From Amsterdam's City Theater to the Tiniest Dollhouse: A Study to the Adaption of Lully's Music in The Northern Netherlands of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century

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Introduction

Splendor, bravura and the greatness of "his" France were the main focus of King Louis XIV (1638 - 1715) in his quest for *gloire*. In the 61 years that he actually reigned, King Louis fought many wars, built Versailles, and rebuilt the Louvre among many other deeds that propagated the idea of France as the center of the universe.¹ However, Louis' hunger for *gloire* did not only result in wars in order to acquire more territory for France. It was also *gloire* that inspired architects to build prestigious edifices and motivated Louis to raise the *Académie Royale de Danse* [Royal Academy of Dance] and the *Académie Royale de Musique* [Royal Academy of Music]. The central figure in both areas of Louis cultural policy was the Italian composer Giovanni Battista Lulli (1632 - 1687) - who later Frenchified his name to Jean-Baptiste Lully. It was this composer who was of enormous importance for Louis' propaganda machine.

During his reign Louis XIV made war with practically every country in Western Europe including the Netherlands. From the Dutch year of disaster in 1672 until his death Louis had multiple violent conflicts with the Dutch Republic. One of them was the Franco-Dutch war in which the French king invaded the Northern Netherlands and conquered several southern and eastern cities. At the same time, Lully together with the librettist Philippe Quinault – produced several French operas (also called *tragédies lyriques* or *tragédies en musique*) in which Louis XIV defeated the Netherlands in order to rule over a France as large as the Ancient Roman Empire.

Despite Louis' many wars in Europe, French court culture had an enormous influence on artistic life – and music in particular – in large parts of (Western) Europe such as the United Kingdom, Germany and The Low Countries. Many of Lully's *ballets de cour* and *tragédies lyriques* found their way into different parts of seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe – including The Netherlands. From performances in Amsterdam's city theater to the tiniest harpsichords and music stands in the dollhouse of Petronella de la Court (1624 – 1707), Lully was part of the real and make-believe musical life of The Dutch Republic.² Different

¹ King Louis actually reigned for 72 years. However, during the first twenty years of his reign Cardinal Mazarin and his mother led France. When Louis reached the age of sixteen he was crowned. Whether Louis' mother – Anne of Austria – kept ruling France when Mazarin died in 1661(Louis was eighteen at that moment), or that Louis decided to rule is not clear. However, when Anne of Austria officially retired in 1666, it was certainly Louis who was in charge of France.

² Seventeenth century dollhouses are of a historical importance since they are built to be as close as possible to real life situations. Being included on music stands in such a house shows how much Lully's music was part of

sources indicate that there were several performances of Lully's *tragédies lyriques* in both Amsterdam and The Hague. Furthermore, there was a large trade in livrets of Lully's works containing information and the text of his operas.³ More than a hundred of these books circulated within The Dutch Republic. In addition to these performances and livrets, multiple books containing full operas, airs and instrumental excerpts from Lully's stage works appeared. The Amsterdam publications of *Cadmus et Hermione*, *Alceste*, *Atys* and *Psyché* even predated the publication of the music of these pieces in Paris.⁴

Lully also influenced The Netherlands in terms of style. For his adaption of Racine's tragedy Athalie (1697), the Dutch composer Servaas de Konink (baptized 1654 – buried 1701) chose to write all his music for this piece in the French style.⁵ The music for the choirs are homophonic, there is a strict distinction between arias and recitatives and even the ariosi are despite the Italian origins of the song type – written in a French style. In his Hollandsche Minne- en Drinkliederen (1697) Konink made an explicit distinction between performing music "Op zijn Italiaansch [in an Italian way]" and in a "Fransche Manier [French way]." A.K.J. Zielhorst explains that Konink's way of composing the songs in a Fransche Manier are closely related to Lully's style of composing with the use of conjunct motion in both the basso continuo and the upper voice and the use of a triple meter as the main resemblances.⁶ Other examples of composers who were influenced by Lully are Charles Hacquart (circa 1640 circa 1701) and Hendrik Anders (1657 - 1714).⁷ In addition to the stylistic influences, it was also Lully's music that popularized musical instruments as the French oboe.⁸ In The Netherlands, this particular woodwind became known due to the 1677 production of Isis. After the staging of this Lully opera in The Netherlands, more oboes were made by Richard Haka (circa 1645 – 1705) and Michiel Parent (circa1665 – 1710) and Dutch composers began

Dutch private musical life. See for more information about the dollhouse and its music scene: Jet Pijzel-Dommisse, *Het Poppenhuis van Petronella de la Court* (Utrecht: Veen/Reflex Uitgevers, 1987).

³ Carl B Schmidt, "The Geographical Spread of Lully's Operas during the Late Seventeenth and Early eighteenth Centuries: New Evidence from the Livrets," in *Jean Baptiste Lully and the Music of the French Baroque: Essays in Honor of James R. Anthony*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 199. ⁴ Carl B Schmidt, "The Amsterdam Editions of Lully's Music," in *Lully Studies*, ed. by John Hajdu Heyer (Cambridge: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 102.

⁵ Frits Noske, "L'Influence de Lully en Hollande," in *Jean-Baptiste Lully: Actes du Colloque/Kongressbericht*, ed. Jérôme de la Groce and Herbert Schneider (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1990), 595.

⁶ A.K.J. Zielhorst, "Liedkunst in Amsterdam rond 1700," in *De Eeuwwende 1700. Deel 3: De Kunsten* (Utrecht: Bureau Stadium Generale van de Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, 1991), 145-146. Zielhorst argues that the differences in the French and Italian way of Konink's composition mainly lies in the use of meters (triple versus double) and motions (conjunct versus disjunct).

⁷ Noske, L'Influence de Lully," 594-595.

⁸ Bruce Haynes, "The Spread of the 'French Hoboye'," in *The Eloquent Oboe: A History of the Hautboy 1640-1760* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 124-155.

to use the French oboe in their work. ⁹ Composers such as Anders, Konink and Carl Rosier (1640 - 1725) started to use this instrument in their trios, sonatines and arrangements of Lully's airs.¹⁰

This seeming paradox between the influence of Lully's music on Dutch musical life and the music's propagandistic origins is something that wondered multiple scholars. Jos Koning, Carl B. Schmidt, Frits Noske, and Rudolf Rasch questioned in their publications why Lully's music was omnipresent in Dutch musical life despite its supportive references to the French cause during the Franco-Dutch War.¹¹ In this thesis I formulated an answer to above mentioned paradox. I did this by embedding the paradox historically (Chapter 1), by discussing two different parts of the Dutch musical life where this composer's footprints van still be found: the theater (Chapter 2) and Dutch *lied-* and *speelcultuur* (Chapter 3). However before I come to the methodology section, I give an overview of publications on Lully reception in the Netherlands in order to place this study in the context of contemporary musicology.

An Overview of Research on Lully Reception in The Dutch Republic

In the first instance musicological research in regard to the spread of Lully's music in The Dutch Republic mainly focused on the staging of Lully's operas and the publication of excerpts and arrangements of operas and ballets by Dutch publishing houses such as Estienne Roger, Anthony Pointel and Joan Philip de Heus.¹² Carl B Schmidt combined the results from J. Fransen's *Les Comediens Français en Hollande* with the information he gathered from publications by Alfred Loewenberg and the opera's livrets to give an idea when and where Lully operas were performed.¹³ Furthermore, in his key publication *The livrets of Jean-Baptiste Lully's Tragédies Lyriques: A Catalogue Raisonné* Schmidt made an inventory of all known livrets of Lully operas.¹⁴ He describes how the livrets look like, discusses their

⁹ Ibid., 152-155.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Jos Koning, *De Nieuwe Hollandse Schouwburg 1751-1771: Het Einde van een Tijdperk in de Amsterdamse Muziek* (Nijmegen: Stichting Twee Violen & een Bas, 2009), 9. Schmidt, "The Amsterdam Editions," 102. Noske, "L'Influence de Lully," 591.

¹² Noske, "L'Influence de Lully." Schmidt, "The Amsterdam Editions." Rudolf Rasch, "Lully in Amsterdam," *Jaarboek Hucbald* 1 (1992): 50-70.

¹³ Schmidt, "The Geographical Spread." J. Fransen, *Les Comédiens Français en Hollande au XVIIe et au XVIIIe Siècles* (Paris: Champion, 1925).

¹⁴ Carl B. Schmidt, *The livrets of Jean-Baptiste Lully's Tragédies Lyriques: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Performers' Editions, 1995).

content, explained who published them, examined how they differ from each other and gives the location where they can be found.

Recent musicological research gives the idea that Lully's music also appeared in more parts of Dutch musical life. Rasch describes in "Soixante Ans de Réception de la Musique de Lully en Hollande (1655-1715)" how music by Lully appeared in Dutch *liedboeken* and books that contain instrumental music. For example, he notes that Lully's music can be found in Hendrik van Halmael's *Opwekkelyke Zedezangen* – a *Liedboek* that contains moral songs on melodies of French and Italian composers – and in *Klavierboek Anna Maria van Eijl* – a book that was probably composed by Gisbert Steenwick for the musical education of the girl who is named in the title.¹⁵ Jos Koning shows that Lully's music was also present in Dutch books that contain one-voice instrumental melodies – the so-called *speelboeken*. He even states that Lully was the most prominent composer in these kind of publications.¹⁶ Unfortunately conclusive publications in regard to the appearance of melodies by Lully in *lied*- and *speelboeken* are currently lacking.

The inclusion of Lully's melodies in the *lied-* and *speelboeken* complies with Hertbert Schneider's ideas regarding the use of Lully's music as what he calls *Gebrauchsmusik*. For Schneider *Gebrauchsmusik* – as a opposition to *Hausmusik*, which was meant for concert performances at more private locations (like at home) – refers to music that was usually considered as "easy" and was used for amateurs and for pedagogical purposes.¹⁷ In his research on Lully reception in general, Schneider argues that Lully's music was extensively used as secular vocal music.¹⁸ Rasch's example of the appearance of Lully's melody of "Belle Iris" in *Klavierboek Anna Maria van Eijl* is in line with this idea since the book was compiled for pedagogical purposes. Schmidt also uses Schneider's notion in regard to his discussion about the appearances of Lully's music in suites. These publications consist of small parts of Lully's work that were often arranged for small ensembles consisting of four musicians (*dessus, second dessus, taille* and *basse*) or for one instrument with basso continuo.

¹⁵ Rudolf Rasch, "Soixante Ans de Réception de la Musique de Lully en Hollande (1655-1716)," in *L'Invention des Genres Lyriques et leur Redécouverte au XIXe Siècle*, ed. A.Terrier and A. Dratwicki (Lyon : Symétrie, 2010), 101-104. Carl B. Schmidt, "Une Parodie Hollandaise Peu Connue sur la Musique de Lully: Les Opwekklyke Zedezangen," *XVIIe Siècle* 161 (1988): 371-386.

¹⁶ Jos Koning, "Hollandse Deuntjes: Wat Vertellen Muziekhandschiften over het Gebruik van Nederlandse Populaire Speelmuziek in de Achttiende Eeuw?," *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 61, no. 1-2 (2011): 117.

¹⁷ For an more extensive discussion about *Gebrauchsmusik* and its (philosophical) purposes see Stephen Hinton, "Gebrauchsmusik," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed January 9, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10804.

¹⁸ Herbert Schneider, "Parodien," in *Die Rezeption der Opern Lullys im Frankreich des Ancien Regime* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1982), 157 – 201.

Schmidt linked the use of Lully's music for these suites to the upcoming middleclass who – like the aristocrats – began to develop a taste for French culture.¹⁹ He therewith expanded the idea of Lully's music as *Gebrauchsmusik* for secular vocal purposes with its use as study material for instruments as flute and violin.

Despite the fact that not all parts of the reception of Lully's music in The Netherlands have been systematically examined, a few scholars gave an overview of the influence of Lully's music on The Dutch Republic. In "L'Influence de Lully en Hollande (1670-1700)" Noske argues that Lully's music appeared in The Dutch Republic in what he defined as five different "domains": untranslated performances of Lully's operas and *comedies-ballets*; Dutch translations of Lully's oeuvre; original Dutch operas and pastorals; and collections of Dutch songs and instrumental music composed in Lully's style.²⁰ However, Noske does not speak of the use of Lully's melodies in *speelboeken* and *liedboeken* nor does he really give an explanation of the popularity of this French composer.

Rasch does briefly give an explanation in his overview of the reception of Lully's music in The Netherlands of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. When it comes to the question why Lully became so popular in The Northern Netherlands he states that: "*dans la plupart des cas, en effet, la musique de Lully apparaît en Hollande sous une forme modifiée, réduite, adaptée, généralement anonyme, et souvent utilisée dans un but différent de sa destination originale* [Lully's music often appeared in Holland in a modified, reduced, adapted form, usually anonymous, and often used for a purpose different from its original one]"²¹. As a result, people knew Lully's music but not his name.

Research Question and Methodology

In this thesis I examined how Lully's music was adapted to the musical life of The Dutch Republic in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. However, before this could be done I had to fill two major gaps in the current state of affairs regarding the above mentioned reception of Lully's music in The Netherlands. First, opera. It were Lully's *tragédiques lyriques* that seemed to have become quite popular in The Dutch Republic and – unlike the anonymous appearances of Lully's music in *lied-* and *speelboeken* – Lully's name must have been associated with the performances of these pieces. To examine how Lully's operas were

¹⁹ Schmidt, "The Amsterdam Editions," 104.

²⁰ Noske, "L'Influence de Lully, 592.

²¹ Rasch, "Soixante Ans," 99.

adjusted to the context of The Dutch Republic, I took a close look at the livrets of the operas that were staged in The Netherlands between 1650 – 1750. This period is chosen on the basis of Willem Heldens' master thesis about the Berkeley manuscript HsBkJGHML Ms890. In this work he carefully indicated that during these years Lully seemed to be most popular in The Netherlands.²² With the use of Schmidt's *Catalogue Raisonné* it was possible to find the livrets that are most interesting for this cause. I compared the prologues – the part with the most open praises for King Louis and his victories – with the original ones to give an idea how the they were altered to make them acceptable for the Dutch audience. For this purpose, Buford Norman's and Robert M. Isherwoord's publications on Quinault's opera libretti and Lully's music offer useful insights how propaganda was incorporated in this section of the prologue that normally functioned as way to introduce the opera's main themes, myths and characters.²³ I relied on their reading of the libretti to select the most relevant parts.

According to Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, "propaganda, in the most neutral sense, means to disseminate or promote articular ideas." However when it is regarded to, it is often discussed in terms of its use: attempts to deliberately influence the peoples' ideas in order to get, maintain or overthrow a certain privileged position. Music is in this context sometimes described as a "basic tool of the propagandist" since it has the potential to evoke emotional, patriotic or romantic responses and could be used to either strengthen or weaken a spoken or visual message. Despite the fact that propaganda in the meaning of deliberately trying to manipulate a mass is a something that developed after the French Revolution, all through history examples of the use of art to gain, maintain and express power can be found. From the use of the trumpet in Ancient Greece and Martin Luther's "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott [A Mighty Fortress Is Our God]" to the use of the "Horst Wessel Lied [Horst Wessel Song]" in Nazi Germany and music under video clips as "Takogo Kak Putin [A Man Like Putin] in contemporary Russia, music was as much a way to transmit propagandistic messages as films, books, posters and paintings. Since propaganda (music) is part of contemporary societies where, due to the internet revolution, it gets more and more easy to spread propaganda, it is valuable to examine historical cases in terms of effect and (inter)national reception.

²² Willem Heldens, "Lully als Speelmuziek: De Plaats van Handschrift Berkeley in de Vroegmoderne Populariteit van Lully in Nederland" (master's thesis, Universiteit Utrecht, 2015), http://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/320617.

²³ Buford Norman, *Touched by the Graces* (Birmingham, Ala.: Summa Publications, 2001), 45-68. Robert M. Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Cornell University Press, 1973).

The other gap entails the presence of Lully's music in *liedboeken* and *speelboeken*. The use of melodies by Lully in volumes containing one-voice melodies is not systematically researched since a comprehensive corpus of data was lacking. The fact that many melodies often lack (original) titles, a composer and/or a tune indication makes them harder to identify. Therefore, a systematic inventory of Lully's music in The Dutch Republic has not been made. Such an inventory would give the some ideas how Music by Lully outside the theater was incorporated in Dutch musical life. Thanks to research done by scholars at the Meertens Institute more data is available in terms of the entries in the Dutch Song Database. This Database contains over 150.000 songs in the Dutch and Flemish language as well as instrumental music from Dutch publications and manuscripts.

In order to complement this database – and therewith bringing the systematic research of the appearance of Lully's music in *liedboeken* and *speelboeken* one step closer – I examined two manuscripts: HsBsKB 19558 and D-W Cod. Guelf. 267.²⁴ The first one was already mentioned by Heldens. In his master's thesis, he showed that two more important sources are not present in the database: HsBsKB 19558 and HsNrSB Finspong MS9096. Unfortunately, I had no access to HsNrSB Finspong MS9096 at time of writing this thesis and I leave this for further research. The manuscript D-W Cod. Guelf. 267 is provided by Martine de Bruin – Project Leader Ethnology at the Meertens Institute. Both sources originated in The Netherlands during the above mentioned period and seemed to contain multiple melodies by Lully. The music in HsBsKB 19558 were already transcribed by Sanneke van der Ouw. However, the entries in this manuscript still had to be identified. For D-W Cod. Guelf. 267 I both transcribed and identified the melodies. In this way I was able to extent the corpus of data available in the Dutch Song Database.

To identify melodies, I am going to use the RISM A/II search engine.²⁵ The RISM A/II database can be consulted by inserting different criteria such as names, titles, instrumentation, date, and by incipit code (with or without transposition). The idea is that one enters a string of notes from the beginning of the song without any information regarding duration, accidentals, key, tempi or rests. These notes are called "pitch classes." I

²⁴ HsBsKB 19558, *Melodien van Oude Nederlandsche Liederen: Handschrift van het einde der XVIIe of van den aanvang der XVIIe Eeuw*, sheet music, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique. D-W Cod. Guelf. 267, *Sammlung von Tänzen und Liedern für Flauto Solo*, sheet music, Handschriftenbank, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, http://diglib.hab.de/?db=mss&list=ms&id=267-mus-hdschr.

²⁵ RISM is a nonprofit organization that tries to document and map musical sources from all over the world with an emphasis on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century music. It contains sources as manuscripts, printed music as well as libretti and books regarding music theory. On their website RISM claims to have over a million records of music materials indexed and that the number is growing by roughly 30.000 each year.

am going to create the input for each song by taking the pitch classes of the first two measures and the first melodic phrase and insert them into the RISM search engine. In this way I am able to find both exact matches and melodies that are slightly different from the "originals" since note duration, rests and accidentals are not included in the search query. When a melody relates to a work by Lully, I shall check the concerning work in the database of IMSLP.²⁶

The inclusion of these two sources in the database makes a systematic examination one step closer. On basis of the manuscripts it was furthermore possible to give ideas how Lully's music in The Netherlands fits in Schneider's notion of *Gebrauchsmusik* and Rasch's explanation for Lully's popularity in The Northern Netherlands. Together with the information gathered from the opera's livrets, I was able to give an idea how Lully's music was adapted to The Dutch Republic and could became so popular in troubled times where war with King Louis' France was always imminent.

Chapter 1 Historical Background

In order to understand this paradox, more information regarding the Franco-Dutch war and Lully's work at the French court of Louis XIV has to be given. In this chapter I describe the historical background and development of the Franco-Dutch war before I discuss the context of Lully's music at the French court under Louis XIV.²⁷ In this way, this chapter places Lully's music in the historical and sociological context of The Dutch Republic of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

The Franco-Dutch War

Many scholars take 1672 as the starting point of the Franco-Dutch war. Although this seems correct – since Marshal Turenne of France marched in 1672 (in Dutch the so called "*rampjaar* [year of disaster]") with an army of 50,000 troops to Maastricht while the English attacked a Dutch fleet and some German states declared war – it cannot be separated from the French

 ²⁶ "Lully, Jean-Baptiste," IMSLP, accessed April 6, 2016, http://imslp.org/wiki/Category:Lully,_Jean-Baptiste.
 ²⁷ For this chapter I draw heavily on a paper I wrote for a tutorial with Louis Grijp at Utrecht University on the topic of the in this thesis discussed paradox.

War of Devolution (1667–1668). According to Lynn, the French war of Devolution and the Franco-Dutch war were actually one violent conflict "broken by a four years' truce."²⁸ In 1660 King Louis married his first wife, Maria Theresa of Spain. She was the daughter of King Philip IV of Spain by his first marriage.²⁹ Since the dowry of 500,000 escudos was never paid by the Spanish state, Maria Theresa retained all claims on the Spanish lands. However, after King Philip died, his five year old son of a second marriage succeeded him. Louis claimed that, according to the law of The Southern Netherlands (the part of The Netherlands that was still under Spanish rule), a child (male or female) of a first marriage would inherit property over a son of a later marriage. On grounds of this law and the fact that the dowry was not paid, King Louis claimed the lands of The Spanish Netherlands for himself and his wife.

Because of many years of support to The Northern Netherlands in their wars against the Spanish, the English and the bishop of Münster, Louis XIV expected that The Dutch Republic would join him in his conquest for the claim The Southern Netherlands. However his trust in the United Provinces was misplaced. Due to the many victories of the French over the Spanish, and King Louis' lust for war and conquering, the Dutch preferred a tired and defeated Spain over an aggressive France as their southern neighbors. They decided to make peace with the English by signing the treaty of Breda in 1667. In 1668 they formed an alliance with England and Sweden – which is also known as the "the Triple Alliance"— to stop the French conquest.³⁰ Reluctantly, King Louis signed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668 which give him control over a few towns in The Spanish Netherlands (Cambrai, Aire and Saint-Omer).

Despite gaining control over his new towns, Louis XIV felt betrayed by the Dutch. In the four years of peace (1668-1672), he carefully planned a new war against the United Provinces. The first thing he had to do was to dismantle the Triple Alliance. For this goal, money seemed the most effective tool. He convinced Sweden to abandon the alliance and he secretly made a pact (the Treaty of Dover) with King Charles II of England. King Charles should break his alliance with the Dutch – by declaring himself Catholic and by attacking a Dutch fleet– when the French wanted to start the war. In that way the Dutch would be surprised and unprepared to defend themselves. Furthermore Louis also sought help from the

²⁸ John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV 1667-1714* (New York: Addison Wesley Longman Inc, 1999), 105-159. For the rest of these paragraphs regarding the war of Devolution and the Franco-Dutch war I rely on this book as my main source of information.

²⁹ Georgia J. Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 41.

³⁰ Lynn, The Wars of Louis, 108.

Dutch's closest neighbors, the Germans. In the years prior to the Franco-Dutch war, Louis obtained the support of several German states. However, Louis took not only diplomatic preparations. Lynn notes that during the period of peace, King Louis expanded his army up to 120,000 men in total in February 1672; and before he declared war, he issued an order to expand his army by another 26,000 men.³¹

On March the 23th 1672, the English attacked a Dutch trade convoy near the Isle of Wight.³² Together with the French, the English declared war on the Dutch in April. In May King Louis' army marched towards Maastricht supported by the Bishops of Münster and Cologne. This attack took place one month after Willem III was promoted to captain general.³³ In July, the states of Holland and Zeeland appointed Willem III as Stadholder; which ended the First Stadholderless Period (1651-1672).³⁴ After the de Witt brothers were murdered, the states of Holland instructed their Stadholder to restore order in The Northern Netherlands. Since the beginning of the war, The Northern Netherlands faced not only conflicts with other nations as France, England, Cologne and Münster but also with (both violent and non-violent) tensions within the Republic itself. Those conflicts did not solely refer to the extent that tgw Republic had to negotiate with the French invaders but also involved religious issues, and questions related who should govern the Republic and how.³⁵ In collaboration with Johan Wierts and Albrecht Nierop, Willem III carried out several purges in September 1972 to "solve" the conflicts between republican regents and Orangists. By replacing republicans with Organist regents, the Stadholder strengthened his position in Zeeland and the states of Holland and ended the rioting and political unrest.³⁶ By solving the national tensions, Willem III was able to fully concentrate on the French invasion that would harden the Dutch defenses.

However, it took some time before the French invasion could be brought to an end. Surprised and outnumbered, Stadholder William III, was in first instance forced to retreat; leaving cities as Nijmegen and Utrecht to French king's mercy. Unfortunately for the Louis XIV, the strengthened defenses paid off in the end. When the French threatened Amsterdam,

³¹ Ibid., 111.

³² Jonathan I. Israel, "1672: Year of Disaster," in *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 796-797.

³³ Ibid.,796.

³⁴ Ibid., 802. Rudolf Rasch, "De Republiek" in Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden: 1572-1795. Accessed April 01, 2016, http://www.let.uu.nl/~Rudolf.Rasch/personal/ Republiek/Republiek.htm.

³⁵ Israel, "1672: Year of Disaster," 796-806.

³⁶ Only Amsterdam remained free of Willem III's firm grip since the city lacked a significant number of supporters of the house of Orange.

the Dutch opened the locks at Muiden to block the French advances. Also in other places in The Dutch Republic, the French the French found all routes into Holland blocked.³⁷ The combination of the Willem III's achievements, De Ruyter's success on sea, the weather, and the help of Brandenburg and Habsburg stopped the French advances on Amsterdam, Leiden and The Hague.³⁸ While his army took Maastricht and kept ravaging the Dutch countryside, King Louis returned to Versailles.

At the beginning of 1674 King Louis stood alone in his war against The Dutch Republic. While Spain, some German states and Austria declared war against Louis, the English made peace with the Dutch. When a cannonball killed Marshal Turenne and the war at the Spanish borders of France took its toll, France was forced to withdraw from Dutch territory. He would never reestablish such a strong hold in The Dutch Republic. During the last phase of the war, the fighting was limited to The Spanish Netherlands. By taking Ghent and Ypres, Louis hoped that the Dutch would accept his terms during the peace negotiations. On August 10 1678, the peace treaty (the Treaty of Nijmegen) was signed. King Louis got the lands of Franche/Comté and a few valuable cities while the United Provinces saw their territory returned.³⁹ After the Franco-Dutch war, the United Provinces got into war with Louis XIV two more times. However during the so-called "Nine Years' War" (1688-1697) and the "War of the Spanish Succession" (1702–1713), The Dutch Republic was never that much the subject of war as it was during the Franco-Dutch war.⁴⁰

Although Louis XIV "lost" the Franco - Dutch war, Lynn notes that the French King secured enough territory in the first two years of the war to give him the glory that he desired. In the end it was not only his claims on The Spanish Netherlands and his feelings of betrayal by The Dutch Republic that motivated him to go to war. It was also his thirst for *gloire* and a huge display of power that explains his lust for conquest. Mazarin died just before the beginning of the war of Devolution. King Louis, who did not see the urge to appoint a new prime minister, felt the need to establish his image as a great and mighty king.⁴¹ A huge and important France at the center of the universe was the young king's dream. A dream that not

³⁷ Jonathan I. Israel, "The Stadholderate of William III, 1672-1702," in *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 812.

³⁸ For more information regarding De Ruyter's achievement see Ibid.

³⁹ John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV 1667-1714*, 156-157.

⁴⁰ Since these two wars took place after Lully's death I am not going to discuss them. It is however important to know that these wars took place in order to understand Noske's claim that the war between the Dutch Republic and King Louis XIV ended in 1713. For more information regarding Nine Years' War and the War of the Spanish Succession see Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV*, 191-360 and Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 975-984.

⁴¹Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*, 41.

only led to aggressive behavior towards other countries but also to a flourishing cultural and musical life at the French court - a life in which the Italian-born composer Lully took a huge part.

Jean-Baptiste Lully and Musical Life at the French Court

Throughout his reign, Louis XIV used cultural events as means of expressing and maintaining power. He used the arts effectively to portray his image of the "Sung King." By positioning himself as the Sun King, Louis mirrored himself against Apollo – the Greek god of light, poetry, science and music. In order to live up to this image he centralized the arts and sciences in several royal academies: dance, literature, the sciences, opera, music and architecture (the academies for the French language and sculpture & paintings already existed).⁴² He granted each academy the authority to oversee the developments in its field. The purpose was twofold. First, by centralizing the all the arts he could influence the way he was portrayed throughout France. Second, it would bring an end towards Mazarin's custom to import culture from other countries (of which Italy was – unsurprisingly – the most popular). Mighty France should export culture rather than import it.

Furthermore Louis rebuilt the Louvre in Paris and created Versailles (and its gardens).⁴³ During these projects he ordered the architects to process Apollo in their buildings. One of the most famous examples is the depiction of Apollo in the great Fountain on the garden-grounds of Versailles. When it was finished, it was Versailles that became the nation's center of the arts. All financial and cultural life from the whole of France was drained from the regional courts and provinces to "his" Versailles.⁴⁴ The constant display of power in Versailles had effect. By constantly showing off to both national and international guests –as ambassadors, nobles, kings and dukes – Louis was able to enforce respect and to keep his control. Louis de Saint-Simon, Duke of Rouvroy (1675-1755), expressed this in the following way. He reports in his memoirs that he was frequently summoned at Versailles to attend several performances and that these made him feel "reduced in his nobility."⁴⁵

Apollo also played an important role in different musical pieces. A very important genre in seventeenth-century France was the *ballets de cour* [court ballet], a musical and

⁴² John Walter Hill, "Music at the Court of Louis XIV to the Death of Lully," *Baroque Music: Music in Western Europe, 1580-1750* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), 231.

 ⁴³ In fact Versailles already existed as a hunting lodge for the royal family. However, Louis created the Versailles as we know it now by expanding the lodge with the palace and its gardens.
 ⁴⁴ Ibid., 217-218.

⁴⁵ IL: 1 210

⁴⁵ Ibid., 218.

dramatic stage-work in which members of the aristocracy and the court participated among professional musicians and dancers. King Louis' father, Louis XIII, already participated regularly in these works and developed it into a genre that portrayed the crown's political achievements (especially when enemies were defeated).⁴⁶ Louis XIV made good use of his father's tendency to use the court ballets for propaganda purposes. Therefore he chose his roles carefully. Through his roles he hoped to promote his own image and to impress others. In *Ballet des Fêtes de Bacchus* (1651) he danced as Apollo and in *Ballet de la Nuit* (1653) he took up the role of the Rising Sun.⁴⁷In *Clovis*, Louis danced as Hercules for a visiting group of ambassadors from Siam (modern Thailand). The ambassadors' reaction was according to the *Mercure Galant* (the court newspaper): "This Hercules must represent the king, since he triumphs over all his enemies and carries victory everywhere he goes."⁴⁸

Jean-Baptiste Lully was twenty when he met the fourteen-year-old King Louis. They both danced in *Ballet de la Nuit*. Impressed by Lully's dance and composing qualities – since Lully was one of the co-composers of the ballet – the young king appointed him to the post of *compositeur de la musique instrumentale* after the previous composer of instrumental music to the king – violinist Lazaro Lazarin (born as Lazzarini) – died.⁴⁹ When Cardinal Mazarin died in 1661 – and with him the tendency to import Italian musicians and composers – Lully was appointed as *surintendant de la musique de la chambre du roi* – the highest office possible that a composer could aspire.⁵⁰

Before Lully was appointed as the superintendent of music, he mainly composed *ballets de cour*. Hill divides this genre into two subgenres: *ballet mélodramatique* and *ballet à entrées*.⁵¹ He argues that the main difference is that the loosely choreographed and lightly composed *ballet à entrées* were meant to celebrate the glory of the king as opposed to the dramatic and more serious genre of the *ballet mélodramatique*, in which classical and ancient themes and myths were the main point of focus.⁵² However, as I have discussed above, also serious ballets, such as *Clovis*, were used to glorify the king and to impress visitors. Most of

⁵¹ Hill, Music at the Court," 234.

⁴⁶ Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King*, 103.

 ⁴⁷ J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout and Claude V. Palisca, "France, England, Spain and the New World in the Seventeenth Century," in *A History of Western Music* (London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), 357.
 ⁴⁸ Hill, "Music at the Court," 230.

⁴⁹ Catherine Massip, "Michel Lambert and Jean-Baptiste Lully: the stakes of a collaboration," in *Jean Baptiste Lully and the Music of the French Baroque: Essays in Honor of James R. Anthony*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 29.

⁵⁰ Jérôme de la Gorce, "Lully," in *Grove Music Online*, (Oxford University Press), accessed April 11, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/42477pg1.

⁵² Ibid.

the time, the main characters of the *ballet mélodramatique* were allegorical figures for the king while the events in the story were modelled after the King's victories.

In addition to glorifying the king, the *ballets de cour* had a far more practical benefit. One that was completely in line with Louis' employment of the arts to keep control over other courts in France. As I have already noted, the aristocrats were supposed to take part in the court ballets. As Georgia J. Cowart explains, the *ballets de cour* kept them busy and provided a ritualized demonstration of the social hierarchy, with the king at the top.⁵³ Furthermore dance offered a model of discipline, order, refinement, reticence and inferiority of the individual to a common concern. This idea of subordination contrasts extremely with the standard for Italian music –and opera in particular – of that time in which instrumental solo's and arias were dominant. It was this French resentment against the Italian way of composing music that Lully conveniently employed to popularize the genre of the *tragédies lyriques*.

Cardinal Mazarin tried to establish an operatic life in France several times during his tenure. However, he failed hopelessly. The operas were often sung in Italian, were in contradiction with the French ideal of the restraint of the individual, and met opposition on artistic grounds. Just like England, France possessed a tradition of spoken theater and poetry.⁵⁴ Dialogue in song was considered not suitable for the French theater because it lacked believability.

Lully was involved in several of Mazarin's attempts. The most known is Lully's involvement with *Ercole Amante* (1662). This opera was composed by Francesco Cavalli and was commissioned by Mazarin on the occasion of Louis' marriage with Maria Theresa of Spain. Lully (together with Isaac de Benserade) was asked to compose the music for the eighteen ballets in the piece.⁵⁵ Furthermore Lully had composed several so-called *comédies-ballets* in collaboration with the French writer Jean-Baptiste Molière; which was a mixture of ballet and opera.⁵⁶ However, these were not full operas since there were not completely sung. The main focus remained on spoken dialogue, instrumental music and dance.

In 1672 Lully was granted the position of director of the *Académie Royale de Musique*. This gave him the monopoly on any dramatic performance in France that was sung

⁵³ Cowart, The Triumph of Pleasure, 1-83.

⁵⁴ Richard Taruskin, "Courts Resplendent, Overthrown, Restored: Tragédie Lyrique from Lully to Rameau; English Music in the Seventeenth Century," in *Music in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 87.

⁵⁵ Gorce, "Lully."

⁵⁶ Burkholder, Grout, & Palisca, "France, England and Spain," 358.

throughout and used more than two singers and six instrumentalists.⁵⁷ Together with the librettist Philippe Quinault he produced his first *tragédies en musique* (these were later called *tragédies lyriques*).⁵⁸ This kind of French opera already existed for several years. Since the 1650's, several composers (such as Michel de la Guerre and Robert Cambert) already experimented with full sung theater and completed several operatic works. However, these works never became popular. Lully was able to popularize the genre, both within France and abroad. *Cadmus et Hermione* was the first French opera he produced. With this production he and Quinault set the standards for future productions of *tragédies lyriques*.

Lully's operas were in line with Louis' use of the arts. The libretto was often openly propagandistic, the operas showed a disciplined society under the rule of an (allegorical) depiction of Louis XIV and the ancient setting of several tragédies lyriques drew parallels between France under King Louis and Ancient Greece or Rome. Furthermore each opera had a prologue in which the king was often praised. Maybe the most known part of his operas were his ouvertures (nowadays called "French overture"). These overtures were played to welcome the king and the audience. To meet the critic's wishes of the lack of believability of songs, Lully adapted his recitatives to the French language. He tried to imitate the speech of French actors by listening closely to their declamation and timing. By following the general contours of spoken French while shifting the metric notation between duple and triple to allow Lully was able to mimic the natural and expressive declamation of the French language in his music. For example, the airs in his operas were more based on the declamation of French poetry with their regular meter and phrasing. By complying with both the wishes of Louis XIV and the French critics, Lully was able to popularize the in France despised genre of the opera. Besides prologues, overtures, recitatives and airs, there was also a lot of dance in the Lully's tragédies lyriques. These dances often became so popular that they were arranged in independent instrumental suites; which were often played at balls and other festivities.⁵⁹ Both these dance suites - which also contained dances from his ballets -, as well as his operas and ballets were often the subject of international trade. Parlty because of this large trade Lully remained popular well into the eighteenth century in countries as England, Germany, Belgium and The Netherlands.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Hill, "Music at the Court," 239.

⁵⁸ For a list of Lully's works see Groce, "Lully."

⁵⁹ Ibid., 237.

⁶⁰ Schmidt, "The Geographical Spread of Lully's Operas," 183.

Chapter 2 Lully's Operas in The Dutch Republic

Although the earliest example of Lully's music in The Dutch Republic seems to be in 1655 when Christaan Huygens (1629 – 1695) sent the melody "Ballet des Plaisirs" from Paris to his father in the Netherlands, the composer's works became a bigger part of Dutch musical life in in terms of opera more than twenty years later.⁶¹ The first opera ever performed in The Dutch Republic was Lully's *Isis* on November 25 1677 (a year after its premiere in Paris) in the Amsterdam City Theater.⁶² The performers were probably French musicians who traveled to The Netherlands because of the negotiations that led up to the Treaty of Nijmegen. Not only was *Isis* the first opera ever performed in The Northern Netherlands, it was also the reopening of the Amsterdam City Theater – which had been closed for several years due to the Year of Disaster and the Franco-Dutch War.⁶³

The performance of *Isis* marked the start for the Dutch operatic life. However, not every form of opera was popular. Just like the French, the Dutch did not seem to appropriate the Italian form of full song theater. In 1680, Dirck (Theodoro) Strijcker, the son of a former Dutch Consul in Venice, opened a theater for Italian opera in Amsterdam.⁶⁴ Strijcker's attempts to familiarize the Dutch audience with Italian opera failed hopelessly. Within two years, he had to close his opera house due to the disappointing number of visitors. Running a theater in The Dutch Republic was an expensive business. Theaters were supposed to pay a huge part of their income to the so-called *godshuizen*. This also meant that they had to subject to the church's censorship. Strijcker had to make arrangements with two of them: the *Amsterdamse Burgerweeshuis* and the *Oude-Mannenhuis*.⁶⁵ Since he could not live up to these arrangements, Strijcker had to close the theater. With the closure of this theater, the Italian opera disappeared from the musical and theatrical life of The Dutch Republic for nearly a century.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Rasch, "Soixante Ans," 101.

 ⁶² Rudolf Rasch, "De Moeizame Introductie van de Opera in de Republiek," in *Een Muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, ed. Louis Peter Grijp (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press-Salomé, 2001), 311.
 ⁶³ Rasch, "De Moeizame Introductie," 311.

⁶⁴ Rudolf Rasch, "The Dutch Republic," in *The Late Baroque Era: from the 1680s to 1740*, ed. George J. Buelow (Hampshire: The Macmillan Press, 1993), 398-399.

⁶⁵ Rudolf Rasch, "De Theaters I: Amsterdam," in *Geschiedenis van de Muziek in de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden: 1572-1795.* Accessed April 14, 2016, http://www.let.uu.nl/~Rudolf.Rasch/personal/ Republiek/Republiek.htm.

⁶⁶ The Italian opera returned to the Netherlands in 1750. For more information see Rasch, "De Moeizame Introductie," 313.

Without the performances of Italian operas, Dutch operatic life solely seemed to consist of its French equivalent. Of all French opera's that were performed in The Northern Netherlands, Lully's *tragédies lyriques* were the most prominent. After *Isis* many operas by Lully were staged in Amsterdam. Both integral French and Dutch versions were performed at the City Theater. Full versions included *Amadis, Cadmus et Hermione, Atys, Les fêtes de Bacchus et de l'Amour, Persée* and *Proserpine.*⁶⁷ In 1686 the Dutch poet Thomas Arendsz made a Dutch translation of Lully's *Roland.*⁶⁸ However, this was not an opera in the traditional sense. Arendsz translated several parts of the libretto that were recited instead of sung. Nevertheless, he preserved some of the arias. The result was a play that contained spoken translations of the libretto alternating with Lully's arias.

Also The Hague there were multiple performances of Lully's operas. Although more is known about the eighteenth century performances, available information regarding the staging of the *tragedies lyriques* in The Hague of the seventeenth century is unfortunately lacking.⁶⁹ This means that we do not know where and when which works were performed. Nevertheless, Rasch claims that during the period 1682-1683 and in 1688 some Lully operas have been performed at the building of the *Kaatsbaan* [tennis court].⁷⁰ Although he is not able to provide any titles and performance dates of operas, Rasch claims that a group of international musicians – consisting of Philip Rosseters (English), Carolus Martinelli and Guilielmus Martinelli (both Italians) and Augustin Fleury (probably French) – staged several French operas in 1682-1683. The Frenchmen Anthione de Brosse and Thomas Sablonières (among others) would be responsible for the performances in 1688.⁷¹

While the popularity of Lully's theatrical works seems to decrease at the beginning of eighteenth century Amsterdam, they still seem to have remained quite popular in The Hague. With the use of livrets, Schmidt was able to list some eighteenth century performances of Lully's *tragédies lyriques* in this city.⁷² These livrets, contained the names of the (French or Dutch) performers, and the libretto –whether or not translated – of the opera. The presence of these books gave insight in when, where and how often these operas were staged. A total of

⁶⁷ Ibid., 317.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 314.

⁷⁰ Rasch, "Lully in Amsterdam," 52. The tennis court at the Casuariestraat in The Hague was transformed in a small theater because of the decreasing popularity of a French sport called *jeu de paume*. This sport had the most in common with the modern sport of tennis. For more information see: Cees de Bondt, "De Kaatsbanen in Den Haag," *Holland Historisch Tijdschrift* 2 (1990): 92.

⁷¹ Rasch, "Lully in Amsterdam," 52-54.

⁷² Schmidt, "The Geographical Spread," 200-202.

189 of the Amsterdam livrets are found; from The Hague only eight were recovered.⁷³ Schmidt notes that in the period 1701-1718 *Thésée, Proserpine, Amadis, Phaëton* were performed for sure but that he has some doubts regarding the staging of *Atys*.

Propaganda in Lully's Prologues

Striking is the fact that exactly the operas of this particular French court composer became quite popular for quite some time in The Netherlands. Lully's operas are an outstanding example for French propaganda for Louis XIV's reign. As I already explained in my previous chapters, the prologues to the Lully's tragédies lyriques contain the most open praise for the French king. Moreover, it was in the case of these particular operas one of their main functions. The opera's prologue enhances in general one single separate scene in which the conceptual framework of the whole work in particular is introduced.⁷⁴ However, the introduction of – for example – characters and myths play merely a marginalized role in Lully's prologues. According to Norman, Amadis, Roland and Armide are the only operas that contain a prologue that introduces the themes of the corresponding work.⁷⁵ Six other *tragédies* lyriques do not introduce the main subject at all while Atys and Persée solely mention the name of the hero. ⁷⁶ The prologues of Lully's operas were thus almost entirely devoted to praising the king and his contemporary deeds and successes. However, this does not mean that in this praise no link can be established between the prologue and the rest of the work. Louis XIV expected – and thus paid for – to see his audiences reminded of the current circumstances before the main part of the opera - in which several characters and contexts represent the threats to the country that they were living in – was performed.

According to Norman, the role of Louis as conqueror was most prominent in the prologues of the early Lully/Quinault productions – which into large extent overlap with the period of the Franco-Dutch War – starting with *Cadmus et Hermione* that premiered just a year after the war began.⁷⁷ Although *Cadmus* does not contain specific references to the war, it staged the sun – as a reference to Louis XIV as Apollo the god of the sun – who triumphs over the serpent Python, restores order and brings back the light. Cuthbert Girdlestone argues

⁷³ Schmidt, "The Amsterdam Editions," 106.

⁷⁴ Tim Carter, "Prologue." Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, accessed December 28, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22407.

⁷⁵ Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 45.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 50.

that the sun who slays the python is in this case a "clear allegory [*allégorie transparante*]"for France being at war with The Dutch Republic.⁷⁸

The Lully/Quinault operas until the treaties of Nijmegen (1678) make more explicit references to war and Louis' success on both land and sea. While the god Mars sings how France will triumph in the war in *Thésée* (1675), Neptune – the god of the sea – celebrates the King's naval victories during 1676 in *Isis* (1677).⁷⁹ Also in *Alceste* (1674) and *Atys* (1676) openly predict and celebrate France's victories of the Franco-Dutch War. Not surprisingly, the way how Louis XIV was portrayed changed after the war came to an end. In addition to the portrayal as Louis as the victor, Louis was more and more portrayed as the bringer of peace and justice in Europe. *Proserpine* (1680) is according to Norman a good example.⁸⁰ During the prologue the personification of Victory imprisons Discord after setting Peace free. Together they sing:

Le vainqueur est comblé de gloire, On doit l'admirer à jamai: Il s'est servi de la victoire Pour faire triompher la paix.

[The victor is filled with glory, One must forever admire that He used the victory To make peace triumph.]

After *Persée* (1682) the image of Louis as the victor and bringer of peace became less and less prominent. Instead, the wisdom and virtue of Louis XIV and the King as restorer of France's golden age were the main focus of the prologues to the Lully\Quinault operas until the death of Lully in 1687.

The French propaganda in Lully's prologues in combination of the prominent role of Lully's operas in the Dutch theatrical life during the second half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century poses the question how the Dutch dealt with the open praise for this French king who invaded The Dutch Republic and the symbolizations of

⁷⁸ Cuthbert Girdlestone, *La Tragédie en Musique (1673-1750) Considérée comme Genre Littéraire* (Genève: Droz, 1972), 60.

⁷⁹ Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 45.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 50-51.

King Louis' "victories" in the Franco-Dutch War. Especially when one would take into account the already discussed occasions of the performed Lully operas. However, a small look to the staging of Lully operas in The Southern Netherlands – a country that was also the subject of Louis' wars since it belonged the Spain – and the research done by Schmidt provides some ideas how Lully's music was adjusted to the context of The Dutch Republic.

Pietro Antonio Fiocco's Opera Revisions

Manuel Couvreur's and Rudolf Rasch's research about the life of the Italian Pietro Antonio Fiocco at the court of Brussels shows how this particular musician and opera entrepreneur dealt with the propaganda in Lully's operas. Before he settled at Brussels' court, Fiocco was already a well-known composer and arranger of music. For example, he collaborated with Dirck Strijcker at Strijckers opera house to stage Italian operas in Amsterdam.⁸¹ For several of these Italian operas, Fiocco revised the music. What this precisely meant is according to Rasch not clear. In the libretto of the Venetian opera *Helena Rapita da Paride* (1677), Strijcker implies that Fiocco composed the music for sections of the Amsterdam production while other parts of the opera still contained the original music by Domenico Freschi (1634-1710).⁸² As it seems, the music for the prologue was not altered. However, the libretto was. While the subject of the prologue – an argument between Paris, Juno and Jupiter about Venus being the most beautiful goddess – remained largely the same, the text is adapted to Amsterdam's situation. For example, in Strijcker's production Venus wishes peace for Amsterdam in particular.⁸³

The previous paragraph shows two things. First, that it was common practice to – probably without the composer's consent – make significant alterations to both the music and the libretto of an operatic work. The text of the prologue was not only adjusted to the place of performance, sections of the opera's main part were also altered, revised or even completely discarded in favor of newly composed music. Second, it shows that Fiocco had at least experience with revising someone else's operas. It was this skill that he also used for the staging of Lully's *tragédies lyriques* at the court of Brussels.

From at least 1682 - the year he married his wife in the Chapel Church of Brussels -

⁸¹ Rasch, "A Venetian goes North: Pietro Antonio Fiocco in Amsterdam, Hanover and Brussels," *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 56 (2001): 179-199.

⁸² Ibid., 193

⁸³ Ibid.

until his death in 1714, Fiocco lived in Brussels. As it was the case in The Dutch Republic, stagings of Italian operas in The Southern Netherlands during the last two decades of the seventeenth century gave way for their French counterpart – and Lully's works particular.⁸⁴ Besides the at least three productions in Ghent (*Cadmus et Hermione* 1679, *Thésée* 1698 and *Phaëton* 1708) and one in Antwerp (*Proserpine* 1682), the vast majority of performances of Lully operas were in The Southern Netherlands' capital.⁸⁵ Schmidt even argues that Brussels was "clearly one of the strongest bastions of Lully performances outside France. (. . .) From 1683 until 1741 no less than thirty-six productions of a broad spectrum of works can be documented with relative certainty. (. . .) Brussels clearly experienced most of Lully's *tragédies lyriques.*"⁸⁶

From 1688 until 1697 Louis XIV was at war with a coalition of multiple (West) European countries as Spain, The Dutch Republic, Austria and the Holy Roman Empire – the so-called Nine Years' War. In context of this war, King Louis heavily bombed Brussels in 1695 – which devastated large parts of the city center.⁸⁷ It is highly unlikely that in light of this situation the prologues to Lully's operas with all its praises for the Sun King and his victories would still be performed in The Southern Netherlands – let alone in Brussels. Nevertheless, the *tragedies lyriques* by Lully continued to be staged in 1695 and the following years. On basis of livrets, Schmidt argues that probably *Amadis, Armide, Atys, Acis et Galatée, Phaëton, Bellérophon* and *Thésée* were performed in the capital of The Southern Netherlands during the period 1695 – 1699.⁸⁸

Approximately a year before the destruction – in 1694 – Fiocco started an opera enterprise with Gia Paolo Bombarda called *Opéra du Quai au Foin*.⁸⁹ The enterprise's first season was dominated by Lully's operas.⁹⁰ Due to the destruction brought by France these operas could not be performed without making adjustments to their content. In order to make them acceptable for the Brussels' audience, Fiocco completely revised their prologues. For at least five of Lully's works the artistic director and conductor of the newly established *Opéra du Quai au Foin* discarded that particular part of the opera that contains the most open praise

⁸⁴ Ibid., 207.

⁸⁵ Schmidt, "The Geographical Spread," 202-207.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 202.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 203.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 204.

⁸⁹ Renate Weytjens, "De Fiocco's: Een Italiaanse Muziekantenfamilie in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden," in *Een Muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, ed. Louis Peter Grijp (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press-Salomé, 2001), 46.

⁹⁰ Manuel Couvreur, "Pietro Antonio Fiocco, un Musicien Vénitien à Bruxelles (1682-1714)," *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 55 (2001): 156.

for the French aggressor. All but two of the operas that were performed in Brussels during the last decade of the seventeenth century certainly contained a new prologue with music composed by Fiocco and a new libretto by (an) unknown writer(s). The libretti of both *Atys* – which was probably performed in 1695 – and *Phaëton* – probably staged in 1696 – still contained the original Quinault text. ⁹¹ Couvreur argues that the original text "*n'évoque que très discrètement les guerres de Hollande*" [only discreetly refers to the wars against Holland] and therefore did not have to be revised.⁹² Furthermore, he also suspects that the text and/or the music of prologue to *Phaëton* did not contain enough connections to the ongoing war to be rewritten.

Unfortunately, only one prologue of the five remaining operas – *Thésée* – survived.⁹³ Nevertheless it can be said for sure that also *Amadis*, *Armide*, *Acis et Galatée* and *Bellérophon* contained new prologues. Advertisements in the weekly newspaper *Relations Véritables* and libretti livrets mention that these operas contain new prologues composed by "the famous sir [*sieur*] Fiocco."⁹⁴ Since I do not want to go to much in to depth in the differences between Lully's/Quinault's prologue to *Thésée* and Fiocco's version, it suffices to say that according to Couvreur of the prologues' show many similarities in terms of form and style.⁹⁵ In terms of the text the differences were – obviously – larger. Like Fiocco's revision of *Helena Rapita da Paride* in Amsterdam, the prologue to *Thésée* was adapted to the (political) context of The Southern Netherlands. Couvreur argues that the prologue is clearly linked to the just signed Treaty of Ryswick – the treaty that ended the Nine Years' War.⁹⁶

Prologues in The Dutch Republic

The question whether or not prologues to Lully operas were altered in the Northern Netherlands is as far as I know only extensively discussed by Rebekah Ahrendt in her publication *Armide, The Huguenots, and The Hague.*⁹⁷ In this article she discusses the

⁹¹ Ibid., 156-157.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Rasch, "A Venetian goes North," 207.

⁹⁴ See for information about the avertissements Henri Liebrecht, *Histoire du Théatre Francais A Bruxelles au XVIIe et au XVIIIe Siècle*, 103 and Christiane Stellfeld, *Les Fiocco: Une Famille de Musiciens Belges Aux XVIIe et au XVIIIe Siècles* (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1941), 47-52. For information about the livrets see Schmidt, *The livrets of Jean-Baptiste Lully's Tragédies Lyriques*.

⁹⁵ For the analysis of the prologue see Couvreur, "Pietro Antonio Fiocco," 157-158.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Rebekah Ahrendt, Armide, "The Huguenots, and The Hague," *The Opera Quarterly* 28, no.3-4 (2013): 131-158

prologue to the rival of Lully's *Armide* as the opening (1701) of a new French-language opera company in The Hague. Ahrendt explains that the original prologue to *Armide* seems controversial because of the alleged reference to King Louis' revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 – the edict that gave French protestants the right to practice their religion. Although the link with the revocation is not denied by Ahrendt, the original prologue can also be viewed as a way to show a positive image of the French state and as praise to the King. Nevertheless, Ahrendt claims that the prologue "denigrates the Dutch, their allies, and the Huguenots, it was performable in The Hague in 1701, when *Armide* was staged by an opera company whose business manager, principal funder, stage crew, and primary audience were Huguenots. In order words, while the tragedy was portable, the prologue was not."⁹⁸ But as she points out, the opera was still chosen – probable because the company already had some materials that were made for this production – as the opening of a new theater company.⁹⁹ In order to make this opera appropriate for The Hague's audience an entirely new prologue was written. The audience simply expected a prologue and it was not done to delete the original prologue without presenting the text stripped off its offensive references or writing a new one.

The examined libretto leaves no doubt. Instead of deleting the references to Louis XIV and denigrations of protestants, the new company chose to invest in a new prologue that just recycled small parts of the original piece.¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately in contrast to the libretto, no music related to this part of the opera has been found. As it is the case with previously discussed libretti, also this new prologue to *Armide* contains references to the specific (political) contexts of The Dutch Republic. According to Ahrendt, the piece "celebrates the international coalitions sponsored by The Dutch Republic and William III that resulted in the renewal of the Grand Alliance in September 1701 – one month before *Armide* opened. The new prologue text treads carefully around the issue of sovereignty in the Republic, revealing familiarity with the frequent struggles between the Dutch states and the Stadholder"¹⁰¹ The glorification of King Louis XIV and his victory over his enemies is carefully replaced by a praise of The Northern Netherlands and William III. Furthermore, the writer of the prologue's text – Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée – made explicit references to the Huegenots – French protestants who fled to The Dutch Republic (among other countries) by emphasizing the idea of The Dutch Republic as a safe haven for the French protestant refugees.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 135.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 143.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 146.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 144.

Schmidt's research regarding the libretti livrets of Lully's *tragédies lyriques* is a good starting point to see whether or not other prologues to Lully's operas in The Netherlands were either altered, revised or replaced. In *The livrets of Jean-Baptiste Lully's Tragédies Lyriques: A Catalogue Raisonné* Schmidt filled a gap in Lully research by providing a systematic report of the liverts of the composer's *tragedies lyriques*. He claims that printed livrets are often overlooked while they can provide valuable information such as "lists of performers; indications of alterations, cuts and additions in the text; and notices of precise places of performance."¹⁰² In his extensive report he intended to give descriptions – including the current locations of that books – of all known seventeenth and eighteenth century livrets for all Lully's operas. Besides the livrets, Schmidt also included *recueils factices* (collections of previous published works with a new title page) and collected literary editions (attempts to contain all the works of a certain author or specific repertoire in one publication). Since the main text was completed in 1985 it is needless to say that not all livrets known to us today are covered in this book. There are recent discoveries – as the by Ahrendt discussed livret of *Armide* – that are not described in Schmidt's report.

The Livrets

The livrets that are summed up in Schmidt's report already show that many of the listed works were produced in Amsterdam – and to lesser extent also in The Hague. However, many of these books were editions intended for a wide audience who enjoyed the literary works by Quinault or the latest literary fashions form France's capital.¹⁰³ This was especially the case for the presence of Lully's livrets in the *recueils factices* that were published in The Dutch Republic. Many of these livrets therefore contain one of the following messages *"suivant l'imprimé a Paris," "suivant la copie imprimee a Paris"* or *"sur l'imprime a Paris"* meaning that they do not (significantly) differ from the original Ballard publications. In a few cases Ballard is even explicitly mentioned in the form of *"sur l'imprime a Paris, par Christophe Ballard."* In addition these copies of the Ballard editions, a few counterfeits have been identified by Schmidt. Although the title pages suggest that they are published by Ballard in Paris, the format of the particular livret and their occurrence in *recueils factices* give the impression that they were illegally made in The Dutch Republic.

¹⁰² Schmidt, The Livrets of Jean-Baptiste Lully's Tragédies Lyriques, xv.

¹⁰³ Ibid., xviii

The remaining livrets present eight interesting cases of which at least three contain an altered prologue. The remaining five can be divided in four Dutch translations of an opera and one livret that contains no further specified text changes. In short Schmidt reports and describes the following interesting liverts from The Dutch Republic:¹⁰⁴

- Roeland [Roland], Dutch translation published in 1686 (LLC 12-6).
- *Cadmus en Hermione* [*Cadmus et Hermione*] Dutch translation published in 1687 (LLC 1-10).
- *Amadis*, Dutch translation published in 1687 (LLC 11-7).
- *Thésée*, contains a changed prologue. Published in 1702 (LLC 3-32).
- *Atys*, contains a "slightly altered" prologue. Published in 1702. (LLC 4-37).
- *Proserpine*, contains a new prologue for scene one and scene two. Published in 1703 (LLC 8-25).
- Amadis, unspecified changes of the opera's text. Published in 1704 (LLC 11-24).
- Atys en Sangarida [Atys], Dutch translation published in 1723 (LLC 4-37).

Although Schmidt does not report anything in regard to the prologues in the translated versions of Lully's operas it is still interesting to see what the translators – Thomas Arendsz for *Roland, Cadmus et Hermione* and *Amadis* and Guiliam Toussaint Domis for *Atys* – did with the first section of the operas.

In the remaining part of this chapter, I discuss all above mentioned libretti. The copies – derived from Google Books or photographed by myself – of the used livrets are included in Appendix A. Since I give a short and first reading of the prologues it is necessary to use translations of the text. Where possible, I draw on the English translations of Frank J. Morlock. In other cases I rely on my own. Since Quinault's lines are very poetic and I lack the skill to provide a translation that does justice to his texts, I made global translations instead of literal. They represent solely my interpretation of the libretti's content. When it regards a professional translation, I refer to the corresponding source in the footnotes.

The fact that examination of these operas mainly regard it prose does not mean that solely Quinault's work would be discussed. Although Quinault took the initiative for the libretti, made a general design and wrote the text, it was Lully who was in charge and changed

¹⁰⁴ The numbers between brackets at the end of each bullet refer to the precise finding place in Schmidt, *The livrets of Jean-Baptiste Lully's Tragédies Lyriques*.

the text as he seemed fit.¹⁰⁵ Before Quinault's work would be incorporated in the actual *tragédie lyrique* it had to pass the *Petite Académie* (also known as *Académie des Inscriptions*) where he was compelled to revise his libretto on basis of the member's instruction. After processing the feedback the librettist's work was in the hands of Lully and he was not easily satisfied. According to Isherwood "It was common practice for Lully to return the libretto to Quinault for additional, and often extensive, revisions. (. . .) Thus, despite the importance of the text in the tragédie lyrique, the composer's will prevailed over the poet's".¹⁰⁶

Dutch Adaptions

Roeland

The livret of *Roeland*, *Treur-spel* is the only livret has already been examined thoroughly. Noske and – especially – Rasch discuss this Dutch livret with regard to their publications about Lully's influence and Lully reception in The Dutch Republic.¹⁰⁷ Just a year after the premiere of the original Lully/Quinault piece this version by Arendsz (July the 20th,1686) was staged in Amsterdam. As I explained before, Roeland was an adaption of the French opera instead of a literal translation of the piece. In order to make the opera Roland more interesting for a larger audience the piece had to be translated. In some parts, the translator followed Quinault's original text closely by often using the same amount of syllables and rhythm.¹⁰⁸ As Rasch shows with his example of "Ah! Que mon coeur est agité!/Ach! Hoe gevoel ik my ontroert" it were these parts of the opera that were sung on melodies by Lully. Arendsz himself acknowledges this on the title page and in his preface. In contrast to his translations of Cadmus en Hermione (1687) and Amadis (1687), he describes Roeland simply as "Treurspel [tragedy]" instead of the "Treurspel in Maatzang [sung tragedy]". In the preface he explains that "een groot gedeelte van de Zangen die my dacht daar gevoeglykst in geschikt te kunnen warden, hébbe ik op dézelve maat, én toon als in het Fransch daar in gebragt [I included a large amount of songs that I considered appropriate in the same rhythm and accents as the French original]".¹⁰⁹ The livret contains explicit indications when a certain part has to be sung. However, the majority of the opera's texts – mainly written as alexandrines – were

¹⁰⁵ Isherwood, Music in the Service of the King, 204.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 204-205.

¹⁰⁷ Noske, "L'Influence de Lully," 593-594 and Rasch, "Soixante Ans," 106-108.

¹⁰⁸ Noske, "L'Influence de Lully," 593-594.

¹⁰⁹ T. Arendsz, "Treur-Spel, Het Frans Opera Gevolgt (Amsterdam: Albert Magnus, 1686), 4.

meant to be recited.¹¹⁰ Despite some instructions regarding dancing characters, no specific dances and instrumental sections can be found in the book.

Also in terms of content Arendsz made several alterations. The most radical change is the removal of the prologue. After an introduction by the author, the livrets immediately starts with the first scene of the first act. Just like prologues to operas, prologues to theater plays were a tradition in The Netherlands of the seventeenth and eighteenth century.¹¹¹ In general, in both genres the prologue functioned as a way to establish a "theatrical 'frame', to comment on current political or social issues; and, of course, to curry audience favour. (...) Prologues connect the stage world with that of the audience, but they also establish the fictitious nature of the performance."¹¹² Especially in the genre of the tragedy – to which Arendsz ascribes *Roeland* – the prologue is originally part of the overall structure of the play – a prologue followed by a parodos, three to six episodes and an exodos. In the livret of Roeland the parodos also seems to be lacking and it is unclear whether or not it contained an exodos. The livret ends with a suggestions of a dance – De hofjoffers, én Héldenschimmen betuigen al dansende hunne blijdschap over de geneezinge van Roeland [while dancing the ladies-inwaiting and the ghosts of heroes express their joy regarding the healing of *Roeland*].¹¹³ The livret does not contain any clues whether or not this expression of joy was meant to sung. Based on the livret, it could be that *Roeland* deviates from the traditional structure of a tragedy. Ronald W. Prince notes in his lemma for the Oxford Encyclopedia of Theatre and *Performance* that – although it might have been tradition – not all tragedies contain prologues.¹¹⁴ Therefore, more plays in The Netherlands of the seventeenth and eighteenth century do not contain prologues. Unlike opera, it is possible that in the context of theater a play without prologue would be performed.

The decision not to integrally translate Quinault's original was probably not a hard one to make. Already at the very start of the prologue, Quinault describes how the conqueror – Louis XIV – recalls Peace after she fled for the "*La paix fuyoit au bruit des terribles combats*" [terrible sound of war] while "*il ne punit ses ennemis qui tremblent* [he punishes his

http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198601746.001.0001/acref-9780198601746-e-3185. ¹¹³T. Arendsz, *Roeland, Treur-Spel, Het Frans Opera Gevolgt* (Amsterdam: Albert Magnus, 1686), 54.

¹¹⁰ Rasch, "Soixante Ans," 106-107.

¹¹¹ Jan Bloemendal, "De Dramatische Moord op de Vader des Vaderlands

De Verhouding tussen Vier Typen Toneel in de Vroegmoderne Nederlanden," *De zeventiende eeuw* 23, (2007): accessed April 20, 2017, http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_zev001200701_01/_zev001200701_01_0007.php. ¹¹² Ronald W. Vince, "Prologue," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Theatre and Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), accessed January 24, 2017,

¹¹⁴ Vince, "prologue."

trembling enemies]".¹¹⁵ To praise the King's deeds a choir of fairies sing.¹¹⁶

Quel bien est plus doux que la paix ? Peut-on trop cherir ses attraits? Que son regne est aimable! Qu' il dure à jamais. Nous n' aurons que de beaux jours.

[What good is sweeter than peace? Can we cherish its consequences too much? How lovable is his reign! May it lasts forever. We will only have good days.]

In The Netherlands of the seventeenth and eighteenth century it was common practice for playwrights to exclude everything that audience would experience as offensive in a political, moral, religious and ethical way.¹¹⁷ Given the overt celebrations of King Louis' "achievements" in Quinault's prologue it is not hard to imagine that Arendsz chose to discard or change the prologue for his adaption of *Roland*. The fact that Arendsz was not afraid to change to the piece's content is also shown by the fact that he discarded several open references to the supernatural. In his introduction Arendsz explains that he "*in plaatze van toverkunst de geneeskunde toeeigene* [attributes medicine instead of witchcraft]" to Logistille and that he "*in het Spél al wat tovery behélst uitgelaaten of verandert héb* [discarded or changed every aspect related to sorcery]".¹¹⁸ Noske even argues that *Roeland* – together with Balthasar Bekker's book *De Betoverde Weereld* [The World Bewitched] (1691) in which he denied the existence of the Devil and witches – are early examples of the imminent Age of Enlightenment.¹¹⁹ Given the close translation of Quinault's original text and the above mentioned changes to the content, it is likely that Arendsz knew the original work, took notice of the propagandistic nature of the prologue and decided to discarded or change it altogether.

 ¹¹⁵ [Philippe Quinault], *Roland, Tragedie en Musique* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1684), ii-iii.
 ¹¹⁶ Ibid., iii.

¹¹⁷ Pim van Oostrum, "Dutch Interest in 17th -and 18th –Century French Tragedies Written by Women," in *I Have Heard About You': Foreign Women's Writing Crossing the Dutch Border: From Sappho to Selma Lagerlöf* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2004), 155.

¹¹⁸ Arendsz, *Roeland*, 4.

¹¹⁹ Noske, "L'Influence de Lully," 593-594.

Unfortunately for Arendsz, *Roeland* turned out to be not that successful since the libretto was probably considered to be "not sufficient enough" for a play.¹²⁰ Rasch notes that that the adaption just run for three days (July the 22nd, 25th and 27th 1686) after its premiere and that this "experiment" – staging Dutch adaptions of operas by Lully/Quinault – was not repeated.¹²¹ However despite the fact that proof of a similar staging of one of Lully's operas cannot be found, the production of Domis' *Atys en Sangarida* (1724) of about half a century later shares some important similarities.

Atys en Sangarida

The main similarity is that the livret of *Atys en Sangarida* cannot be described as a Dutch translation of the opera *Atys* yet as a Dutch adaption that follows the overall lines of Quinault's libretto. Like what Arendsz did for *Roeland*, the Dutch playwright and jurist Domis transformed the original *tragédie lyrique* into a spoken play that also incorporates songs, music and dance. The play premiered on the seventeenth of January 1724 in the Amsterdam City Theater and it run for four more days (January the 22th, 24th, 29th and 31st.¹²² The play was performed again in 1739 (November the 16th, 21st, 23rd, 28th and 30th) and 1759 (April the 2nd) at the same theater.¹²³

There is not much published on this piece. Only Étienne Gros wrote two sentences about it in *Philippe Quinault: Sa Vie et Son Œuvre*.¹²⁴ In this book he indicates this play as an imitation of Quinault's libretto instead of a translation. Unfortunately, Gros does not elaborate further on this statement. Nevertheless it is not surprising that he came to this conclusion. The examination of the livret shows that Domis – recognizable by his motto "*Gloriam Tribuit Doctina*" – made a version that follows the overall narrative of Quinault's original but not as close as Arendsz's *Roeland*. At several moments in *Roeland*, Arendsz chose to follow the lines of Quinault's text very closely so it could be sung on Lully's music. Domis had a different approach. His texts for songs – which are notated in italics – deviates in terms of the amount of syllables and rhythm compared to the French original. Therefore, it cannot be sung on Lully's music. Therefore, music other music for this play. Whether or not music was

¹²⁰ The particular reasons why this was this case is not clear. See for more information Rasch, "Soixante Ans,"108.

¹²¹ Rasch, "Lully in Amsterdam," 53.

¹²² Amsterdam Centre for the Study of the Golden Age, "Atys en Sangarida," in *ONSTAGE: Online Datasystem* of Theatre in Amsterdam in the Golden Age, accessed February 7, 2017,

http://www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/onstage/plays/1090.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Étienne Gros, *Philippe Quinault: Sa Vie et Son Œuvre* (Paris: É. Champion, 1926), 788.

composed for this play or that Domis wrote contrafacts on already existing melodies is not clear. The only lead is the information that Domis gave at the end of the livret. He wrote in a note to the reader that he changed the text of three airs to fit the music composed by "Monsr. Nozeman".¹²⁵ It is unknown if this mister also composed the music for the dances and the remaining songs in this tragedy. The music for this play is unfortunately lost.

Monsr. Nozeman probably refers to Jacobus Nozeman (1693 – 1745), who worked as a violinist at the Amsterdam City Theater for several years and as an organist at the Remonstrantse Kerk in Amsterdam.¹²⁶ Unfortunately there is not much known about this composer and his work. The works that are already attributed to him mainly comprise sonatas – in which he made use of several French and Italian dance forms – and Dutch songs.¹²⁷ Although it cannot be said for sure, it is possible that this musician is the composer of at least three airs in *Atys en Sangarida*. Besides his experience with theater and as a composer of Dutch songs, no other composers with the same name are known to us today.

Atys is not the first play that Domis adapted for a Dutch audience. Oostrum shows that Domis also edited Madeleine-Angélique de Gomez' (1684 – 1770) tragedy *Habis* (1714).¹²⁸ The Dutch translation *Habis, of de Vernietigde Wraakgierigheid* (1719) contained several large text changes and lacks the mention of the original author, dedication and the preface. Oostrum suggest that preface and the name of the author would be discarded because of Gomez' female sex, and that the text is changed in way that "'Heroic Virtue' and 'Married Love' become one" in the end.¹²⁹ Furthermore, Oostrum shows in his chapter how Domis' adaption of the piece became popular in light of the political circumstances regarding the ongoing discussion about the recognition of William IV as Stadholder.

When it comes to *Habis*, Domis did not have to make a decision whether or not to translate and adapt its prologue since the original piece does not contain one. This is cannot be said for *Atys*. As was the case with the prologue to *Roland*, the decision not to translate the prologue was probably not a difficult one to make. Of all the prologues to Lully/Quinault operas, the prologue to *Atys* probably contains the most open praises to Louis XIV as well as obvious references to the Franco-Dutch War. The fact that the French king ordered it to be

¹²⁵ [Guiliam Toussaint Domis], Atys en Sangarida. Treurspel. Vercierd met Zang, Musiek, en verscheidene Dans Balletten (Amsterdam: De Erfg. Van H. Lescailje, en Dirk Rank, 1723), 49.

 ¹²⁶ Rudolf Rasch, "Nozeman, Jacob," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), accessed February 7, 2017, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/42270.
 ¹²⁷ Ibid. For information about the dance forms in Nozeman's sonatas see W. H. Thijsse, "Jacobus Nozeman (1693 – 1745)," *Mens en Melodie* 3 (1948): 83-85.

¹²⁸ Oostrum, "Dutch Interest," 167-170.

¹²⁹ Ibid. Oostrum classifies this ending as typically Dutch.

performed again in his private chambers at Saint-Germain – which give its nickname: "the king's opera" – showed how much King Louis appreciated this particular *tragédie lyrique*.¹³⁰ The very first start of Quinault's libretto is already a clear example of the way how the Sun King is addressed in this prologue:¹³¹

En vain j' ay respecté la celebre memoire Des heros des siecles passez; C'est en vain que leurs noms si fameux dans l' histoire, Du sort des noms communs ont esté dispensez : Nous voyons un heros dont la brillante gloire Les a presque tous effacez.

[In vain, I've respected the celebrated memory Of heroes of centuries past.It's in vain that their names, so famous in history, Have been bestowed widely.We are looking at a hero whose brilliant gloryHas almost effaced all others].

The reference to the Franco-Dutch War mainly involved the wait for spring. At the time of the premiere – January 10, 1676 – the King was forced to wait for better weather after the death of Turenne and the arrival of winter forced Louis XIV and his troops to retreat. In the prologue to *Atys*, Time and the Chorus of Hours complain about the cold and ice of winter and hope for a quick return of spring so that the French King could invade Flanders and The Northern Netherlands again. I elaborate more on this subject in my discussion of the 1702 version of *Atys*.

French Versions with altered Prologues

Thésée

There are some ambiguities in regard to this particular version of *Thésée*. It was published in 1703 by Henri Schelte in Amsterdam and contains in addition to the opera also a prologue.

¹³⁰ Robert M. Isherwood, "The Operas of Lully," in *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Cornell University Press, 1973), 218-219.

¹³¹ As opposed to majority of translations in this thesis, the translation of the original version of *Atys* is not by my hand but derived from Philippe Quinault, *Atys: A Play in Five Acts*, trans. Frank J. Morlock (Rockville: Wildside Press LLC, 2010) 11.

According to Schmidt, the in-Amsterdam-printed livrets – by both Schelte and other publishers – mainly served a literary function and cannot be linked to any specific performance in The Netherlands.¹³² The original text and list of performers were printed without any kind of revision or adjustments. As I explained before, this was indeed the case for the in Amsterdam published *recueils factices* and collected literary editions. If they contained any modification at all, it would be the addition of something like "*suivant la copie imprimee a Paris*". Nevertheless, Schmidt decided to include this particular livret in the list of possible performances of Lully operas. He mentioned that this opera was performed in 1703 in The Hague with "an entirely new prologue".¹³³ Unfortunately he does not elaborate on his choice to include this particular livret as proof of a performance. In other cases he refers to either Jan Fransen's *Les comédiens français en Hollande au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles* or Alfred Loewenberg's *Annals of Opera: 1597 – 1940*. This suggestion is probably evoked by a specific addition to *Thésée*'s prologue. In Schelte's edition the prologue is set in a theatre that represents "*Les Environs de la Haye*".¹³⁴

Furthermore, Schmidt's statement regarding "an entirely new prologue" is somewhat questionable. It is true that the prologue is altered compared to Quinault's original. However the changes are not that big that the prologue could be classified as "entirely new". Nevertheless the choice to set the prologue in "*Les Environs de la Haye*" instead of "*un Jardin*" – which refers to gardens of Versailles – gave the – unknown – editor of *Thésée* the opportunity to change those aspects of the prologue that audience could experience as controversial or offending without having to revise large parts of the text or having to write a complete new one. Therefore, both the original and edited prologues entail the conflict between Mars and Venus about the choice whether or not to go to war. However, the reasons for going to war or staying in the country differ.

The Quinault version of *Thésée* premiered at the chateau of Saint-Germain-en-Laye on January 12, 1675. The Franco-Dutch War was still going on and Quinault describes how Venus together with Games and Pleasures mourn Louis' absence at court while Mars praises the king's lust for victory and glory because it will make France triumph. Although the literal meaning of several parts of the libretto – such as "*Le Maistre de ces lieux n'aime que la Victoire/il en fait ses plus chers desirs/ Il neglige icy les plaisirs,/Et tous ses soins sont pour*

¹³² Schmidt, "The Geographical Spread," 201.

¹³³ Ibid., 200.

¹³⁴ [Philippe Quinault], *Thesée, Tragedie en Musique, Ornée d'Entrées de Ballet, de Machines, & de Changemens de Theatre,* Amsterdam: Henri Schelte, 1703, iii.

la gloire" [The master of this land only loves victory, He makes it his dearest desire: He neglects pleasures, And only cares for glory] – can be interpreted as criticism, Norman ensures that "it is unconceivable that Quinault, (. . .) who depended on royal support (. . .), would write anything that could be considered criticism of the king."¹³⁵ Rather, it would function as a reminder of the king's duties and the need for self-control – a theme so common in tragedies.¹³⁶ This becomes clearer in the end when Mars and Venus settle their disputes and sing together about love and victory. The message is clear: it are only exceptional rulers as Louis XIV who can bring War and Peace together to ensure the people's wealth, pleasures and love.

Schelte's publication of the livret and the possible performance took place twentyseven to twenty-eight years after the premiere of Quinault's original. The Franco-Dutch War was over for quite some years and The Netherlands was engaged in a new war with France (War of the Spanish Succession, 1701-1713). After the death of the childless Charles II of Spain (1661-1700) both the Holy Roman Emperor (Germany and Italy) Leopold I and Louis XIV claimed his lands. To prevent Louis from ruling France and Spain, the Dutch Stadholder and King of England William III made an alliance with Britain and Austria. As was the case with the French war of Devolution, the fear for an aggressive Louis XIV as ruler of The Southern Netherlands made the United Provinces decide go to war again. This made The Spanish Netherlands the main subject of the war and caused The Northern Netherlands to carry the heaviest burdens compared to the other participants of this violent conflict.¹³⁷

Due to the different point of view in terms of time, place and political side, the content of the prologue in Schelte's publication of *Thésée* differs from the original. First of all, lines were altered to fit the "new" location. For example:¹³⁸

Quinault:

C'estoit dans ces jardins, au bord de ces fontaines, Que l' aimable mere d'Amour Esperoit d' establir sa bien-heureuse cour

Schelte's publication:

C'estoit dans ces beaux Lieux, dans ces charmantes plaines, Que l' aimable mere d'Amour Esperoit d' establir sa bien-heureuse cour

¹³⁵ Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 53.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 54.

¹³⁷ A.J. Veenendaal, "The War of the Spanish Succession in Europe," in *The New Cambridge of Modern History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 411.

¹³⁸ [Quinault], *Thesée*, iii. Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Thesée: Tragedie Mise en Musique* (Paris : Christophe Ballard, 1688, 14-16.

[It was in these gardens, on the banks of these fountains, That the lovable mother of love Hoped to establish her blessed court] [It was in these beautiful Places, in these charming plains, That the lovable mother of love Hoped to establish her blessed court].



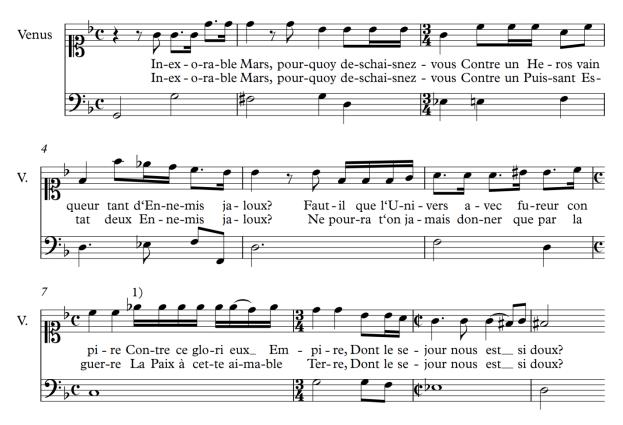
Other small – and obvious – changes range from *Portez aux Ennemis de cet Estats heureux;/ Tout ce que la Guerre a d'affreux* [bring the horrors of war to the state's enemies] instead of brining the horrors of war to the enemies of the French Empire to claims that "*La Hollande doit être à jamais triomphante*" [Holland must forever be triumphant] instead of France.¹³⁹

Somewhat larger adjustments in terms of content mainly have to do with the change of political side and the change of war. In Schelte's publication Venus makes an explicit reference to the two states that lay claim on The Southern Netherlands – France and The Holy Roman Empire – while she refers to France's enemies in general in the original version:¹⁴⁰

Quinault:	Schelte's publication:
Inexorable Mars, pourquoy deschaînez-vous	Inexorable Mars pourquoy dechainez vous
Contre un heros vainqueur tant d'ennemis jaloux?	Contre un puissant Estat deux Ennemis jalous?
Faut-il que l'univers avec fureur conspire	Ne pourra t'on jamais donner que par la guerre
Contre ce glorieux Empire,	La paix à cette aimable Terre,
Dont le sejour nous est si doux?	Dont le sejour nous est si doux?
[Merciless Mars, why do you rage against a hero who	[Merciless Mars, why do you rage against a powerful
conquered so many jealous enemies?	state with two jealous enemies?
Must the universe conspire against this glorious	Can war ever bring peace to this lovable Land that
Empire that treats us so well?]	treats us so well?]

¹³⁹ In Lully's original: Portez aux ennemis de cét empire heureux

tout ce que la guerre a d'affreux and *un nouveau Mars rendra la France triomphante*. ¹⁴⁰ Lully, *Thesée*, 33. [Quinault], *Thesée*. Iv-v.



1) In source an eighth note

Mars on the other hand does not question the war, rather he emphasizes Netherlands' important role in defending The Southern Netherlands from those who wish to conquer it. He tells Venus that *La Hollande doit être à jamais triomphante,/Le Destine de l'Europe en ses mains est remis* [Holland must forever be triumphant, The destiny of Europe is in its hands].¹⁴¹ Quinault is a little bit "more modest" in his libretto. At the same place as the example for the The Hague's edition of *Thésée*, Mars argues that the outcome of the war is in Louis' hands by singing: "*Un nouveau Mars rendra la France triomphante./Le destin de la guerre en ses mains est remis*" [A new Mars will make France triumph. The war's outcome is in his hands].

Previous examples show that Schelte's publication does not contain "an entirely new prologue". The content however is different compared to Quinault's original one. By changing the depicted scene from Versailles to the surroundings of The Hague, the unknown writer found a way to adjust the prologue to the Dutch situation during the War of Spanish Succession without making huge costs. All praises to Louis XIV are either deleted or altered to praises of the Dutch states while the importance of The Northern Netherlands' interference in the war is emphasized.

^{141 [}Quinault], Thesée, v.

Atys

There exist two nearly identical versions of this livret. The first one is described by Schmidt (LLC 4-37) and is published in 1702 by Étienne Foulque in The Hague. It contains both the adapted prologue and a large part of the main opera. The second livret – which has not been described before – is published in 1702 by Henri Schelte in Amsterdam but sold by Adrian Moetjens in The Hague. It contains the same – adapted – prologue and the whole main opera. Schelte specifically builds on an earlier publication – probably Foulque's – by stating that he complemented an earlier livret with the ending from Paris' edition since it was missing.¹⁴² Indeed when the two livrets are compared, it shows that Foulque's edition lacks the second half of the final scene where Cybele laments the fact that she turned her lover Atys into a tree after he threatened to commit suicide. The livret ends with Cybele praising her own decision because Atys will live forever.¹⁴³ The opera still has a proper ending with the choir repeating her words but the ambiguity of her feelings that is present in the Ballard and Schelte edition is lost.

Unfortunately it is not known whether or not there was an actual performance or that the livret solely had a literary function. Schmidt lists a performance of *Atys* with a question mark in the year 1701-1702 in The Hague but he does not link this possible performance to a specific livret – as he did with above described example of *Thésée*.¹⁴⁴ For this possible performance of *Atys* he refers to Fransen who reports a record of fl. 3500 for *Atys*' costumes in February 1702.¹⁴⁵ The livrets also does not contain any information regarding a possible performance. After the title page both books immediately start with the list of characters in the prologue and the prologue itself.

With its premiere in January 1676, the original version of Atys is written approximately 26 years before the publication of Foulque's livret. As discussed in the previous section about Domis' translation of Atys, the original livret contains several references to the Franco-Dutch War and openly praises Louis XIV. In the 1702 editions those adorations are transformed in praises for "sovereigns" while Flore's plea lament for spring – a lament in which she regrets the coming of spring since a hero (Louis) has to return to war – is

¹⁴² [Philippe Quinault], *Atys, Opera en Musique. Orné d'Entrées de Ballet, de Machines, & de Changements de Theatre* (Amsterdam: Henri Schelte, 1702), 60.

¹⁴³ [Philippe Quinault], *Atys, Opera en Musique. Orné d'Entrées de Ballet, de Machines, & de Changements de Theatre* (The Hague: Etienne Foulque, 1702), 64.

¹⁴⁴ Schmidt, "The Geographical Spread," 200.

¹⁴⁵ Fransen, "Comedies Francais, 208.

completely rewritten.

The transformation of the praises are relatively small and are nearly identical to Quinault's original. The following example of the beginning of the prologue shows how easily – but effective – Louis' triumphs are changed into triumphs of unspecified sovereigns:¹⁴⁶

1702 Editions:

Chœur des Heures:

Leurs justes Loix,

Et leurs Exploits

Une gloire nouvelle.

[Time:

Les a presque tous effacez.

Rendent leur mémoire éternelle :

Ajoûte encor à leur nom éclatant

I see Sovereigns whose solid glory

Has almost effaced all others.

Chaque jour, chaque instant

Je vois des Souverains dont la solide gloire

Le Temps :

Quinault:

[Time:

Le Temps : Nous voyons un heros dont la brillante gloire Les a presque tous effacez.

Chœur des Heures: Ses justes loix, Ses grands exploits Rendront sa memoire éternelle : Chaque jour, chaque instant Adjouste encor à son nom esclattant Une gloire nouvelle.

We are looking at a hero whose brilliant glory Has almost effaced all others.

Chorus of Hours:Chorus of Hours:His just rule,Their just laws,His great exploits,And their ExploitsWill render his memory eternal:Will render their memory eternal:Each day, each moment,Each day, each momentAdds yet a new gloryAdds yet a new gloryTo his dazzling name.]To their dazzling names.]

As the example shows, *une heros* is replaced by *Soeverains* while the singular possessive pronouns change into plural possessive pronouns. Most of the smaller changes in the prologue comprise these kind of alterations. Unfortunately who those sovereigns are is nowhere

¹⁴⁶ As before, the translation of Quinault's original version of *Atys* are by Morlock and derived from Quinault, *Atys: A Play in Five Acts*, 11-16. The translation of the 1702 editions are by my edited versions of Morlock's work. For the original material see: Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Atys: Tragedie Mise en Musique* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1689), 6-8 and [Quinault]. *Atys*, 3.

specified. Given the fact that throughout the whole prologue refers to pluralities as "*ces lieux*" [these places] and "*Souverains*" give the impression that it refers to multiple countries. Whether these are the countries that are united in the Grand Alliance or (also) entail the countries that are threatened by France – such as The Southern Netherlands – is not clear.

The biggest change is the replacement of Flore's air by a complete new one. Although the textual changes are big in terms of content, the new libretto seems to fit perfectly on Lully's music. The text of this particular part is probably chanced since it contains the most open reference to Louis' lust for conquering The Netherlands. In her air, Flore regrets the coming of spring since it would mean that Louis has to leave Versailles to go to war. Although these lines originally refer to Louis XIV having to wait for spring before he could invade Flanders during the Franco-Dutch War, it is still relevant during the War of the Spanish Succession where he tried to conquer The Southern Netherlands. Just like the adaptions in Schelte's publication of *Thésée*, the new air emphasizes the role of a prince – possibly William III, Prince of Orange – in the conquest of arresting a *Monarque invincible* [invincible Monarch]:¹⁴⁷

Quinault:

Quand j'attens les beaux jours, je viens toûjours Trop tard, plus le printemps s' avance, et plus il m' est contraire;

Son retour presse le départ Du heros à qui je veux plaire. Pour luy faire ma cour, mes soins ont entrepris De braver desormais l' hyver le plus terrible, Dans l' ardeur de luy plaire on a bien-tost apris à ne rien trouver d' impossible.

[If I wait for fine days, I always come too late;The more Spring advances, the more it annoys me.Its return presses the departureOf a hero I wish to please.To pay Spring my court my cares have undertaken,Henceforth, to brave the most terrible winter.

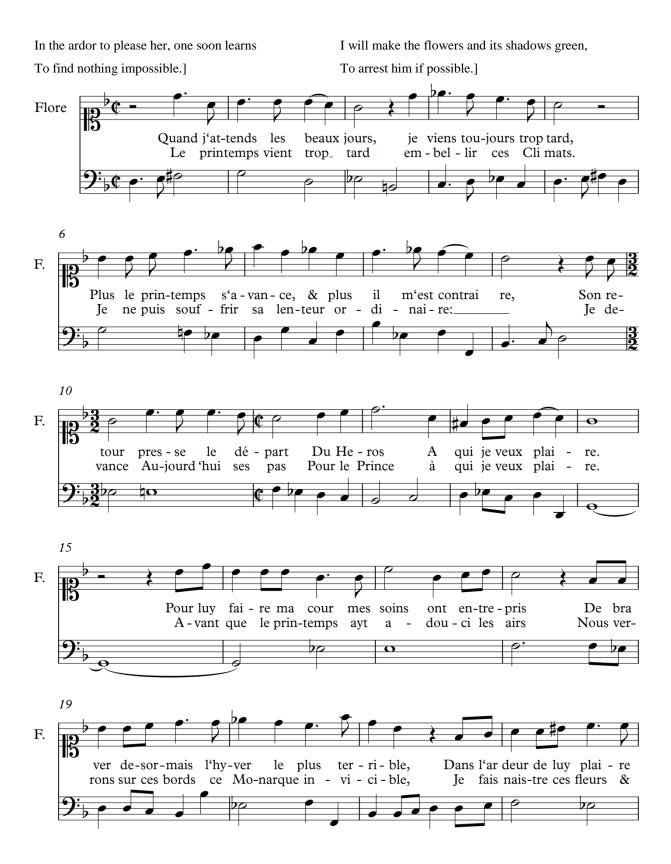
1702 Editions:

Le Printemps vient trop tard embellir ces Climats. Je ne puis souffrir sa lenteur ordinaire:

Je devance aujourd hui ses pas, Pour le Prince à qui je veux plaire. Avant que le Printemps ayt adouci les airs Nous verrons sur ces bords ce Monarque invincible; Je fais naistre ces fleurs & ces ombrages verds, Pour l'arrester s'il est possible.

[Spring embellishes these climates too late.I cannot suffer its ordinary slowness:I now prevent his steps,For the Prince to whom I wish to please.Before Spring has softened the airAt the borders we see this invincible Monarch;

¹⁴⁷ Lully, Atys, 15-16. [Quinault], 4.





Where Flore laments for the end of winter in the original, she wants to end it early in the 1702 editions so the Prince can arrest the attacking monarch – probably Louis XIV. In her conversation with Melpomene, the goddess Iris calls for *les Plaisirs* and *de plus beaux Arts* in *ces lieux protegez du bras d'un nouveau Mars* [in those places that are protected from the arm of a new Mars] – in Quinault's original *l'empire puissant, où regne un nouveau Mars* [the mighty empire where a new Mars reigns].¹⁴⁸ *Atys* is not the first opera in which Louis is descripted as *un nouveau Mars*. Also in *Thésée* the Sun King is characterized as the new Roman god of war because of his lust for warfare, conquering and glory.

It could be that the mentioned prince is William III. He was both Stadholder of The Netherlands and king of England. Besides it was his initiative to re-form the Grand Alliance to prevent France from conquering large parts of Western Europe. Therefore he would fit in the image of the prince that is destined to defeat the French king. Unfortunately, he died childless in 1702 before the Grand Alliance officially declared war to France. John William Friso (1687-1711) inherited the title of Prince of Orange. However, he was not yet of age to lead the Dutch troops and it had to take until 1707 – five years after the publication of the first adapted livret – to take over command. Since nothing is known about the realization of the first livret and possible performances of this adaption, it is difficult to make a hard connection between the prince in the prologue and William III. Nevertheless, the new air and among other changes show that this version Atys is adapted to the Dutch context by making deleting the open praises to Louis XIV and by relating to the ongoing War of the Spanish Succession.

Proserpine

Besides the livrets of *Thésée* and *Atys*, Schelte also published an altered version of *Proserpine*. According to Schmidt it can be linked to a 1703 performance of *Proserpine* in The Hague.¹⁴⁹ In his short description of the livret, he notes that it "contains an entirely new

¹⁴⁸ [Quinault], Atys, 6. Lully, Atys, 31-32.

¹⁴⁹ Schmidt, "The Geographical Spread," 200.

prologue" consisting of two scenes.¹⁵⁰ The livret itself does not give any information regarding the possible Performance in The Hague and starts immediately with the privilege statement and the prologue's character list. The character list already shows that indeed the original prologue is not used for this book. Where the list in the original Ballard edition of 1680 comprises nearly two whole pages of characters, Schelte's publication "merely" entails *L' Enchanteur, Troupe de Genies de sa suite, La Paix* and *Suite de la Paix*.¹⁵¹

It is not strange that also in this case the prologue to *Proserpine* is replaced by another one. As stated before, Louis as the bringer of both Victory and Peace is the dominant theme of *Proserpine*'s first part. As it was the case with the prologue to *Thésée* – where War and Peace came together—, bringing together Victory and Peace is solely reserved for great leaders as Louis XIV. In the original prologue this is extra emphasized when Discord, after much resistance, is convinced by Victory that *Apres avoir vaincu mille peuples divers* [After having conquered thousands of peoples] *il est beau de rendre la paix à l'univers* [it is beautiful to make peace in the universe]. Discord – now set in chains – asks *Faut-il qu' il ne laisse à ma rage rien à devorer que mon coeur?* [Did he (the King) had to leave nothing for my rage to devour except my own hart?].¹⁵² After Discord is put away, Victory and Peace praise in their duet the glorious king.¹⁵³

As discussed before, the prologue to *Proserpine* fits in the overall line of Quinault/Lully operas that are written after Louis signed the Treaty of Nijmegen. The Franco-Dutch war had ended and there was no need to emphasize the image of Louis as the conqueror of Europe since the role of as bringer of peace was more in line with his deeds. However given France's position during the War of the Spanish Succession, this image was outdated at the very least. More important is of course the fact that it was published and maybe even performed at a theater of in one of the states that saw Louis as an aggressive thread to their territory. Therefore it is not sparingly that this prologue could be considered as offensive and therefore was replaced by another one.

The substitute prologue is not new in the sense as Schmidt probably meant it. It is not specially composed or written for the Dutch audience. Rather it is modified with the prologue to André Campra's (baptized 1660 - 1744) opera *Tancrède* (1702) supplemented with parts of

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ [Philippe Quinault and Antoine Danchet], *Proserpine, Opera Orné d'Entrées de Ballet, de Machines, et de Changemens de Theatre* (Amsterdam: Henri Schelte, 1703), iii.

¹⁵² [Philippe Quinault], *Proserpine, Tragedie en Musique; Ornée D'Entrées de Ballet de Machines, & de Changemens de Theâtre* (Paris : Christophe Ballard, 1680), 8.

¹⁵³ See my discussion about Propaganda in Lully's Prologues for the text of this duet.

the fourth scene of the third act of the same opera. The libretto is written by Antoine Danchet (1671 - 1748) after Torquato Tasso's poem *Gerusalemme liberate* (first sketched in 1559, published in 1581). Besides the altered ending, the text of *l'enchanteur*'s air in the second scene of the prologue is edited. The altered air remains very close to the source material and still seem to fit Campra's original music.

The plot of *Tancrède*'s prologue is very similar to *Proserpine*'s. It entails the story of an enchanter who summons the goddess of peace together with games, love and pleasures to replace discord. After peace prevails, the enchanter praises the French people – and Louis XIV in particular – for their triumphs and predicts their victory in the War of the Spanish succession. According to Robert M. Isherwood, the prologue to *Tancrède* was thus "a musical plea to the French people to be sanguine about the war".¹⁵⁴

Not surprisingly, it is this enchanter's praise to Louis and the French people that is edited for Schelte's publication of *Proserpine*. As was the case with the prologue to *Thésée* and *Atys*, references to France and the French king are discarded. However, the substitute references do not point to anything specific. Rather, they entail general locations and leaders. So is "*Les Peuples renommez des Rives de la Seine* [The People glorify the river Seine]" changed to "*Des peuples renommez d'une plage lointaine* [People glorify a far-away beach]" and is "*Sous l'Empire d'un Roy toujours victorieux/Je vous dans l'Avenir Peuples glorieux/Et dans la Paix, & dans la Guerre!* [In the Empire of an ever-victorious King,

I foresee glorious Peoples, in times of Peace, and in War!]" changed to "Sous les ordres des chefs vaillants, victorieux/Je vois dans l'avenir ces peuples Glorieux/Et dans la paix & dans la guerre [Under the orders of the valiant and victorious leaders, I foresee glorious people in times of peace and war]."¹⁵⁵

Why the anonymous editor supplemented the prologue in the publication from Amsterdam with three choruses of the fourth scene of the third act is a mystery. Where the official prologue ends with a chorus praising the ever glorious and victorious French people and the suggestion to sing of their brave deeds forever, Schelte's edition finishes with a plea for pleasures and enjoying life instead of counting its final days. The chorus explicitly expresses the people's fear for death and their troubles reconciling with their fate. Perhaps it functions as a reminder of that the fact that people do not care for glory since it likely shortens

¹⁵⁴ Robert M. Isherwood, "End of the Reign," in *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Cornell University Press, 1973), 346.

¹⁵⁵ [Quinault and Danchet], *Proserpine*, ii-vi. [Antoine Danchet], *Tancrede: Tragedie* (Paris : Pierre Ribou, 1717), vii-xii.

their days. They would rather give in to their own desires. Glory is something that is achieved for kings by people who suffer for it. The inclusion of the three choruses give Peace's praise for the glorious deeds of the French a somewhat bitter taste since it reminds the audience of those who fearfully died for it.

Amadis

This livret is published in 1704 in Amsterdam by Henri Schelte and contains besides the prologue and the opera also a performers list.¹⁵⁶ Schmidt links this livret to the 1704 performance of *Amadis* in The Hague and describes that "many lines of text have been changed, but all have a scansion which would permit the retention of Lully's original music."¹⁵⁷ Besides the altered text, he notes that several parts of the libretto have been deleted.¹⁵⁸

In the year of creation (1683) Louis XIV was in a violent conflict with The Southern Netherlands due to the Franco-Spanish War (1683-1684). Therefore, it was time again to depict Louis as the glorious conqueror instead of the image as Louis XIV as Europe's bringer of peace – an image that ruled the operas' prologues since the end of the Franco-Dutch War.¹⁵⁹ The prologue tells the tale of Urgande and her husband Alquif who are bewitched since the death of the great hero Amadis. The arrival and rule of a new and even greater and more glorious hero breaks the spell and sets them both free.

That this new hero relates to Louis XIV is no surprise. Norman explains that "the hero mentioned in these explicit references is an obvious personification of Louis XIV, either in general, as in *Persée* (. . .) or *Amadis* (. . .), or because of a specific quality, as in *Roland*".¹⁶⁰ It could be that due to the more open and less ambivalent praises to the French king who just started another war with the southern neighbors of The Dutch Republic, the anonymous editor of the libretto made alterations to the prologue.

Besides some minor changes such as the replacement of the main characters' names by their anonymous descriptions (*L'Enchanteur* [the enchanter] and *L'Echanteresse* [the enchantress]) and the names of the supporting roles' performers – names that do not appear on the performers list – solely one part differs from Quinault's original libretto. In the original

¹⁵⁶ Schmidt, "The Geographical Spread," 200.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Schmidt, The livrets of Jean-Baptiste Lully's Tragédies Lyriques, 351-352.

¹⁵⁹ Isherwood, "The Operas of Lully," 230.

¹⁶⁰ Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 64.

dialogue Alquif and Urgande mourn the death that caused them to sleep until the arrival of the new hero who will demonstrate the who world "*le grand art de la guerre* [the great art of war]" and "*le grand art de régner* [the great art of ruling]".¹⁶¹ In Schelte's publication it is Amadis himself who breaks the spell to escort the two sorcerers to a safe place protected from Mars (Louis).¹⁶² The altered prologue fits without any problems on Lully's music.¹⁶³

Quinault:

Urgande:

Lorsqu'Amadis périt, une douleur profonde Nous fit retirer dans ces lieux. Un charme assoupissant devait fermer nos yeux, Jusqu'au temps fortuné que le destin du monde Dépendrait d'un héros, encore plus glorieux.

Alquif:

Ce héros triomphant veut que tout soit tranquille En vain, mille envieux s'arment de toutes parts ; D'un mot, d'un seul de ses regards Il sait rendre, à son gré, leur fureur inutile.

Urgande et Alquif:

C'est à lui d'enseigner Aux maîtres de la terre Le grand art de la guerre; C'est à lui d'enseigner Le grand art de régner.

[Urgande:

When Amadis perished, a deep sorrow

Schelte's publication: L'Echanteresse:

Lors qu'Amadis perit, une douleur profonde Nous fit retirer dans ces Lieux. Un charme assoupissant avoit fermé nos yeux ; il se dissipe enfin, paroissons dans le monde, Et goutons un répos plus doux, plus glorieux.

L'Enchanteur:

Dans des Etats fameux il est de doux aziles, Où la fureur de Mars ne porte point ses coups; Ces beaux Lieux semblent faits pour nous; Sous d'équitables Loix nous y serons tranquilles.

L'Enchanteur & L'Enchanteresse:

Les Maîtres de ces Lieux, Par leur juste puissance, Protegent l'Innocence. Les Maîtres de ces Lieux Sont protegez des Cieux.

[The Enchantress:

When Amadis perished, a deep sorrow

¹⁶¹ Jean-Baptiste Lully, Amadis: Tragedie en Musique (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1684), xxii.

¹⁶² As opposed to the majority of translations in this thesis, the translation of the original version of *Amadis* is not by my hand but derived from Philippe Quinault, "Amadis," in *Armida & Amadis & Roland: Three Opera Librettos*, translated by Frank J. Morlock, 2013, 62-65.

¹⁶³ Lully, *Amadis*, xxi-xxii. [Philippe Quinault], *Amadis des Gaules, Tragedie en Musique* (Amsterdam: Henri Schelte, 1704) ,3

Made us withdraw to these parts. A sleeping charm made us close our eyes Until the fortunate time that the destiny of the world Shall depend on a hero yet more glorious.

Alquif:

This triumphant hero wants all to awake. Vainly thousands of envious take arms on all sides. In a word, with a single look At his inclination, He knows how to render their fury ineffective.

Alquif and Urgande:

It's up to him to demonstrate To the masters of the earth The great art of war. It's up to him to demonstrate The great art of ruling.] Made us withdraw to these parts. A sleeping charm made us close our eyes; He finally dissipates, Appear in the world And let us taste a softer more glorious retreat.

The Enchanter:

In famous states there are safe asylums, Where Mars' fury cannot give any blows: The beautiful places seem to be made for us; Under fair laws, we shall be at peace.

The Enchanter and Enchantress:

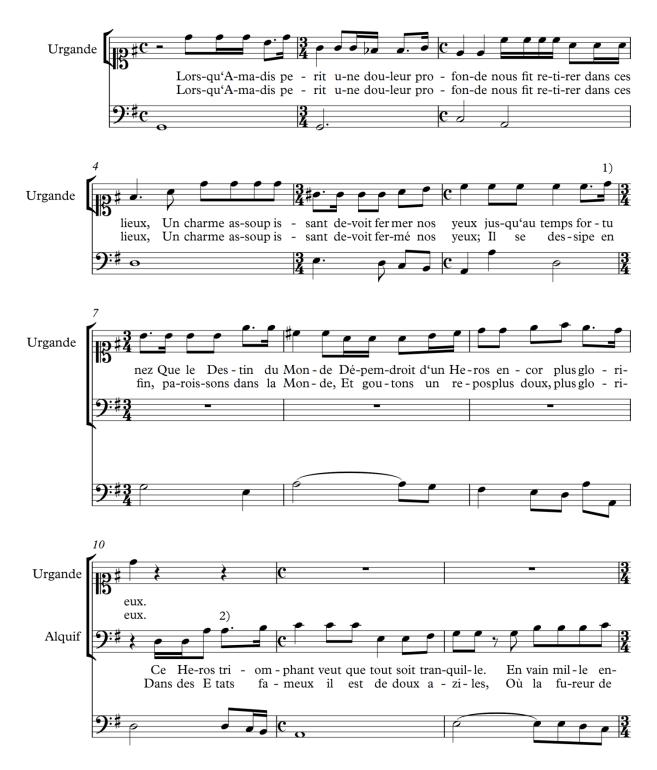
The Rulers of these lands, By their just power, Protect the innocent The Rulers of these lands are protecting heavens.]

Retreating to safe asylums because of the French king's lust for violence is a theme that Ahrendt already discussed in regard to her analysis of the new prologue to the 1701 production of *Armide*.¹⁶⁴ At least when it comes to *Armide*, she notes that since it was a production in The Hague, the referred to states in the prologue are the Sates General. Furthermore Ahrendt argues that Quesnot la Chenée's new prologue "serves as an acknowledgement and affirmation of the diasporic condition— of 'eternal repose' within the Republic."¹⁶⁵ Although explicit references to both the Huguenots and The Northern Netherlands seem to be lacking, it can be said that the exalted beautiful and – above all – peaceful states that are protected from Louis' lust for violence is in line with the image that contemporaries had of The Northern Netherlands as a country of asylum. According to Ahrendt, the asylum referred to "'a place safe from danger' and implied defense or safeguard, often of a religious nature."¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Ahrendt, "Armide," 150-152.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 152.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 151.



1) Eighth note in source 2) Dotted sixteenth note in source



Dutch Translations

Schmidt listed two translated livrets of Lully's operas. Both livrets were published in 1687 by Albert Magnus and could be linked to several performances in Amsterdam during that same year.¹⁶⁷ *Amadis* premiered on February 26 and run for at least 19 more days in the period March-June 1687 at the Amsterdam City Theater.¹⁶⁸ Also *Cadmus en Hermione* seemed to be quite popular. The first performance was on May 17 and it ran at least 19 times until the end of July at the same theater as *Amadis*.¹⁶⁹ Although the University of Amsterdam's *Online Datasystem of Theatre in Amsterdam in the Golden Age* mentions that both operas were performed in Dutch, Arendsz acknowledges in his preface to *Amadis* that – at least – *Amadis* was performed in French. He writes that "*In deeze Vertaaling van het Treurspel genaamt Amadis, zijn de zelve zangmaaten gehouden, waar op het althans op de Schouwburg in het Frans gezongen werd*" [In this translation of the tragedy called *Amadis*, the same rhythm was kept as the songs that were sung in French at the City Theater]. There is no similar preface to *Cadmus en Hermione*. However, it is not unthinkable that Arendsz took the same approach to this *tragédie lyrique* as he did to his translation of *Amadis*. There are no clues regarding to the possible performers of these two operas.¹⁷⁰

Cadmus en Hermione

The livret of *Cadmus* is a very close translation of both the opera and its prologue. Even the propagandistic elements are translated without any adjustments. Only Quinault's introduction differs from the original. References to Louis XIV are not translated and simply deleted from the Dutch livret. For example Quinault writes in the original book that:¹⁷¹

"Le sens allegorique de ce sujet est si clair, qu' il est inutile de l'expliquer. Il suffit de dire que Le Roy s'est mis au dessus des louanges ordinaires, & que pour former quelque idée de la grandeur & l'éclat de sa Gloire, il a falu s'éelever jusques à la Devinité mesme de la lumiere, qui est le Corps de sa Devise."

[The allegorical meaning of this (the prologue's) subject is so clear, that it is useless to explain it. It is sufficient

http://www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/onstage/plays/886, accessed February 19, 2017.

- ¹⁶⁹ Amsterdam Centre for the Study of the Golden Age, "Cadmus en Hermione, Treurspel in Maatzang" in ONSTAGE : Online Datasystem of Theatre in Amsterdam in the Golden Age,
- http://www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/onstage/plays/940, accessed February 19, 2017.

¹⁷⁰ Rasch, "De Theaters I: Amsterdam," 21.

¹⁶⁷ Schmidt, "The Geographical Spread," 200.

¹⁶⁸ Amsterdam Centre for the Study of the Golden Age, "Amadis, Treur-spel in Maatzang" in ONSTAGE : Online Datasystem of Theatre in Amsterdam in the Golden Age,

¹⁷¹ [Philippe Quinault], *Cadmus et Hermione; Tragedie* (Paris: René Baudry, 1677), 1.

to say that the King has placed himself above the ordinary praises, and that in order to form some idea of the grandeur and brilliancy of his Glory, it has been necessary to rise up to the Divinity of Light, which is the main meaning of his Motto].

Apart from the previous quote and a summary of the prologue's plot, the rest of Quinault's introduction is translated by Arendsz and included in Magnus' livret.

The quote shows one more thing. It proves that several characters are indeed allegorical figures who – according to Quinault – were obvious for the French audience. The prologue tells Ovid's tale of the Sun who slaying the vicious serpent Python. Besides the apparent symbolization of Apollo the Sun god as Louis XIV the sun king, also the python has an undisputed meaning. Although there are no specific references to the Franco-Dutch war, both Isherwood and Norman link the serpent to the United Provinces. Louis had to suspend his conquest after the Dutch opened the sluices at Muiden.¹⁷² To get a better position at the peace negotiations with William of Orange, he conquered Maastricht in 1673 – the year that the original *Cadmus* premiered in France. Isherwood links both Louis' setback and his victory to the prologue where the Sun cut through the storm to defeat Python.¹⁷³

All those elements are present in Arendsz' translation. Even the part where the character who personifies the king on stage – *Cadmus et Hermione* is the only opera by Lully/Quinault that actually stages a character who represents the king – sings about making the whole world happy and the sunny days that follow when he continues to shine.¹⁷⁴

Quinault:	Arendsz:
Le Soleil, sur son char:	De Zon op zyn wagen:
Ce n'est point par l'éclat d'un pompeux sacrifice,	't Is niet door d'omslag van trotze offertacyen
Que je me plais à voir mes soins recompensez;	dat my behaagd myn zorg vergolden te zien,
Pour prix de mes Travaux ce me doit être assez,	Voor loon van myn arbeid begeer ik alleen
Que chacun en jouisse;	Dat elk blydschap toon.
Je fais les plus doux de mes voeux	Het zoetste van myn wenschen is,
De rendre tout le monde heureux.	De gantsche waereld gelukkig te maaken.
Dans ces lieux fortunez, les Muses vont descendre,	In dit gelukkige gewest zullen de Zanggodinnen

¹⁷² For more information see chapter two, Robert M. Isherwood, "The Centralization of Music, in *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Cornell University Press, 1973), 193 and Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 50.

¹⁷³ Isherwood, "The Centralization," 193.

¹⁷⁴ [Quinault], *Cadmus et Hermione*, 8. [Philippe Quinault, *Cadmus en Hermione: Treurspel in Maatzang* trans. [Thomas Arendsz] (Amsterdam: Albert Magnus, 1687),

Les jeux galants suivront leurs pas; J'inspire les chants plein d'appas Que vous allez entendre: Tandis que je suivrai mon cours, Profitez des beaux jours.

[The Sun, on his chariot:

It is not by the splendor of a pompous sacrifice, That am delighted in seeing the results of my cares; The only price I ask for my deeds Is everybody's happiness, It is my sweetest desire To make the whole world happy Muses will descend in this happy place, and gallant games will follow; I inspire charming songs You will hear: As long as I fulfill my duty, Enjoy the beautiful days.]

nederdalen.

De aardige speelen zullen haar schreden volgen. Ik blaas zangen in vol welbehagelykheid die gy hooren zult, Zoo lang ik myn loop vervolg, Geniet de blye dagen.

[The Sun, on his chariot:

It is not by the splendor of proud sacrifices That am delighted in seeing the results of my cares, The only price I ask for my deeds is Everybody's happiness It is my sweetest desire, To make the whole world happy. Muses will descend in this happy place and gallant games will follow I inspire charming songs You will hear, As long as I fulfill my duty Enjoy the happy days.]

The nearly literal translation of *Cadmus* could show that the Dutch audience of *Cadmus en Hermione* was presented with the original Quinault prologue including its allegorical figures of Louis XIV and the celebration of his deeds. The question remains whether or not the allegories where clear for the visitors of the Amsterdam City Theater and the buyers of the Magnus' livret. The praises for the French king in *Cadmus* are by far not that explicit at the earlier-discussed examples since there are no explicit references to the King or his victories. Without Quinault reminding the audience that there are allegories for the King in the prologue, it could be that the prologue was not anything more to hem than a staging of Ovid's story about the Sun god Apollo slaying the serpent Python.

Besides, the interpretation of *Cadmus*' prologue is not an undisputed one. Especially Norman points to the fact that in the prologue to *Cadmus* the Sun slays the by himself created monstrous creature.¹⁷⁵ After all, it was the sun-warmed mud that gave birth to Python. This ambivalent nature of the prologue is emphasized by statement from Lully. In his dedications

¹⁷⁵ Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 35-36.

to the king that he sold in manuscript copies of *Cadmus* at the door of the theater, Lully – in cautious and carefully chosen words – criticizes Louis' lust for war.¹⁷⁶ For example he writes:¹⁷⁷

L'Empire où régnez, sans chercher à s'accroître, Trouve assez de grandeur à Vous avoir pour Maître, Votre règne suffit à félicité, Souffrez qu'il en jouisse avec tranquillité.

[In the empire that you rule, you find enough greatness without having to expand. Your kingdom suffices in bringing happiness; let us enjoy it in piece.]

In this light Apollo slaying the serpent he created can be seen as a figure for Louis fighting the wars he so desperately wanted to start. Besides the question of the Dutch audience got the allegories in the prologue, it can be said that the praises in are less explicit and because of that far more open of other interpretations than celebrating Louis' victories.

Amadis

In contrast to the translation of *Cadmus et Hermione*, in Arendsz' translation of *Amadis* a few small alterations can be found. Just as it was the case with the alterations in Schelte's 1704 edition, all the changes are made in the part were Alquif and Urgande are set free. Although, the they are not as large, the alterations comprise the same overall story. The sum of the small revisions in the translation change the story in such a way that it is again Amadis' revival that releases Urgande and Alquif instead of the arrival of "the new Amadis" who will bring peace by conquering his enemies.¹⁷⁸

Quinault:	Arendsz:
Urgande:	Urgande:
Lorsqu'Amadis périt, une douleur profonde,	Nu Amadis verkwijnt, in duizend ongelukken
Nous fit retirer dans ces lieux.	Houden wij ons in dit gewest,
Un charme assoupissant devait fermer nos yeux,	Ik heb myn Godlyk breyn tot zyne hulp gevest;
Jusqu'au temps fortuné que le destin du monde	En 't gevaar zal hem noyt zoo fel noch wreed meêr drukken:
Dépendrait d'un héros, encore plus glorieux.	Maar ik zal zyn geluk herstellen in het lest.

¹⁷⁶ Isherwood, "The Centralization of Music," 193.

¹⁷⁷ [Quinault], Cadmus et Hermione, iii.

¹⁷⁸ Lully, *Amadis*, xxi-xxii. [Philippe Quinault], *Amadis*, *Treurspel*, trans. [Thomas Arendsz] (Amsterdam: Albert Magnus, 1687), 8-9.

Alquif:

Ce héros triomphant veut que tout soit tranquille En vain, mille envieux s'arment de toutes parts ; D'un mot, d'un seul de ses regards Il sait rendre, à son gré, leur fureur inutile.

[When Amadis perished, a deep sorrow Made us withdraw to these parts. A sleeping charm made us close our eyes Until the fortunate time that the destiny of the world Shall depend on a hero yet more glorious.

Alquif:

This triumphant hero wants all to awake. Vainly thousands of envious take arms on all sides. In a word, with a single look At his inclination, He knows how to render their fury ineffective.

Alquif:

Aan hem zal eygen zyn 't groot gebiet van veel Landen, Vergeefs zoekt alle magt zyn glory te weêrstaan, Zyn groots gezicht, kan hen verslaan, Zyn geweld, en zyn moed doed alle magten strangen,

[When Amadis perished, a deep sorrow Made us withdraw to these parts. I have turned my godly brain to his aid There will be less danger for him I will restore his happiness in the end.

Alquif:

Large parts of lands will be his. In vain, all kinds of powers will try to withstand his glory. He can defeat them His violence and his courage will break every power

This example shows how Louis is depicted as the glorious peacekeeper and that he is forced to go to war *nolens volens* by his enemies. Although the part of enemies arming themselves against the prologue's protagonist is present in Arendsz' translation, it is not linked to the coming of a new hero. Instead, it emphasizes the hope for the return of Amadis.

In contrast to alterations like the foregoing one, less open references are nearly literally translated by Arendsz. In both the original libretto as the one published by Magnus, the is the sun that breaks the spell:¹⁷⁹

Quinault

Il est temps que l'aurore vermeille Cède au soleil, qui marche sur ses pas; Tout brille ici-bas. Il est temps que chacun se réveille;

[It's time that the vermilion dawn Gives place to the sun which marches at her heels. Everything sparkles down here,

Arendsz

Het is tyt dat den dag komt verschynen. Ziet hoe de Zon na de kimmen vast sneld, Het ligt is in 't veld, Staat dan op, dat de slaap ga verdwynen.

[It is time that dawn Gives way to the sun When the field is lit

¹⁷⁹ Lully, Amadis, xxi-xxii. [Quinault], Amadis, 8.

Just as it could be the case with the prologue to *Cadmus*, the audience and the translator did not get the reference or it was not open enough to make significant changes to the content. It were the more open praises to the French king that forced Arendsz to make small alterations to the content of the original text. However, whether or not the performed French prologue was revised as well is not known. Although the edits could show that at least Arendsz and/or the publisher were aware of the depiction of Louis XIV as the new hero who is challenged by the *mille envieux* who started a war against him, it does not say that it is a literal translation of the libretto that was used for the 1687 performances of *Amadis*.

In the foregoing paragraphs, I showed how the prologues to several operas by Lully/Quinault were adapted to the Dutch context. Open praises to Lully were either deleted or altered due to the political conditions of The Netherlands and their relationship with France. In the case of tragedies, the prologue was discarded completely. While it was unthinkable that operas were performed without prologues, the adherence to a tradition of including a prologue to a tragedy was less strict. Changing the prologue or writing a whole new one was an expensive option. Therefore, performing and publishing *Roeland* and *Atys en Sangride* without their first part probably had the preference.

Writing a whole new prologue is as so far as is currently known only done for *Armide*. Although Schmidt speaks of the inclusion of new prologues to both *Thésée* and *Proserpine*, it turns out that the former contains an altered version of the original while the latter comprises an altered extended version of Campra's prologue to *Tancrède*. In addition to those works, the prologues to *Atys* and the translated version of *Amadis* were also altered. Only the content of translation of *Cadmus* remained untouched.

Since this comprised a first reading of these operas many issues are still open for future research. In more depth research to the allegorical figures in the original prologues and how they were interpreted in The Dutch Republic would give more insight whether or not the audience perceived the French propaganda. Besides, my analysis solely entailed the textual reading of the prologues. This means that I necessarily had to leave the music and rest of the operas untouched. The removal of supernatural elements of *Roland* shows that also these parts could be altered as well. It is true that the prologues contain the highest density of French propaganda, it does not mean that is not present in the rest of the *tragédies lyriques*. As I already discussed, the prologue functioned as a context in which several happenings of later in

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the opera could be interpreted. Isherwood examined how the Lully's music in his operas enhanced the message of Quinault's libretti. Comparing the music with the adapted prologues could give insight whether or not the arranger of the text took the musical effects into account.

Finally there is of course the publication of music. Besides in livrets, there was also a trade in publications of the music of Lully's operas. Apart from some small remarks by Rasch, no publications regarding the publication of prologues in books containing Lully's music appeared. Rasch notes that in the 1687 editions from Amsterdam the prologues were deleted since they contained open references to Louis XIV but were not of essential importance to the rest of the opera.¹⁸⁰ He made no further statements regarding publications from other cities or years.

Chapter 3 Liedboeken and Speelmuziek as Gebrachsmusik

Besides the spread of the libretti of Lully's operas, there was also a large trade in his music. Several seventeenth- and eighteenth century publishers as Joan Philip de Heus, Antoine Pointel, Estienne Roger, Jean Stichter, Pieter Blaeu, Joan Blaeu, Amédee Le Chevalier, Pierre Mortier and Michel Charles le Céne sold both reduced and full scores, suites and excerpts of Lully's operas.¹⁸¹At this moment, we know the existence of approximately 60 of them.¹⁸² These music printers and publishers in Amsterdam were internationally known for the quality of their publications.¹⁸³ Especially Roger seemed have been famous. He was praised for his beautiful prints (with copperplate engravings) and good arrangements. Therefore his publications were sold all over Europe.¹⁸⁴ As described in the introduction, these publications consisted of small parts of Lully's work that were often arranged for small ensembles consisting of four musicians or for one instrument with basso continuo. Who exactly the editors were is unfortunately unknown.¹⁸⁵

International interest in the sheet music of Lully's work was also boosted by Lully's

¹⁸⁰ Rasch, "Soixante Ans," 106,

¹⁸¹ Schmidt, "The Amsterdam Editions," 100-165.

¹⁸² Ibid., 127.

¹⁸³ Herbert Schneider, "The Amsterdam Editions of Lully's Orchestral Suites," in *Jean Baptiste Lully and the Music of the French Baroque: Essays in Honor of James R. Anthony*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 113-115.

¹⁸⁴ Rudolf Rasch, "De Verspreiding van Italiaanse Muziek door Nederlandse Uitgevers," in *Een Muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, ed. Louis Peter Grijp (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press-Salomé, 2001), 324.

¹⁸⁵ Schneider, "The Amsterdam Editions," 130.

and Christophe Ballard's strict control over the publication of the music within France.¹⁸⁶ The King granted Lully several privileges so that Lully could strictly regulated the trade of his music. By delaying and prohibiting the publication of his music he wanted to force performers to buy the privilege of performing his works.¹⁸⁷ To save a lot of money, performers turned to other countries to acquire the sheet music of Lully's works.

The flourishing production of these publications for small ensembles and solo instruments in The Dutch Republic are not solely caused by the publications' international reputation and Lully's tight control over the sheet music trade in France. They also fit in the eighteenth-century rise of the bourgeois society. According to Schmidt, this upcoming class developed a taste for French culture – and then particularly the French music, literature and theater. ¹⁸⁸ This development is also noticed by Koning.¹⁸⁹ He explains that the comprehension of the French language and culture functioned as "proof" for fine taste. Also Schneider points to the upcoming bourgeoisie and middle class.¹⁹⁰ He explains that Lully's music was used as – what he calls – *Gebrauchsmusik*. All over Central- and Northern-Europe, including The Netherlands, these publications were used as a pedagogical method to learn to play an instrument. Especially the edition with one voice accompanied by a basso continuo was very helpful for this practice.

Besides in publications with whole suites, excerpts and scores, Lully's music found a way in Dutch *speel-* and *liedboeken*. These book were collections of several monophonic and instrumental melodies. Although it were mainly larger music publishers as Roger who published these books at the beginning of the eighteenth century, also smaller publishing houses were involved in this trade in the further course of the century. Both Koning and Veldhorst have ideas regarding the appearance of theater music in these books.¹⁹¹ Veldhorst argues that there are many similarities between theater songs and the songs that are published in *liedboeken*.¹⁹² First of all, the form is similar. It were often monophonic strophic songs that were performed in the theater and were transcribed into these books. It was also in this context that contrafacts were the most useful. The songs were easy to play and the melodies

¹⁸⁶ Schmidt, "The Amsterdam Editions," 102-103.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 103.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 104.

¹⁸⁹ Koning, De Nieuwe Hollandse Schouwburg, 9.

¹⁹⁰ Schneider, "The Amsterdam Editions," 113.

¹⁹¹ Natascha Veldhorst, *De Perfecte Verleiding: Muzikale Scènes op het Amsterdamse Toneel in de Zeventiende Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004) and Jos Koning, "De Amsterdamse Dansmuziek-Collecties uit de Achttiende Eeuw als Schuilplaats van Verloren Gewaande Schouwburgmuziek," *De Achttiende Eeuw* 42, no.2 (2010): 3-35.

¹⁹² Veldhorst, *De Perfecte Verleiding*, 37-51.

were known to many people. Beside the similar form, also the themes of the songs were the same. Veldhorst mentions that both theater songs and songs *liedboeken* concentrate around "drinking songs, pastoral songs, lamentations, dawn songs, serenades, love songs and wedding songs."¹⁹³ It was the presence of the dramatic context and spoken text at the theater that made the difference. The final similarity that Veldhorst mentions is the fact that authors often wrote both for *liedboeken* and for the theater. The author had the possibility to use the same melodies multiple times, each time with a different text. Cornelis Sweerts (1669- 1749) is a good example. He worked as a writer for the theater and as a publisher of *liedboeken*.¹⁹⁴ As I have shown in another paper, his *liedboek Mengelzangen En Zinne Beelden* contains several melodies by Lully.¹⁹⁵

Also Koning emphasizes the multiple areas in which musicians and composers worked. He argues that the compilers of instrumental music books worked in a music scene in which it was common to orally transmit musical works. Because of the low status of professional musicians, many instrumentalists were forced to work in different musical scenes to get by. They worked at the theater, as music teachers, played in *speelhuizen* and accompanied balls, feasts and fairs. The similarity between all these work-fields lies in the preferred instruments. The violin and the bass were by far the most popular. But also viola, violoncello, oboe, trumpet, flute, bassoon and horn were common instruments for these activities. Furthermore Koning argues that, since it was probably common practice to improvise and to orally transmit music – and therefore play music without the use of sheets –, the musicians "took" the music they had learned at the theater and played it in, for example, speelhuizen. The popularity of certain songs at both the theater, balls, speelhuizen and feasts would inspire publishers to collect and sell them. Gerard Frederik Witvogel (approx. 1696 -1746) and de Heus (date of birth unknown - 1714) are good examples of musicians who worked in multiple fields of the Dutch musical life. Witvogel worked as an organist at several Calvinistic churches in Amsterdam and was a successful publisher of music books. Some of these books were collections of popular dance tunes for balls. These dances were written by several known composers of that time including Lully. De Heus was from 1680 onwards a

¹⁹³ Ibid., 40.

¹⁹⁴ Pieter Dirksen, "Zingen in een Kleine Taal rond 1700," in *Een Muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, ed. Louis Peter Grijp (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press-Salomé, 2001). 317-321.

¹⁹⁵ This paper was written for the course "Computational Musicology" at Utrecht University during the academic year 2014-2015. The instructor was Peter van Kranenburg. In this paper I show that 14 of a total of 55 melodies were composed by Lully.

musician at a city theater orchestra in Amsterdam and published books containing music from Lully's operas that were performed in the city.

Lully in Speelboeken and Liedboeken

Research of the use of Lully's music for these books is done two years ago by Heldens for his master's thesis on the topic of the position of the Berkeley manuscript in the Dutch early-modern *speelmuziek* tradition. He mainly showed that despite the prominent presence of Lully's work in the theater, it took some time before the French composer's music appeared systematically in larger numbers appeared in printed *liedboeken* and *speelboeken* after his death.¹⁹⁶ This had mainly to do with the Lully's earlier mentioned tight control over the spread of his music in France and abroad. Because of this restricted trade, authors and publishers did not have easy access to prints to copy the music. In order to still be able to use the popular tunes by Lully that people heard in at the theater, some compilers turned to notating the music by ear or – illegally – copying them from other manuscripts. Although, manuscripts also did "profit" from Lully's death, they contained more music by Lully in comparison to their printed counterparts. The by Heldens examined manuscript is an example of this. The researched object entails three parts of which the first one contains 137 melodies derived from the first five operas by Lully that are transcribed by ear and are taken from other manuscripts.

Heldens shows that the appearance of Lully's melodies in both manuscripts and printed books started to decline around 1720.¹⁹⁷ This is in line with the already observed increasing Italian dominance in Dutch cultural life. Theaters started to program more and more Italian plays at the expense of French works and Lully's music was arranged in a "Italian" way. Time signatures, tempo indications were changed and reprises and Picardy thirds – the major third in the final chord of a piece in a minor mode – were added so the music would sound less French and – above all – more Italian.¹⁹⁸

The referred to musical instruments – violin, oboe, trumpet and flute –, the arrangement of the suite for orchestra and the used genres gave the idea that the Berkeley manuscript was used in well-off circles. This observation is line with the results from research done by Louis Grijp, Marieke Lefeber and Koning. The three scholars argue that it probably

¹⁹⁶ Heldens, "Lully als Speelmuziek," 58.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 48-55.

¹⁹⁸ Schneider, "The Amsterdam Editions," 119.

were wealthy amateurs that were interested in *speelmansmuziek* whether or not they heard in the theater, played the music from *speelboeken* or heard it coming from musical clocks.¹⁹⁹

To expand the Dutch Song Database I both transcribed and identified the music of D-W Cod. Guelf. 267 manuscript (*Sammlung von Tänzen und Liedern für Flauto Solo*) and I identified the songs in the by Heldens mentioned manuscript HsBsKB 19558 (*Melodien van Oude Nederlandsche Liederen: Handschrift van het einde der XVIIe of van den aanvang der XVIIIe Eeuw*).²⁰⁰ I wanted to show how both sources fit in the above described practice of *liedboeken* and *speelboeken*.

D-W Cod. Guelf. 267

Sammlung von Tänzen und Liedern für Flauto Solo is 15,5 x 10 cm and consists of 37 onevoiced instrumental music. Besides some French airs, most of the melodies have French dance titles such as *Gavotte* and *Menuette*. None of the pieces refer explicitly to either a composer, the original title or the title of an overarching work. The book itself lacks a title but contains a title page. This page (folio 1r.) gives the motto "*Musica Dis Cureae Est*". It refers to Paulus Matthys (approximately 1613 – 1684) who sold music and *gelinieert paper* [lined paper] in Amsterdam.²⁰¹ According to Rasch solely three musical manuscripts on Matthys' music paper are known: the *Camphuysen-handschrift* (circa 1670), *Recueil des plus beaux airs par Lully et autres auteurs* (1706) and *Klavierboek van Maaghdalene Dakkest* (1716).²⁰² All three manuscripts contain an engraved title page with the printer's address and space for inserting the title. When it comes to the printed music staves, Rasch notes that "the staves of these manuscripts were not set with individual types but set in a block. They give the impression of hand-drawn staves."²⁰³

This book was probably sold as blank sheet music. As can be observed in *figure 1*, the engraving shows a banner of Matthys' motto under a flying angel who displays an open book. Under the banner, space is left to insert the title. The inserted title "*Flauto Solo*" is not given by the transcriber and arranger of the included music since the handwriting differs significantly. Rather it refers to a 1890 publication of Emil Vogel. "Vogel 267" regards the

¹⁹⁹ Grijp discussed the results of those three authors in Louis Peter Grijp, "Populaire Muziek in Achttiende-Eeuws Nederland," *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* LXI (2011): 84 – 85.

²⁰⁰ Sanneke van der Ouw already transcribed the songs of in the source for the Dutch Song Database.

²⁰¹ Rudolf Rasch, "Musica Dîs Est: The Life and Work of the Amsterdam Music Printer Paulus Matthysz (1613/4-1684)," in *Quaerendo* 4, no.2 (1974): 89.

²⁰² Ibid., 97-98.

²⁰³ Ibid.

267th entry in Vogel's *Die Handschriften nebst älteren Druckwerken der Musik-Abtheilung der Herzogl. Bibliothek Zu Wolfenbüttel.*²⁰⁴ In this publication he made a short inventory of the manuscript. Whether or not it was Vogel or an owner who gave the title to this manuscript or a German speaking owner is unknown. It is unlikely that the transcriber of the songs gave a German title to a book that contains melodies with French or Frenchified titles and an instruction in Dutch.



Figure 1: The title page of Sammlung von Tänzen und Liedern für Flauto Solo (f. 1r)

The use of the angel with the book suggests that the blank sheet music is produced when Matthys was still alive – so before 1684 – since his heirs – who took over his business – used a still life with the a page of music paper that contains the motto *Musica dîs Curae est* among several musical instruments as their mark.²⁰⁵ As *figure 2* shows, the layout of the empty music staves is in line with Rasch's observation regarding the set of empty music staves and give the impression of hand-drawn lines. It is likely that this book is a new addition to the three mentioned examples of manuscripts on blank music paper that were published and sold by Matthys.

 ²⁰⁴ Emil Vogel, "Werke Unbekannter Autoren," in *Die Handschriften nebst älteren Druckwerken der Musik-Abtheilung der Herzoglichen Bibliothek Zu Wolfenbüttel* (Wolfenbüttel: J. Zwissler, 1890), 50.
 ²⁰⁵Rasch, "Musica Dîs Est," 94-95.

Figure 2: Empty music staves on f. 24r in Sammlung von Tänzen und Liedern für Flauto Solo

Although Matthys also edited and sold sheet music, he is not the transcriber of the songs in this manuscript. It was probably Parent rentwho acquired the blank sheet music and transcribed and arranged 37 melodies for flute. His name is written on folio 1v together with a description of his jobs and whereabouts. Parent made flutes at the Herengracht near the Huidenstraat in Amsterdam and was a "*juventeur*" in the double flute. Although it is not mentioned on this page but Parent also worked at the city theater and was – together with composers as Anders and Nicolas Ferdinand le Grand (circa 1655 – 1710) – the cofounder of a *collegium musicum* – an ensemble consisting of approximately a handful wealthier citizens who made music together under the guidance of a local professional musicians.²⁰⁶

It could be that Parent wrote this manuscript for a student in the (double) flute. Nine out of the total of 37 songs contain double stops on a g' or g'' combined with another note.²⁰⁷ On folio 22v and 23r, Parent wrote the following instructions for playing chords on the double flute: "*Men speelt op deselve als op de fluyt dous exept dese onderstaande noten*. (. . .) *Om dit acoort te maken fluyt men de gehele bovenste hant en met de punt van de eerste vinger van de onderste hant fluyt men een gat van de grootste fluyt*. [One plays this in the same way as the recorder, except for the following notes. (. . .) To play this chord, one should play with the

²⁰⁶ Haynes, "The Spread of the 'French Hoboye'," 152-155. For information about the *Collegium Musicum* see Rasch, "The Dutch Republic," 397- 398.

²⁰⁷ Songnumbers 8, 11, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 27, 33. The songnumbers refer to their place in the Dutch Song Database.

whole top hand while the tip of the first finger of bottom hand is placed on a hole of the largest flute.]" The chord to which Parent refers is can be seen in *figure 3*. Besides chords, Parent's instructions also discuss how to play other notes such as the b' on the double flute.

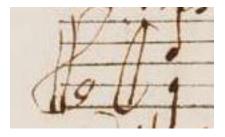


Figure 3: the example of a chord in Sammlung von Tänzen und Liedern für Flauto Solo

How Parent's double flute would look like is still a matter of debate. Thiemo Wind shows in his dissertation that Parent offered a double flute in the *Amsterdamse Courant* of September 23, 1692 that consisted of one body with two windows and one rows of holes.²⁰⁸ The advertisement itself gives a better description. On March 11, 1711 – so after Parent's death –, a new advertisement appears in the *Amsterdamse Courant*. It says:²⁰⁹

"Michiel Parent, Musician and Flute maker, announces to all music lovers, that he has tried out and invented two flutes together that have never been known, with which two different parts can be played in tune at the same time".

However, Wind notes that this is a fantasy instrument and that double flutes usually consist of two rows of holes.²¹⁰ From the instructions in D-W Cod. Guelf. 267 can be deduced that the flute to which the manuscript refers contains of two parts; a smaller and a larger flute. It could be this was a *flute d'accord*. A surviving copy of 1764 auction – the so-called "Bolhuis Auction" – catalogue lists the collection of several musical instruments including recorders, music scores and art objects. Among the four recorders was a chord flute made by Parent.²¹¹ The in this listed described flute regards however a chord flute on which it is solely possible to play major and minor thirds. For his book *Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers*, Jan Bouterse made a fingering scheme for two chord flutes by Parent. He shows that it is

 ²⁰⁸ Thiemo Wind, "Jacob van Eyck en de Anderen" (PhD diss., Universiteit Utrecht, 2006), 34; 538.
 ²⁰⁹ Amsterdamse Courant as sited and translated in Albert R. Rice, "The Musical Instrument Collection of Michiel van Bolhuis (1764)," Journal of American Musical Instrument Society 18 (1992): 18.

²¹⁰ Wind, "Jocob van Eyck," 24.

²¹¹ Richard W. Griscom and David Lasocki, "Instrument Makers and Instruments: Historical," *The Recorder: A Research and Information Guide* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 117-120.

impossible to play other intervals than thirds on at least two found double flutes.²¹² This means that the chords in W Cod. Guelf. 267 cannot be played on the flute that was sold during the Bolhuis auction. More double flutes by Parent are in possession of the Haags Gemeente Museum in The Hague and the Musikinstrumenten-Museum in Berlin.²¹³ Beside those two chords flutes, two more double flutes by Parent are found.²¹⁴ Two more chord recorders exist although it is not sure whether or not these are made by this flute maker from Amsterdam.²¹⁵ Future research will have to point out whether or not the instructions in *Sammlung von Tänzen und Liedern für Flauto Solo* can be applied to the other available flutes in order to give an idea about to which kind of flute this educational book refers.

From the 37 melodies in this book, at least 16 found their origins in works by Lully. With the exception of *Dans Nos Bois* – which derives from an collection of instrumental dances called *Trios de la Chambre du Roi* (LWV 35) – they all belong to one of his stage works – both opera and ballet. Table 1 gives an overview of all the found concordances with melodies by Lully. Both the transcriptions and results of all 37 entries can be found in Appendixes B and C.²¹⁶

Song number and folio in D- W Cod. Guelf. 267	Standard melody name in the Dutch Song Database	Corresponding work by Lully and LWV number
3 [folio 3r] 6 [folio 4v] 7 [folio 5r]	Menuet Hautboi Isis Air des trompettes Menuet Thésée	<i>Roland</i> LWV 65/53 <i>Isis</i> LWV 54/12 <i>Thésée</i> LWV 51/7
8 [folio 5v]	Dans nos bois	Trios de la Chambre du Roi LWV 35/4
9 [folio 6r]	Deuxième Canarie Temple de la paix	<i>Le temple de la paix</i> LWV 69/27
10 [folio 6v]	Suivons suivons l'amour laissons-nous enflamme	<i>Cadmus et Hermione</i> LWV 49/23
13 [folio 8r]	Air Phaeton	Phaëton LWV 61/23
17 [folio 10v]	Second air Amadis	Amadis LWV 63/24
20 [folio 12v]	-	Flore LWV 40/33
22 [folio 13v]	-	Thésée LWV 51/5
27 [folio 16v]	Rigaudon 1 de Galatée	Acis et Galatée LWV 73/6
28 [folio 17r]	Rigaudon 2 de Galatée	Acis et Galatée LWV 73/7
34 [folio 20v]	Cherchons la paix	Phaëton LWV 61/3

²¹² Jan Bouterse, "Chapter 7: Recorders and Flageolets," in *Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers* (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2005), 314.

²¹³ Wind, Jacob van Eyck, 34.

²¹⁴ Bouterse, "Chapter 7," 312.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ In regard to the other concordances, no interesting results turned up.

35 [folio 21r]	La paix revient dans cet asile	<i>Le temple de la paix</i> LWV 69/33
36 [folio 21v]	Suivons l'aimable paix	<i>Le temple de la paix</i> LWV 69/25
37 [folio 22r]	Que la Gloire à jamais le couronne	<i>Le temple de la paix</i> LWV 69/ 44

How Parent got a hand on the Lully's music is not clear. If the dating that the RISM provides (approximately 1690-1699) and the performances that are listed by Schmidt are accurate, the flute-maker probably did not learn the melodies at the theater. Apart from *Isis, Roland, Phaëton,* and *Cadmus et Hermione* none of the other works are known to be performed around that time. Unfortunately there is no information available about performances of Lully's ballets. Without any livrets, advertisements and bills referring to possible stagings it looks like there were not any in The Northern Netherlands. As Heldens shows in his thesis, it are melodies from two ballets by Lully that seem to be the most popular in The Netherlands. *Ballet de L'Impatience* and *Triomphe de l'Amour* appear by far the most often in *liedboeken* and *speelboeken*.²¹⁷ Research to Dutch dance culture could provide some insight whether or not ballets by Lully were performed in The Netherlands and, if that was the case, why there is so little documentation about it.

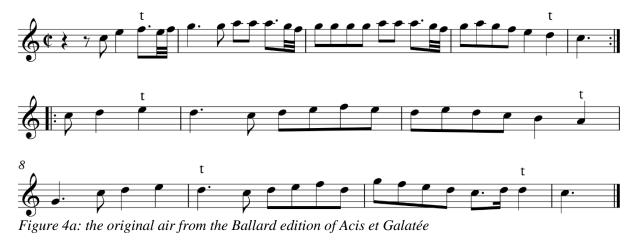
In addition to the inclusion of some double stops, the music in *flauto solo* differs in more aspects compared to their original counterparts. Although it follows the exact pitches very closely of the top voices – either the instrumental or the soprano – in the Ballard editions of Lully's stage works, aspects as note value and bar division are in a few cases different. Two good examples are the Rigaudons from *Acis et Galatée* (LWV 73/6 and LWV 73/7). The first rigaudon is shown in *figure 4a* and *figure 4b*. Practically all note values are doubled to make the tempo slower. Parent is not the only compiler of music books who changed either the note values or the time signatures to simplify Lully's music. As Schneider shows, also Heus and Pointel published books that contain notated music that is slower – regardless of the implications for accentuation – than Lully's original material.²¹⁸

Apart from the doubled note values in D-W Cod. Guelf. 267 and the placement of the trills, the variation between the two pieces is not that high. The most noteworthy thing is the endnote – an e'' instead of a c''. In fact, also all other melodies in *Flauto Solo* end on this note instead of the tonic. Maybe all the endnotes were meant to be played with a c'' on the

²¹⁷ Heldens, "Lully als Speelmuziek," 38-49.

²¹⁸ Schneider, "The Amsterdam Editions," 118.

other part of the double flute. In that case every piece in D-W Cod. Guelf. 267 would end with a major third in the tonic. In that way the second last note (g'') – in the original noted as G in the basso continuo part – functions as the dominant.





 Onder deze noot staat een g' van dezelfde waarde. http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196419

Figure 4b: the Rigaudon 1 de Galatée from Sammlung von Tänzen und Liedern für Flauto Solo

The previous paragraphs showed how this manuscript was probably meant as study material for an audience that wanted to learn to play the double flute. Apart from this manuscript, more sources that contain study material on music by Lully can be found. Besides the already-discussed *Klavierboek van Anna Maria van Eyl*, the Dutch Song Database contains information about multiple examples of this practice such the books for the Kloeckhoof brothers. Heinrich Reinis compiled two manuscripts for two brothers – the 19-year-old Christiaan Augustus Kloeckhoff and the 16-year-old Balthasar Kloeckhoff – who

were learning to play the harpsichord.²¹⁹ These two books contain over a 200 dances, folksongs and religious songs of which several are composed by Lully.²²⁰ Except for some metadata, the Dutch Song Database does not contain information about with melodies are these manuscripts contain since they are not transcribed and identified yet.

Flauto Solo and the mentioned sources can quite easily be linked to an pedagogical practice. However, most sources do not contain explicit references to an educational context are meant for nonprofessional musicians. Many of them regard the already mentioned arrangements for small ensembles. According to Schmidt it was "bourgeois society" that "developed an appetite for Lully's tunes and for arrangements of his music which, when made into suites, became what Schneider referred to as the Dutch Gebrauchsmusik of the time serving also as a pedagogical repertory for learning to play instruments such as violin or flute. Vocal excerpts served a similar function for singers."²²¹ However where Schmidt mainly referred to the use of music by Lully in suites, *flauto solo* together with the sources for keyboard give the idea that his melodies were also used in books that provide study material in a solo setting. Problem is that these sources – in contrast to similar books that appeared in France, Canada and The French-speaking Netherlands - were not completely dedicated to this French composer.²²² Instead Lully's music appears together with melodies from other composers in sources that do not mention the composer's name, the original title or the overarching work where it is derived from. In order to give an idea if this was really a practice more research regarding the variety of sources that contain melodies by Lully in the Dutch Song Databse has to be done. However before an inventory of the various sources in the database that contain music by Lully could be made, the books for the Kloeckhoff brothers have to be transcribed and identified and the Dutch Song Database itself has to be systematically checked if it contains unidentified music by Lully.

²¹⁹ De Nederlandse Liederenbank, "HsArGA 0724 FBvR960," accessed May 8, 2017,

http://www.liederenbank.nl/bronpresentatie.php?zoek=1019604&lan=nl. De Nederlandse Liederenbank, "HsArGA 0724 FBvR956," accessed May 8, 2017,

http://www.liederenbank.nl/bronpresentatie.php?zoek=1019557&lan=nl. Unfortunately the songs in this manuscripts are not transcribed and identified yet. At the moment of accessing the Dutch Song Database provides general information regarding these two sources.

²²⁰ Het Gelders Archief, "0724 Familie Bosch van Rosenthal," accessed May 8, 2017,

https://www.geldersarchief.nl/bronnen/archieven/?mivast=37&mizig=210&miadt=37&miaet=1&micode=0724 &minr=36604458&miview=inv2&milang=nl.

²²¹ Schmidt, "The Amsterdam Editions,", 104.

²²² Schneider, "The Amsterdam Editions," 113.

HsBsKB 19558

The manuscript *Melodien van Oude Nederlandsche Liederen: Handschrift van het einde der XVIIe of van den aanvang der XVIIIe Eeuw* does not contain a lot of metadata. Apart from the cover and title page – which give the book's owner and title – no other information regarding sellers, or purpose can be found. The book is 15,5 by 10 cm and consists of a total of 101 one-voiced songs with lyrics, titles and in some cases indications regarding the origins of the notated melody. Sometimes those indications are very specific – for example *"Flore in Triomphe 'l Amour"* and *"Foelie de Spanje"* – but they often refer to general French dances such as *"Gigue"* and *"Boure"*. All melodies and texts seem to be written in the same handwriting and there are not any other clues that this manuscript was written by more than one author. The inscription on the first page link this manuscript to the collection of Jan Frans Willems by saying: "Ms de feu M. J. F. Willems, nr 49. Déc 1846 / fr. 15 00."²²³

In his thesis, Heldens already identified 23 melodies in HsBsKB 19558 as Lully's with the use of the Berkeley manuscript.²²⁴ He claimed that with that amount *Melodien van Oude Nederlandsche Liederen* would be the source with the highest percentage of contrafacts on Lully's music. Although unavailable in the Dutch Song Database at the time when Heldens wrote his thesis, as far as I know it is Halmael's *Opwekkelyke Zedezangen* – with 50 out of 59 songs on melodies by Lully – that has the highest density of Lully contrafacts.²²⁵ Nevertheless, with already 23 songs identified without a sorrow analysis of the source shows at least some potential.

In this source, at least 18 additional melodies by Lully can be found. This makes a total of 41 contrafacts. Table 1 shows a list of all the identified songs at the hand of this French court composer's music.²²⁶ The complete result list is included as Appendix D. Remarkable is the fact that the Lully's music seems to be clustered – both in the sense of placement in the manuscripts as in overarching work. Apart from songs 55/56 and 74/75 it does not seem to be arranged in a chronological order.

Songnumber and folio in

Standard melody name in the Corresponding work by

²²³ Melodien van Oude Nederlandsche Liederen, i.

²²⁴ Heldens, "Lully als Speelmuziek," 49-51.

²²⁵ De Nederlandse Liederenbank, "Halmael OpwZZ1712," accessed April 3, 2017,

http://www.liederenbank.nl/bronpresentatie.php?zoek=1016815&lan=nl. I encountered this source during my internship at the Meertens Institute a few months after Heldens worked on his Thesis. I transcribed the songs and identified the melodies for the Dutch Song Database.

²²⁶ The whole result list can be found in the appendixes.

HsBsKB 19558	Dutch Song Database	Lully and LWV number
1 [folio 1r]	Les Nayades et Dryades	Flore LWV 40/6
2 [folio 1v]	Menuet O nacht hoe wacht	<i>Flore</i> LWV 40/20
3 [folio 2v]	O lotgeval	Flore LWV 40/13
4 [folio 3v]	Seconde mariée	Flore LWV 40/18 [Also
		appears in LWV 47/21]
5 [folio 4v]	Laat mijn treurige gedachten	<i>Triomphe de l'Amour</i> LWV
		59/65
6 [folio 5v]	Bourrée O Goden	Triomphe de l'Amour LWV
		59/66
7 [folio 6v]	Bevallige Zephyr	Flore LWV 40/4
10 [folio 8v]	Bourrée De nachtegaal	Flore LWV 40/7
14 [folio 10v]	Menuet Proserpine	Psyché LWV 58/13
15 [folio 11r]	Horentjes zouden u passen	Psyché LWV 58/14
16 [folio 11v]	Pourquoi n'avoir pas le coeur	Bellérophon LWV 57/7
	tendre	
19 [folio 13v]	Que n'aimez-vous coeurs	Persée LWV 60/73
	insensibles	
24 [folio 16v]	Air des Polichinelles et des	Psyché LWV 45/33
	Mattasins	
31 [folio 23v]	Chacun vient ici-bàs prendre	Alceste LWV 50/72
	place	
34 [folio 25v]	Les graces	<i>Triomphe de l'Amour</i> LWV
	6	59/5
35 [folio 26v]	Les bacchantes	Bellérophon LWV 57/1
36 [folio 27v]	Tranquilles coeurs	Triomphe de l'Amour LWV
	1	59/3
37 [folio 28v]	Bellerophon Ouverture	Bellérophon LWV 57/1
38 [folio 31r]	Marche des Indiens	Les Muses LWV 32/11
51 [folio 39v]	Entrée des Sauvages de	<i>Le Temple de la Paix</i> LWV
	l'Amérique	69/37
54 [folio 41v]	Premier air pour les muses	Isis LWV 54/10
55 [folio 42v]	Menuet pour les graces	Le Triomphe de l'Amour
	I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I	LWV 59/6
56 [folio 43v]	Deuxième Menuet pour les	Le Triomphe de l'Amour
	grâces	LWV 59/7
57 [folio 44v]	Tranquilles coeurs	Triomphe de l'Amour LWV
	1	59/3
58 [folio 45v]	Schone zonnen heldere	Le Triomphe de l'Amour
	lichten	LWV 59/26
59 [folio 46v]	Deuxième air pour les	Le Triomphe de l'Amour
	nymphes de Diane	LWV 59/32
66 [folio 53v]	Ballet d'Hercule Première	L'Hercule Amoureux LWV
	Entrée	17/1
69 [folio 56v]	Nee Amaryl je hoeft me niet	Les Amants Magnifiques
L - J	te ontwijken	LWV 42/4
70 [folio 57v]	Hij zal haar minnelijk	<i>Le Temple de la Paix</i> LWV
	ontvangen	69/6
71 [folio 58v]	Rondeau Schoon gij koud	<i>Le Temple de la Paix</i> LWV
		Ł

		69/7
74 [folio 61v]	Rigaudon 1 de Galatée	Acis et Galatée LWV 73/6
75 [folio 62v]	Rigaudon 2 de Galatée	Acis et Galatée LWV 73/7
76 [folio 63r]	Heureux qui peut plaire	<i>Cadmus et Hermione</i> LWV 49/14
78 [folio 64v]	-	<i>Achille et Polyxène</i> LWV 74/1
82 [folio 68v]	Deuxième air Alceste	Alceste LWV 50/82
83 [folio70r]	Cessez de vous plaindre	<i>Cadmus et Hermione</i> LWV 49/35
87 [folio 74v]	La peine d'aimer est charmante	<i>Cadmus et Hermione</i> LWV 49/21
88 [folio 75v]	Suivons suivons l'amour laissons-nous enflammer	<i>Cadmus et Hermione</i> LWV 49/23
89 [folio 78r]	Serons-nous dans le silence	<i>Cadmus et Hermione</i> LWV 49/55
98 [folio 87v]	C'est le dieu des eaux qui va paraître	Isis LWV 54/4
99 [folio 88v]	Dans nos bois	<i>Trios de la Chambre du Roi</i> LWV 35/4

According to Schneider, Lully's music as vocal *Gebrauchsmuziek* was mainly a tendency in France, Canada and the French-speaking Netherlands and not so much in The Dutch Republic.²²⁷ When it comes to books that almost entirely consist of melodies by Lully this indeed seem to be the case. As an example Schmidt places Pointel's *Recueil des Airs des Chansons, et des Endroits les plus Passionez de tout les Opera* in this practice.²²⁸ He argues that vocal excerpts of Lully's operas were used as *Gebrauchsmusik* by showing an advertisement of Pointel's *Recueil des Airs* since it explicitly mentions that "this book (. . .) will not lose its usefulness because after having mastered the notes of an air, one can try (. . .) gradually learning to sing by memory."²²⁹ Besides several *Recueils des Airs* not many other books or manuscripts that are nearly entirely devoted to Lully exist. Rather Lully appears in multiple *liedboeken* like HsBsKB 19558 containing several melodies from different origins.

Where the books that contained multi-voiced instrumental music were mainly used for musical training of the upcoming middleclass, the one-voiced songs in *speelboeken* and *liedboeken* had a wider audience. Veldhorst mentions that ever since the early middle ages, songs in their native language were very popular among the Dutch.²³⁰ The popularity of this genre increased enormously when the way of transmitting shifted from an oral to a more

²²⁷ Schneider, "The Amsterdam Editions," 113.

²²⁸ Schmidt, "The Amsterdam Editions," 104-105; Schmidt, "Une Parodie Hollandaise," 375.

²²⁹ Antione Pointel as cited in Schmidt, The Amsterdam Editions," 104-105.

²³⁰ Natascha Veldhorst, *Zingend door het Leven: Het Nederlandse Liedboek in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University press, 2009), 12.

written form, with sixteenth- and seventeenth century as its pinnacle. As discussed before, *liedboeken* were compiled of already existing melodies – often transmitted by either notated music or a tune indication – that were provided with a new text in the Dutch language.²³¹ The origins of the melodies differ highly in terms of both place and year of creation. Music was derived from national sources as well as international sources from both older and contemporary times. Although in more countries books similar to *liedboeken* can be found, it was mainly a "Dutch" tradition. In no other country there were so many *liedboeken* published as in The Northern Netherlands.²³² Veldhorst measured the popularity not only in the quantity of publications but also in diversity and the use of contemporary foreign music. Where in for example France similar books mainly contained moral songs on melodies of French composers – including Lully –, Dutch books covered a whole range of genres and themes on music from Dutch, French, German, English and Italian composers.²³³ The presence of a large international music trade business in the The Hague and Amsterdam combined with the lack of a prominent court culture and a Calvinistic mentality contributed to the tendency to include foreign melodies in *liedboeken* and *speelboeken*.

The practice to derive popular melodies from plays and opera that were performed at the theater started to become a more regular practice in the seventeenth century. However, it took until the second half of that century before theater-music was regarded as "serious business". The introduction of opera in The Netherlands with Lully's *Isis* in 1677 provoked a large interest in not only the genre itself but also in theater-music in general. This becomes noticeable when authors were more and more inclined to give information regarding the music's origins in terms of the composer's name or the name of the overarching theatrical work.²³⁴ Already existing plays were expanded with new songs and for the first time *liedboeken* and *speelboeken* that solely consisted of the melodies derived from the theater were published in The Netherlands.²³⁵

One of these is the already-briefly-discussed *Opwekkelyke Zedezangen* by Halmael. The need for Halmael to write and publish the *Opwekkelyke Zedezangen* resides in the fact that "the world is already insulted by the many comedies" that were produced and published

²³¹ Ibid., 12-15.

²³² Veldhorst, Zingend door het Leven, 139-140.

²³³ Ibid. Schmidt, "Une Parodie Hollandaise," 375.

²³⁴ Veldhorst, Zingend door het Leven,106.

²³⁵ Ibid., 106-107.

in The Northern Netherlands at the beginning of the eighteenth century.²³⁶ By writing contrafacts on melodies from the theater – with 50 out of 59 songs on melodies from Lully operas – Hamael claimed to contribute to the (small) civilization of the Dutch theatrical life. That he was so conscious of the songs' origins is apparent from the fact that he used both tune indications and the names overarching operas and ballets.

As Veldhorst argues, many more *liedboeken* were compiled of songs and melodies from the Dutch theater. These books were used both at the streets and at home and were in many cases deliberately targeted at consumers who were not musically trained at all.²³⁷ However, since the songs in HsBsKB 19558 are all notated with music notes it is unlikely that this is the case for this manuscript. Therefore this manuscript was either meant for an amateur musician in more well-to-do circles or a music professional. Koning argues in his book De *Nieuwe Hollandse Schouwburg* that professional musicians memorized most of their repertoire.²³⁸ Since music in was mainly orally transmitted, musicians used to carry a music note book in the form of manuscripts in which they notated what they heard in for example theater or *speelhuizen*. He says that these notebooks functioned as a "mogelijkheid wat nieuw repertoire op te nemen in de eigen praktijk van uit het hoofd spelen [possibility to add new repertoire to the practice of playing by head]."²³⁹ Therefore the melodies often differ from the original. This seems to be the case with Melodien van Oude Nederlandsche Liederen. For example the first entry "t Goet voornemen". The original by Lully composed melody starts with a diminished fourth where the song in the manuscripts starts with a perfect one. Also note divisions in the measures differ. It could be that HsBsKB 19558 functioned as such an manuscript; a music notebook for a musician that wanted to transmit the music he heard from one place to another.

In this chapter I gave an impression on basis of two manuscripts in what way Lully's music was part of Dutch musical life outside the theaters. His melodies often seemed to appear anonymously and without any reference to an overarching work in several *liedboeken* and *speelboeken*. The first source exists of 34 melodies as study material for a double flute sold by Parent in Amsterdam. The precise purpose of the second one is not clear. It could have

²³⁶ Hendrik van Halmael, *Opwekkelyke Zedezangen, Eenige Verrykt met Twee Vioolen. Eerste Deel* (Amsterdam: Hendrik vande Gaete, 1712), 5.

²³⁷ Veldhorst, *De Perfecte Verleiding*, 37-40.

²³⁸ Koning, De Nieuwe Hollandse Schouwburg, 11-16.

²³⁹ Ibid., 54-55.

functioned as a *liedboek* for an amateur musician or as a musical notebook for professionals.

Since most of the melodies in these books were transmitted without any information regarding their origins, it is the question whether or not the audience were aware that the music was Lully's – let alone the fact that it could have had propaganda purposes. This was already noted by Rasch when he wrote: "*C'est donc principalement la musique de Lully qui était connue en Hollande, et beaucoup moins son nom* [It was mainly Lully's music that was known in Holland, and much less his name]."²⁴⁰ Even when people were aware that the notes they were playing or singing used to praise Louis' conquering state of mind it does not necessary had to be a problem. Stripped from their propaganda purposes by including it in its instrumental form or with new words written on the already existing melodies, the pieces were defused. What was left were relatively "easy-to-play" and fashionable melodies that many people seemed to like.

Moreover as Koning describes, there were large differences in terms of both class and time how the French and "Orangist's" causes were regarded in The Netherlands during the eighteenth century.²⁴¹ At the start of the century the French language and culture were proof of a fine taste for the higher society. In addition, they also saw the House of Orange as "*oorlogszuchtige verkwisters* [belligerent money-wasters]" and the wars that Louis XIV started did not radically change that view.²⁴² Therefore the many violent conflicts did not have to cause a decline in the influence of France's domination court culture. This is supported by the phenomenon that also the middle- and somewhat lower classes – as already mentioned – began to develop a taste for French art, customs and language. Generally speaking, the lower classes were initially more inclined to support the House of Orange and England – where William III ruled as king – but this changed after the second half of the eighteenth century. Inspired by the Enlightenment, larger parts of the middle class were more and more inclined to embrace anti-Orangists ideas – which in the end led to the Dutch patriot movement at the end of the eighteenth century.

However, this does not mean that people did not have a critical reflection on Louis' lust for war. Despite embracing and appreciating French culture, France was still subject of mockery and rejection.²⁴³ Although he does not give any examples, Schmidt points out that also Lully's music was deliberately ridiculed in Amsterdam by using the practice of

²⁴⁰ Rasch, "Soixante Ans," 111.

²⁴¹ Koning, De Nieuwe Hollandse Schouwburg, 9.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid.

contrafacture to set new – often vulgar – words on Lully's music.²⁴⁴ A close examination of the available sources in the Dutch Song Database could provide information regarding to which books this refers, what the content is, how many books it regards and for what public it was meant.

However systematic research to get insight in the purposes, audiences and themes of not only the above mentioned parodies but all *liedboeken* and *speelboeken* that contain music by Lully has yet to be done. Before this would be possible all the available sources in the Dutch Song Database from the period 1650-1750 have to be checked whether or not they contain unidentified melodies. In his research plan, Louis Grijp proposed to do this with the integrated search engine of the Dutch Song Database.²⁴⁵ On basis of the most popular tunes by Lully in the database it would be possible to find previously unidentified entries. In his thesis Heldens already gave few popular melodies. I would want to argue that after the inclusion of the two books containing keyboard pieces for the Kloeckhoff brothers and the by Heldens mentioned HsNrSB Finspong MS9096 it would be possible to start this search.

Conclusion

In this thesis I gave an overview how Lully's music was adapted to Dutch musical life in order to formulate an answer to the seeming paradox of the popularity of the sometimes very open propaganda pieces for Louis XIV's reign in the country it was often at war with. From the year of disaster in 1672 until the end of his reign in 1715, several of Louis' acts such as the Franco-Dutch war, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Nine Years' War and the War of Spanish Succession had large implications for The Dutch Republic. As I showed, many of Lully's *tragedies lyriques* were created during the period around the Franco-Dutch War and were unmistakably linked with the political and militaristic context of that time. Not only did they openly praise the absolute French king's deeds but also predicted and celebrated his victories over The Northern Netherlands in particular.

Since the 1980s Lully studies mainly involved the performances of his operas, the publication and the trade of livrets and arrangements of the composer's music in books containing excerpts from his stage works. As a follow-up to Schmidt's *magnum opus* on the

²⁴⁴ Schmidt, "The Amsterdam Editions," 103-104.

²⁴⁵ Louis Peter Grijp, "Project Lully in Holland (2012-2016)," accessed May 10, 2017, http://www.liederenbank.nl/NLBproject_deelpagina.php?lan=nl&zoek=191.

spread of the opera's livrets I gave a first reading of those livrets that could contain information regarding how the opera producers dealt with the open praises in the prologues the part of the opera where the density of propaganda was the highest. The easiest and cheapest way to deal with this problem was to discard the whole prologue from the play. This mainly seem to have happened with the tragedy-adaptations of the operas since tradition allowed it. The prologues were also removed in some publications that contained music excerpts from the operas since they were not intended to be publicly performed and were not of significant importance to the rest of the piece. In one case the prologue was removed in favor of another prologue that roughly follows the same plot. In other cases edited versions of the original prologues were used. This meant that small adjusted were made to the text while the original music was left intact. Two livrets have been found that contain the translation of two productions in The Dutch Republic. However, it is unlikely that these specific stagings were performed in Dutch. If that also meant that small adaptions in terms of content in the translated livret of Amadis were also present in the actual – French – staging of the piece in Amsterdam is unknown. Finally, the most expensive way to bypass the messages of the first part of the opera was to write a complete new one. As Ahrendt described, this was the case with the 1701 production of Armide in The Hague.

As already stated, this thesis offered a first and solely textual reading of the opera's prologues. The music, all the operas'acts and an in-depth reading of the prologues with an emphasis on the reception of the present allegorical figures could offer better insight in this material. In contrast to the available information of the *tragédies lyriques*, the possible performances of Lully's ballets are still a mystery. Given the lack of sources that would point to staging of these works, it could be argued that there were not any. Future research in musicology and theater studies could examine the dance seventeenth and eighteenth century dance culture in the Netherlands to provide some answers.

In addition to the examination of the livrets, I wanted to contribute to that part of Lully studies that – until recent research by the Meertens Institute – was not really researched. Since an available corpus with a substantial amount of *liedboeken* and *speelboeken* that contain music by Lully was not there, it was not possible to get a good glimpse of Lully's share in these genres. Rasch and Schmidt gave in their more recent publications some examples regarding the composer's presence in such books but a systematic approach could not take place. The Dutch Song Database did not contain enough material to draw substantiated conclusions. By adding information on two manuscripts to the online database and by placing them into the context of Schneider's notion of *Gebrauchsmuziek* and the musical practice of

Speel- and *liedcultuur* as described by Heldens, Veldhorst and Konink I wanted to bring such an approach one step closer.

The first manuscript was a book containing instrumental study material for the double flute while the second is compiled of over a hundred contrafacts. Both sources contain a considerable amount of music by Lully and therefore can function as a good example how his music was used outside the theaters. Without any reference to their origins it is the question whether or not the audience was aware that they were playing Lully's music. Even if they were aware it, it did not necessarily mean it was a problem. The music was stripped from its original context and the books' audience was not anti-French *per se*. Future historical research could give insight whether or not the many wars caused a change in the influence of France's court culture.

The biggest job that still lies ahead is the making of inventory of the manuscripts, books and other publications that are part of the Dutch Song Database. However before such a representative inventory regarding Lully's presence in these sources can be made, the in this thesis mentioned sources have to be transcribed and identified. Furthermore all the available anonymous sources in the Dutch Song Database have to be checked whether or not more melodies by Lully can be found.

To conclude I wanted to spend a few words on the quality of Lully's work. In this thesis I mainly approached Lully as a propaganda composer who wrote pieces for a belligerent king. Qualifying his work solely in terms of the support for Louis XIV reign would not do justice to what these pieces are as well; spectacles that many people enjoyed by visiting theaters and playing the melodies at home. Distinguishing one aspect of opera – in this case prose – from the rest such as music, dance, acting, costume, decor and acting does not give a complete image of what people witnessed when they watched one of Lully's stage works. Glorifying the king was common practice in seventeenth century France and Louis XIV simply expected it. In premodern Europe every monarch was practically a god and The Sung King was no exception. After all, propaganda has always more to do with its contexts than with the media it is spread by.

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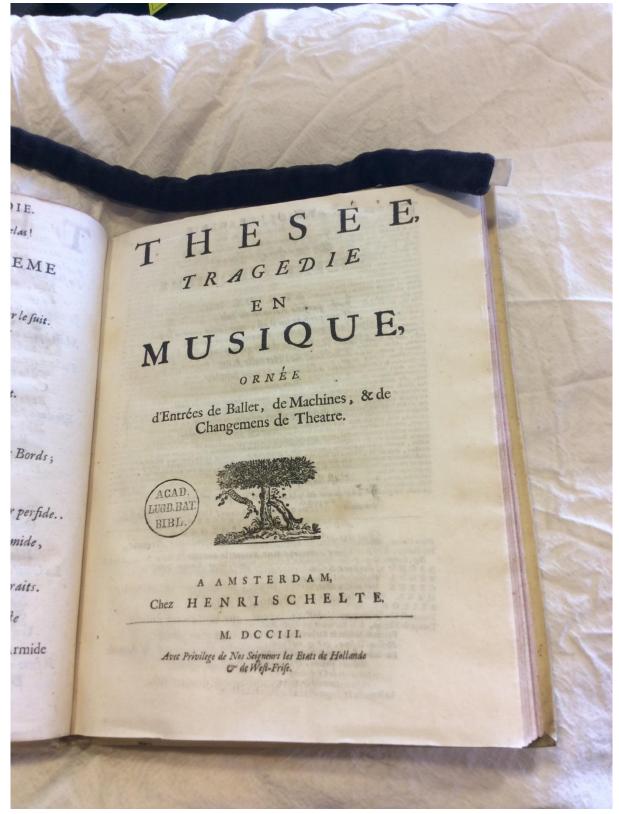
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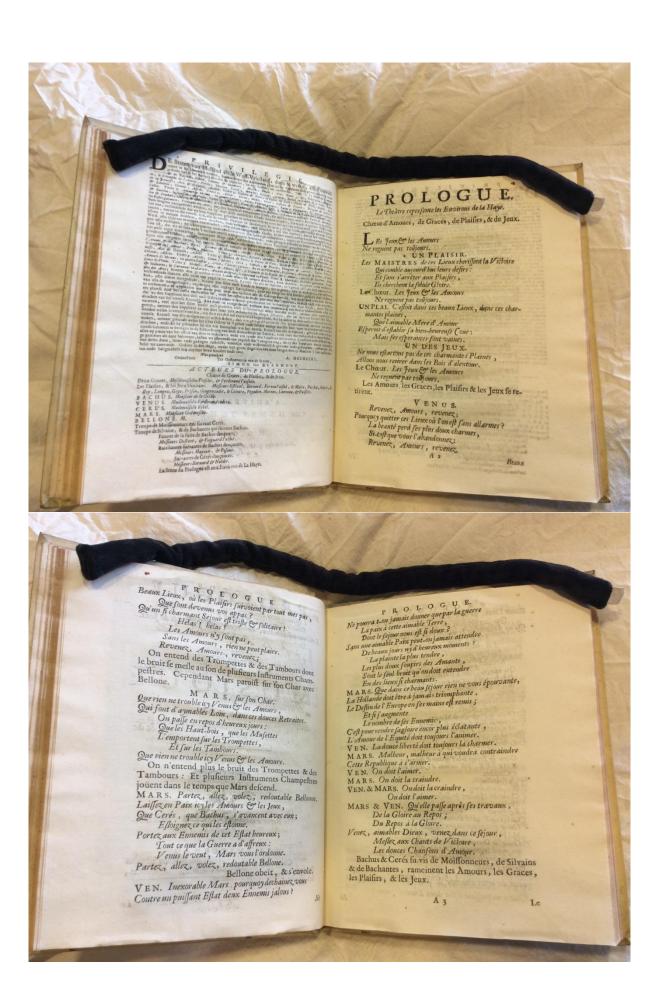
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Apendix A Copies of the Prologues





PROLOGUE Le Chour, Melons anc Chants de Victoire, Les douces chants de Victoire, BAC. & CERES., Que tous le refie de la diviré Porte ervis en bonbeur de ces Lieux plins d'attraits. Le Chour Que tous le refie de la Terre Porte ervis en bonbeur de ces Lieux plins d'attraits. MARS & VEN. An unites de la Guerre Gouffons tes plaisifs de la Paix La Troupe des Moillonneurs commence une Dan. La greable, & environne Cereis dans le temps qu'elle chante. CER, Trop formers animel

chante. CER. "I rop heurenx qui matfionne Dans les Champs des Annours ! Amans, que vien ne vous eftome, L'esperance eft un grand fecours : Quand on vient à cueiller les Fruits que l'Amour donne, On eft riche à jamais, Er content pour tadjours. Trop heureux qui maifonne Dans les Champs des Annours. Bachus chante au milien des Silvains & des Bachan-Bachus chante au milien des Silvains & des Bachan-

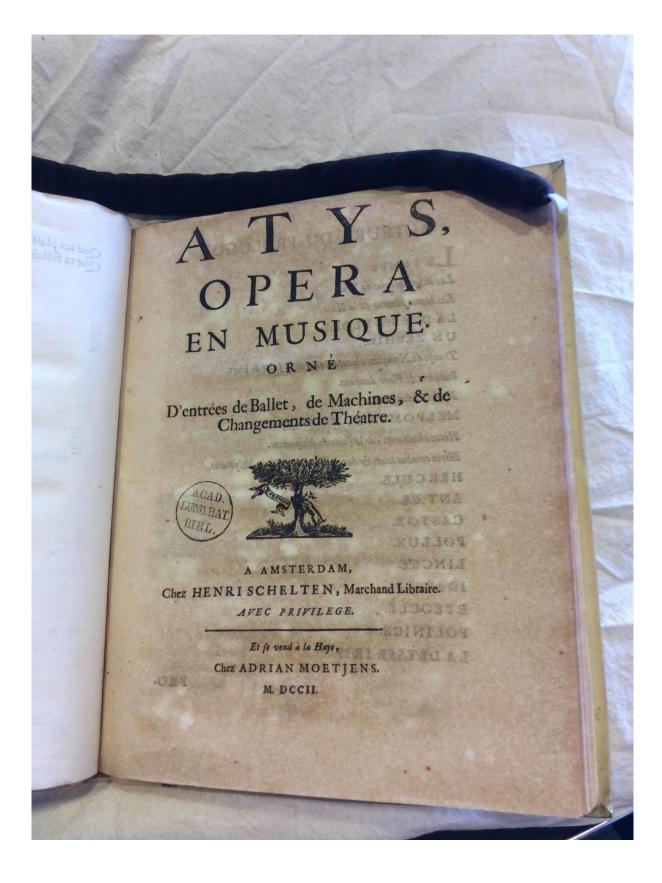
Bachus chante au milieu des Silvains & des Bachan. tes qui danfent. BAC. Pour les plus Fortunez, pour les plus Malbeman. Dans l'Empire amourenze, Le Dien devein est nocessare. Sil prend part aux plus for des plus Malbeman. Sil prend part aux plus for des fores Il charme les chagrins des Cheurs qu'on des fepere: Bachus a dequay confole. De tous les maax qu' Amour peut faire. La Troupe qui fuit Cerés, & la Troupe des fuivant de Bachus le reiniffent, & expriment enlemble leu joye par une Dansé, que les autres Dieux accompor gnent de leurs chants : & tous enfin fe reirentpor put

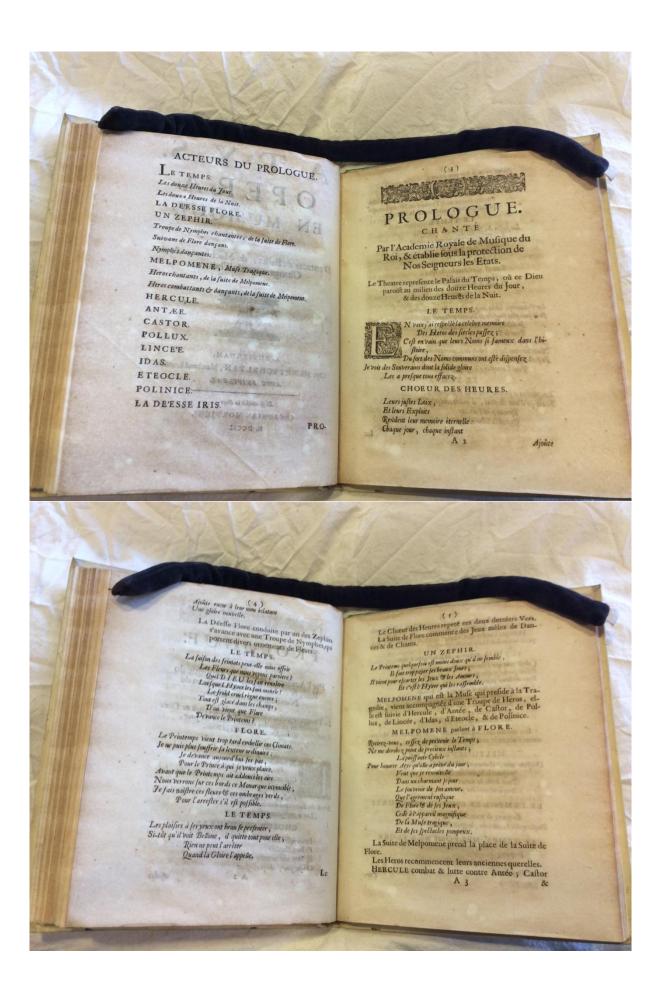
PROLOGUUE. Mire place, & pour grendre part au magnifique Divers informen qui va paroitire. MARS & VEN. Odelle patte opris / es travoutos, Da Repos i la Gloire, Mars a Mello, saw, center, dan de Vicioire Le doues Chanyons d'Amour. Bote serie au bouleur de ces Lieux pleins d'attraits. Carlous es Plaifirs de la Pare. Galfonsles Plaifirs de la Pare. Bin du Prologue.

Fin du Prologue.

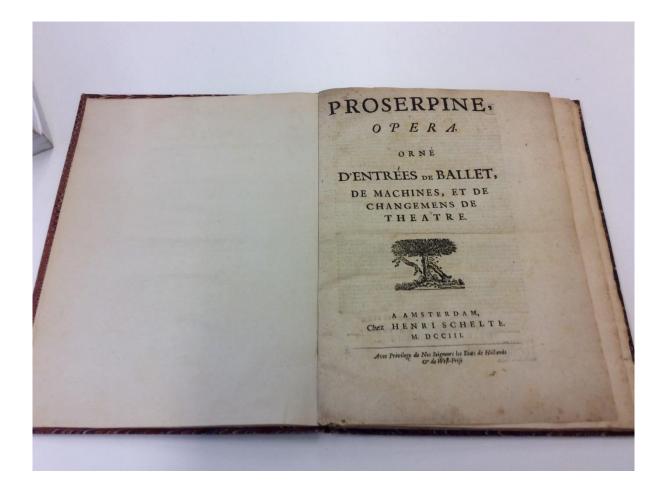


AC









<text><text><text><text> ACTEURS DU PROLOGUE. L'ENCHANTEOR. Troupe de Genies de la Suite. LA PAIX. Suite de la Paix. L'ENCHANTEUR.

PROLOGUE DE

LOPERA

PROSERPINE.

DE

Le Theatre répresente un Palais magnifique, élevé par un Sage Enchanteur, prés du Mont-Liban.

SCENE PREMIERE. L'ENCHANTEUR. Troupe de Genies de fa fuite.

L'ENCHANTEUR. Atons-nous d'embellir ces demeures tranquilles; Des rives du fourdain mille troubles affreux, Bannissent la Paix & les feux; Mais ces beaux lieux, sont les aziles, Que mon Art prepare pour eux. C'est pour la recevoir que mon Art vous appelle, Esprits, empressezvous à seconder mon zele.

CHOEUR de la suite de l'Enchanteur.

Venez, fille du Ciel, venez, aymable Paix, venez Descendez dans ces lieux qui vous sont destinez, Rassemblez les Amours que la guerre épouvante, Descendez, Déesse charmante.

A 2

SCE-

PROLOGUE. SCENEII.

LA PAIX & fa fuite. Plains, face innoces, qui fiyez les allarmes, Sura mes pas, algenblez, est est innoces, est La PAIX & sa suite.

MENUET.

Deux Suivantes de la Paix & le Chœur.

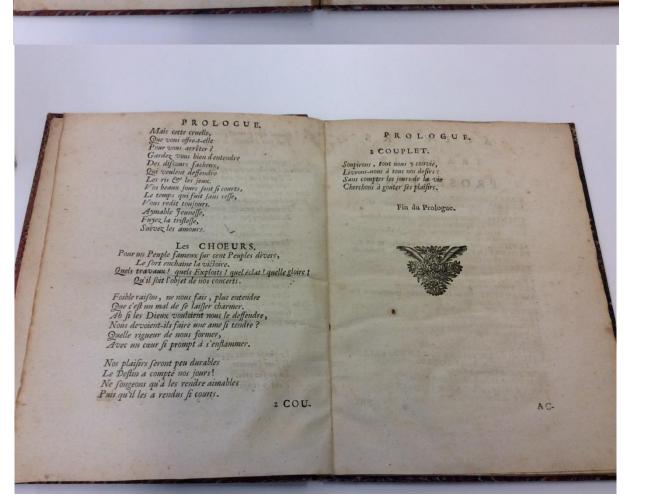
Dansces beamx lieux, Amour, quitte tes armes, Ny fais jamais reffentir tes riqueurs : In nas befoin-que de tes charmes, Pour triompher de tous les ceurs. Nos ceurs foumis te cedent la victoire, Amour, répons à leurs tendres defirs : Quart

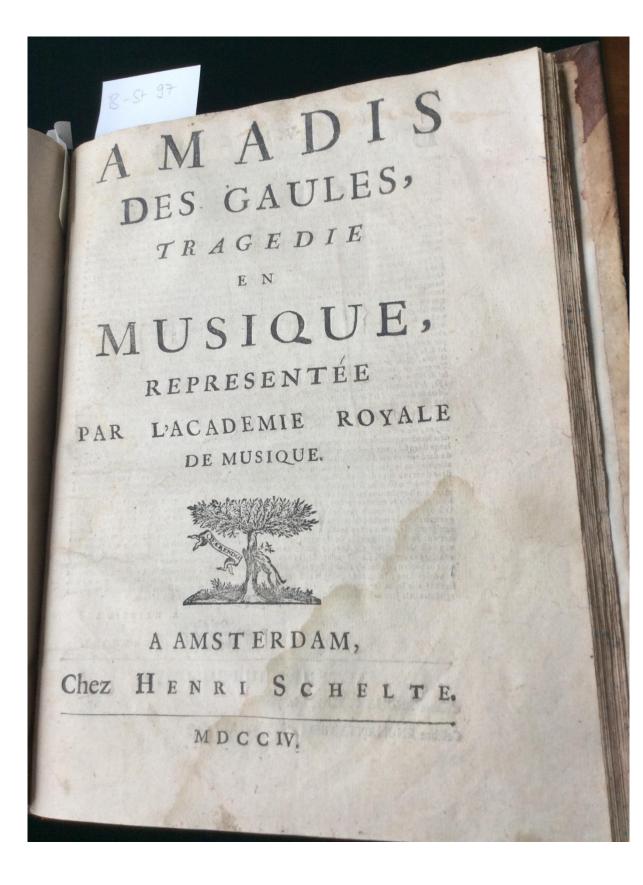
PROLOGUE. Quand nous prenons foin de ta gloire, Pren foin du moins de nos plaifirs. Brand has previous for me traglore. Bren Johnson de von platine. DE DE MENTEUR. De service au me plate lointaine, De service de service de le service de service

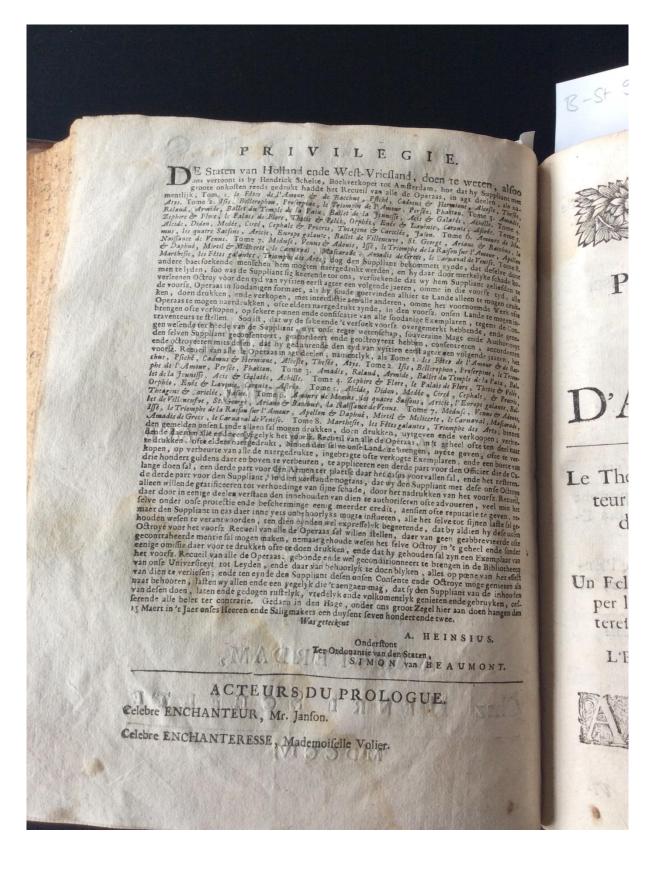
LA PAIX chante.

Le plaifir vous appelle, Il faut l'écouter, La raifon rebelle, Vent y refifter :

A 3' Mais







PROLOGUE DE L'OPERA D'A MADIS.

Le Theatre reprefente les Lieux que l'Enchanteur & l'Enchanteresse ont choisis pour y demeurer enchantez & assoupis avec leur Suite.

Un Felat & un coup de Tonnerre commencent à diffiper l'affoupiffement de l'Enchanteur & de l'Enchanteresse de leur Suite.

L'ENCHANTEUR & L'ENCHANTERESSE Sousun riche Pavillon.

H! j'entends un bruit qui nous presse, De nous rassembler tous. Le charme cesse, Eveillons-nous.

Les

PROLOGUE

Les suivants de l'Enchanteur, & les suivantes de l'Enchanteresse s'éveillent, & repetent ces deux Vers.

Le charme ceffe, Eveillons-nous.

L'ENCHANTEUR & L'ENCHANTERESSE,

Esprits empressez à nous plaire, Vous qui veillez icy pour nôtre seureté, Vôtre soin n'est plus necessaire, Vous pouvez desormais partir en liberté. Que le Giel annonce à la Terre La fin de cet enchantement. Brillants Eclairs, bruyant Tonnerre, Marquez avec éclat ce bienheureux moment.

Le CHOEUR repete ces quatre derniers Vers.

Les Statuës qui soutiennent le Pavillon, l'emportent en volant au bruit du Tonnerre & à la lueur des E. clairs.

Les fuivants de l'Enchanteur & les fuivantes de l'Enchanteresse le rejouissent de n'être plus enchantez, & témoignent leur joye en dansant & en chantant.

Air danfé par Mrs. Ribou, Mercier, La Haye & autres. Gigue danfée par Mrs. Mercier, Ribou, La Haye & autres. Meſdemoiſelles Roſidor, Roger, Cameau & autres.

UNE DES SUIVANTES.

Mademoifelle Malmoifon.

Les Plaisirs nous suivront desormais, Nous allons voir nos desirs satisfaits.

PR Vivons Jans a Vivons tous e Revenez, reprene: Jeux innocents, 1 est temps que l'. Cede au Soleil qu Tout brill 11 est temps que L'amour Tout Sent L'aimabi Pour Flo Dans un Tout pa L'E N

B-St 97

Lors qu' Amad Nous fit Un charme af Il fe diffipe e Et goutons u

> Dans des E Ou la furen Ces be Sous d'équi

> > L'ENC

Vi-

B-St 97

vantes de ux Vers.

SSE.

ers.

ortent

les E-

l'En-, &

PROLOGUE.

Vivons Jans allarmes, Revenez, reprenez tous vos charmes, evenez, reprenez tous ous charnes, eux innocents, revenez pour jamais. est temps que l'Aurore vermeille est temps que l'Aurore fur ses pas, de au Soleil qui marche sur ses pas, Tout brille icy bas, est temps que chacun se reveille, L'amour ne dort pas. Tout fent fes appas. L'aimable Zephire Pour Flore foupire; Dans un 6 beau jour Dans un si beau jour, Tout parle d'amour.

L'E N C H A N T E R E S S E.

Lors qu' Amadis perit, une douleur profonde Nous fit retirer dans ces Lieux. Un charme affoupissant avoit fermé nos yeux; Il se diffipe enfin, paroissons dans le monde, Et goutons un répos plus doux, plus glorieux.

L'ENCHANTEUR.

Dans des Etats fameux il est de doux aziles, Ou la fureur de Mars ne porte point ses coups ; Ces beaux Lieux semblent faits pour nous; Sous d'équitables Loix nous y serons tranquilles.

L'ENCHANTEUR & L'ENCHANTERESSE.

Les Maîtres de ces Lieux, Par leur juste puissance, Protegent l'Innocence. * 3

Les

PROLOGUE.

Les Maîtres de ces Lieux Sont protegez des Cieux.

L'E N C H A N T E R E S S E.

Retirons Amadis de la Nuit éternelle, Le Ciel nous le permet, un Sort nouveau l'appelle Au sein de ces beureux Climats.

L'ENCHANTEUR.

Nous ne sgaurions choifir de Demeure plus belle. Soyons encor témoins de sa gloire immortelle; Qu'on admire dans ses combats Des Heros les plus grands le plus parfait modelle.

L'ENCHANTEUR & L'ENCHANTERESSE. Qu'on admire encor en ce jour Et sa Valeur & son Amour.

Le Chœur repete ces deux derniers Vers. La suite de l'Enchanteur & de l'Enchanteresse temoignent leur joye en dansant, & en chautant.

Une des Suivantes de l'Enchanteresse & le Chœut.

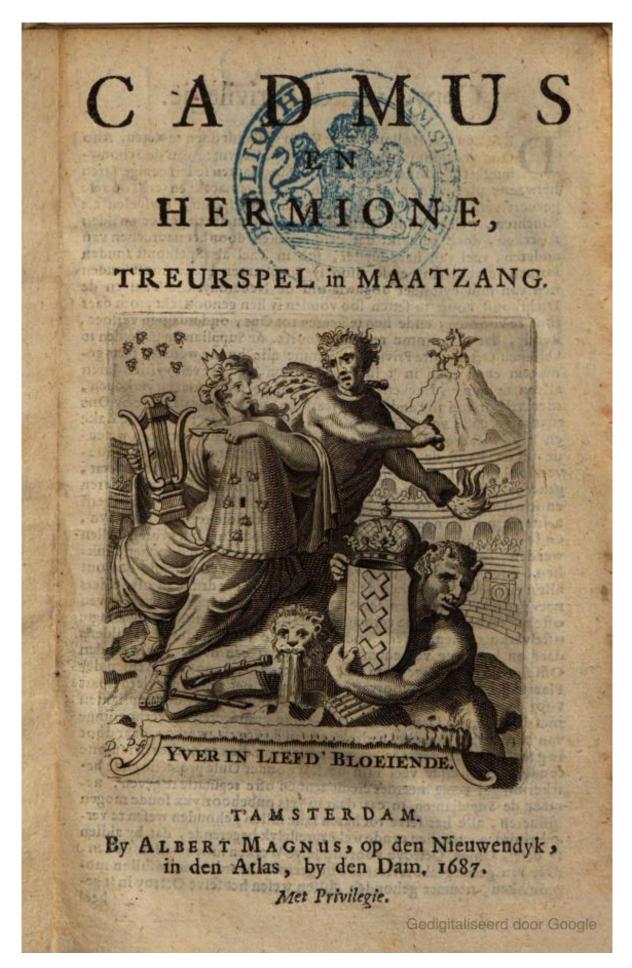
Suivons l'Amour, c'est huy qui nous meine; Tout doit sentir fon aimable ardeur. Un peu d'Amour nous fait moins de peine Que l'embarras de garder nôtre Cœur. Malgré nos foins, l'Amour nous enchaîne, On ne peut fuir ce charmant Vainqueur. Un peu d'Amour nous fait moins de peine. Que l'embarras de garder notre Cour.

L'EN-

L'EN Volez ten Son gran Conduifez

Le

B-St 97 PROLOGUE. E. L'ENCHANTEUR & L'ENCHANTERESSE. Volez tendres Amours, Amadis va revivre. Son grand Cœur est fait pour vous suivre, Volez, volez, aimables Jeux, Conduisez Amadis en ces Climats heureux. SE. Kappelle Le Chœur repete ces deux derniers Vers. Les Amours, & les Jeux volent. belle. Fin du Prologue. odelle. LESSE. ers. Te temoihœur. AC-N-



Copye van de Privilegie.

E Staten van Hollandt ende Weftvrieflandt doen te weten. Alfo Ons vertoont is by de tegenwoodige Regenten van de Schouwburgh tot Amfterdam. Dat fy Supplianten federt eenige Jaren herwaerts met hunne goede vrinden hadden gemaeckt en ten Toonele gevoert verscheiden Wereken, soo van Treutspelen, Blyspelen als Kluchten, welcke fy lieden nu geerne met den druck gemeen wilden maccken, doch gemerkt dat dele wereken door het nadrucken van anderen, veel van haer luyfter, foo in Tael als Spelkonft fouden komen te verliefen, ende alfoo fy Supplianten hen berooft fouden fien van hun byfonder ooghwit om de Nederdnytfche Tael en de Dichtkonft voort te fetten soo vonden sy hen genootsaekt, om daer inne te voorfien, ende hen te keeren tot Ons, onderdanigh verloeckende, dat Wy omme redenen voorfz. de Supplianten geliefden te verlenen Octroy ofte Privilegie, omme alle hunne wercken reets gemaeckt ende noch in 't licht te brengen, den tyt van vyftien Jaren alleen te mogen drucken en verkopen of doen drucken en verkopen, met verbot van alle anderen op feeckere hooge peene daar toe by Ons re stellen ende voorts in communi forma. Soo is 't dat Wy de Zake en 't verloek vooriz. overgemerkt hebbende, ende genegen wefende ter bede van de Supplianten, uyt Onfe rechte wetenschap, Souveraine magt ende authoriteyt defelve supplianten geconsenteert, geaccordeent ende geochroyeert hebben, confenteren, accorderen ende octroyeren mitsdefen, dat fy geduurende den tyt van vyftien eerst achter een volgende faren de voorfz. werken die reeds gedrukt zyn, ende die van tyt tot tyt door haer gemaekt ende in 't ligt gebragt fullen werden, binnen den voorfz. Onfen Lande alleen fullen mogen drukken, doen drukken, uytgeven en verkopen. Verbiedende daarom allen ende eenen ygelyken de felve werken naar te drukken ofte elders naer gedrukt binnen den felve Onfe Lande te brengen, uyt te geven ofte te verkopen, op de verbeurte van alle de naargedrukte, ingebragte ofte verkogte exemplaren, ende een boete van drie hondert guldens daer en boven te verbeuren, te appliceren een derde part voor den Officier die de calange doen fal, een derde-part voor den Armen der Plactfe daer het casus voorvallen fal, ende het resterende derde-part voor den Supplianten. Alles in dien verfraande, dat wy de Supplianten met desen Onlen Octroye alleen willende gratificeren tot verhoedinge van hare ichade door het nadrukken van de vooriz. werken, daar door in geenige deelen verstaen, den inhoude van dien te Authoriseren ofte te advoueren, ende veel min de felve onder Onse protectie ende beichernninge, eenig meerder credit aenfien ofte reputatie te geven, ncmaer de Supplianten in cas daar in yets onbehoorlykx foude mogen influeren, alle het felve tot haren laste sullen gehouden wesen te verantwoorden ; tot dien cynde wel expresselyk begerende, dat by aldien ly desen Onsen Octroye voor de selve Werken fullen willen stellen, daer van geene geabbrevieerde ofte gecontraheerde mentie fullen mogenmaken, nemaer gehouden fullen wefen het felve Oftroy in't geheel

goa

heel ende fonder eenige Omiffie daer voor te drukken ofte te doën drukken, ende dat fy gehouden fullen zyn een exemplaer van alle de voorfz. werken, gebonden ende wel geconditioneert te brengen in de Bibliotheeeq van Onfe Univerfiteyt tot Leyden, ende daer van behoorlyk te doen blyken. Alles op peene van het effect van dien te verliefen. Ende ten eynde de Supplianten defen Onfen confente Octroye mogen genieten als naer behooren : Laften wy allen ende eenen ygelyken die 't aengaen mach, dat fy de Supplianten van den inhoude van defen doen, laten en gedogen, ruftelyk en volkomentlyk genieten en cefferende alle beletten ter contrarie. Gedaen in den Hage onder Onfen groten Zegele hier aen doen hangen den xix Septembr. in 't Jaer onfes Heeren en Zaligmakers duyfent les hondert vier en tachtig.

G. FAGEL.

Ter Ordonnantie van de Staten

SIMON van BEAUMONT

ATOMS.

ALLAS.

SCHERE LAS

ics zells lykichecht.

De tegenwoordige REGENTEN van de SCHOUW-BURGH, hebben het Recht van de bovenstaande Privilegie, aangaande dese Opera, vergunt aen ALBERT MAGNUS, Boekverkooper tot Amsterdam.

In Amsterdam den 24 Maert. 1687.

kommunenseder van Hermione.

R A C O Sen Reis, Edning van er Reufen, gevolgvan Draco.

VER-

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VERTOONDERS

net ende fonder sening Omifia fire vourte dealer is die

Van het Treurspel.

to alle anticipation ter of

CADMUS, zoon van Agenor Koning van Tirus, en Broeder van Europe.

I fte 7 Prinsvan Tyrus. 2 de S

115.101 (15X 51) (1003

ARBAS, cen Afrikaan, uit het gevolg van Cadmus.

2 Andere Afrikaanen metgefellen van Arbas, een lyfknecht van Cadmus.

HERMIONE, Dochter van Mars, en Venus.

CHARITE, cene der bevalligheden, vrindin van Hermione.

AGLANTE, twede vertrouwde van Hermione.

De minnemoeder van Hermione. Deszelfs lyfknecht. DRACO een Reus, Koning van Aonie. Vier Reufen, gevolg van Draco. Een lyfknecht van de Reus. JUNO. PALLAS. De LIEFDE.

Den

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De groote Offerpriester van Mars. Een Keteltromslager. De God Mars. Vier Razernyen. ECHION, een der Vechters van de kinderen des Aardryks. JUPITER. VENUS. HYMEN.

Het Tooneel is in het Geweft van Grieken, het geen Aonie genoemt wierd, en door Cadmus den naam van Beotie ontfangen heeft.

AN PAN.

ac abrahas

VER-

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(Geendatif

nating do -

CHOWINGER.

A 3

VOORSPEL.

H Et Tooneel opend zich, en verbeela een landstreek, waar in men van wederzyen hutten ziet, en een moerasch aan het eynd; de Hemel doed een heldere Morgenstond zien, die gevolgt werd van een opgaande zon, terwyl de blinkende kloot zich boven de kimmen heft, volvoeren de speeltuisen, de maaten tot begin van den zang geschikt.

Pales, godin van de Herders, en Melisse godheid der Bosschen, en bergen komen ter wederzyen van het Tooneel uit, en roepen de veldbenden die gewoon zyn haar te volgen.

AA

PA

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PALES. MELISSE Bende van Nimphen, en Herders. Pales. Haaftu, Herders, loopt aan; Mel. De stem der vogelen roept ons: Pal. Onze velden zyn verlicht. Mel. Onze heuvelen zyn verguld. Pales. Allesblinkt van 't schynzel eens nieuwe klaar-Mel. (heids Duizend Bloemen komen in onze weyen op. Pal.en Mel. (fchoon! Wat maakt de Zon, die ons verlicht de natuur Laat ons geen ogenblik verliezen, Van een zoo zoeten, en verlokkelyken dag. De Rey berhaalt de twee laatste verzen. En vervolgt met zingen.

Verwonderende ons! verwonderende ons over de Zon die ons verligt.

> Laat ons den roem van zyn loop zingen ! Dat al de Waereld eere,

Den God die onze schoone dagen maakt. Pan de God van de Herders verschijnt, verseld met veldmusyk: speelders, en Boersche danssers, welke deel komen neemen in de vreugd van de Nimphen, en Herders, en zy alle beginnen een wyze van een feest, ter eeren van den God, die den dag maakt.

Pan.

Gedigitaliseerd door Google

Pan.

Dat elk zich gevoelig toon Van het verlokkende zoet, 't Geen de Zon op dit gelukkige geweft uytftort, Daar is niets dat ons niet betoovert, In dit oord vol vermaakelykheid, Alles lacht hier, alles zingt hier, Ey! Waarom zouden wy niet lacchen?

De boersche danszers die den God Pan gevolgd bebben, beginnen een Feest, 't welck afgebrooken werd door onderaardsch gerucht, en door een nachtgelyke duysternis; Welke het Tooneel gebeel en met een slag duister maakt; 't geen de veld vergaadering dwingd te vlugten, met een geschrey van schrik, maakende een zoort van een verschrikkelyk Zangmengeling, nevens een onderaardsch gedruisch.

De Reyen.

Wat schielyke verwarring! wat afgreiszelyk gerucht, verdubbeld zich;

Wat verschrikkelyk gedruis!

Wat afgronden openen zich onder onze voeten!

De dag werd bleek, de Hemel ontsteld zich!

De aarde braakt de gantsche gramme heluit: Laat ons vlugten, laat ons vlugten, bergen wy ons, bergen wy ons!

In deeze schielyke duisternis, komt de Nyd uit baar hol, 't geen zich in het midden van het Tooneel opent: Zy daagd den afschuwelyken Slang Python op, welke uit zyn modderige poel te voorschynt komt, werpende vuur uit zyn keel, en ogen.'t Welck al het licht maakt 't geen het Tooneel verlicht. Zy roept al de dolste winden om baar razernye te hulp te komen, zy doed'er vier van deeze uit komen, welke in de onderaardsche boolen opgestoten zyn en

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12

en zy doed'er 4 and're nederdaalen van die geene welcke de stormen maaken. Welke alle, na zy kruysweegs door de lucht gevloogen hebben, zich rond om haar koomen stellen, om den schoonen dach te helpen ontstellen, die de Zon aan de Waereld geeft.

De Nyd.

't Iste veel, de Zon in zyn renbaan te zien blinken. De ftraalen die hy op alle plaatzen uitwerpt Hebben te veel myn gezicht gequetst;

Komtzwarte vyanden van zyn leevend licht.

Laat ons onze raazende verrukkingen te zaamen voegen.

Dat ieder, my te hulp kom!

IS

Komtevoorschynafschuwelyk gedrocht,

Komt, gy onderaardsche winden uit de diepste holen,

Vliegd, geweldenaars van de lucht, ontstelt Aarde, en Zee.

Laat ons de vrees op haar uitstorten !

Dat de hemel met ons morre!

Dat de hel ons antwoorde.

Laat ons de aarde met schrik vervullen.

Dat de natuur in zich verwerre!

Laat ons in al de herten des Waerelds

De nydige razerny werpen,

Die myn hert van een icheurt.

De nyd geeft Slangen aan de winden, die rondom haar een zoort van draai winden maaken.

De Nyd vervolgt te zingen

En gy, gedtocht, wapen u om leed te doen Aan dat magtige Hemelteken, dat u heeft weeten Voort te brengen;

Hy ftort te veel goeds uit, hy ontfangt te veel wenschen. Beroer uw modderachtige poel:

Ver-

Verwek duizend doodelyks waazemen tegen hem.

Ontvouw, ftrek uw vleugelen uit,

Datalle geweldige winden

Zich bekrachtigen om zyn vuur uit te dooven: Deeze winden maaken op nieuw draiwinden, terwyl zich de flang Python in de lucht opheft, doende een rond al vliegende.

De Nyd gervolgt.

Laat onsal zyn schoonste klaarheden durven verduist'ren, Laat ons, ons tegen zyn al te gelukkige loop durven aanstellen.

Wat pylen hebben de wolken doen breeken? Wat vlammende vlied baant zich dien blinkende weg? Gyzegepraald, ô! Zon, alles wykt voor uw vermogen! Wat eer zult gy ontfangen!

> Ach! wat razerny, ach! wat razerny, Wat wanhoop! wat wanhoop!

De vuurschigten, breeken door de dikte der wolken, en storten op den slang Python, die, na zich eenige tyd in de lucht geweert te hebben, endelyk overvallen, in zynmodderigen poel stort; een regen van vuur stort zich over het geheele tooneel uit; en dwingd de nyd, met de vier onderaardsche winden te verzinken, terwyl de luchtwinden wegvliegen, en op de zelwe tyd verdwynen de wolken, en werd het Toonsel geheel klaar.

De veldvergadering, wien de schrik heest weggejaagd, komt wederom, om de zege van de Zon te vieren, en voor hem zegetekenen op te rechten, en offerrhande te doen.

Pales.

Het soelle gan myn we

Laat ons de vrees verdryven, die ons drukt! Melisse. Niets moet ons meer doen beeven:

Pan.

14

Endermost normass Pan, vishoob Bristion Norma Het ondier is dood, deftorm houd op, de Zon is overwinnaar.

De Rey Herbaald.

De Zon is &c.

35

Pales.

Dat men voor hem bereye Grootsche Altaaren. Melife. s negot and , and hall

averbano Dat men die paare Met onsterfelyke versierselen. denoib + De Rey. haily abrammely

Laat ons de geheugenis bewaaren Van zyn overwinning. Last ons door duizend verscheide eerbewyzingen Den klank van zyn roem verbreyen, Tot aan het eynde van het heel al.

that is ber sminned one part and Pales, make I grait with the ma Maar de Zon naderd En ontdekt zich voor ieders oogen.

st minerer say brees prises min De Rey. Laat ons zyn tegenwoordigheid ontzag dragen. Door een diepe stilzwygenheid, Laat onshooren, laat ons zien.

De Zon op zyn waagen. 12000/0218.

't Is niet door d'omflag van trotze offertacyen Dat my behaagd myn zorg vergolden te zien, Voor loon van myn arbeid begeer ik alleen Dat elk blydfchap toon.

Het zoetste van myn wenschen is, De gantsche waereld gelukkig te maaken.

In

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March Tory

In dit gelukkige gewest zullen de Zanggodinnen nederdaalen.

De aardige fpeelen zullen haar fchreden volgen. Ik blaas zangen in vol welbehagelykheid

Die gy hooren zult,

Zoo lang ik myn loop vervolg, Geniet de blye dagen.

De Zon heft zich in den Hemel op, en de gehele veldvergadering maakt spelen, in welke de zangen met danssen gemengt werden.

De Rey. Leat ons de schoone dagen gebruiken! Pales.

Laat ons alle dien drift volgen.

De Rey.

Laat ons de schoone & Melisse. Laat ons beminnen, alles noodigd'er ons toe.

De Rey.

Laat ons de &.

Laat ons de &.

Pales. De schoonste dagen van het leeven Zyn verlooren, indienze zonder liefde zyn.

De Rey.

Terwyl de nimphen, en godheden van de velden danszen met de herders, en herderinnen, mengen Pales, Melisse, en Pan haare, stemmen met de Boersche Speeltuygen.

Als well to be minutes

at alt de licide géett

Pales

16

PALES, MELISSE, en PAN

te zaamen.

Gelukkig is hy die behaagen kan! Gelukkig zyn de minnaars! Haar dagen zyn aanlokkelyk: De liefde weet hente geeven Duizend zoete ogenblikken, Waar toe diend de jeugd In herten zonder tederheid. Die geen liefde heeft Heeft nooit een blye dag. Tweede Zangkoppel.

17

Vergeefs gaat de winter weg, Vergeefs verlokt alles in de velden Onze zinnen. Een hert van eys Kent geen lente, Men moet zich ontdoen. Van een al te wreed hert. Die geen liefde heeft, Heeft nooit een blye dag.

Archas een der Boschgoden zingt, en al de Speeltuigen en stemmen antwoorden bem, terwyl de veld vergadering danst en speeld met takken van eykeboomen, waar mede zy veel aangenaame verbeeldingen maaken.

Archas. Kan men beeter doen, Als men weet te behaagen? Kan men beeter doen Als wel te beminnen? Wat laft de liefde geeft

'tIs

't Is altyd een aangenaame band; Te veel ruft, is veeltyds laftig; Wat doed men met een hert dat niet bemind? *Tweede zangkoppel.*. De liefde vernoegt, Haar laft betoovert, De liefde vernoegd, Zy is geheel goed. In de fchoone dagen van ons leeven Zyn de vermaaken in haar tyd, En een weinig verliefde zotterny, Is zomtyds meerder waard als ai te veel reden.

Eynde van het Voorspel.

Con het land weder teamin, vanshoop hy h

Alarr weils dat 2000 finna ton 2at,

ile eeswooren een rechty andige w

booking 't werhoos van twee jaaren vot uit T vitus

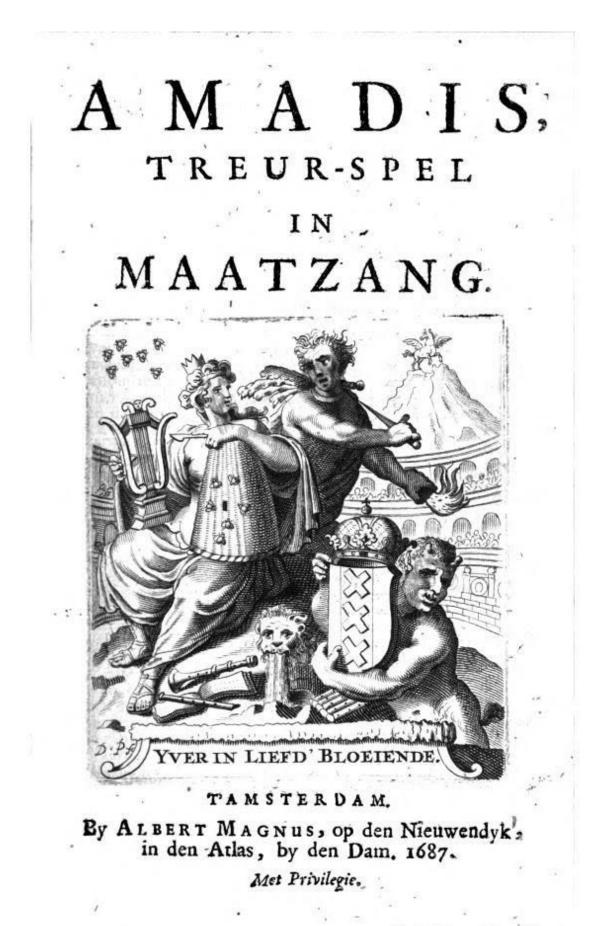
20 2.49 P ti 1 a di N van 10 ganton. Millen overaliuw lot ; conder tegonweel voigen. Mosten wy sedunig in ballingtchap vyn 2

boortenhate wei weit willen sien

Thickor, deWeelf reficultan,

EER-

IS.



Copye van de Privilegie.

E Staten van Hollandt ende Westvrieslandt doen te weten. Alfo Ons vertoont is by de tegenwoodige Regenten van de Schouwburgh tot Amsterdam. Dat sy Supplianten sedert eenige aren herwaerts met hunne goede vrinden hadden gemaeckt en ten Toonele gevoert verscheiden Wercken, soo van Treurspelen, Blyspelen als Kluchten, welcke fy lieden nu geerne met den druck gemeen wilden maecken, doch gemerkt dat dese wercken door het nadrucken van anderen, veel van haer luyfter, soo in Tael als Spelkonft souden komen te verliefen, ende altoo fy Supplianten hen berooft fouden fien van hun byfonder ooghwit om de Nederduytfche Tael en de Dichtkonft voort te fetten foo vonden fy hen genootfackt, om daer. inne te voorfien, ende hen te keeren tot Ons, onderdanigh verfoeckende, dat Wy omme redenen voorfz. de Supplianten geliefden te verlenen Octroy ofte Privilegie, omme alle hunne wercken reets gemaeckt ende noch in 't licht te brengen, den tyt van vyftien Jaren alleen te mogen drucken en verkopen of doen drucken en verkopen, met verbot van alle anderen op feeckere hooge peene daar toe by Ons te stellen ende voorts in communi forma. Soo is 't dat Wy de Zake en 't verloek voorfz. overgemerkt hebbende, ende genegen wefende ter bede van de Supplianten, uyt Onse rechte wetenschap, Souveraine magt ende authoriteyt deselve supplianten geconsenteert, geaccordeert ende geochroyeert hebben, confenteren, accorderen ende octroyeren mitsdefen, dat fy geduurende den tyt van vyftien eerft achter een volgende Jaren de voorfz. werken die reeds gedrukt zyn, ende die van tyt tot tyt door haer gemaekt ende in 't ligt gebragt fullen werden, binnen den voorfz. Onten Lande alleen fullen mogen drukken, doen drukken, uvtgeven en verkopen. Verbiedende daarom allen ende eenen ygelyken de felve werken naar te drukken ofte elders naer gedrukt binnen den felve Onfe Lande te brengen, uvt te geven ofte te verkopen, op de verbeurte van alle de naargedrukte, ingebragte ofte verkogte exemplaren, ende een boete van drie hondert guldens daer en boven te verbeuren, tej appliceren een derde part voor den Officier die de calange doen fal, een derde-part voor den Armen der Plaetfe daer het casus voorvallen sal, ende het resterende derde-part voor den Supplianten. Alles in dien verstaande, dat wy de Supplianten met desen Onlen Octroye alleen willende gratificeren tot verhoedinge van hare ichade door het nadrukken van de voorfz. werken, daar door in geenige deelen verstaen, den inhoude van dien te Authoriseren ofte te advoueren, ende veel min de selve onder Onse protectie ende befcherminge, cenig meerder credit aenfien ofte reputatie te geven, nemaer de Supplianten in cas daar in yets onbehoorlykx foude mogen. influeren, alle het felve tot haren lafte fullen gehouden wefen te verantwoorden ; tot dien eynde wel exprefielyk begerende, dar by aldien ty defen Onten Octroye voor de felve Werken fullen willen ftellen, daer van geene geabbrevieerde ofte gecontraheerde mentie fullen mogenmaken, nemaer gehouden fullen wefen het felve Octroy in 'tgeheal

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ţ

heel ende fonder eenige Omiffie daer voor te drukken ofte te doen drukken, ende dat fy gehouden fullen zyn een exemplaer van alle de voorfz. werken, gebonden ende wel geconditioneert te brengen in de Bibliotheeeq van Onfe Univerfiteyt tot Leyden, ende daer van behooflyk te doen blyken. Alles op peene van het effect van dien te verliefen. Ende ten eynde de Supplianten defen Onfen confente Octroye mogen genieten als naer behooren : Laften wy allen ende eenen ygelyken die 't aengaen mach, dat ty de Supplianten van den inhoude van defen doen, laten en gedogen, ruffelyk en volkomentlyk genieten en cefferende alle betetten ter contrarie. Gedaen in den Hage onder Onfen groten Zegele hier aen doen hangen den x18 Septembr. in 't Jær onfes Heeren en Zaligmakers duyfent fes hondert vier en tachtig.

G. FAGEL.

Ter Ordonnantie van de Staten

SIMON van BEAUMONT

De tegenwoordige R EGENTEN van de SCHOUW-BURGH, hebben het Recht van de bovenstaande Privilegie, aangaande dese Opera, vergunt aen ALBERT MAGNUS, Boekverkooper tot Amsterdam.

In Amsterdam den 10 February. 1687.

Bescheydene Leezer.

In deeze Vertaaling van het Treurspel genaamt Amadis, zyn de zelve zangmaaten gehouden, waar op het althans op de Schouwburgh in het Frans gezongen werd; en nadien de klankken der lettergreepen zomwylen anders in het Duitsch, als in het Frans vallen, heeft de Vertaaler te met van de bepaalde woorden moeten wyken, en alleen den zin volgen. Zoo dat het geen te met naar de snyding, en gladde trant der gewoone dichtmaat niet volgt; zoodanig om de reizing, of daaling der zangtoonen heeft moeten gesteld werden: Want het heeft geen kleenen arbeid in, een vertaaling volgens den zin, de woorden, en zangkunde te doen; waar van de Leezer dan cerft het rechte nut zal hebben, wanner hy dit Treurspel op het Tooneel zal zien, en hooren vertoonen.

116

VERTOONERS VANHET VOORSPEL

ALQUIF, vermaard Toveraar, Ega van URGANDE Toveres. Gevolg van Alquif. Gevolg van Urgande.

117

VOORSPEL.

Het Tooneel verbeeld de plaats door Alquif en Ur gande uitgekooren om daar toverend te blyven en terusten met hun gevolg.

Blixem en Donderslag begint de rust van Alquif, Urgande en hun gevolg te stooren.

Alquif en Urgande rustende onder een kostelyke Slaap-Tent.

HOe, wat groot gerucht komt ons ftooren ! Komt voegt u al by my, 'T verveelt onze ooren, Ontwaaken wy!

Het gevolg van Urgande en Alquif ontwaaken, en berbaalen deeze twee versen.

> 't Verveelt onze ooren, Ontwaaken wy!

> > Alquif en Urgande.

O! Spoken die ons moet vernoegen, Gy zyt voor ons niet traag, maar yv'rig op de wagt, Gaat u nu weêr na ond'ren voegen! Want ik zo vuurig nu niet na uw byzyn tragt.

Dat de hemel d'aarde verwonder,

In 't eynd van deeze Tovery.

O Blixemvuur, verwoede Donder! Verhaalt met groot gedruys dit aangenaam gety.

A 4

Gedigitaliseerd door Google

Het

7

VOORSPEL.

Het gevolg herhaald deeze 4 laatste versen. De beelden die de Slaaptent schraagen, vliegen met de zelve weg, onder het gedruys van donder en blixem. Het gevolg van Alquif, en de dienaressen van Urgande toonen met zang, en dans de blydfchap die zy gevoelen van niet meêr betovert te zyn.

Een uyt het gevolg van Urgande.

Nu zal alles voortaan weêr vol zoet, Met lieflykheyt overstroomen 't gemoet.

Laat ons vrolyk leeven!

In min'lyke luft,

Stelt niet uyt dat wy ons daar toe geeven, Min'lyk genot kom voldoet onze luft. Het is tyt dat den dag komt verschynen. Ziet hoe de Zon na de kimmen vast sneld,

Het ligt is in 't veld,

Staat dan op, dat de flaap ga verdwynen.

De min ons verzelt,

Elk voelt zyn gewelt,

De lieflyke winden,

Haar Flora fteets minden.

Zoet ligt, uw begin, Roept ons tot de min.

Urgande.

Nu Amadis verkwynt, in duyzend ongelukken Houden wy ons in dit geweft, Ik heb myn Godlyk breyn tot zyne hulp geveft; En 't gevaar zal hem noyt zoo fel noch wreed meêr drukken;

Maar

VOORSPEL.

Maar ik zal zyn geluk herstellen in het lest.

Alguif.

Aan hem zal eygen zyn 't groot gebiet van veel Landen,

Vergeefs zoekt alle magt zyn glory te weêrftaan, Zyn groots gezicht, kan hen verflaan, (den. Zyn geweld, en zyn moed doed alle magten ftran-

Alquif en Urgande.

²t Is in hem dat wy zien, Daar alles voor moet beeven, Niets kan hem wederftreeven; ²t Is in hem dat wy zien, ²t Groot vernuft van gebiên.

Urgande.

Haalen wy Amadis uyt een nagt vol van plaagen, De Hemel wil het zoo. Het lot neemt welbehaagen

Dat zyn glorie weêr word hersteld.

Alquif.

Wy zullen noyt te veel voor zyn heyl forge dragen, Kom gaan wy, daar zyn roem het heelal zal doen

waagen.

Die Vorst, en allerhelden Held, (gen. Zal zyn glans wel haast met nieuwe luyster zien da-

Urgande en Alquif. De waerelt eert zyn grote heldedaân. Laat ons onder hem leeven gaan !

A 5

Gedigitaliseerd door Google

Het

Het gevolg berhaald deeze 2 laatste verzen. '1 Gevolg toond door zang, en dans hun blydschap.

10

Een van 't gevolg van Urgande, en het gevolg.

Streeft na de Liefd', de min eyfcht uw dagen; 't Voelt al wat leeft die liefl'lyke gloed. Een weynig min, is ligter te dragen, Als steeds te zyn in stryd met ons gemoed,

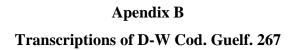
In weêrwil zelf moet min ons behaagen; Vergeefs weêrstreeft men 't minnelyk zoet. Een weinig min &c. Als steeds te zyn &c.

Alquif en Urgande.

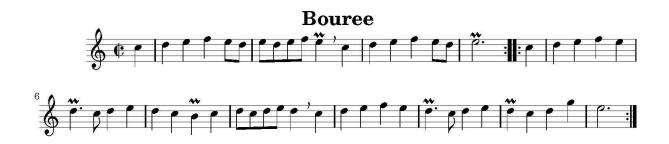
Vliegt heen ô Minnegoon Amadis gaat herleeven. Zyn groot hart zal fig aan u geeven. Vliegt heen verlieft geen stond, En geleyd Amadis op dees gewenschte grond.

Het gevolg herhaald deeze 2 laatste versen. Vermaken en Minnegoden vliegen over het Tooneel.

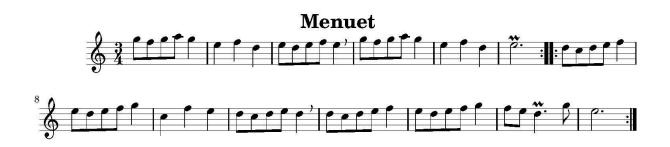
Einde van 't Voorspel.

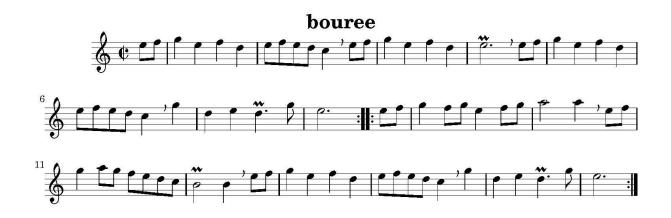


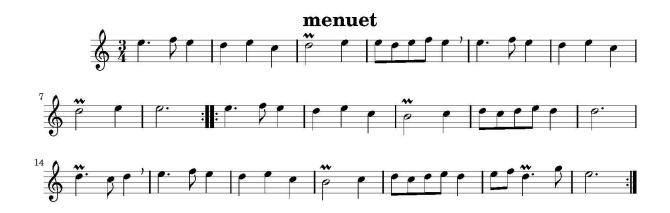




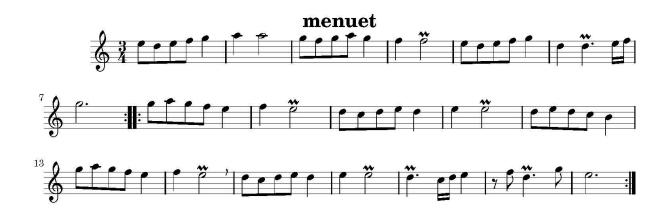
http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196394







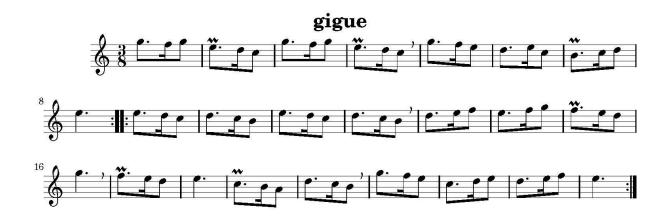






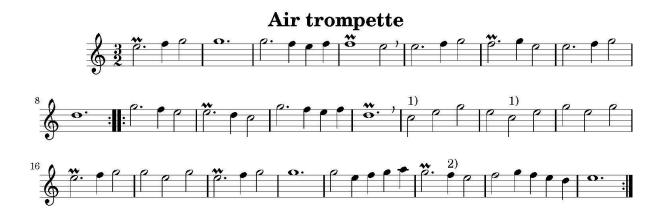
1) Onder deze noot staat een kwartnoot g'.

http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196400



http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196401





1) Onder deze noot staat een halve noot g'.

2) Achtste noot in bron.

http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196403





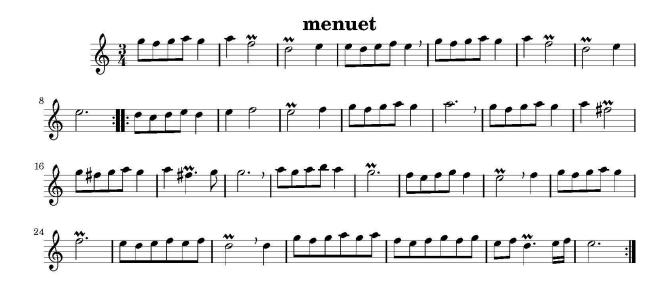
http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196405



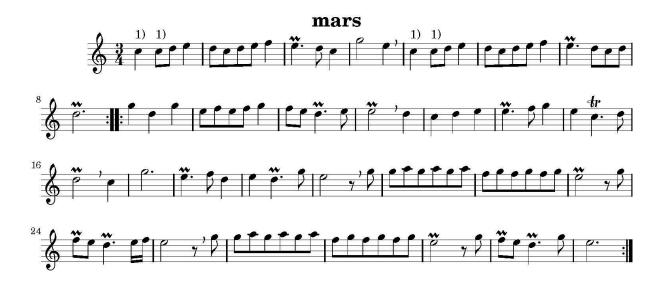
http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196406



http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196407

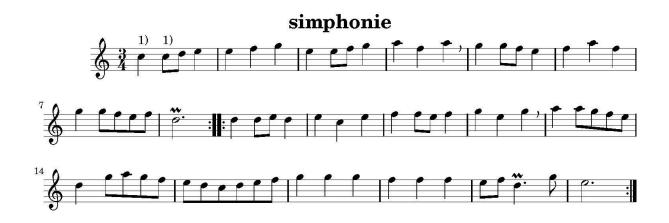


http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196408



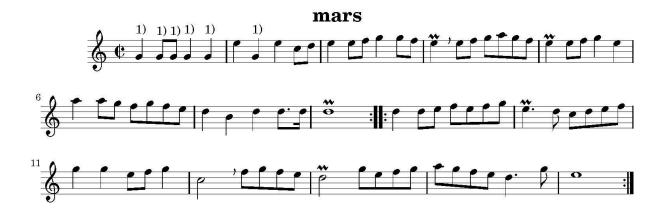
1) Onder deze noot staat een g' genoteerd van dezelfde waarde. http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196409





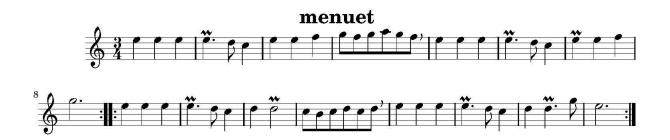
1) Onder deze noot staat een g' van dezelfde waarde.

http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196411



1) Boven deze noot staat een c" van dezelfde waarde.

http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196412

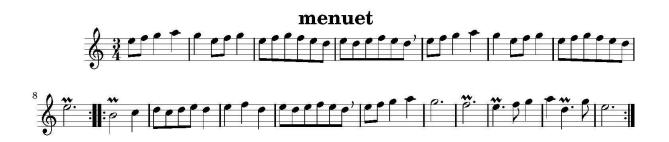




1) Onder deze noot staat g' van dezelfde waarde.

2) Gepuncteerde achtste noot in bron.

http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196414





1) Boven deze noot staat een g" van dezelfde waarde.

http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196416

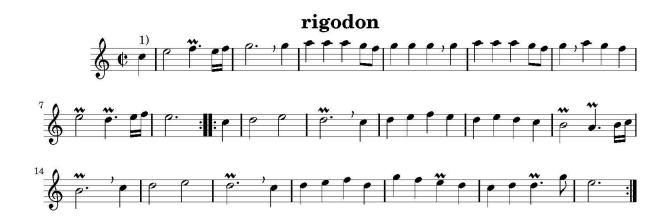


http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196417



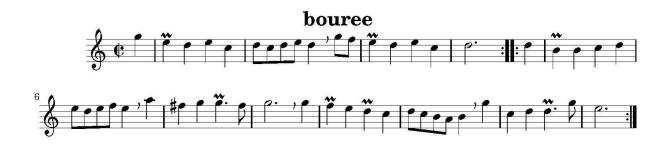
1) In de bron staat er staat een kruis voor deze noot.

http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196418



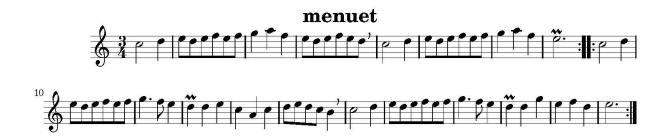
1) Onder deze noot staat een g' van dezelfde waarde.

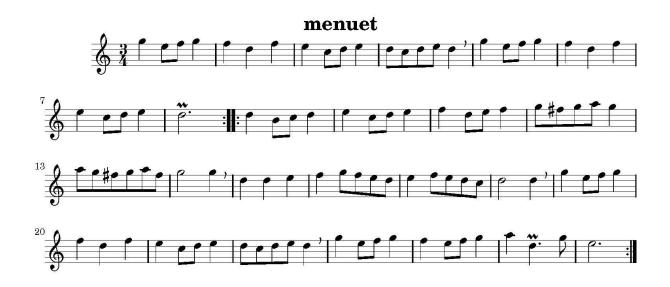
http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196419



http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196420







http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196423





1) Boven deze noot staat er een kleine achtste g" noot genoteerd.

2) Deze triller staat in de bron genoteerd als een dubbelslag.

http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196425



1) d" of e" in bron.

http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196426







http://www.liederenbank.nl/ Record ID: 196429

Appendix C

Concordances D-W Cod. Guelf. 267

Title	Menuet
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	1
Standard name of this melody	-
Concordances	Already known concordance with MS 890.
Comments	-

Title	Bouree
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	2
Standard name of this melody	Het marketenter lied
Concordances	Already known concordance with KB 19558
Comments	-

Title	Menuet
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	3
Standard name of this melody	Menuet hautboi
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already identified as Lully's (LWV 65/53).

Title	Bouree
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	4
Standard name of this melody	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Menuet
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	5
Standard name of this melody	-
Concordances	Menuet – p.83 in D-Lr Mus.ant.pract. 1198
Comments	According to the RISM, the composer
	Christian Flor copied this melody.

Title	Gavott
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	6
Standard name of this melody	Isis Air des trompettes
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already identified as Lully's
	(LWV 54/12).

Title	Menuet
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	7

Standard name of this melody	Menuet Thésée
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already identified as Lully's
	(LWV 51/7).

Title	dans Nos bos
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	8
Standard name of this melody	Dans nos bois
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already identified as Lully's (LWV 35/4).

Title	Gigue
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	9
Standard name of this melody	Deuxième Canarie Temple de la paix
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already identified as Lully's (LWV 69/27).

Title	suivons suivons la moer
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	10
Standard name of this melody	Suivons suivons l'amour laissons-nous
	enflamme
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already identified as Lully's (LWV 49/23).

Title	Air trompette
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	11
Standard name of this melody	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Mars
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	12
Standard name of this melody	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Air largo
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	13
Standard name of this melody	Air Phaeton
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already identified as Lully's

(LWV 61/23).

Title	Air largo
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	14
Standard name of this melody	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Mars
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	15
Standard name of this melody	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Menuet
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	16
Standard name of this melody	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Mars
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	17
Standard name of this melody	Second air Amadis
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already identified as Lully's (LWV 63/24).

Title	Menuet
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	18
Standard name of this melody	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Simphonie
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	19
Standard name of this melody	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Mars
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	20
Standard name of this melody	-
Concordances	D'Franse mars – f.63r in US-BEm MS 890

	Franse mars – f.78v in US-BEm MS 890
	<i>Titleless</i> – f. 14r in GB-Lbl 17853
	Marche 324 – p.266 in US-NHub GEN MSS MUSIC MISC, Volume 18.
	Ballet – p.102-103 in B-Bc 27220
	Fonfard – p.115 in US-LAuc fC697M4
Comments	This melody was composed by Lully for the ballet <i>Flore</i> (LWV 40/33).

Title	Menuet
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	21
Standard name of this melody	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Mars
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	22
Standard name of this melody	-
Concordances	La descente de Mars – f.1r in B-Bc 2408
	Mars – p.4 in HSchouwburg(11)1730.
Comments	This melody was composed by Lully for the
	ballet Thesée (LWV 51/5).

Title	Menuet
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	23
Standard name of this melody	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Menuet
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	24
Standard name of this melody	-
Concordances	Minuetto p.mo di Tromba – f.10v-vi in I-
	Mdemicheli MSS.Mus 101
Comments	-

Title	Air Largo
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	25
Standard name of this melody	-

Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Air pour les mesmes
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	26
Standard name of this melody	-
Concordances	-
Comments	This melody does not seem to correspond with Lully's <i>petit air pour les mesmes</i> and <i>air</i> <i>pour les mesmes</i> .

Title	Rigodon
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	27
Standard name of this melody	Rigaudon 1 de Galatée
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already identified as Lully's (LWV 73/6).

Title	Bouree
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	28
Standard name of this melody	Rigaudon 2 de Galatée
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already identified as Lully's
	(LWV 73/7).

Title	Menuet
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	29
Standard name of this melody	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Menuet
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	30
Standard name of this melody	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Menuet
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	31
Standard name of this melody	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	flonflon
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	32
Standard name of this melody	Flon flon la rira dondaine
Concordances	Air de la Ronde de la Capucine – p.41 in CH- BEms XA Li 1811/1
	L'air du flon flon m'enchante – p.315 in US- Cn VM1730.R295
Comments	

Title	Mars
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	33
Standard name of this melody	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Cherchons la paix
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	34
Standard name of this melody	Cherchons la paix
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already identified as Lully's (LWV 61/3).

Title	La paix revient
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	35
Standard name of this melody	La paix revient dans cet asile
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already identified as Lully's (LWV 69/33).

Title	Suivons la aijamable paix
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	36
Standard name of this melody	Suivons l'aimable paix
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already identified as Lully's
	(LWV 69/25).

Title	Que la gloire a jamas le couronne
Song number in HsWoHAB CD267Mus	37
Standard name of this melody	Que la Gloire à jamais le couronne
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already identified as Lully's (LWV 69/?). It appears during the sixth entrée.

Appendix D

Concordances HsBsKB 19558

Title	't Goet voornemen
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	1
First line	'K wil met mijn verliefde sinnen
Standard name of this melody	Les Nayades et Dryades
Tune indication	
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's
	(LWV 40/6).

Title	De Verlighte
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	2
First line	O Nacht! hoe wacht
Standard name of this melody	Menuet O nacht hoe wacht
Tune indication	
Concordances	L'aurore (Flore).
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's. However, the title and the corresponding work were not mentioned (LWV 40/20).

Title	't Verlangen
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	3
First line	O Lotgeval wat brouwt gij
Standard name of this melody	O lotgeval
Tune indication	Ballet in Flora
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's
	(LWV 40/13).

Title	De Besorgde
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	4
First line	Schone Nimphen die de baeren
Standard name of this melody	Seconde mariée
Tune indication	Ballet in Flora
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's (LWV 40/18). However this melody is also used in LWV 47/21.

Title	De Droefheijdt
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	5
First line	Laet mijn treurige gedachten

Standard name of this melody	Laet mijn treurige gedachten
Tune indication	Flora in Triomphe l' Amour
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's (LWV 59/65).

Title	De Smekende
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	6
First line	O goon! verschoon
Standard name of this melody	Bourrée O Goden
Tune indication	
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's (LWV 59/66).

Title	Treurgesangh
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	7
First line	Bevallige Zephir, uw soeten adem in den Hoff
Standard name of this melody	Bevallige Zephyr
Tune indication	Ballet in Flora
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's (LWV 40/4).

Title	't Scheiden
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	8
First line	Wilt gij dan niet
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	't Gemeen genoegen
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	9
First line	Dat Amaril nu beter wil
Standard name of this melody	Schoon bloemgewas
Tune indication	-
Concordances	Bouree – p. 197 in D-Lr Mus.ant.pract. 1198.
Comments	This song has the same melody as song number 26 in KB: 19558.

Title	Rust baerd lust
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	10

First line	De Nachtegael, hoe soet van tael
Standard name of this melody	Bourrée De nachtegaal
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's (LWV 40/7).

Title	Herdersklagt
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	11
First line	Dus songh Tyter, en storte in stilte
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	De Mistroostige liefde
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	12
First line	'K wil al treurende singen
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	De veijnsende
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	13
First line	Helaas ach! 'k leef in schijn bli
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	De Beminnende
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	14
First line	Laura heeft al het vermogen
Standard name of this melody	Menuet Proserpine
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's
	(LWV 58/13).

Title	De Genoegde
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	15
First line	Dat ick mijn Laura beminde
Standard name of this melody	Horentjes zouden u passe

Tune indication	-
Concordances	Menuet La Felicite a Deux Partie – p. 151 in US-CAward M1505.L94 M57 1686.
	Que l'amour est doux à suivre – f.7r in D-B Mus.ms. 13261.
Comments	LWV 58/14.

Title	De Getrouwe
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	16
First line	Schoon Laura mij niet meer beminden
Standard name of this melody	Pourquoi n'avoir pas le coeur tendre
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's (LWV 57/7).

Title	De Smeeckende
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	17
First line	Aij mij verhoord, vertreckt niet vol van
	tooren
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Herders klaght
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	18
First line	Schoone Climeen verhoor mijn klaghten
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	-
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	19
First line	Schoone Climeen zijdt ghij voor klagten
Standard name of this melody	Que n'aimez-vous coeurs insensibles
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's (LWV 60/73).

Title	-

Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	20
First line	Gaet gij dan wreede heen
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	De Scheijdingh
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	21
First line	Ach! Gode kunt gij zien
Standard name of this melody	Spanjaards ballet
Tune indication	Spanjaerts ballet
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	De Eensame
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	22
First line	Ach! Somerluchjes, ach
Standard name of this melody	Folie d'Espagne
Tune indication	Foelje de Spanje
Concordances	
Comments	Folie d'Espagne is dance on which many
	composers wrote melodies.

Title	De Stuerse
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	23
First line	Hoe nu soo dwars, hoe nu soo bars
Standard name of this melody	La bourrée d'Olivet
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	

Title	De vertrooste
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	24
First line	Ach! hoe valt mij dat wagte soo bangh
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	Scharmoesje/Polischenelle in phitie
Concordances	Mome Les Pollichinelles Et Les Folets – p.
	190 in US-CAward M1505.L94 M57 1686.
	Air des Polichinelles et des mattasins - in
	psiché tragedie mis en musique par monsieur
	de lully pansionnaire du roy maistre de
	musique de sa chapelle et de sa chambre US-

	CAward M1500.L95 P79 1709.
	Polichenels et Matassins - p. 82 in premier dessus US-CAward M1500.L95 O6 1700.
Comments	LWV 45/33

Title	't goet genoegen is 't al
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	25
First line	Als ick en mijn Aagje gaen agter het haegje
Standard name of this melody	Boekweitkoek
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Koel en trage tergt de grage
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	26
First line	Waerom soo puer kondt, sonder vuer
Standard name of this melody	Schoon bloemgewas
Tune indication	-
Concordances	Bouree – p. 197 in D-Lr Mus.ant.pract. 1198.
Comments	I did not find anything that leads to a composer or overarching work. This bouree is found in a manuscript that contains many melodies by Christan Flor and J.B. Lully. This song has the same melody as song number 9 in KB: 19558.

Title	't Smaeckt altijt soet wat liefde doet
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	27
First line	O! gansch bloed, ach! hoe soet
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	Gigue
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	De Verraste
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	28
First line	Als ick onder het lommer in Rust
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	Gigue
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	De Graage

Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	29
First line	Och Liefke! och! mogt ick nogh eensjes als
	flus
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	't Gewelt
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	30
First line	Als Cupido, elck een te snoo
Standard name of this melody	Het marketenter lied
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Weerwraeck
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	31
First line	'k lockte Cupido, lest in mijn schoot
Standard name of this melody	Chacun vient ici-bàs prendre place
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's (LWV 50/72).

Title	-
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	32
First line	'k heb mijn lust geboedt
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	De Verdoolde
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	33
First line	Hoe mindt Amyntas goeijen hals
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	De Weergalm
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	34
First line	't Hemelsch soet geluydt

Standard name of this melody	Les grâces
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's
	(LWV 59/5).

Title	De verheugde
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	35
First line	Wanneer ick mijn engel maer eens mag sien
Standard name of this melody	Les bacchantes
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's (LWV 57/8).

Title	De Ongenoegde
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	36
First line	Wat baet het sien ver van genieten
Standard name of this melody	Tranquilles coeurs
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's (LWV 59/3). The same melody as the melody of song 57 in this source.

Title	De Verongelijckte of ongeluckige
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	37
First line	De Verongelijckte of ongeluckige
Standard name of this melody	Bellerophon Ouverture
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's
	(LWV 57/1).

Title	De Bedroge
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	38
First line	Mijn liefde klopt aen een doove mans deur
Standard name of this melody	Marche des Indiens
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's (32/11).

Title	De Wispelturige liefde
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	39

First line	Het minnen is vol suer en soet
Standard name of this melody	Van Dordt op Rotterdam
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	-
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	40
First line	Mijn lief al syt gij aerdig
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	De boere lier
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	41
First line	Wanneer ick de verliefde swier mee speel op
	mijn manier
Standard name of this melody	Liereman
Tune indication	De boere lier
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Liersangen
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	42
First line	Suijcker murfje, soete slurfje
Standard name of this melody	Rommelskerken
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Lira
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	43
First line	Altijdt eij, eij, eij, eij
Standard name of this melody	Ik voer al over zee
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Lira
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	44
First line	Doen mijn lief mijn lestmael schonck
Standard name of this melody	Doen mijn lief mij laatstmaal schonk
Tune indication	-

Concordances	-
Comments	The same as number 47 in this source.

Title	Lira
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	45
First line	Voor die mindt is 't al maer windt
Standard name of this melody	Mon mari est à Paris
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	Already known concordances with MS 890.

Title	Lira
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	46
First line	Haes nogh hoen, venesoen nog kapoene
Standard name of this melody	Trompetters ballet
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	Already known concordances with MS 890.

Title	Lira
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	47
First line	Doen mijn lief mijn lestmael schonck
Standard name of this melody	Doen mijn lief mij laatstmaal schonk
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	The same as number 44 in this source.

Title	-
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	48
First line	Schoon 't ongeval mij sleurt
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	De liefd' en wijn, treckt eenen lijn
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	49
First line	Ist Glaesjen uijt Roept overluijt
Standard name of this melody	Pots honderdduizend slapperment
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	Waer 't lief niet is is alles mis
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	50
First line	Ofschoon de goôn mij feestlijck noôn
Standard name of this melody	Koolsla
Tune indication	Koolsla
Concordances	-
Comments	The same as number 81 in this source.

Title	De Vriendelycke
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	51
First line	Eij draeg myne liefde tog met gedult
Standard name of this melody	Entrée des Sauvages de l'Amérique
Tune indication	Gygue
Concordances	Gigue en trio - f.20Av-21Ar in US-BEm MS
	77.
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's
	(LWV 69/37).

Title	De Toornige
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	52
First line	Weg dartele min
Standard name of this melody	De stijve koord
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	De Mismoedige
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	53
First line	Aij mij Bellinde waerom verlaet gij mij
Standard name of this melody	Menuet de Madame Talon
Tune indication	-
Concordances	Menuet - p.78 in D-Lr Mus.ant.pract. 1198
	Menuet de Madame Talon – p 51 in GB-Cu MS.Add.9285(5).
Comments	

Title	Voeg soort bij soort dan is 't soo 't hoort
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	54
First line	Ach! helaes! hoe dwaes!
Standard name of this melody	Premier air pour les muses
Tune indication	
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's
	(LWV 54/10).

Title	Tis al windt voor die bemindt
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	55
First line	Vrolijcke vogeltjes die sonder kommer
Standard name of this melody	Menuet pour les grâces
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's (LWV 59/6).

Title	-
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	56
First line	Bloempjes vol kleurtjes
Standard name of this melody	Deuxième Menuet pour les grâces
Tune indication	
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's (59/7).

Title	De Eerst getrouwde
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	57
First line	In't schoonste Hof in schaauw van Linden
Standard name of this melody	Tranquilles coeurs
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's (LWV 59/3). The same melody as the melody of song 35 in this source.

Title	Cupidoos boog
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	58
First line	Zoet bevalligh Cupidootje
Standard name of this melody	Schone zonnen heldere lichten
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's (LWV 59/26).

Title	Getrouwe min
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	59
First line	Schoon mij Bellinde noijt weder beminden
Standard name of this melody	Deuxième air pour les nymphes de Diane
Tune indication	-
Concordances	

Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's
	(LWV 59/32).

Title	't is haest getroudt dat lang beroudt
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	60
First line	Kon ick doch laeten soo seer te beminnen
Standard name of this melody	Branle de Metz
Tune indication	-
Concordances	Le branle de metz – 1f. in D-W Cod. Guelf.
	296 Mus. Hdschr. Nr. 7.
Comments	Besides above mention concordance with the melody in the wolfenbüttel manuscript, RISM lists many more melodies under the same name.

Title	De Winter
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	61
First line	O! strenge vorst van 't noorden
Standard name of this melody	La Isabelle
Tune indication	-
Concordances	La Isabelle – in S-N Finspong 9098
	La Isabelle – in S-N Finspong 9096:10
Comments	

Title	De Lente
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	62
First line	O! schoone bloijtijdt! o! gij zijdt
Standard name of this melody	La duchesse royale
Tune indication	-
Concordances	La duchesse royale – in S-N Finspong 9098
	La duchesse royale – in S-N Finspong 9096:5
Comments	-

Title	De Soomerse morgenstondt
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	63
First line	O! hemelse Aurora hoe looft uw 't pluym
	gediert
Standard name of this melody	Cecilia
Tune indication	-
Concordances	-
Comments	-

Title	De Soomer

Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	64
First line	O! Soete somer daegeraet
Standard name of this melody	Allez où le sort vous conduit
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as
	Chabancau de la Barre's.

Title	De Herfst
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	65
First line	De lieve Lenten heeft wel Reen te Roemen?
Standard name of this melody	Al wat men doet
Tune indication	-
Concordances	Sarabande – f.47v in GB-Ob MS. Mus. d.248
Comments	

Title	't Herders leven
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	66
First line	Hoe singt ginder onder 't lommer Galathe
Standard name of this melody	Ballet d'Hercule Première Entrée
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's (LWV 17/1).

Title	De Hollandtse Nachtegael
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	67
First line	Hollands wacker Nachtegael
Standard name of this melody	La bourrée de France
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	-

Title	De Quijnende
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	68
First line	Alle kruijden alle bladen
Standard name of this melody	Ballet Dorothée
Tune indication	Ballet Dorothé
Concordances	
Comments	

Title	De Droevige
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	69
First line	Noijt heeft de Min een wreeder schight

	geschooten
Standard name of this melody	Nee Amaryl je hoeft me niet te ontwijken
Tune indication	L' Opera
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's
	(LWV 42/4).

Title	De Edelmoedige Weijgeringen
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	70
First line	Ach! hoe is't hert, verwerdt, in smerdt
Standard name of this melody	Hij zal haar minnelijk ontvangen
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's (LWV 69/6).

Title	De Schuwe
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	71
First line	Schoon ghij koudt, niet en houdt
Standard name of this melody	Rondeau Schoon gij koud
Tune indication	Rondeaux
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's
	(LWV 69/7)

Title	De Bedrieglijcke
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	72
First line	Vleyende die mij uw Hardt niet wilt geven
Standard name of this melody	Adieu schoon liefje
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	

Title	De Geveijnsde
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	73
First line	O! wreede waerom niet geheel verlaeten
Standard name of this melody	Laatstmaal in het rijzen
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	

Title	De Versmaede
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	74
First line	O! waerd en schoon

Standard name of this melody	Rigaudon 1 de Galatée
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's
	(LWV 73/6).

Title	De Scheijdingh
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	75
First line	Vaer wel mijn alderliefste ziel
Standard name of this melody	Rigaudon 2 de Galatée
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's (LWV 73/7).

Title	De Verwisselingh
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	76
First line	Gh'vermaeckt u met anderen
Standard name of this melody	Heureux qui peut plaire
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's
	(LWV 49/14).

Title	De Getrouwe
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	77
First line	Vaer wel myn lief
Standard name of this melody	De keizerskroon
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	

Title	De Beloningh
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	78
First line	Gôon kan 't zijn?
Standard name of this melody	Air d'Achille et Polyxène
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's
	(LWV 74/1)

Title	De Vastenavondt
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	79
First line	Cloris wilje mee gh'meught

Standard name of this melody	Dat gaat naar Oost-Indië toe (VAR)
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	

Title	-
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	80
First line	't is oock geen wonder
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	

Title	De Vergenoegde
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	81
First line	Mijn moed, mijn gloed
Standard name of this melody	Koolsla
Tune indication	Koolsla
Concordances	-
Comments	The same as number 50 in this source.

Title	Aan de stille
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	82
First line	Levens vreugt
Standard name of this melody	Deuxième air Alceste
Tune indication	Ballet Dore Les pastes
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's (LWV 50/82).

Title	Aen biedingh van Trouw
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	83a
First line	Vermaeck van mijn Leeven
Standard name of this melody	Cessez de vous plaindre
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's (LWV 49/35).

Title	De Drooge
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	84
First line	Webbert is wel moij in 't oogh
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	Ballet Paijsan

Concordances	
Comments	

Title	De Geveijnsde
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	85
First line	De meijsjes hebbe seecker mee haer sinnen
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	Galliarde
Concordances	
Comments	

Title	De Vergenoegingh
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	86
First line	Symen is een nobel baesje
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	Ballet
Concordances	
Comments	

Title	-
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	87
First line	Schoon 't scheyden mij nogh wel zal smarten
Standard name of this melody	La peine d'aimer est charmante
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's
	(LWV 49/21).

Title	-
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	88
First line	Ghij mist uw grootste schadt /
Standard name of this melody	Suivons suivons l'amour laissons-nous
	enflammer
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's
	(LWV 49/23).

Title	De Welgenoegde
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	89
First line	Heb ik Florida verlooren
Standard name of this melody	Serons-nous dans le silence
Tune indication	-
Concordances	

Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's
	(LWV 49/55).

Title	-
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	90
First line	Als ghij my dan van rouw saegt sterven
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	

Title	-
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	91
First line	Uijtverkooren Lam Liefste Lief vol waerden
Standard name of this melody	Dartel Venus' wicht
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	

Title	-
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	92
First line	Wanneer de klaere Son begint te klimmen
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	

Title	Grave
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	93
First line	Amarilli mijn schoone
Standard name of this melody	Amarilli mia bella
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Giulio Caccini's Amarilli mia bella.

Title	-
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	94
First line	Geen schijn van vreugt, hoe groot en uijtgelaten
Standard name of this melody	Son altesse royale
Tune indication	-
Concordances	Sarabandes - p.74-75 in B-Bc 27220

	L'altesse Sarabande – f.7r – 8r in D-Mbs Mus.ms. 1511 f
	L'atesse Arien Fransch – p. 158 in D-CEbm DO 618
Comments	According to the Dutch Songs Database, the author of the text is Willem Godschalck van van Focquenbroch.

Title	Drink-Lied
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	95
First line	S't za lustig laet ons drincken
Standard name of this melody	Aux armes camarades
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Jean-
	Baptiste Drouard Bousset's. The text is
	Sweerts'.

Title	-
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	96
First line	Wakker op wilt nu paaren
Standard name of this melody	-
Tune indication	-
Concordances	Célébrons la victoire – p. 62 – 63 in Finspong
	9096:7
Comments	-

Title	-
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	97
First line	Wijl ik scheijden moet
Standard name of this melody	Wanneer ik scheiden moet
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	According to the Dutch Songs Database, the author of the text is Cornelis Sweerts.

Title	-
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	98
First line	Ach wat is het zoet daer twee beminnen
Standard name of this melody	C'est le dieu des eaux qui va paraître
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's
	(LWV 54/4). The text is Sweerts'.

Title	-
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	99
First line	O fillis zouden uwe jaeren
Standard name of this melody	Dans nos bois
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as Lully's
	(LWV 35/4).

Title	-
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	100
First line	Mijn zoetste Engelin wanneer zal't weese
Standard name of this melody	What shall I do to show
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	This melody was already recognized as
	Purcell's (Z627/18).

Title	-
Song number in Brussel KB: 19558	101
First line	Doen laest Climeene dwalen
Standard name of this melody	Als Atalante doden maakte
Tune indication	-
Concordances	
Comments	