Fagotti, e Violini,” in the German version, “Trompetten, Harpffen, Lauten, Violen, Hautbois, Mandolinen, Fagotten, und Geigen.” This fabulously colorful work does not survive, but many of the inventive scorings are noted in the printed libretto. “Viole” might refer here to viole da braccio, viole da gamba or viole d’amore; the latter two instruments are named elsewhere in the libretto. Austrian National Library, 409.322-B-Alt, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC10260909>, scan 25; German translation, Austrian National Library, 406.745-B.Ad1.1.

15. Attilio Ariosti, *La profezia d’Elisco nell’assedio di Samaria* (1705), Austrian National Library, Mus. Hs. 16925, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00480317>, scan 166.

16. See summary in Marc Strümper, *Die Viola da gamba am Wiener Kaiserhof* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 2004), 28–30.

Practices were different in convent repertory. From the time the convent oratorio tradition was established in Vienna, around 1694, the standard orchestra at the two most musical convents, St. Jacob and St. Ursula, had two violin parts (treble clef) and a basso part. The (surviving) exceptions are two anomalous scores. *S. Orsola vergine, e martire* (St. Ursula, virgin and martyr) (1694), the first of Carlo Agostino Badia's many works to be performed at the Ursuline Convent, has an opening Sinfonia scored for two violins, an instrument in alto clef, and basso. It may have been written before he became accustomed to the convent's specific requirements. The anonymous *Trattenimento estivo* (Summer entertainment) performed at St. Jacob sometime between 1705 and 1711 presents the "court" scoring in several numbers. Raschenau is the best candidate for composer of the work; however, no other music by her dating from this time, after she began to adopt the new Italian style around 1703, is known.

The Viennese convents were not large, St. Jacob having between forty and fifty choir nuns,<sup>17</sup> but they employed a full range of vocal parts. At St. Ursula, when there was no "Bassistin" (female bass), the part was taken by a man hired in to help out. A large and colorful continuo ensemble (including viola da gamba) compensated for the weakness of the vocal bass part,<sup>18</sup> leaving a small ensemble for the upper instrumental parts. Thus, violins did not outnumber the viole da gamba as greatly as they did at court.

The convent repertory includes pieces scored for a treble instrument in soprano clef or a pair in soprano and alto clefs. These parts are occasionally labeled "viole," but more often nothing at all, and I suspect the parts to have often been performed by viole da gamba, the clef intended to distinguish the parts from those for violins, and relating them to vocal parts. The score for Badia's *La sepoltura di Christo* (1698, although the old-fashioned style of the music suggests that this score may be a reworking of an earlier piece) includes an "Aria con viole a braccio," the two instruments

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17. Müller reported that there were forty to fifty nuns at St. Jacob in 1660 (pp. 44–47), and a visitation report from that convent in 1710 counts 41 choir nuns and 4 choir novices: Vienna, Diözesanarchiv, Aufgehobene Klöster, Kloster St. Jakob A/D Hülben 1481–1781, 161a.

18. On the convent's use of male singers, see Page, *Convent Music*, 80–83.

set in alto and tenor clefs. It also includes an “Aria con le viole” with the two instruments set in soprano and alto clefs, an aria with “viole unisone,” and a chorus with violins and “tenore” doubling vocal parts, the instrumental indications attached to the vocal parts. The clefs and ranges of the instruments appear in Table 2.

**Table 2.** *Viole* in Carlo Agostino Badia, *La sepoltura di Christo*.

Aria	Instrument	Clef	Range
“Lagrima uscite” (Let my tears fall)	Viola a braccio [1]	Alto	$bb-c''$
	_____ [2]	Tenor	$g-a'$
“Su! su! su! turbe spietate” (On, on, on, pitiless crowds)	Viola unisone	Soprano	$a-a''$
“Ostinato peccatore” (Obstinate sinner)	Viola [1]	Soprano	$c'-f''$
	_____ [2]	Alto	$b-bb'$
“Già, che per l'huom redento” (Already, that for the redeemed man)	“Tenore”	Alto (doubles alto vocal part)	$f-g'$

The “viole” parts in soprano clef align in range (especially on the upper end) with those in other convent works, such as the “Aria con viole” in Raschenau’s *Le sacre stimmate di San Francesco d’Assisi* (Viol 1: soprano clef,  $e'-f\#\#\prime\prime$ ; Viol 2: alto clef,  $g\#-b'$ ) and the Choro by the court composer Ferdinand Tobias Richter that concludes the score of Raschenau’s *Santa Teresa* (c. 1703), scored for unnamed instruments in soprano ( $e'-g''$ ), alto ( $a-c''$ ), tenor ( $d-f'$ ), and bass clefs ( $E-c'$ ). In convents, such parts may well have been taken by viole da gamba or a combination of viols and violins. Viole da gamba were well known in convents and monasteries in Austria—at Kremsmünster, for example, inventories and documents list as many as fifteen viole da gamba in different

sizes.<sup>19</sup> In the court repertoire there are a few ensembles including a viola da gamba in a high clef (either soprano or treble), mostly dating from the 1680s and before (Cesti's *Il pomo d'oro* includes one, as does a sonata by Alessandro Poglietti),<sup>20</sup> but many parts set in soprano clef are ambiguous, labeled only viola or violetta, if anything.

The three distinct ranges of soprano, alto, and tenor apply to parts in these clefs throughout the convent repertory, although tenor parts sometimes extend a little lower, down to *d* or *c*. The parts are thus roughly analogous to a convent's vocal parts, a style of writing that looks back to mid-seventeenth-century works by Emperor Leopold I and his contemporaries. Choral singing was part of convent life, and the survival of this sort of writing in oratorios performed there is thus not surprising. The unusual use of soprano clef for the upper part aligns with this sensibility, and suggests also that viols of different sizes were used in convents. Further, none of the viol parts in soprano, alto, or tenor clefs use the lower notes available on a bass viola da gamba. These convents educated girls (some of whom later entered convents), and smaller viols would have been appropriate for them.

Raschenau's aria, like others with a pair of viols or viole da braccio heard in Vienna at this time, has death as its subject—in this case, a longing for death rather than the grief of the bereaved. Francesco sings:

Deh recatemi la morte,	Ah, bring me death,
Pur ch'io resti ov'è la vita;	As long as I may remain where life is;
Qui le soglie	Here are the thresholds
De' i diletta;	Of delights;
Qui di voglie,	Here of desires,
Qui d'affetti	Here of affection
L'alma mia s'è riempita,	My soul has been filled,
Dov' il cielo aprì le porte:	Where heaven opens the gates:
Pur ch'io resti ov'è la vita,	As long as I may remain where life is,
Deh recatemi la morte.	Ah, bring me death. <sup>21</sup>

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19. Strümper, *Die Viola da gamba*, 266–67, 380.

20. *Ibid.*, 137–39, 296–97.

21. Raschenau, *Le sacre stimmate di S. Francesco d'Assisi*, fols. 14r–15v. Libretto: Marco Antonio Signorini, *Le sacre stimmate di S. Francesco d'Assisi*

The aria is marked *Adagio adagio* (very slow) and is in the key of B minor, deepening the dark and sombre mood produced by the scoring; thus joyful and sorrowful views of death are expressed simultaneously (Example 3). The parts are not technically challenging and the range is small, making the piece adaptable to whichever instruments were available, and the use of soprano clef suggests *viola da gamba*; other numbers in this score call specifically for violins, and that instrument, when named, is always set in treble clef.

Aria con 2 viole  
Adagio adagio

Viol 1

Viol 2

S. Francesco

Basso continuo

Deh re - ca - te - mi la mor - te, pur ch'io

re - sti, [pur ch'io re - sti] ov è la vi - ta; qui le

**Example 3.** Maria Anna von Raschenau, *Le sacre stimate di S. Francesco d'Assisi* (1695), “Aria con 2 viole: Deh recatemi la morte,” mm. 1–7.

... *Posto in musica da Suor Marianna di Raschenau, Professa ...* (Vienna: Gio. van Ghelen, 1695), Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MISC 2664, 11.



The title page of the anonymous *Trattenimento estivo* describes it as “a summer entertainment for the most august and serene rulers [performed] in the convent of the reverend sisters of St. Jacob [James] in Vienna on the feast day of St. James the Apostle [July 25], through which this convent is honored by the presence of their Imperial Majesties and the Serene Archduchesses.”<sup>22</sup> The work’s topical text, naming “Giuseppe” and concerning the War of the Spanish Succession, dates it to the reign of Emperor Joseph I (1705–1711), making Raschenau the best candidate for composer of the music. The *Trattenimento estivo* is in the spirit of the court’s intellectual academies, which were entertainments of music and debating.<sup>23</sup> In this work, personal qualities such as Valor and Virtue argue for their importance to the ruler. Astrea, the guiding spirit of the piece, brings everyone together by the end, in praising the imperial family and expressing hope for the union of Austria and Spain.

The *Trattenimento estivo* differs from many works written for Viennese convents around this time in using the court scoring, the alto clef part sometimes labeled “viola.” The work calls specifically for a viola da gamba, in an aria for Astrea. The obbligato part is notated in alto clef and has the range *f–d*′′. This lively piece, probably meant to be performed in triplets throughout, is in the then-modern Italian style that became established in Vienna in the last few years of the seventeenth century. The new style features recitative distinct from aria, da capo arias, and obbligato instruments. Rather than representing death or sorrow, the viol serves as a contrasting instrumental color, delighting with its “dolce malia” (sweet spell) (Example 4).<sup>24</sup>

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22. Anonymous (Maria Anna von Raschenau?), *Trattenimento estivo*, Austrian National Library, Mus. Hs. 18606, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00236474>, scans 20–25.

23. On the court academies, see Herbert Seifert, “Akademien zur Wiener Kaiserhof der Barockzeit,” in Wolf Frobenius, Nicole Schwindt-Gross, and Thomas Sick, eds., *Akademie und Musik: Festschrift für Werner Braun zum 65. Geburtstag* (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1993), 215–23.

24. The text is: “O quanto s’inganna chi crede, / Che sia gustoso il comando! / Rassembra una manna, è dolce malia / Che v’è consumando.” (Oh how much is one misled who believes / That commanding is delightful! / It resembles a manna, but it is a sweet spell / That gradually consumes you.)

Aria con viola da gamba

Astrea

Viola da gamba

B.c.

Oh quan - to s'in - gan - na chi

**Example 4.** Anonymous (Raschenau?), *Trattenimento estivo*, Mus. Hs. 18606, fol. 7v. “O quanto s’inganna,” mm. 1–10.

The convent of St. Ursula, founded in Vienna in 1660, as part of a wave of the Ursuline order sweeping across Europe and around the globe, soon came to rival St. Jacob in musical excellence.<sup>25</sup> Viols were popular there. Describing the convent’s worship practices to a distant colleague in 1689, the *Oberin* (Mother Superior) wrote that at the evening service known as *Le Salut* “on great feasts we have a song or devotional motet performed by solo voice, with two or three lutes, a theorbo, a viola da gamba, and a violin.”<sup>26</sup> One of the convent’s notable musicians was Mother Anna Rosa von Geim (clothed in 1701, died in 1741). The tribute written at her death in the convent’s Necrology declared that “her whole spiritual enjoyment was in music; she played on the viola da gamba, and had immense joy in it.”<sup>27</sup> Preserved sets of parts used at this convent in the second

25. On St. Ursula, see Page, *Convent Music*, 73–93.

26. *Ibid.*, 79.

27. *Ibid.*, 91.

half of the eighteenth century specify cello and violone, but not viola da gamba, suggesting that the instrument fell out of use at St. Ursula by the 1750s.

The court composer Carlo Agostino Badia (1672–1738) was closely connected with this convent, composing at least twenty-four oratorios and other works for the nuns between 1694, when he arrived in Vienna to take up an appointment as court composer, and 1708.<sup>28</sup> The first of these was an oratorio, *S. Orsola vergine, e martire*, “performed by the Ursuline nuns of Vienna on the feast day of their patron saint [October 25] before the imperial house, and dedicated to his imperial Majesty Leopold I, Emperor.”<sup>29</sup>

*S. Orsola* includes three arias calling for viols. “All’ armi, all’ armi” (To arms! To arms!) is sung by the demon Satanesso as he and another demon plot Ursula’s fall. This aria is marked “Ardito” (bold, courageous), and the text echoes many operatic arias expressing similar emotions. The aria is scored for a vocal part in bass clef, which would have been sung by either a man or one of the convent’s famed female basses; a viola da gamba (bass clef, range *G–e’*); and basso continuo (Example 5). The low voice and instrumental parts give the piece a dark coloring, while at the same time the voice and viol imitate the style of the Baroque trumpet, with triads, runs, patterns of repeated notes, and duet passages.<sup>30</sup> A piece such as this provides evidence that vocal bass parts were sung at pitch in these convents rather than up the octave. Brilliant writing for the bass voice was prized at court, and there are many examples in that repertoire.

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28. See *ibid.*, Appendix 1, pp. 232–42. On Badia’s life and association with the convent, see *ibid.*, 93–107.

29. Libretto: Rocco Maria Rossi, *S. Orsola Vergine, e martire. Oratorio ...* (Vienna: Gio. Van Ghelen, 1694) (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MISC 2654, 9.); score: Carlo Agostino Badia, *Oratorio di Santa Orsola*, Austrian National Library, Mus. Hs. 16906, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00481379>.

30. Strümper notes that such use of a viol in such a warlike piece is very unusual: *Die Viola da gamba*, 198.

Ardito

The musical score is written for three instruments: Viola da gamba, Satanesco, and [Basso continuo]. It is in a 6/8 time signature and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The score is divided into three systems. The first system (measures 1-3) features the Viola da gamba and Satanesco playing a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, while the Basso continuo provides a steady accompaniment. The second system (measures 4-6) includes vocal lines for the Viola da gamba and Satanesco, with lyrics: "All' ar-mi, all' ar-mi, all' ar - mi miei fe-de-li, io guer-ra vo - glio, io vo-glio guer-ra, io vo-glio guer - ra, vo - glio guer - ra". The Basso continuo continues with a simple bass line. The third system (measures 7-9) shows the Viola da gamba and Satanesco playing a more complex rhythmic pattern, with the Basso continuo providing a simple accompaniment. The lyrics "ra, vo - glio guer - ra" are repeated under the final two measures.

**Example 5.** Carlo Agostino Badia, *S. Orsola vergine, e martire* (1694), “All’ armi, all’ armi,” mm. 1–7. (To arms, to arms, my comrades! I want to make war.)

A trumpet would have been the usual instrument for a piece with such imagery,<sup>31</sup> but while the nuns at St. Ursula often hired trumpet players for special occasions, they did not play the instrument themselves.<sup>32</sup> At St. Jacob, such a piece could have employed a trumpet marine, but that instrument is not known to

31. As Strümper also notes, *ibid.*

32. Page, *Convent Music*; see, for example, pp. 24–27, 205–15.

have been used at St. Ursula, making the viol the best substitute. The viola da gamba also has a more complete range in the lower register than either trumpet or trumpet marine—Badia became masterful in making strong effects with limited means and in concise form in his convent music.

Adagio Adagio

Viola

Testo

[Basso continuo]

E' pur dol-ce, e' pur dol-ce A'un cor a-man-te

il lan-giu-re, il lan-gui-re per Gie-su, il lan-gui-re per Gie-su

7 4 6 4 5 7 4 4 5 3 6 5

**Example 6.** Badia, *S. Orsola vergine, e martire* (1694), “E’ pur dolce,” mm. 1–7. (How sweet it is to the loving heart to languish for Jesus.)

In “E’ pur dolce,” the alto *Testo* (narrator) meditates on the text “How sweet it is to the loving heart to languish for Jesus.” The aria, marked *Adagio, Adagio*, is in a minor key and filled with suspensions, falling lines, and sighing figures, expressing the words “languire,” “piacere,” and “soave” (Example 6). The viols (soprano clef [*b–d*]’ and alto clef [*a–b*]’) add their expressive tone to the sound world. In “Rallegrati mio core” (Gladden my heart), marked *Adagio, e Affettuoso*, Ursula gives herself to the

pleasure of eternal life, and both voice and “violetta” express her joy beyond words in brilliant coloratura. If viole da gamba played all three numbers, their distinctive sound would have marked the places of greatest emotional impact in *S. Orsola*.

Badia’s oratorio of the following year, also about St. Ursula, but setting a different and anonymous libretto, turns to the instrumental group favored by the Viennese Ursulines, of a pair of violins, a viola da gamba, and basso continuo. Viola da gamba is called for explicitly in a single aria, “Mentre il colpo sia pendente,” where it appears along with the violin.<sup>33</sup> The aria is the last one of the work, and thus the viola da gamba appears as a solo instrument in a prominent place, providing a rich color to the final number. The aria portrays Ursula’s acceptance of death as her life on earth ends and she joins the other faithful sisters, reborn among the stars.

Mentre il colpo sia pendente	As the blow falls
Racomando à te lo spirito	I commend to you the spirit
Redentore dell’alma mia	Redeemer of my soul
E con l’altre fide ancelle	And with the other faithful sisters
ma raccoglici frà le stelle	but gather us among the stars
è il morir vita mi sia	and death be life to me

The wording and sentiments recall the ceremony of entrance into the convent, probably most appropriately, as girls often entered the convent or professed on the saint’s day (Example 7).<sup>34</sup> The text also brings to mind the beautiful Marian hymn *Ave maris stella* (Hail, star of the sea); the opening gesture and the melodic emphasis on the interval of the perfect fifth recall the version of the hymn well known to Viennese nuns (Example 8).<sup>35</sup>

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33. Badia, *Sant’Orsola vergine, e martire* (1695), Austrian National Library, Mus. Hs.18767, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00481380>, scans 82–87.

34. Page, *Convent Music*, 20.

35. Francisca Jacobina von Polhaimb, ed., *Andächtige geistliche Gebett, Hymni, Collecten, und Psalmen, mit deren beygefügtten Thonen; So in dem hoch-löblichen Jungfrauen-Closter St. Jacob Canonissarum Regularium S. Augustini in Wienn, zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten gebettet und gesungen werden* (Vienna: Johann Ignaz Heyinger, 1754). Wienbibliothek im Rathaus, Druckschriftensammlung, A 10378, hymn 20.

Violin

Viola da gamba

[Basso continuo]

8

8

8

16

16

16

**Example 7.** Badia, *Sant' Orsola vergine, e martire* (1695), “Mentre il colpo,” mm. 1–28. Bass figures added; vocal entry for St. Orsola (S) in m. 28 omitted.

A - ve Ma - ris \_\_\_ stel - la,

**Example 8.** “Ave maris stella.” Francisca Jacobina von Polhaimb, ed., *Andächtige geistliche Gebett, Hymni, Collecten, und Psalmen* (1754), hymn 20, first phrase.

The term “violetta” appears in these works several times, to add to the confusion about its usage, which varied not only from place to place, but even among composers working in the same location at the same time.<sup>36</sup> “Rallegrati mio core” (Badia, *S. Orsola*, 1694) is headed “Aria con Viola da Gamba,” but the instrument indication is “violetta”; “Mentre il colpo sia pendente” (Badia, *S. Orsola*, 1695) is headed “Aria che canta St. Orsola con Violino, e Violetta,” while the instrument indication reads “viola da gamba.” These two parts have, respectively, the ranges  $B-f\sharp'$  and  $e-a'$ , and both are suited to the instrument called “Violetta” or “Violettl” by Johann Jacob Prinner in his manuscript “Musicalischer Schlüssel” of 1677.<sup>37</sup> Prinner (c. 1624–1694) was active as organist and composer at several courts in Austria, finishing his career at the court of Emperor Leopold I in Vienna. According to Prinner, the “violetta is a small viola da gamba, which is tuned throughout a fourth higher [than the bass viola da gamba], namely with the lowest string as G on the first line of the bass clef.”<sup>38</sup> The instrument uses five clefs: bass, tenor, alto, soprano, and treble, and has the range  $G-c'''$ .<sup>39</sup> This terminology also agrees with Johann Walther’s “Alt-Viola da gamba, (so Violetta heisset) vom G bis ins d'', e''”<sup>40</sup> and corresponds to the tenor viol. The range of

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36. An excellent overview of the evidence, particularly concerning Vienna and nearby areas, appears in Strümper, *Die Viola da gamba*, section 2.2 “Die Violetta: da gamba oder da braccio?” 106–21.

37. Johann Jacob Prinner, “Musicalischer Schlüssel (Schlüssl), welcher außspäret das Schreibkästlein des Verstands ... sowohl das Instrument und Clavir zu verstehen als auch Singen, Geigen, der Violin, Viola da gamba, Violon und anderer Geigen ... so ich verfasst Anno 1677” (Musical key, which opens the little writing desk of the mind ... to understanding the harpsichord and clavichord as well as singing, playing bowed instruments, the violin, the viola da gamba, the violone and other stringed instruments ... written by me in 1677) is held by the Library of Congress. Strümper’s transcription of the sections on the viola da gamba and other stringed instruments appears in *Die Viola da gamba*, pp. 69–77 and 386–93. According to Strümper (386n489), the manuscript is very difficult to read.

38. Prinner, “Musicalischer Schlüssel,” transcribed in Strümper, *Die Viola da gamba*, 74: “Von den Violettl. Violetta ist ein kleine Viola da gamba, welche umb eine quart durchaus gleich höher gestimmt würt, nemblich die erste grosses ätten in das grosse G. des Bass in der erste linea.”

39. Strümper, *Die Viola da gamba*, 74–75.

40. Johann Walther, *Musicalisches Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1732), 637. Charles E.



Prinner's tenor viol extends considerably higher than Walther's, and I would accept Prinner as the better authority for Vienna; his extended description evinces a familiarity with the instrument. Parts in soprano clef in the convent repertory often extend above Walther's *e''*, although these particular "violetta" parts do not.

Another aria in Badia's *S. Orsola* of 1694, "Signore, Signore, il tuo impero," calls for "Fagotto" and "Violetta." The singer is an alto, range *g-c''*, the bassoon has the range *D-d'*, and the violetta the same as the bassoon, the two instruments playing in unison, imitation, in thirds (with the bassoon as the upper part), or with the violetta serving as bass to an obbligato bassoon.<sup>41</sup> The range suggests that the "violetta" in this case is a bass viola da gamba.

"Violetta" also sometimes meant a viola da braccio, and one of Badia's court scores, *Il comun giubilo del mondo* (1699), uses the term "violetta," for a part in alto clef that appears below two violin parts. This "violetta" generally plays a simple inner part or doubles a vocal line in contrapuntal ensembles. The range of this "violetta" is *d-b'*, and the instrument seems more likely to be a viola.<sup>42</sup> This use of the term accords with that observed by Stephen Bonta in his survey of terminology in seventeenth-century Italy; in the last forty years of the century, "violetta" meant a viola, either large or small, the instrument sometimes alternatively named "viola di collo."<sup>43</sup> Although Walther mentions both types, "violetta" mostly meant viola after 1700.<sup>44</sup>

Brewer notes that the repertoire of Kroměříž includes parts labeled violetta that indicate viols, but that violetta may also sometimes denote some other type of instrument, perhaps one of the violin family. Brewer, *The Instrumental Music of Schmelzer, Biber, Muffat, and Their Contemporaries* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 143–44.

41. Badia, *S. Orsola vergine, e martire* (1694), <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00481379>, scans 51–58.

42. Badia, *Il comun giubilo del mondo* (1699), Mus. Hs. 16306, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00481371>.

43. Stephen Bonta, "Terminology for the Bass Violin in Seventeenth-Century Italy," *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 4 (1978): 5–42, here 32–37.

44. Strümper, *Die Viola da gamba*, 11–21.

Badia's convent works include arias with ambiguous or absent instrumental designations, but set in clefs appropriate to viols rather than violins or violas. One of these is the aria "Argenti liquidi," in *La fuga in Egitto* (1705),<sup>45</sup> which has parts for unnamed instruments in soprano, alto, and bass clefs, suggesting a consort of viols (Example 9). This little aria, marked Schietto (sincerely), mentions "hymns of glory to my Lord"<sup>46</sup> and is hymn-like in its simple setting and AB form, but dance-like in its dotted rhythms.

Schietto

[Viol 1]

[Viol 2]

S. Giuseppe

Ar-gen-ti li - qui-di, che con piè flu-i-do, cor - re - a por-ge - re

[Basso continuo]

7

7

7

7

Lunghamente

**Example 9.** Badia, *La fuga in Egitto* (1705), Mus. Hs. 16585, fol. 66r. "Argenti liquidi," mm. 1–10. (Silver liquids that with fluid feet / run to offer me relief.)

45. This work was long attributed to Leopold I, and it appears under his name in the catalogue of the Austrian National Library. Score: Mus. Hs. 16585, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00503320>, scans 136–38.

46. "Inni di Gloria / Al mio Signor."

The inclusion of repeat signs, but lack of further text, suggest that the aria, with its vocal part in tenor clef, might have been repeated as a chorus (perhaps doubled by viols, as in the final piece of Badia's *La Sepoltura di Christo*) or by the instruments alone. There is a piece in similar style in an anonymous setting of *La Santissima Annuntziata* that has all the characteristics of a Viennese convent score, but is not specifically identified as one.<sup>47</sup> The aria, for two instruments in soprano clef plus the bass clef part and a soprano soloist (Maria), is a little more complex musically, having a melisma on the word "fiamma" (flame) in the B section, but it too is in AB form with repeat signs, and the libretto contains no further text. Pieces such as these suggest that consort playing might have provided amusement for the nuns in their recreational hours, and also suggest something of what they may have played.

In Viennese convent culture of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, viols were often heard, and more than one size may have been in use. Viols took on specific meaning: a pair represented death; a single instrument, perhaps especially when played in virtuoso style, something like spirituality. Whether the viol was especially popular among women, if it was associated particularly with convents, and how widespread such attitudes might have been, are questions awaiting further research, especially for Germanic convents.

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47. Anonymous, "Oratorium di B. V. Maria," Mus. Hs. 18509, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AL00543282>. The text is Pietro Ottoboni, *La Santissima Annuntziata* (1700), also set by Alessandro Scarlatti. The music is not Scarlatti's, and no Viennese libretto survives to provide details of the performance of this score. See Page, *Convent Music*, 82. The work includes a duet with parts for Violini, Viole da braccio, and basso continuo (74–103). The part for viole da braccio is similar in its technical demands to the violin part.

### **Appendix: Convent Terminology**

**Bassistin.** A female bass. While the *Bassistinnen* were sometimes probably older nuns, at least one young woman in Vienna won a convent place with her beautiful bass voice.

**Choir nun.** A nun of good family who took full vows, was trained in music, and served in the choir, performing the sequence of daily office hours together with the other choir nuns. Convents also had lay sisters.

**Clothing ceremony.** The ceremony that took place in Viennese convents several weeks after a girl's entry, when she received her habit and became a novice. In many places, entry and clothing ceremonies were one.

**Entry.** The ceremony marking a girl's entrance into a convent. This ceremony was followed by several trial weeks, during which the girl's commitment to, and suitability for, convent life were judged.

**Lay sister.** Often from lower-class families, lay sisters acted as servants within the convent and performed a round of spoken prayers rather than the hours.

**Office, Office hours.** The daily round of services that served as the primary devotional activity of the convent. These might be sung, chanted, or even enhanced with polyphonic settings, according to the importance of the day in the church calendar.

**Profession.** The ceremony taking place a year after the entry, when the novice became a nun.

**Visitation.** The annual inspection of a convent by the church authorities, who judged each woman's industry and religious convictions, reviewed the convent's administration, and heard complaints.

## RECENT RESEARCH ON THE VIOL

**Ian Woodfield**

This bibliography is intended as a concise guide to recent research related to the viol. It lists books, articles, dissertations, selected reviews, published papers, and major scholarly editions of music. Research on any aspect of the viol (and related instruments such as the baryton) will qualify for inclusion. A sign of the changing times, this list incorporates an increasing number of on-line citations. Suggestions for additional entries in any language would be most welcome. They should be sent to Ian Woodfield, School of Creative Arts, Queen's University Belfast, Belfast BT7 1NN, Northern Ireland, or e-mailed to <i.woodfield@qub.ac.uk>.

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**Broude, Ronald, and Mary Cyr.** "Thoughts on Marais's second thoughts." *Early Music* 44 (2016): 417–26.

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## REVIEWS

**Georg Philipp Telemann.** *Twelve Fantasias for Viola da Gamba solo* (Hamburg, 1735), edited by Thomas Fritzsch and Günter von Zadow. Edition Güntersberg G281, 2016, modern print and facsimile, 48 pp. ISMN 979-0-50174-281-3. € 19.80.

### The Evolution of a Genre

At the time Georg Philipp Telemann wrote his twelve fantasias for solo viola da gamba (1735), he was fifty-four years old, a mature musician with a decades-long successful career. He was no stranger to the viol, having already composed a substantial body of literature for the instrument: four solo sonatas with basso continuo accompaniment, eight duos without bass, numerous trio sonatas, and a solo sonata *senza basso*. Additionally, he had published sets of fantasias for flute, harpsichord, and violin; those for flute and violin were *senza basso*. Thus, the works for viol may be considered the culmination of a larger project.

Most of Telemann's earlier writing for the viol was generic rather than idiomatic. The viol parts in the solo sonatas and trios of the *Essercizii Musici*, for example, employ only the top four strings, with a range of *c-c'*, and there are no chords or double stops. Furthermore, the music is written in the alto clef exclusively, making the parts readily playable on the alto recorder, flute, violin, or viola. In fact, much of Telemann's output indicated its use for several different instruments, such as the duets for "flutes, violins, or viols" published in the *Getreue Music-Meister*. All the above works are attractive and accessible, without making significant technical demands on the viol player.

The "Sonata" for solo viola da gamba *senza basso* TWV 40:1—the work was untitled—appearing in the *Getreue Music-Meister* (1728–29), exemplified a notable change. Here Telemann abandoned his earlier approach and composed for the full range of the six-string bass viol, taking advantage of the instrument's capacity for multi-voice and chordal passages. It is not a piece for the casual amateur, and indeed, Steven Zohn notes that it is "certainly among the most technically demanding works in the

entire German gamba repertory.”<sup>1</sup> The sonata is Italianate in form, with four movements: slow-fast-slow-fast. A quasi-improvisatory *Andante* is followed by a fugal *Vivace*. The third movement is particularly interesting: a *Recitatif* and *Arioso* (*Andante*), a form with which Telemann had already experimented in the E-minor sonata for viol and continuo from the *Essercizii Musici* (composed c. 1725, but published in 1740). Telemann recognized the viol’s unique ability to perform a convincing instrumental recitative by adding accompanimental chords and changes of harmony to a singing declamatory upper voice, and it is perhaps surprising that we do not find similar compositions for the viol from other composers. The *Arioso* that follows has little resemblance to an aria, being in fact a fugal composition with two voices throughout. As the movement progresses, the two voices separate between the top and bottom of the instrument, adding to the technical challenges of the counterpoint. The sonata ends with a spirited *Vivace*, a rondo-minuetto.

Possibly encouraged by positive reactions to his solo viol sonata, Telemann embarked on the ambitious project of composing several sets of twelve fantasias each. He published his first set for solo flute (TWV 40:2–13) in 1732–33; these were sold by subscription, with two fantasias appearing every two weeks. Each fantasia is in a different tonality, moving upward from A to G, and presenting a wide variety of genres and forms, including fugues, improvisatory slow adagios, and dance movements in binary form.<sup>2</sup> The fantasias are a compositional tour de force, “a feat of ingenuity and inspiration” in the words of flutist Rachel Brown,<sup>3</sup> expanding the known capabilities of the instrument.

Telemann next composed thirty-six *Fantaisies pour le Clavessin* (1732–33), consisting of relatively simple pieces in *galant* style,

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1. Steven Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste: Style, Genre, and Meaning in Telemann’s Instrumental Works* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 405. Zohn wrote this before the fantasias for viol were rediscovered.

2. See Zohn’s discussion of the movements of the flute and violin fantasias, *ibid.*, 427–31.

3. Rachel Brown, “Telemann Fantasias: A Feat of Ingenuity and Inspiration,” <http://www.rachelbrownflute.com/assets/telemann-fantasias-article----music3.pdf>, accessed 02/01/2017.



with mostly two-voice homophonic texture and only occasional imitative counterpoint. Each set of twelve fantasias exhibits certain unifying formal qualities, likely to have been imposed by the single-page format that Telemann chose in publishing the works; as Zohn notes, “Telemann the composer was sometimes constrained by Telemann the music publisher.”<sup>4</sup> The one-page format seems to have worked well for the flute fantasias, but when it came to the keyboard pieces, there was the immediate problem of length. Even with the most cramped of musical notation, a one-page keyboard work might last only a couple of minutes. This was clearly insufficient for a multi-movement genre, and Telemann found the clever solution of extending the printed material by way of da capo and rondeau forms. Additionally, every two fantasias were in related keys (usually the parallel minor or major) and presented as a pair; they were meant to be performed one after another, followed by a repeat of the first, creating a larger overarching A-B-A form.

A couple of years later, Telemann continued with his twelve fantasias for solo violin (1735), employing a variety of forms and genres similar to those of the flute fantasias, as well as to the viol fantasias that were to follow. As Telemann described the violin fantasias in his catalogue, the first six contained fugues and the others were “*Galanterien*.” Not only the fugues but also the other movements of fantasias 1–6 employ ample double stops and chords. The change to a largely single-voice, i.e. “*galant*,” texture in fantasias 7–12 is immediately perceptible, both audibly and visually, as can be observed in looking at the music. Although the fantasias showcase the bravura and virtuoso qualities of the violin, they are undoubtedly easier to play than the solo sonatas and partitas of J. S. Bach.

A comparison of Telemann’s earlier sonata for solo viol with the twelve viol fantasias is complicated by the imbalance of material between the two genres. Regardless, the sonata does not suffer in such a comparison in the least, neither in richness of musical ideas nor in Telemann’s handling of the instrument. Both genres present significant challenges to the viol player, although there are perhaps more double stops and chords in the

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4. Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste*, 352.

sonata. There are also certain passages in the fantasias that prove particularly difficult, with awkward or “impossible” stretches and chords, a complaint of violinists as well. Although Telemann did not specifically promise fugues and *Galanterien*, as in the violin fantasias, he had in fact done the same, although this is not so immediately apparent. In this case, the fugal fantasias with double stops and chords are the odd-numbered ones, while the even-numbered fantasias tend toward the *galant*.

The technical difficulties of the viol fantasias do not necessarily signify a virtuosic capacity on the part of the composer. As a boy, Telemann learned to play almost every instrument, including the viol, an ability expected of serious music pupils in Germany at the time. However, his talents as a performer were secondary to his determination to write his own music, a determination that had manifested itself by the age of ten. In his autobiography of 1740, Telemann describes his fascination, or rather obsession, with the art of composition:

During these classes [the cantor] would be composing, but whenever he turned his back on us, I would look at his scores and would always find something in them to delight me. But I have no idea why I would get excited about this. In short, I was prompted to snatch up all different kinds of music and write out my own copies of the scores which I would study assiduously and thereby gain greater understanding until, finally, I report this in all honesty, I began composing myself . . . .<sup>5</sup>

In the case of the fantasias, it is unlikely that Telemann composed them from the perspective of a viol virtuoso, or that he even played the works himself. Instead, he almost certainly followed the necessities of the music as conceived in his mind. If he was aware of having written “awkwardnesses,” he trusted the performer to make it work somehow.

Regarding the significance of the viola da gamba in the first half of the eighteenth century, Thomas Fritzsich, in his introduction to the Güntersberg edition of the Fantasias, comments on the decline of the instrument, particularly in Germany. He adds, “In 1735,

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5. Telemann, “His Autobiography,” from Johann Mattheson’s *Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740). Translation by Thomas Braatz, 2009, <http://www.bach-cantatas.com/Other/TelemannEPMattheson.pdf>, accessed 07/13/2017.

it seems to have taken the entrepreneurial courage and clever sales strategy of a personality who was admired in all Europe [Telemann]. . . to successfully market a dozen fantasias for the solo viola da gamba, a product that had become almost unsaleable.”<sup>6</sup> While it is true that the amount of published music for the viol fell off in Germany during the early part of the eighteenth century, this may well have been part of a larger collapse of the German music publishing industry. During that period, French viol players including the Marais and Forqueray families, Caix d’Herveois, Charles Dollé, et al. were actively performing and publishing their music, not to mention the vast amount of French chamber music written for the viol. In his 1740 autobiography, Telemann describes his 1737 visit to Paris as “long-postponed”; surely he would have considered the significant number of French viol players as potential customers for his fantasias. Furthermore, in the past twenty years there have been several scholarly studies of the eighteenth-century viol repertoire, including Fred Flassig’s *Die solistische Gambenmusik in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert* (1998), Marc Strümper’s *Die Viola da gamba am Wiener Kaiserhof* (2004), Michael O’Loghlin’s *Frederick the Great and His Musicians* (2008), and Peter Holman’s *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (2010). Together with the many solo and chamber works featuring the viol composed by Telemann himself, there seems ample evidence of a healthy market for viol music at the time he composed his fantasias. With the benefit of hindsight we now see that it was indeed the “beginning of the end” for the instrument, as a consequence of the inevitable triumph of the violin family. Nonetheless, Carl Ludwig Junker’s 1777 observations on the viol’s neglect are not necessarily proof of its neglect four decades earlier.<sup>7</sup>

The Telemann fantasias will inevitably invite comparisons to the compositions of Bach, above all the works for solo flute, solo violin, and solo cello. However, Bach and Telemann had very different performers and audiences in mind, and this author has previously argued that Bach’s six cello suites were not necessarily

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6. Fritsch, Introduction to the edition under review, ix.

7. Ibid.

intended for performance.<sup>8</sup> In any case, Bach was composing for a select group of musical connoisseurs and intellectuals. Telemann, on the contrary, was writing for a large body of professional and amateur performers. Bach aimed to impress, Telemann to delight. We gambists are indeed fortunate to have our repertoire expanded with this collection of pieces from one of the most important musicians of the eighteenth century, one who can stand on his own merits. As the public becomes increasingly aware of the degree and quality of his genius, of which the viol fantasias are a prime example, Telemann will hopefully take his rightful place as a major figure of the Western musical canon.

Christine Kyprianides

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8. Christine Kyprianides, “*Musica sui generis: Confronting the Obvious in the Bach Cello Suites*,” in Timothy D. Watkins, ed., *Performance Practice: Issues and Approaches* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Steglein, 2009): 137–57.

### **Becoming Acquainted with a Long-Lost Friend**

In Hamburg, *anno* 1735, following the publication of twelve fantasias for solo violin the same year, twelve fantasias for the flute without bass (1732–33), as well as thirty-six for the harpsichord (1732–33), Telemann’s catalogue of musical publications announced the following: “Telemann Publishing will be releasing 12 fantasias for the viola di gamba [without] bass...” Two of these fantasias appeared on October 13, 1735, and little by little, two at a time were released each Thursday, with an accompanying vocal work. The whole collection was finally available on January 13, 1736: “Telemann Music has published the following new works in a fairly short space of time, and they are available from the firm:... Twelve fantasias for the violin, without bass...; the same for the viola da gamba.”<sup>1</sup>

As often was the case with Telemann’s collections of fantasias, the title page was written in French. It offered: “Fantaisies pour la Basse de Violle faites et dediées à Mr. Pierre Chaunell, par

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1. Quotations from Carsten Lange’s Introduction to the Güntersberg edition, p. vii.

Telemann”; in other words, fantasias for the bass viol written for and dedicated to Mr. Pierre Chaunell. It is unknown whether Chaunell played the viol. As a Huguenot refugee, he had fled the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in France in 1685, eventually becoming one of the richest businessmen in Germany. He was clearly a fan of Telemann’s music. He was a regular subscriber to Telemann’s publications and had previously purchased a number of Telemann’s works. His name is among those in the subscribers’ list in Telemann’s *Musique de Table* (1733), as well as the *Nouveaux Quatuors* (1738).

Scholars have known of these works for solo bass viol from various announcements and catalogues, some cited above, but had considered them permanently lost. Thanks to the French musicologist François-Pierre Goy and the German gambist, cellist, and musicologist Thomas Fritzsich, an extant copy was tracked down in 2014. This only known surviving copy came from the private library of Eleonore von Münster (1734–1794) in the Ledenburg Palace, near Hanover. This collection was transferred to the Landesarchiv Osnabrück, the state archives of Lower Saxony, in 2000. Telemann’s engraved edition consists of a title page, followed by the twelve fantasias, one per page, giving a total of thirteen printed pages in 21.8 x 28 cm format. Apparently, the ink had faded over time, and in places had literally crumbled off the page, as the paper yellowed with the passing centuries.

The twelve fantasias are hardly an example of frivolously composed or hastily prepared work by Telemann, just for publication, aimed primarily at an amateur market. Wherever one looks in this collection one is presented with Telemann’s compositional craft at its finest. This includes inventive counterpoint, even fugues,<sup>2</sup> not an easy exercise for a composer, and less so for the performer who must execute them on a solo bowed instrument. Telemann demonstrates that he is keenly aware of the latest musical styles in 1735, such as the *style galant*, without neglecting the older Baroque style. As with many German composers, Telemann is very comfortable in crossing borders and therefore incorporating all the various European national styles.

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2. See for example the Vivace of Fantasia 7 in G minor or the lovely Grave from Fantasia 8 in A major.

Certain passages hark back to Vivaldi, others to Bach, or perhaps Rameau.

From the outset, I of course expected great music, but, as a viol player, was prepared for a limited understanding of the viol's innate capacities or techniques. I was thinking of something along the lines of the sublime music of François Couperin, for example, in which he puts great demands on the violist with almost impossible stretches of the left hand or very unorganized and difficult-to-execute topsy-turvy bow strokes. This is far from the case here. We cannot know with any certainty how proficient Telemann actually was on the viol. We do know that, according to his own autobiographical sketches, he had taught himself the instrument. If he actually performed this music he had written, he was quite an accomplished player. One curiosity that could surprise the viol player on first reading is Telemann's use of a fourth-finger extension, in addition to the usual first-finger one. This is recurrent throughout the fantasias and attests to either his extreme agility, huge hands, or, perhaps, a smaller instrument than what we assume for Germany in the 1730s.<sup>3</sup> With each successive reading, I am astounded by the wealth of musical ideas and the subtle and daring harmonies. *Galant*-style augmented thirds are interwoven with intensely chromatic and dissonant passages; pedals are used in a style reminiscent of Charles Dollé's music for the bass viol published two years after this collection in 1737.

If one makes a side-by-side comparison of this music with that of some of his very successful French contemporaries such as the prolific Louis de Caix d'Hervelois, who unfortunately is known for his often uninspired lack of harmonic or melodic invention,<sup>4</sup> one can only marvel at Telemann's present contribution to the viol's repertoire. This is particularly evident in the savvy counterpoint going as far as full-fledged fugues, intriguing and unexpected harmonic changes, and beautiful, skillfully contrived mastery of melodic lines. By contrast, in Caix d'Hervelois's works the harmony is generally quite basic and melodic ideas regrettably

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3. See for example Fantasia 2, Andante, m. 17; Fantasia 4, Vivace, mm. 33–34 and 37–38; Fantasia 10, Siciliana, m. 7.

4. See for example Caix d'Hervelois, *Second Livre de Pièces de Virole* (1719), not to denigrate other wonderful works by this composer.

predictable.

Telemann spent eight months in Paris, as attested to in an autobiographical account.<sup>5</sup> While there he heard his “Parisian” quartets performed by Jean-Baptiste Antoine Forqueray on the viol, Michel Blavet on the flute, Jean-Pierre Guignon on the violin, and a certain Prince Édouard on the cello or harpsichord. He wrote, “My long-postponed visit to Paris finally took place at Michaelmas 1737, and lasted eight months. Some virtuosi there who liked some of my printed compositions had invited me to Paris several years before.”<sup>6</sup> Would it be too much to venture that the “printed compositions” mentioned might have included the present fantasias which indeed were printed “several years before”? Whether by fortuity or due to conscious paraphrasing on Rameau’s part, Telemann provides us with four measures, repeated twice, in the D major fantasia (movement 3, Presto, mm. 5–8 repeated in mm. 25–28; Example 1a) very similar to the opening measures of Rameau’s “La Poplinière” in his *Pièces de Clavecin en Concerts* (Example 1b), published in 1741, six years after these fantasias.



**Example 1a.** Telemann, Fantasia 2, Presto, mm. 25–28



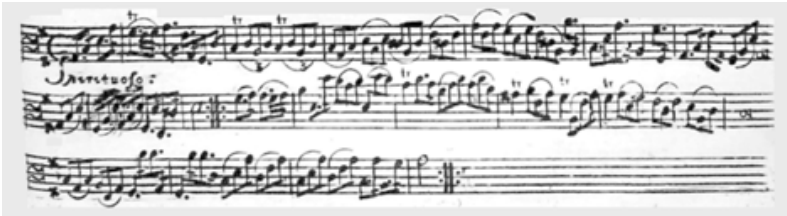
**Example 1b.** Rameau, “La Poplinière,” opening measures

The Spirituoso in the G major Fantasia no. 6 (movement 3, measures 6–7 and 14–15; Example 2a) calls to mind “La Ferrand” from

5. Walter Bergmann, “Telemann in Paris,” *The Musical Times*, vol. 108, no. 1498 (Dec. 1967): 1101–3. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/951885>

6. Translation in Bergmann, *ibid.*, 1101.

Antoine (probably Jean-Baptiste Antoine) Forqueray's *Pièces de Viole* (Example 2b), published twelve years later in 1747. Again, as in the example cited previously concerning Rameau, Telemann relies on an arpeggiated chord figure, in this case triplets, in certain ways reminiscent of the Forqueray work. It might just be plausible that these Parisian musicians were influenced by this great foreign visitor, Herr Telemann.



**Example 2a.** Telemann, Fantasia 6, Spirituoso: see mm. 6–7 and 14–15



**Example 2b.** Forqueray, “La Ferrand,” opening measures

As the viol developed over the course of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, it was perfected as a solo chamber instrument in the hands of several French virtuosi. This, of course, was facilitated by structural changes, such as the invention of wound strings and the subsequent introduction of the seventh (and lowest) string, both attributed to Sainte-Colombe, as well as advancements in instrumental technique regarding both the left hand and bowing. This began under Sainte-Colombe's tutelage, reaching its apogee under Marin Marais and the Forquerays, both father and son. The French viol originally was used as a solo, unaccompanied instrument like the lute. Nicolas Hotman (c. 1610–1663), Sainte-Colombe (seventeenth century), as well as Le Sieur Dubuisson (Jean Lacquemant, c. 1622–1688), all contributed to this genre. Marais's first compositions (manuscripts before 1686 found in Scotland and his first book of *Pièces de Viole* [1686]) also were published without the bass and



performed as such. Only in 1689 did Marais publish a bass part for this music, the first publication in France of a bass partbook to go with any instrumental solos, not just the viol, which therefore broke a century-old tradition.

Across the Channel, compositions for unaccompanied bass viol had reached their heyday over the course of the seventeenth century in English lyra viol music. The single connection in France to this particular style of unaccompanied writing can be found in le Sieur Demachy's only publication, *Pièces de Violle en Musique et en Tablature* (1685). Demachy further showed a link to the English by composing four suites in tablature and proposing an eventual subsequent work in scordatura tunings, as typically found in lyra viol music. Telemann's publication, in the fourth decade of the eighteenth century, is therefore very unusual at a time when composing an accompaniment especially for the viol was *à la mode*. The genre of solo unaccompanied viol music witnessed its final legacy in the music of Carl Friedrich Abel (1723–1787).

Telemann's compositions for solo viol stand out by virtue of essentially being sonatas. Instead of dance movements, in many cases preceded by *préludes*, as in the case of most of the aforementioned music, he generally favored an Italian-influenced style, hence non-dance movements such as *Vivace*, *Allegro*, *Presto*, *Grave*, etc. He therefore was taking an innovative direction where his precursors for solo viol on both sides of the Channel usually had chosen these dance forms. This is a clear distinction from the (earlier) English solo viol tradition as well as the French one, or for that matter his illustrious contemporary Bach who in the previous decade had used French dance forms in his solo cello music. Each fantasia follows the scheme of an introductory first movement, usually of substantial duration, followed by a shorter fast movement, or in some of the fantasias one slow and one fast movement to round out the entire piece. The fantasias range from about five to ten minutes in duration, which makes it easy to include a couple of them in any chamber music concert.

That being said, nothing is predictable in terms of the form, the tonality, the melodic or aesthetic inspiration. The tonalities that Telemann chooses, for example, are in some cases quite surprising, and even reminiscent of Marais's daring key choices in his Fourth

Book's Suite "*d'un Goût Étranger*" (1717). Was Telemann aware of Marais's monumental composition *La Gamme*, "*en forme de petit opera*," published in 1723, twelve years before Telemann's fantasias? We know that Marais's publications found their place in viol players' and music lovers' libraries all over Europe.<sup>7</sup> Marais's piece follows an ascending and then descending scale:

I. C - D - E - F - G - A - B - C - B - A - G

II. F - E - D - C

The tonal ordering of Telemann's twelve Fantasias deviates only a little from a scale:

1. C minor
2. D major
3. E minor
4. F major
5. B-flat major
6. G major
7. G minor
8. A major
9. C major
10. E major
11. D minor
12. E-flat major

I would like to now enter into a little more detail on the actual music, but rather than an in-depth analysis of each fantasia I would just like to describe some of the points that particularly struck me while working on, and subsequently recording, this music. My hope is to inspire violist readers to obtain this incredible music themselves and to dig right in!

It is in the first movement of each of these pieces that Italian inspiration comes to the fore, as evidenced in the initial fantasia in C minor. This movement follows a practice common to earlier Italian music of alternating contrasting tempos, where each half of the movement has the same Adagio-Allegro relationship. This is performed, as in early Italian sonatas such as Castello, without a pause, one section running into the next. The opening motif

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7. Already in France we find Marais's *Pièces de Viole* in the library in Carpentras, or his publication *La Gamme* in Montbrison.

manifests itself as a haunting arpeggiated figure that introduces the initial Adagio. This is followed six measures later by the first Allegro. Then at measure 28 the same Adagio arpeggiated figure returns a fourth lower, and then the Allegro movement subsequently follows. This fantasia is only in two movements, the aforementioned one and the following Allegro.

The subsequent fantasia in D major commences with a Vivace in a more *galant* style, which returns in its entirety as a da capo after the second movement Andante. In some ways, this fantasia is reminiscent of the other known D major piece by Telemann for unaccompanied viol, the four movements of which appear, separated into two installments, in *Der getreue Music-Meister*.<sup>8</sup> I personally see more compositional craft displayed in this work than its predecessor. This is particularly evident in the beautiful and innovative use of double stops under a slur in measures 12–15 and repeated from measures 48 to 50, using an open string to alternate a unison and a minor second.

The E minor fantasia starts with a Largo. This resplendent movement is evocative in its mood of Marais's Prélude in E minor from his Second Book (1701) using, of course, the same key. The following movement is a contrapuntal Presto with startling dissonances using the viol technique of rapid eighths and fugal writing under a bow akin to that of Charles Dollé's Fugue in G major (1737).

It is impressive in Fantasia 4, in F major, that Telemann can take this key, which certainly is not the most idiomatic for the viol, and transform it into something so utterly convincing and resplendent. Also, this movement exhibits Telemann's dexterity with a fourth-finger extension, which occurs twice in measures 33–34 and again in 37–38 (Example 3). The opening Vivace is itself in da capo form.



**Example 3.** Telemann, Fantasia 4, Vivace, mm. 32–34

8. Lektion 15 and 16 from *Der getreue Music-Meister* (Hamburg, 1728–29).

The next fantasia, in B-flat major, starts as an Allegro. It begins with a fugue-like set of insistent eighth notes and also contains Telemann's beautiful use of slurred double stops in the passage in measures 3 and 32 somewhat akin to the similar passages in the D major fantasia mentioned above.

The G major fantasia's first movement is a musette-like Scherzando in which Telemann cleverly exploits the instrument's capacity to produce a steady stream of double stops. The second movement Dolce is particularly striking, with an extensive use of double stops sprinkled with just the correct dose of dissonance.

The G minor fantasia, in some ways evocative of the atmosphere of Bach's solo violin music, opens with an Andante in binary form with repeats. The Vivace that follows harks back to the solo violin music that Telemann printed at roughly the same time. Here Telemann writes a fugue for a solo bowed string instrument where in m. 4, at the entrance of the second voice, he uses double stops to introduce a delicate countersubject.

The A major fantasia's opening movement is a simple Allegro with French Caix d'Hervelois-like *batteries* (or alternating recurrent sixteenths in the high register against a moving bass) punctuated with a higher pedal note. The Grave that follows is one of the most haunting, harmonically self-sufficient pieces in the collection, with almost constant double-stopping from beginning to end.

The C major fantasia's first movement is a Presto making use of double stops to write two independent voices. Again one finds a true fugal style and virtuosic eighth-note passages. The last movement, an Allegro, exhibits opening motifs in syncopation, a particularly intriguing effect.

The next in E major has echoes of Versailles and the musettes, both the instruments and the pieces named for them, so in favor at the court in France in the eighteenth century. It alternates Dolce-Allegro twice in a row as a first movement. Here we find a Siciliana as a second movement, clearly indicating Telemann's taste in Italian music.

The next to last fantasia in D minor boasts an Allegro with a section of constant large chords "en plein" or non-arpeggiated full chords, exploiting the resources of the resonance of the bass

viol's natural tuning in D. The last movement in 9/8 is unique in its extensive use of staccato bowing, as indicated by daggers on the first six eighth notes, and subsequently on a couple of groups of eighth notes in the second half of the piece (Example 4).



**Example 4.** Telemann, Fantasia 11, Allegro

The collection ends with the Fantasia in E-flat major that leads off with a gorgeous Andante. This movement exhibits a particular *galant* style with its series of lombard figures in thirty-second and dotted sixteenth notes.

This brings us to the edition itself. With each new publication, Güntersberg has further demonstrated its dedication to and interest in bringing to light hitherto unknown works. This is certainly the case here, and we must thank the publisher for having contributed significantly to the solo repertoire for the viol, especially with this music of the highest quality. The publisher Günter von Zadow, who is also the co-editor of this edition, is himself a musician and one of the most meticulous and dedicated editors we have for viol music.

The present edition is no exception: the page layout is punctilious, beautifully presented, and (almost) flawless. The cover art reproduces the original manuscript's title page, while the back of the edition has Telemann's portrait. This adds to the attractiveness of the edition. The musicological text presented by Carsten Lange from the Zentrum für Telemann-Pflege, Thomas

Fritzsche, and Günter von Zadow himself is fascinating and well documented. Not an articulation marking nor a slur is in the wrong place. The page turns have been carefully planned so that each and every fantasia can be read without page turns from a single opening in the book. A facsimile of the original edition is also provided, making a distinct break with this publisher's more typical policy of publishing new editions without facsimile reprints. It is very reassuring to consult; as previously mentioned, the harmonies and dissonances are so *avant-garde* for the period, it is easy in places to wonder whether the editor might have made a transcription error! Telemann himself cramped each fantasia onto one page. Obviously in a time where printing was not ubiquitous as it is nowadays, and certainly more costly, that made sense. However, for the comfort of one's eyes, it is a relief to have each fantasia spread across two facing pages.

The only dubious point is found in m. 27 of the Presto of Fantasia no. 3 in E minor. The edition gives an open octave A, the lowest note being on the fifth string and the other, if played as printed in this edition, on the open second string. This means one must bow both the fifth and second string simultaneously without touching the other two strings that of course are in between! No combination of fingerings will render the passage playable. Of course, plucked it could be accomplished, but not with a bow. According to Günter von Zadow in the preface to the edition, the original manuscript was "yellow," and "The ink has faded or peeled off in places." When one carefully scrutinizes the facsimile of Telemann's original print, this particular measure 27 seems to reveal the missing notes of the chord: an open *c* fourth string and open *e* third string making a perfect A minor chord requiring exactly one finger. Of course, this is a very common chord for the viol, one finger for the left hand and a simple arpeggio from the fifth to the second string. (In the course of preparing this review the author consulted von Zadow on this particular point, who was able to send someone for a second look at the original in the library, confirming that the *c* and *e*, still faintly present, had been partially erased at some point. These two notes will be added into future prints of this edition.)

This is remarkable music and certainly a totally unexpected and

invaluable addition to the solo viol's repertoire. It was the result of careful scholarship as well as detective work on the part of the musicologists, and we must again thank the editor for having spent the time to make a modern edition and reprint the original. Finally, we violists have our cello suites.

Jonathan Dunford

**Louis Couperin.** *The Extant Works for Wind or String Instruments*, ed. Mary Cyr. The Broude Trust, 2015. ISBN 0-8450-7270-6. Score and parts, \$60 (score alone, \$30).

By any measure, the list of Louis Couperin's compositions for instrumental ensemble would be a short one. Mary Cyr's new edition of *The Extant Works for Wind or String Instruments* contains ten short pieces. The intended instrumentation, or even the exact number of parts, is not in every case clear from the sources. From a purely numerical perspective, this group of pieces must be viewed as a footnote to his large oeuvre of solo keyboard pieces. However, the stature of this composer who established one of history's most illustrious musical dynasties practically guarantees more than a passing interest in these pieces.

Louis Couperin (c. 1626–1661) is primarily known for his keyboard music. He wrote more than 130 harpsichord pieces and a further 70 organ pieces. Nearly all of his surviving music is transmitted by three manuscript sources: the "Bauyn" manuscript, a highly important French compilation of keyboard music, produced c. 1690, once owned by the Bauyn d'Angervilliers family, held by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (F-Pn Rés. Vm<sup>7</sup> 674–675); the manuscript inscribed "M. de Parville", copied in late-seventeenth-century France, discovered in Italy in 1968, and now located in the Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library at the University of California, Berkeley (US-BEm ms. 778); and the manuscript copied in France in the 1650s and 1660s, purchased by Guy Oldham in a shop in London in the late 1950s and still in his private possession.<sup>1</sup> All three sources are compilations of keyboard

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1. Guy Oldham, "Louis Couperin: A New Source of French Keyboard Music of the Mid 17th Century," *Recherches sur la musique française classique* 1

music by various composers, with Couperin's harpsichord music largely in the Bauyn and Parville manuscripts, while the Oldham manuscript is the source for his organ music.

Couperin's appointment as organist at the church of St. Gervais in Paris in 1653 insured his status as a keyboardist, and launched the Couperin family's 173-year tenure in this post. However, he was also an accomplished string player. It was as violinist and composer of ensemble music that he first impressed Jacques Chambonnières who consequently introduced him at court, where, according to Titon du Tillet, the position of *joueur de dessus de viole* was created for him.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, he is recorded as having played viol in at least four court ballet productions of the 1650s, including the *Ballet de la Raillerie* of 1659 where he played alongside Nicolas Hotman.<sup>3</sup>

The ten pieces in Mary Cyr's edition of *The Extant Works for Wind or String Instruments* all come from the Oldham and Bauyn manuscripts. Five of the pieces, nos. 1–5 of the edition, are transmitted by the sources in all their parts as ensemble pieces. The first four of these are in five parts, while no. 5 is a three-part piece. Four of the pieces in the edition, nos. 6–9, are transmitted in reduced score and appear in the edition this way and again in Appendix 1 as nos. 6a–9a, filled out with reconstructed *parties de remplissage* to make them into five-part ensemble pieces. The tenth and final piece in the edition, which occupies Appendix 2, is a *Duo*, previously published as an organ solo, which Cyr speculates might have originated as an ensemble piece.

The first four pieces in this collection, each titled “fantaisie,” are all uniquely transmitted by the Oldham ms. They are the only examples of Louis Couperin's five-part writing. According to Cyr, these pieces appear in the source on a three-staff system with top voice on the top staff in treble (G2) clef, the next two voices on the middle staff in alto (C3) clef, and the lowest two voices on the

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(1960): 51–60.

2. Titon du Tillet, *Le Parnasse françois* (Paris, 1732), 402, cited in Cyr's Introduction to the edition under review, ix.

3. Charles Bouvet, *Une dynastie de musiciens français: Les Couperin, organistes de l'Église Saint Gervais* (Paris: Delagrave, 1919; reprinted New York and Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1977), 23–26, cited in Cyr's Introduction, x.



bottom staff in bass (F4) clef.<sup>4</sup> The score in the edition gives each part its own staff line with the top two in G2, the next two in C3, and the bass in F4 clef. The pieces appear in the source grouped as two pairs. The first of these, nos. 1 and 2 in the edition, are the *Fantaisie* (Oldham, 43v–44r), dated 1654 in the source, and the *Autre fantaisie* (Oldham, 44r–44v), dated 24 April 1655. Both are in G minor, and both contain frequent changes of meter with sections in dotted rhythms alternating with sections in triple time, reminiscent of very concentrated overtures. Cyr suggests that the ranges of these two fantasias would be well suited for either a violin band or a viol consort.<sup>5</sup> The next pair, nos. 3 and 4, which appear later in the source, are the *Fantaisie sur le Jeu des hautbois* (Oldham, 56v–57r) and the *Fantaisie sur le mesme Jeu* (Oldham, 57r–57v), both in D minor and both dated 1654.<sup>6</sup> These are the only two pieces in the edition intended for winds rather than strings. “Hautbois” at this time would have referred to shawms. The term “jeu” could have meant a stop on an organ, or a set (consort) of instruments. These two fantasias are metrically more grounded, more closely resembling the French overture style. Each of them opens and closes in duple-meter sections, with dotted rhythms, which bookend the two movements’ central triple-meter sections. As presented in the source, all four pieces could be played on the organ. However, Cyr believes that the independence, in places, of the inner parts, which is unusual for keyboard music, and the fact that these are the only examples of Couperin writing in five parts, are strong indicators that these were not conceived as keyboard solos. The two shawm fantasias, the only ones of the bunch to designate winds, would also be readily playable on viols.

The final piece in the section of this edition dedicated to pieces transmitted in all their parts, no. 5, is the three-part *Simphonie par M.<sup>r</sup> Couperin* (Bauyn, III, 26v) in D minor. Like the other Bauyn pieces in this collection, it is not dated in the source. The manuscript gives the top voice on its own staff beginning in treble

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4. Cyr, Introduction, xi.

5. Ibid.

6. These two pieces were published previously: “Two Pieces for 5-part Shawm Band by Louis Couperin” in *Music Libraries and Instruments*. ed. Unity Sherrington and Guy Oldham (London: Hinrichsen, 1961), 233–38.

(G2) clef, changing to French violin (G1) clef in m. 17. The middle and bass voices share the bottom staff in baritone (F3) clef.<sup>7</sup> While the parts are transmitted on two staves, here Couperin has written a real trio with three equal parts. The edition emphasizes this by presenting the piece on a three-staff system (G2, C3, and F4), which gives even more of an impression of instrumental ensemble music than the double staff of the source. The middle part for this piece is included in the edition's *taille* partbook, which is entirely in alto clef. While the part fits perfectly on the bottom three strings of a viola, a scoring of violin, viola, and bass violin seems uncharacteristic. This middle part would also fit comfortably on either a tenor or bass viol.

The second section of this edition, containing the items numbered 6–9, is concerned with the “Instrumental Works Transmitted in Reduced Score,” consisting of four pieces, all from the Bauyn ms. This section gives the pieces, as they occur in the source, presented as *pièces de clavecin* on a double-staved score. Opinions will differ from piece to piece as to whether the manuscript is actually conveying multi-voiced pieces reduced to short score, two-part pieces with continuo accompaniment, or simple harpsichord pieces. Two of these pieces, nos. 6 and 7, mention viols in their titles: *Fantaisie pour les Violes par M.<sup>r</sup> Couperin* (Bauyn, III, 25v) and *Fantaisie de Violes par M.<sup>r</sup> Couperin* (Bauyn, III, 24v–25r),<sup>8</sup> both in D minor. The Bauyn ms. presents both pieces with the upper staff in French violin (G1) clef and the lower one in baritone (F3) clef. Both are lightly figured, which could suggest continuo accompaniment or could hint at the voice leading of missing parts. The first of these *fantaisies* contains four measures (m. 12 and mm. 44–46)<sup>9</sup> where a third (middle) part is introduced. It would be possible to interpret this fragmentary

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7. This piece has been published previously as a harpsichord solo in Louis Couperin, *Pièces de clavecin*, ed. Paul Brunold (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1936; rev. by Thurston Dart; rev., with new introduction, by Davitt Moroney [Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1985] = Moroney (1985)), no. 145.

8. Moroney (1985), nos. 142 and 143 respectively.

9. The edition counts upbeats in its measure numbering, and counts all the measures in first and second endings separately, so the equivalent bars are counted as m. 13 and mm. 46–48.

third part as an indication that the bass line should be played by two instruments, a viol that would take the upper more melodic part in the handful of places where a third voice emerges, while the chordal instrument continues with the lowest line and filling in the harmonies. These two pieces have generally been viewed as solos for viol with continuo, in which case the upper part might be read down an octave on a bass viol, or might be a solo for the treble viol. Cyr suggests that this notation could represent reduced versions of pieces originally for more parts.<sup>10</sup> She further takes up the argument that two of the subsequent pieces in the Bauyn ms., *Simphonie par M.<sup>r</sup> Couperin* (Bauyn, III, 26r) in A minor, the edition's no. 8, and *Simphonie par M.<sup>r</sup> Couperin* (Bauyn, III, 27r) in F major, the edition's no. 9,<sup>11</sup> might also be reductions of instrumental ensemble pieces. Both are written on two-staff (G1 and F3) systems in the source. Cyr's rationale for including these as instrumental pieces includes the fact that *simphonie* was not commonly used for keyboard pieces, and, in the case of no. 9, the existence of a third voice from m. 18 to the end of the piece.<sup>12</sup> Moroney, on the other hand, suggests that this piece is "a dialogue for two solo instruments finally playing together at the end."<sup>13</sup> The third, inner part, and briefly the melody too (mm. 18–19), were written on the lower staff, voiced tightly with the bass. Cyr's edition raises these parts by an octave, which is not strictly speaking necessary, but it does create a version of the piece that better supports her idea of a five-part reconstruction.

The two fantasies and two simphonies from the Bauyn ms., described in the preceding paragraph, are all treated to some cushioning in this edition's Appendix 1, which gives speculative five-part reconstructions of these pieces, nos. 6a–9a. The practice of notating ensemble music in reduced short scores was certainly widespread in seventeenth-century France, and it was not unknown for composers, such as Lully, to leave it to assistants to write the inner parts for their five-part music. If these pieces were,

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10. Cyr, Introduction, xii.

11. Moroney (1985), nos. 144 and 147 respectively.

12. Cyr, Introduction, xii.

13. Moroney (1985), 222.

in fact, performed in four- or five-part renditions, “it is possible that performers improvised the inner parts to Couperin’s pieces.”<sup>14</sup> The editor, therefore, makes a good case for adding inner parts as a way of achieving one of the possible realizations of these pieces. The editorial inner parts are tastefully composed. They add fullness, while rarely standing out independently, so that they create the kind of texture that was common in French music. However, the pieces as passed down, in their more transparent textures, do not sound unidiomatic. It will be up to individual listeners to judge the ultimate merits of these reconstructions.

The Introduction to this edition is densely packed with information. It can be confusing trying to connect the descriptions in the text with the correct pieces in the edition. This confusion is somewhat abetted by the fact that early on, in the first paragraph of p. xi, the names of the two manuscripts seem to have been inadvertently exchanged, so that the text mentions four pieces uniquely in Bauyn and five uniquely in Oldham, while a glance at the score indicates that the numbers must be reversed. Cyr presents much useful information about performance practice, including some discussion about the families of instruments that would have been available, and which ones would have been better suited to different circumstances along with a consideration of possible use of *basse continue* in the ensemble music of this time. She does not strongly interject her own opinion, leaving it to the performer to decide. Other brief discussions of meter and tempo, dynamics, slurs and ties, ornamentation, and inequality will be helpful for the novice, but have little to say specifically about these pieces. She mentions the fluidity of scoring that probably prevailed, including the likelihood that pieces presented in one context would have been performed in many different ways.<sup>15</sup> It is in this regard that she presents the Duo in G minor as Appendix 2. This Duo, presented not as an extant ensemble piece, but as one of a number of possible examples of keyboard pieces that could have plausibly been performed in different guises, does not receive its own number in the edition. This is the only piece in the edition that appears in both sources (Oldham, 46r–47r, used as the

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14. Cyr, Introduction, xii.

15. Cyr, Introduction, xvii.

edition's principal source, and Bauyn, II, 59v–60v).<sup>16</sup> The piece is “presented for performance by two viols,” presumably treble and bass. It does work nicely as an instrumental duet, though it is arguable whether a bass viol in France in the mid-1650s would have had the low C written in the penultimate bar of the piece.

The edition has many attractive qualities typical of Broude editions: nice, heavy paper; crisp printing; and well-conceived layout, so that notes are comfortably legible and the parts avoid page turns within pieces. In addition to the useful Introduction, the scholarly scaffolding includes a clear description of the noninvasive editorial policies, descriptions of the two sources, and commentaries about the individual pieces. The edition provides six partbooks, so that the second part can be furnished in both treble and alto clefs. It might have been useful if the score had labeled the staff lines, perhaps in brackets to indicate that these names do not appear in the sources. This would facilitate quick matching of the partbooks, labeled *dessus*, *haut-contre*, *taille*, *quinte*, and *basse*, with the correct staff lines. The overall accuracy of the edition is good.<sup>17</sup> This is really wonderful music.

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16. The edition does include a sour note, an A in the bass on beat 4 of m. 43, where Bauyn has a much more satisfying G. The editorial Commentary does not address this measure. The Oldham source, which Cyr was fortunate to use, is not widely accessible.

17. This is not intended as an exhaustive list of mistakes, but a few notable errors occur: no. 5, m. 11 omits a figure “2” that appears in the source; no. 7, m. 33 inexplicably shows a dotted rhythm on beat 2 where the source has straight eighths; no. 9, m. 14 also omits a figure “2”.

## CONTRIBUTOR PROFILES

**Mary Cyr** is Professor emerita at the University of Guelph (Ontario, Canada) and holds a Ph.D. in musicology from the University of California, Berkeley. She helped to establish degree programs in early music, viola da gamba, and Baroque cello at McGill University, and she has lectured and performed widely in Canada, the United States, England, Australia, and New Zealand. She is the author of *Style and Performance in French Baroque Music for Bowed String Instruments* (Ashgate, 2012). She also edited four volumes of Jacquet de La Guerre's music and a two-volume critical edition of the music of the Forqueray family. Her other recent work on Marais has appeared in *The Musical Times* (Autumn, 2016) and *Early Music* (August, 2016), the latter article co-authored with Ronald Broude.

**Jonathan Dunford** has become one of the principal forces in bringing solo seventeenth-century music for unaccompanied bass viol back to public attention. He has performed in concert halls worldwide, as well as in museums, theaters, castles, mills, and churches, including regular performances at the Musée de la musique in Paris. He is invited regularly to large festivals and musical associations. In addition to performing, he is an avid researcher of unedited music for the viol. He has published editions of this music for the Cahiers du Tourdion of Strasbourg and the Société Française de Musicologie, and has written articles for various newspapers and magazines as well as the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. He has also participated in countless conferences and radio broadcasts on the viol. Starting in 2018 he gives regular lectures at the Paris University (Sorbonne) on musicology. His recordings, devoted primarily to unedited music for the viol for Adès - Universal Music Classics, have earned him such prizes as the Diapason d'or and the Choc de la musique. In 2014 he founded his own digital label Astres Records. He has lived in Paris since 1985.

**Myrna Herzog** is well known internationally as a viola da gamba performer, conductor, and researcher. Her articles have appeared

in journals and books, and she is a contributor to the *New Grove Dictionary of Music*. Brazilian-born, she founded Brazil's first Baroque orchestra and served as its conductor for nine years. In 1992 she immigrated to Israel, where she taught the first generation of Israeli gamba players. Since 1999 she is the musical director and conductor of critically acclaimed Ensemble PHOENIX. As a viola da gamba soloist she has performed throughout Europe, South America, the U.S., and Israel; she performed the viola da gamba solos in the Israeli premiere of Bach's Passions with the Israel Philharmonic. As a conductor she has staged operas and oratorios, among them the premiere of Michelangelo Falvetti's *Il Diluvio Universale* and *Nabucco* at the Abu Gosh Festival. She has recently taught workshops on Baroque music for conductors, in Brazil and at the Royal Academy of Music and Dance, London. She has a doctorate degree in music from Bar Ilan University and teaches at the Israel Conservatory of Music (Tel Aviv).

**Christine Kyprianides** studied viola da gamba with Wieland Kuijken at the Royal Conservatory of Brussels, and holds a Doctor of Music degree from Indiana University Jacobs School of Music as well as an Honorary Doctor of Musical Science from Ionian University (Greece). She has concertized throughout the world as a Baroque cellist and gambist with early music ensembles including Musica Antiqua Köln, Huelgas Ensemble, Les Arts Florissants, Ganassi-Consort, Les Adieux, and many others. Her teaching activities have included faculty positions at the Lemmens Institute (University of Louvain), the Musikhochschule of Cologne, the Dresden Academy of Early Music, and Indiana University. Christine is a member of Ensemble Voltaire, the Indianapolis Baroque Orchestra, and Echoing Air. She is also active as a musicologist and in 2017 joined the prestigious Fulbright Specialist Roster.

**John Moran** teaches viola da gamba, Baroque cello, and musicology at Peabody Conservatory. He studied modern and Baroque cello at Oberlin, where he was fortunate to get his foundation on the viol with Catharina Meints. He studied Baroque cello at the Schola Cantorum (Basel) with Hannelore Mueller,

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**Janet K. Page** is Pearl Wales Professor of Music at the University of Memphis, where she teaches musicology. Her articles, reviews, and reports have appeared in *Early Music*, the *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music*, *Eighteenth-Century Music*, *Grove Music Online*, and elsewhere. Her book *Convent Music and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Vienna* was published by Cambridge University Press in 2014. She also plays Baroque and modern oboes.

**Ian Woodfield** received his bachelor's degree from Nottingham University and his master's and doctorate from King's College, University of London. He was Herschel Fellow at Bath University in 1976–77. In 1978 he was appointed to the music faculty of Queen's University Belfast, where he is now Director of the School of Music. His first book, *The Celebrated Quarrel Between Thomas Linley (Senior) and William Herschel: An Episode in the Musical Life of 18th-Century Bath*, was published by the University of Bath in 1977. He has also contributed articles and reviews to *Early Music* and the *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association*. His book *The Early History of the Viol* (published by Cambridge University Press in 1984) is now a classic on the subject. He delivered two lectures at the 1994 VdGSA Conclave. He has recently published two books: *Music of the Raj* (Oxford University Press, 2000) and *Opera and Drama in Eighteenth-Century London* (OUP, 2001).