Jaroslav Mráček:

INAUGURATORS OF BACH"S FRENCH STYLE THE "VINGT-QUATRE VIOLONS DU ROT" AND THEIR CONTEMPORARIES

Pioneering studies of seventeenth-century instrumental music at the French court were undertaken, at the beginning of this century, by Ecorcheville<sup>1</sup>, Prunières<sup>2</sup>, Botstiber<sup>3</sup>, and other distinguished scholars. Their research, by providing the background for the period of Henry IV, Louis XIII, and the magnificent "Roi de soleil", Louis XIV, made it possible for the present post-war generation to investigate specific questions raised by the broader issues considered in the early studies. Over the last twenty or more years, the systemmatic perusal of documents in the French archives has not only uncovered hitherto unknown facts about known musicians but also has revealed a vast substrata of musical activity far beyond the imagination of many writers from the turn of the century.

The music of the "Vingt-quatre violons du Roi", or the 24 violins, represents an important aspect of French instrumental music in the seventeenth century. As forerunners of Jean-Baptiste Lully's tenure in Paris, the "Grande Bande" was the single most significant factor in creating the French instrumental style which Lully was to adopt in his ballets and "tragédies lyriques" during the second half of the century. Subsequently, the French style was transmitted primarily through Lully's works to the music of German and other composers.

Over 100 years ago, in 1876, the French writer, Antoine-Ernest Roquet (Er. Thoinan, pseud.), wrote his Louis Constantin, Roi des violons, 1624-1657<sup>4</sup> and the study, "Un Bisaïeul de Molière," Recherches sur les Mazuel, musiciens des seizième et dix-septième siècles<sup>5</sup>. In 1906, Jules Écorcheville published his edition and commentary, Vingt suites d'orchestre du XVIIe siècle français, a two-volume study of the Cassel manuscript containing some music of the 24 violins<sup>6</sup>. Both these authors reflect an attempt to bring to light some of the facts concerning this early period of French music, the first, by delving into archival documents, the second, by making available the music and also presenting archival documentation. A complete picture can emerge only when there is a balance between archival documentation and transcription of musical sources.

Archival sources have been most problematic for the scholar. Indispensable has been the meticulous research of Madeleine Jurgens who published two volumes, Documents du Minutier central concernant l'histoire de la musique<sup>7</sup>, for the first half of the seventeenth century, and Yolande de Brossard's Musiciens de Paris 1535-1792<sup>8</sup>. Catherine Massip has published a study, La vie des musiciens de Paris au temps de Mazarin<sup>9</sup>. For the later seventeenth century, Marcelle Benoit's two studies, Musiques de cour: chapelle, chambre, écurie (1661-1733) and Versailles et les musiciens du Roi are very useful<sup>10</sup>.

The music of the 24 violins is preserved in three principal sources: the Uppsala  $MS^{11}$ , the Cassel  $MS^{12}$ , and the Ballard publication  $MS^{13}$ . In addition, there are a few compositions in the Philidor Collection  $MS^{14}$ , and a some individual pieces in loose folios in Cassel and Uppsala.

The Uppsala MS remained unpublished and relatively neglected until recently. For many years, the Cassel MS was considered the primary source, largely because of its early publicatio by Ecorcheville. Although its importance cannot be disputed, this writer has demonstrated that the provenance of the Uppsala MS is older, dating from

1651 to 1662, and also that it preserves a varied repertoire of the 24 violins. It is without doubt the source from which a number of compositions were copied into the Cassel MS without attribution as to the composer. Upwards of eleven French composers are represented in the Uppsala MS: Belleville, Constantin, Dumanoir, La Croi, La Haye (Laheÿ), Lavoÿ, Lazarin, Mazuel, Nau, Picart (Picard), and Verdier (Werdier). In addition, there is a German composer: Landgraff de Hesse and three German-Swedish composers: Andreas, Gustaf and Peter Düben.

The Cassel MS dates from 1658 to 1668<sup>15</sup>. The title of a piece in the Cassel MS, a "sarabande de "S.A. de Hesse" faite en 1"an 1650, "indicates the date of composition and not the date of its insertion into the MS. The Landgrave of Hessen, William VI (1629-1663), was in regular attendance at the Swedish Court before 1650<sup>16</sup>. In the Cassel MS, there are 12 known French composers: Artus, Bru(s)lar(d), Belleville, Dumanoir, De la Croix, La Haye, La Voÿs, La Zarin, Mazuel, Nau, Pinel, Werdier; 3 German composers: Dresen, Christian Herwig, D. Pohle, the German-Swedish composer, G(ustaf) D(üben), and numerous anonymous pieces, some of which are by the Dübens in the Uppsala MS.

In 1665, Robert Ballard published, in Paris, a collection, "Pièces pour le violon à quatre partie de Différents Autheurs" 17. It stands out as being virtually the only contemporary publication of the repertoire of the 24 violins. The collection contains thirty-one pieces, of which the majority are dances. In spite of the reference to "différents autheurs" in the title, there are only two names mentioned in the four partbooks. The title of No. 6 is "Bransles de Monsieur Brular", and in the "Haut-Contre" part-book, No. 18 has the designations, "Allemande de Monsieur Mayen.

The willful destruction in 1820 of Volume 17 of the Philidor Collection has deprived us of the pirmary source for the repertoire of the "Vingt-quatre violons du Roi". According to E.H. Fellowes, it was one of seven volumes used to provide material for binding other books. It is said to have contained "Airs and Branles composed for "les 24 violons" under Louis XIII and Louis XIV"18. Some of the composers represented in the MS were: Richamore, Belleville, Constantin, Lazarin, Branchu, Prévost, de la Harpe, Robichon, Dumanoir, and Boulard. Fortunately, some composers are preserved in the early volumes of the Philidor Collection. Volume 1 contains music by Belleville, Constantin, De La Vallez (sic: La Vallée?), De la Pierre (?), Dumanoir, Lazarin, Le Page, Mazuel, Robert Verdier, and Verpré<sup>19</sup>. Volume 2 has ballets from the reigns of Henry III, Henry IV, and Louis XIII, but no composers are identified<sup>20</sup>. Volume 3 contains ballets of the next generation up to Cardinal Richelieu<sup>21</sup>. There is an "Entrée Mr. de Verpré", an "Entrée Mademoiselle de la Barre", and a "Ballet de Mr. le Cardinal de Richelieu". Again, no composers are given, although the music would have been played by the 24 violins.

For the purposes of this paper, we shall consider only the French composers, and primarily those who appear in at least two sources, with a few exceptions. The following are in at least two sources: Belleville, Constantin, Dumanoir, La Croix, La Haye, Lavoÿ, Lazarin, Mazuel, Nau, and Verdier. To these we shall add Picart<sup>22</sup>.

The identity of the name Belleville eluded Ecorcheville in his 1906 study. He found references to "Le sieur de Belleville, instrumentiste, compositeur, organisateur de ballets, danseur et maître de danse", who held the position of musician at Court from about  $1620^{23}$ . There is a question whether one or two individuals are involved. Jurgens identified Belleville with Jacques de Montmorency, sieur de Belleville, or Jacques de Belleville<sup>24</sup>. In 1625, Jacques de Belleville is identified as "conducteur des ballets du Roi". On 9 August 1631, he writes a will, "Testament de Jacques de Montmorency,

sieur de Belleville", making a legacy to Daniel Rabel and his wife, Antoinette Guibour, to care for his natural daughter, Claire de Belleville. Ecorcheville cites a marriage contract drawn up on 27 May 1637 between Jacques de Belleville and Antoinette Guibourg (sic), the widow of Daniel Rabel<sup>25</sup>. Belleville"s death is documented when his widow, Antoinette Guibour files the holograph of his will on 2 January 1641<sup>26</sup>. In the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, the article, "Belleville", which does not identify him as Jacques de Montmorency, does, however, provide some additional information about his importance as a dancer<sup>27</sup>. A Jean de Montmorency is cited by Y. de Brossard, as a "maître joueur d"instruments", who on 7 November 1598 was the god-father to Jehan Thomas 28. It is possible that he may be identified with the person in the title, "Ballet du Roy, dit Jean de Belleville, ou le Testament des Ballets Dansé au Carnaval de L"an 1618", found in Volume 2 of the Philidor Collection<sup>29</sup>. There is a second ballet in the same volume by Belleville titled, "Ballet de M. de Mommorency"30. The New Grove article cites other ballets by Belleville. There are presently only two known allemandes by Belleville. The first is the "Allemande de Mr. Beluifle" (See Plate I) in Volume 1 of Philidor 31. The second, found in the Uppsala Collection, is titled, "Allamanda Mr. Belleville"32. A piece which appears in three sources and four variants has the titles: (1) "Testament à 5"33, (2) "Serenad Mr. Belleville à 5" or "Serenade Mons. de Belleville"34, and (3) "Les Testament du Sr: Belleville. à 4"35. The variant the first source, UUB, IMhs 134:22, is the most complete. Of the two variants in the second source, UUB, IMhs 409, the first is a fragment of (1), the second omits the "Quinte" between the "Taille" and the "Basse". The variant in the third source, the Cassel MS, has only the "Dessus" or upper voice common to the Uppsala versions. The lower three parts have been newly composed. Ecorcheville expresses the belief that the "Testament" was not by Belleville but was written as a memorial to him<sup>36</sup>. The question remains whether the Belleville of the early ballets of 1618 is Jean as opposed to the Jacques de Belleville of 1625 to 1641, who may be the composer of the "Testament".

One of the most famous members of the 24 violins was Louis Constantin. Antoine-Ernest Roquet, in the second half of the nineteenth century, wrote a pioneering study of Constantin<sup>37</sup>. More recently, this writer and Catherine Massip have presented new information about his life and works<sup>38</sup>. He war born near Paris in 1585 and died there, where he was buried 25 October 1757. According to Roquet, Constantin was married on 20 January 1610, to Marguerite de La Grange in the presence of Jehan (Jean) Constantin<sup>39</sup>. By 1619, he was appointed violon ordinaire de la chambre du roi, a position he sold, on 23 March 1644, to Christophe Hazart 40. In 1623, he became a "gouverneur et administrateur de la chapelle et hopital Saint-Julien"41. On the death of his friend, François Richomme, Constantin succeeded him and was invested by Louis XIII on 12 December 1624 with the title of the "Estat et office de Roy et Maître des Ménestriers et de tous les Ioueurs d'Instruments, tant hault que bas du royaume"42. This office conferred on him the responsibility and authority to maintain and protect the standards of the musicians" guild. As a celebrated virtuoso, his playing was extolled by Michel de Marolles in his "Memoires". Mersenne, in the Harmonie universelle, compares his playing favourably with that of Lazarin 43. Constantin was "Roy des Ménestriers" for thirty-three years. On his death he was buried at Saint-Sulpice in Paris. He was succeeded as "Roy des Ménestriers" by Guillaume Dumanoir I on 20 November 1657. In spite of the loss of Volume 17 of the Philidor Collection, one work, "La Pacifique" (Plate II), for six stringed instruments is preserved in Volume 1 of that collection 44. The largest collection of works by Constantin hitherto unnoticed is in the Uppsala MS which contains eight dances with Constantin's name. This probably represents a total of some twentyfive compositions, since the titles include two suites of branles, with dances following which, by their position, are unquestionably by  $\lim^{45}$ . In addition, six dances were published in Amsterdam: one in 1646 and five in 1649<sup>46</sup>.

Guillaume Dumanoir, thirty years Constantin"s junior, quickly rose into prominence not only as a violinist, but also as a respected dancing master. The musical climate of Paris; his place of birth, in 16 November 1615 and death in 1697, was rapidly changing during the last years of Constantin's tenure as "Roy des Ménestriers". Dumanoir was married on 25 September 1639 to Catherine Dupron in the presence of Louis Constantin<sup>47</sup>. In 1646, he married Marie Chevalier 48. His father, Mathieu Dumanoir, was present at both ceremonies. From Constantin's death, he led the Corporation of Saint-Julien until 1668. In 1654, he briefly left the "Grande Bande" but was reinstated on 24 January 1655, at the command of the young king, Louis XIV, into the position of twenty-fifth violinist and leader of the "Bande". His position was contantly challenged by various court musicians and dancers. The latter broke away from the quild and formed the "Académie de danse" in 1661. Dumanoir"s answer in 1664 was the pamphlet, "Le mariage de la musique avec la dance", arguing that one can write words to a melody, but that one cannot write a melody to a dance 49. In 1668, he conferred his royalty in the order of Saint-Julien to his son, Guillaume Michel Dumanoir. He continued to conduct the 24 violins for ballet productions, but with the advent of Jean-Baptiste Lully and the newly formed ensemble of twelve violins, the "Petits violons", Dumanoir"s popularity began to fade. No trace of him is found after 1690. His son, Guillaume Dumanoir, was relieved of his position as "Roi des violons" in 1695<sup>50</sup>. The works of Dumanoir, père, are found in the Philidor Collection, the Uppsala and Cassel MSS, and a publication in Frankfurt-am-Main of 1660<sup>51</sup>. In Volume 1 of the Philidor Collection, there are two dances: an "Allemande de Mr. Dumanoire" and a "Sarabande de Mr. Dumanoir"52. These are followed by a "Charivaris de Mr. Dumanoire en 1648" (Plate III), consisting of three "Airs"<sup>53</sup>. The Uppsala MS has one ascription to Dumanoir, the "l. Courante de Dumanon", and two anonymous dances: a "2 Courante" following, and a "Galliarda" preceeding the known piece, which by their position may be attributed to Dumanoir<sup>54</sup>. In the Cassel MS. there are two ascriptions: a dance bears the inscriptions, "Bransles de Mr. 'Du Manoir'", followed by a "Gay A mener, Gavotte, Courante en suite, 2. Courante, 3. Courante", and "La Sarabande"55. The second ascription is, "Courante 'Du manoir'"56.

The name La Croix poses somewhat of a problem. Two musicians La Croix, François and Adrien (father and son), arrived in Stockholm in 1651 and were active there until 1654<sup>57</sup>. Their name is found in the Uppsala and Cassel MSS, and also Adrien de La Croix appears in 1664 for six months on the lists of the 24 violins in Paris<sup>58</sup>. Otherwise, there is no reference to François or Adrien (de) La Crois during this time in Jurgens or Y. de Brossard. However, two allemandes are preserved, probably by Adrien de La Croix. The Cassel MS has an "Allemande du Sr. 'Da La Croix'"<sup>59</sup>. Unknown to Mme. Denise Launay in the MGG article<sup>60</sup>, a second anonymous allemande in Cassel can be identified by an incomplete piece in the Uppsala MS. The scribe in the Uppsala MS recorded an "Allamand La Croix" for five instruments<sup>61</sup>. However, he scored only the top three parts and the bass, and stopped copying nine measures from the end. In the Cassel MS, the anonymous "Allemande ex Gb moll"<sup>62</sup> is an exact copy, in four voices of the "Allemand La Croix" in Uppsala, with the missing last nine measures<sup>63</sup>.

Until recently, the identity of La Haye of the variant Lahaeÿ in Uppsala eluded scholars. The name occurs in the titles of pieces in the Uppsala and Cassel MSS. There are twelve works definitely by La Haye in the Uppsala MS, one of which is anonymous but has a concordance in Cassel. Seven additional pieces may be attributed to La Haye by

their position in the MS, making a total of nineteen pieces 64. The Cassel MS has the single title, "Sarabande de la Haye", a concordance for Uppsala No. 56, and three additional anonymous dances ascribed to Lahaeÿin Uppsala65. Ecorcheville attempted to identify the music with the musicians Louis and René La Haye, who were engaged in musical activities in the first part of the seventeenth century66. It was not until 1965 und 1967 that Yolande de Brossard and Madeleine Jurgens discovered the identity of La Haye. The first mention of him is found in document dated 31 October 1620 in which "Jean Crestot, dit La Haye, maître joneurs d'instruments" is party to an agreement between twelve instrument players 67. He is the son of Claude Crestot (died before 8 March 1626) ans Madeleine Cavillion<sup>68</sup>. Additional details about the Crestot family are given in Yolande de Brossard. Claude and Madeleine were married on 27 June 1594. Their second son Jean (Jehan) was baptized on 24 February 1601, and born the day before. He became "Maître à danser des pages de la grande écurie du roi" in 162369. According to Jurgens, "Jean Crestot, dit La Haye, maître joueurs d'instruments et violon de la chambre du roi" was married to Elisabeth Mahayne (Mahesne) on 21 July 1630<sup>70</sup>. On 30 June 1631, Jean Crestot, dit La Haye, "violon ordinaire de la chambre du roi" is accorded the charge of the "baladin ordinaire de la grande écurie du roi"71. Brossard notes that two weeks later, his first son Thomas was born (bap. 15 July 1631)72. There is documentation for five additional boys and two girls, some of whom died in infancy. In 1644, he is mentioned as "l'un des vingt-quatre violons du roi"73. His funeral is recorded on 10 January 1648<sup>74</sup>. Finally, his second oldest son, Philippe (bap. 7 August 1632) dies on 29 June 1650 at the home of his maternal grandfather, M. (Thomas) Mahayne<sup>75</sup>.

Another name which poses an identity problem is Lavoÿ, or alternately Lavoÿs. Compositions with the name appear in both the Uppsala and Cassel MSS. Hugo Riemann in his Handbuch der Musikgeschichte (the French edition) was the first to link him with La Voye-Mignot, a seventeenth-century French mathematician. Robert Siohan in his MGG article 76, and more recently, Albert Cohen in the New Grove 77 have written about La Voye-Mignot. Cohen discovered the year of his death as 1684. This writer found that the "Allamanda Mons: Lavoÿ" in Uppsala MS 78 and the "Allemande de "la voÿs" à 5" in Cassel 79 to be almost identical, except that the former is in four parts and the latter in five. There are also a few variant notes producing some changes in harmonic progression.

The name Lazarin, which occurs in the Uppsala, Cassel, and Philidor MSS (vol. 1 and the lost vol. 17) posed a problem for scholars. He is mentioned in the Quellen-Lexicon by Robert Eitner, who cites works in the Uppsala MS80 to which French scholars seemed at first indifferent. Not even Brossard, who has two entries, "Lazarin," and "Lazarin (Lazare)"81, and who seemed on the verge of discovery, was able to identify him. There is one document in Jurgens dated, 27 August 1640, which records the "Conventions matrimoniales" between "Lazaro Salami, dit Lazarin, ordinaire de la musique du cabinet du roi" (a native of Cremona, son of the deceased Jean-Baptiste Salami, a gentleman, and Laura Urbani, of Cremona) and Guyette Paille, his woman (sa femme), married at Saint-Germain-1'Auxerrois on 5 December 163482. In Brossard, Lazarin becomes engaged on 8 July 1645 to Marguerite Coulon, living at Lazarin's83. His fame as a violinist was compared by Mersenne to Bocan, who "sweetened it (their playing) as much as they wish and render it inimitable by certain ornaments which transport the soul"84. Lazarin is represented by three positive ascriptions in the Uppsala MS: a "Brandle de Mons: Lasarine", followed by eight dances completing the branle suite which undoubtedly are by him<sup>85</sup>; an "Allamande de Mons: Lasarine"; which is followed by two dances<sup>86</sup>; and a "Gigue de Mons: Lasarine", which closes a set of four anonymous dances<sup>87</sup>. In the Cassel MS, there is an "Allemande 'La Zarin'. à 4"<sup>88</sup>. The Philidor Collection, Volume 1, has two dances: a "Gailliarde" and "Courante" dated 1639. In the second dance (Plate IV), the upper part is by the dancer Verpré, with the remaining parts by Lazarin<sup>89</sup>. Lazarin was succeeded on his death in 1653 by Jean-Baptiste Lully.

The Mazuel family is representative of musicians whose ancestry reaches back into the sixteenth century. The family tree begins with two brothers, Adrien (dates unknown) and Guillaume (b. 1541-d. 1590), the sons of Jean Mazuel 90. The most celebrated member of this family is Michel Mazuel (b. 1603 - d. in Paris, 24 October 1676). He was the son of Jean Mazuel and grandson of Adrien. His cousins, Jean (b. 1594 - d. 1633) and Pierre Mazuel (b. 1605 - d. 1642), were descended from Guillaume Mazuel. Although he was also a cousin and exact contemporary of Molière, little is known of his early life beyond the fact that he studied composition with the organist of Notre-Dame or Saint-Leu. In 1695, his name is cited in a pamphlet condemning the "communauté des anciens jongleurs et Ménestriers de Paris"91. Early in his career, he collaborated in the production of numerous ballets during the reign of Louis XIV. Some of them from Volume 4 of the Philidor Collection are "Festes de Bacchus" (1651), "Dérèglement des Passions" (1652), and "Nopces de Pelée et Thétis" (1654). His fame and reputation lasted until 1690 when the king's librarian, André Philidor, wrote in the preface of Volume 4 of the Collection, commenting on the greatness of musicians of the past, that very few musicians of later times excepting Lully have equalled the good taste of men like "Mollier, Mazuel et Verpré"92. The king created a new position for Mazuel, that of "Compositeur de la musique des vingt-quatre violons de la chambre"93. However, this position lasted for only about one year. With the advent of Lully as court composer in 1653, Mazuel, like many others, was eclipsed. He remained at court, playing in the "Grande Bande" from 1643 to the time of his replacement on 16 February 1674 by Pierre Huquenet 94. He retired to the home of his son-in-law, Guillaume Lelièvre, where he died. The funeral was at Saint-Germain-le-Vieil on 24 October 167695. In addition to the ballets in Volume 4 of the Philidor Collection, Mazuel's known compositions include the "Allemande" (Plate V) in Volume 1, which has the additional superscription, "Suitte de Mr. Mazuel"96. Because of the notation, the three dances which follow are quite possibly by him. The copyist has prepared the score for five-voice compositions. However, only the upper and bass parts have been notated 97. A second dance, an "Allemande de Mr. Mazuele" is complete in five voices 98. In the Cassel MS there are three dances: an "Allemande", with a variant in Uppsala 99. The allemande is followed by six dances in suite formation, which may be by  $Mazuel^{100}$ . The remaining two dances are two "Courantes nouvelles de Mr. 'Mazuel' "101.

The composer, Nau, was unknown to Ecorcheville in the Cassel MS, who stated that "Nau et Delahaye ont en effet complètement échappé à nos recherches" 102. The name also poses a problem in orthography in the Uppsala MS103. In the MS, five names appear which bear a close resemblance to each other: "Nau", "Nau ae" (Nau as), "Noa", "Noe", and "Noë". Without elaborating the details already published, it may be said that the first spelling, "Nau", represents an old French family 104. The second spelling, "Nau ae" (Nau as), may be seen as a corruption of the name Nau, or a misspelling of the name Naudé. The last three may be a corruption of Nau or Naudé, but they may also represent a composers not as yet identified. There are musicians named Noe, but there are no violinists or composers during the seventeenth century. The first has been discovered to be a violinist and composer. Until the New Grove Dictionary was published, he was not listed in any of the standard reference sources, except the Eitner Quellen-Lexicon.

Eitner lists one "Stephanus Nau, Gallus Aureliensis", who was enscribed as a "musikus", i.e., musician, at the University of Leyden on 11 June 1627<sup>105</sup>. He was born in Orléans, circa 1600, as Estienne Nau, and died in London, cicra 18 May 1661. There is no record of his activities in Paris, so it must be assumed that he went directly from Leyden to London in 1627, where he entered the Chapel Royal of Charles I as a violinist. His name appears in a variety of documents in the Lord Chamberlain's records 106. In a document of 1630 for the payment of liveries, his name undergoes various changes: Mr. Nawes, Stephen Nawe, Stephen Nwa, and Mr. Noe107. In connection with the performance on 3 February 1634 of James Shirley's masque, "The Triumpf of Peace", he is listed as one of the "fifteen king's violins ... (who) played for the dances of the masquers, for the revels and probably for the anti-masques as well"108. In 1641, he is listed as "Estienne Nau, composer" along with Simon Nau (relation not stated), Nicholas Picart, and others 109. The names Lanier, Ferrabosco, Bassano, Tomkins, and Lawes stand out as his contemporaries. During the Commonwealth, from 1644 to 1660, there is no record of his activities, because of a hiatus in the Lord Chamberlain's records. However, it was in the years 1653 to 1654 that an English embassy led by Bulstrode Whitelocke visited the Swedish court of Queen Kristina. English music was brought to Stockholm, where it was copied into the manuscript of the resident French orchestra. Whitelocke describes the Court entertainments: "The queen ... first daunced the brawles", then out of politeness to the English guests were danced "english countrey daunces, wherein the english gentlemen were experts"110. After the Restoration, neither Stephen nor Simon Nau continued as violinists at the court of Charles II. A list of "Musitians of the private Musick", dated 16 June 1660, names "Richard Hudson, a violin in Symon Nau's Place", and "George Hudson, in Mr. Noe's place for violin"111. The Mr. Noe is undoubtedly Stephen Nau because a subsequent list of "Composers for the violins" confirms the appointment of "George Hudson in the place of Estien Nau"112. The following month, on 14 July 1660, "Stephen Nau (was) apppointed musician upon the lute in the place of Monsieur Mercuer (Mercure), desceased"113. Subsequently, his death was announced in a warrant issued on 18 May 1661114. There is one composition of Nau's'in the Uppsala MS with the positive ascription, "Pauan de Mons Nau"115. It has a certain "English" style in its five-part texture and its slow polyphonic writing. The form is tripartite, A B C, each section is repeated. The B section has a short change from duple to triple metre. In the Cassel MS, the "Ballet du Sr 'Nau'" in five voices consists of six "entrées" or sections in varying dance rhythms typical of the French ballets in the Philidor Collection 116. It may be considered the type probably danced at the court of Charles I, and later in Stockholm and Cassel. The connection of Gabriel Naudé (b. Paris, 2 February 1600 - d. Abbeville, 30 July 1653) to the MS is still largely circumstantial. There is no doubt that the French bibliographer participated in the ballets in Stockholm between January and July 1653117. This is undoubtedly demonstrated by the title of a piece in the Uppsala MS, a "Galliard Mons; Nau ae"118. Variations in orthography are not unusual in this MS. Witness the use of "Belleville" for Belleville, "Dumanon" for Dumanoir, "Lahaeÿ" for La Haye, "Lasarine" for Lazarin, and others. From the manner in which the name "Nau ae" has been printed by the scribe in the MS, it is conceivable that the second "a" was intended to be a "d", since the shape of the printed "a" forms the lower part of the letter "d" without the vertical stem. If the stem is attached to the second "a", the name does in fact become "Nau dé". It may therefore be surmised that he is the composer of the "Galliard Mons: Nau ae". The remaining designations: "Noa", "Noe", and "Noë" are more problematic. Since no composers have been found by those names, they are more than likely variants of either

Nau or Naudé. Therefore, four pieces, because of variant spellings, can be attributed to Nau or Naudé<sup>119</sup>, and by their position in the MS following the "Galliard de Mons: Noe", five dances may be attributed to Noe (Nau or Naudé) $^{120}$ .

The name Picart as it is found in the MS, or the alternate, Picard, is not uncommon during the seventeenth century. The composer in question is Nicolas Picart (Picard), who has music preserved only in the Uppsala MS. Nicolas Picart was one of the original six French violinists to arrive in Stockholm in 1647 from Paris<sup>121</sup>. Both Brossard and Jurgens have documents relating to musicians with the name Picart (Picard). Brossard lists a seventeenth-century Nicolas Picart who flourished in Paris between 1608 and 1618<sup>122</sup>. Jurgens also cites a Nicolas Picart who flourished in Paris between 1609 and 1614<sup>123</sup>, and who was born circa 1590<sup>124</sup>. Besides the preceeding Picart, who becomes a "maître joueur d'instruments" in Paris, Jurgens lists a Nicolas Picart, who on 18 June 1644, is described as "ordinaire de la musique du Roi et de la Reine de Grande-Bretagne"125. This Picart is in all probability the violinist who was in the Lord Chamberlain's records on 15 Juli 1628, in a list which included Estienne Nau<sup>126</sup>. On a list for 12 April 1631, he is described as a performer on the treble violin 127. He also participated in James Shirley's masque, "The Triumph of Peace", performed at the Court of Charles I in Whitehall on 3 February  $1634^{128}$ . Subsequently, his name appears in the Lord Chamberlain's records on 8 November 1641, in a petition to the Earl of Essex signed also by Etienne and Simon Nau<sup>129</sup>. Subsequent to the Puritan reform in England, Picart returned to France, where for a time he was in the service of the exiled Queen of England, alluded to earlier 130. In 1646, he was one of the original "six French violinists" engaged by Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie for the Swedish Court 131. He remained in Stockholm from 1647 to 1649. No additional information about his activities in Sweden has been found. His name recurs in an entry for 18 June 1660 of the Lord Chamberlain's records regarding the "Appointment of John Strong, one of the violins in ordinary, in the place of Nicholas Pickard (also 'Picard') and of Robert Strong in the place of Thomas Warren, deceased" 132. In order to reorganize the King's Musick, old lists had probably been used in order to determine what positions were vacant. Nicolas Picart, therefore, was a French violinist who was alternately in the service of the French and English kings, and for a time, he was engaged at the court of Queen Kristina in Stockholm. The Uppsala MS contains a "Branle de Mons: Picart". Undoubtedly the remaining seven dances of the suite are also by Picart 133.

The name Verdier or its variant, Werdier, in the Uppsala MS, represents a very distinguished family of French violinists and composers. The composer in question is Pierre Verdier (Werdier), a French violinist who came to Stockholm with the original "six French violinists" 134. In the New Grove Dictionary article, Eric Kjellberg expresses some doubt about the relationship of Verdier's probable relationship to French musicians of the time with the same surname 135. One could express the same misgivings about the relationship of the "Stephanus Nau" in Leyden in 1627 described by Eitner and the "Estienne Nau" who is a composer of music for the violins at the Court of Charles I in London in 1628; or the relationship between the Nicolas Picart, a contemporary of Nau in London, and the Nicolas Picart who is in Paris in 1644, and the Nicolas Picart who accepts the position of violinist at the Swedish Court in 1646. In all cases, the amout of documentation is at best minimal, but there are certain points of contact, a coincidence of events or dates which make identification possible between musicians with the same name who are contemporary. The name Verdier or its variant Werdier appears in Volume 1 of the Philidor Collection, in several Uppsala MSS, and in the Cassel MS. Pierre I, as he will be known, was born according to Brossard 136 in Paris on 4 November 1627. He is the son of Robert Verdier I by his second wife, Jeanne Hibou. Among the many children in his family, Pierre I has an older brother, Robert II, the son of Robert I and his first wife, Elizabeth Robin 137. Robert II was born on 30 January 1920. Many documents are still needed to complete our knowledge of the relationships between these two half-brothers, but one interesting fact emerges from the documents in Brossard. In 1644, Robert II had a child by a servant named Perrette Guedon. The child was baptized on 8 June 1644 with the name Pierre, which for our purposes will be Pierre II. Present at the ceremony as godmother was the stepmother of Robert II, Jeanne Hibou. This chain of events has now made Pierre I the uncle of his namesake, Pierre II, with an age difference of approximately seventeen years. Three years later, in 1647, at the age of twenty, Pierre I left home for Sweden never to return. As the New Grove article states, he was very successful in his work in Stockholm and remained there for the rest of his life, even after the French orchestra gradually dissolved. His style gradually evolved as new composers arrived with new stimuli from abroad. With the present documentation under consideration, this writer maintains that there were indeed two Verdiers in Stockholm during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and that they were not brothers, nor father and son but rather uncle and nephew. This writer, in his dissertation twenty years ago, presented evidence in the form of contemporary signatures and the handwriting variations in the Düben Collection MSS to demonstrate the existence of two individuals 138. The music in Volume 1 of the Philidor Collection is by Robert Verdier I. There is a composition titled, "Charivaris Composé par Robert Verdié en 1620"139 (Plate VI). In the Uppsala MS, there are fifteen titles with an ascription or concordance to Pierre Verdier 140. In addition, there are also thirty-three works which, because of their position in the MS, may be attributed to Verdier 141. The Cassel MS has two ascriptions to Verdier: the "Allemande 'Verdier'"142 and the "3. Courante de Mr. 'Werdier' "143. The Courante in Cassel is a concordance of the Uppsala MS, "3: Courant: Mons: Werdier" 144. Common to both MSS, there are four additional dances which are in suite formation in both sources. In Uppsala, the four dances are: Nos. 80-83, "Allamanda", "1. Courante", 2. Courant", and "Saraband". They have been attributed to Verdier because of their position 145. They precede the "Bransle Mons: Werdier" (Plate VII), No. 84 in the MS. In the Cassel MS, the four dances are anonymous, but they are combined with the "3. Courante de Mr. 'Werdier' "146. In the Cassel MS, therefore, they form a suite within Suite XIII: "Allemande", "1. Courante", 2. Courante", "3. Courante de Mr. 'Werdier'" and "Sarabande"147. Consequently, the "3. Courante", common to both sources, assists in establishing an attribution to Pierre Verdier of the four dances in both sources and also serves as a concluding dance, No. 92, in the Uppsala branle suite of Verdier.

In conclusion, it is possible, within the limits of this paper, to make only a few observations about the music and style of this French repertoire. The Uppsala MS contains 213 pieces, mostly dance music: allemandes, courantes, sarabandes, gigues, branles of various types, one bourrée, pavanes and galliards – a total of 206 pieces. The remaining seven compositions are improvisatory or character pieces. The dances are arranged into thirty-five suites. There are nine branles suites comprising the dances branle gaÿ, amener, double, montirandé, gavotte, with usually an introductory movement and the concluding dances: courantes and a sarabande. In addition, twenty-two suites begin with an allemande and may be subdivided into ten categories. The details are given in the printed edition 148.

The dances in the Cassel MS were published as twenty suites. In reality the number is closer to forty suites with categories similar to the Uppsala source. In addition,

some suites are also designated as ballets. Volume 1 of the Philidor Collection has 121 pieces which are mostly unrelated movements of single dances such as branles, allemandes, courantes, pavanes, galliards, passpieds, airs, and a few descriptive pieces: for example charivaris, Les Suissesse, Les Gascons, and Les Ameriquains. Fifteen of the pieces were presented in concert before Louis XIII in 1627 by the "Vingt-quatre violons du Roi" and the "12 (douze) Hautbois". "Concert donné à Louis 13 an 1627 par les vint quatre viollons et par les 12 Hautbois de plusieurs Airs choisis de Différents Ballets" (Plate VIII). Nils Schiørring has written about the significance of the allemande as the forerunner of the French Overture, perfected by Lully in the second half of the seventeenth century 150. The music of this repertoire represents an important early phase of Baroque orchestral music and played a significant role in the development of the French orchestral style which was transmitted through Lully to Bach's predecessors: Pachelbel, George Muffat, J.K.F. Fischer and others. It is indeed noteworthy to study this music when considering the French style in the works of Johann Sebastian Bach.

## Notes

- Jules Ecorcheville, Vingt suites d'orchestre du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle français; publiées ...
  d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Cassel ... 2 vols., Paris 1906; repr.
  New York 1970, henceforth cited as Écorcheville.
- 2) Henry Prunières, Le ballet de cour en France avant Benserade et Lully, suivi du Ballet de la délivrance de Renaud, Paris 1914.
- 3) Hugo Botstiber, Geschichte der Ouverture und der freien Orchesterformen, Leipzig
  1913.
- 4) Antoine-Ernest Roquet (Er. Thoinan, pseud.), Louis Constantin, Roi des violons, 1624-1657, Paris 1878. First publ. in Chronique musicale, 11 (1876): 249-254.
- 5) ---, "Un Bisaĭeul de Molière", Recherches sur les Mazuel, musiciens des siezième et dix-septième siècle ..., Paris 1878.
- 6) Ecorcheville.
- 7) Madeleines Jurgens, Documents du Minutier central concernant l'histoire de la musique 1600-1650, 2 vols., Paris 1967-1974.
- 8) Yolande de Brossard, Musiciens de Paris, 1535-1792, ... d'après le Fichier Laborde ..., Paris 1965.
- 9) Catherine Massip, La vie des musiciens de Paris au temps de Mazarin (1643-1661), Paris 1976.
- 10) Marcelle Benoit, Musiques de cour: chapelle, chambre, écurie, 1661-1733, Paris 1971; Versailles et les musiciens du Roi, 1661-1733, Paris 1971.
- 11) Jaroslav J.S. Mrávek, Seventeenth-Century Instrumental Dances in Uppsala, University Library IMHs 409: A Transcription and Study, 2 vols., Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1965; Seventeenth-Century Instrumental Dance Music in Uppsala University Library Instr. mus. hs 409, in: Monumenta Musicae Svecicae, vol. 8, Stockholm 1976, henceforth, MMS.

- 12) Ecorcheville.
- 13) Pièces de violon à quatre parties de différents autheurs, Paris 1665. I encorpt (0)
- 14) La Collection Philidor (Phil), selected volumes in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.
- 15) Mráček, Diss., 1: 205. The Landgrave of Hessen, William VI, was in regular attendance at the Swedish Court before 1650.
- 16) Mráček, MMS, vol. 8, p. 15\*.
- 17) Copy in Uppsala, University Library, Instrumental Musik i Tryck pp. 27-30.
- 18) E.H. Fellowes, The Philidor Manuscripts: Paris, Versailles, Tenbury, in: ML 12 (1931), p. 117, "In 1820, seven volumes, Nos. 17, 25, 26, 30, 34, 45 and 52 were wantonly destroyed by a subordinate official in the Conservatoire, named Hottin, in order to provide material for binding other books".
- 19) Phil., 1, Paris, B.N., Bibl. du Cons., Rés. F 494 (olim 8214).
- 20) Phil., 2, Ibid., Rés. F. 496 (olim 8215).
- 21) Phil., 3, Ibid., Rés. F 497 (olim 8216). Was disemped boy sidelineed of disem (Oc.
- 22) I wish to thank François Lesure for bringing to my attention additional sources for the "Vingt-Quatre Violons".
- 23) Ecorcheville 1, p. 11.
- 24) Jurgens 1 (1967), pp. 301-303.
- 25) Ecorcheville 1, p. 12n.
- 26) Jurgens 1, p. 302.
- 27) New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 1980 ed., s.v. "Belleville", by Margaret M. McGowen.
- 28) Brossard, p. 220.
- 29) Phil. 2, p. 142.
- 30) Ibid., p. 168.
- 31) Phil. 1, p. 111.
- 32) Mráček, MMS, vol. 8, No. 44.
- 33) UUB, IMhs 134, p. 22.
- 34) First version incompl. in UUB, IMhs 409, new fol. 20v-30r; and second version transcribed in Mráček, MMS, vol. 8, No. 139.
- 35) Cassel MS in Ecorcheville 2, p. 198.
- 36) Ecorcheville 1, p. 12.
- 37) Roquet.
- 38) Mráček, Diss., 1, pp. 49-54 and MMS, vol. 8, p. 11\*; New Grove, s.v., "Constantin, Louis", by Catherine Massip.

- 39) Roquet, p. 6.
  - 40) Jurgens 1, p. 174.
  - 41) Ibid., p. 148.
  - 42) Roquet, p. 8.
  - 43) Ibid., p. 7n.
  - 44) Phil. 1, pp. 32-38.
  - 45) For details, see Mráček, Diss. 1, pp. 52-54.
  - 46) RISM 1646<sup>11</sup>, 1649<sup>7</sup>.
  - 47) Jurgens 1, p. 158.
  - 48) Ibid., p. 159.
  - 49) Guillaume Dumanoir, Le mariage de la musique avec la danse, Paris 1664; Microcard: University of Rochester 1955.
  - 50) Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, s.v., "Dumanoir", by Eugene Borrel.
  - 51) RISM 1660<sup>5</sup>, two dances.
- 52) Phil. 1, pp. 24-25.
- 53) Ibid., pp. 26-28.
- 54) Mráček, MMS, vol. 8, Nos. 167, 168, 166 respectively.
- 55) Ecorcheville 2, pp. 112-120 (Suite IX). The remaining dances are probably not part of the suite (J.M.).
- 56) Ibid., p. 133.
- 57) Tobias Norlind, Frân tyska kyrkans glansdagar ..., 3 vols., Stockholm 1944-1945, 2, p. 94.
- ·58) Benoit, p. 11.
- 59) Ecorcheville 2, p. 86 (Suite VII).
- 60) MGG, s.v., "La Croix", by Denise Launay.
- 61) Mráček, MMS, vol. 8, p. 275.
- 62) Ecorcheville 2, pp. 177-179.
- 63) This writer now identifies the composer as Adrien rather than François de La Croix.
- 64) Mráček, MMS, vol. 8, ascribed Nos. 46, 48, 56 (concordance in Cassel), 77, 79, 131, 134, 169, 180; attributed Nos. 49-55.
- 65) Ibid., Nos. 77-79.
- 66) Ecorcheville 1, p. 9.
- 67) Jurgens 2 (1974), pp. 194, 381-382.
- 68) Ibid., pp. 194-195.

- 69) Brossard, pp. 76-77.
- 70) Jurgens 2, p. 195.
- 71) Jurgens 1, p. 151.
- 72) Brossard, p. 77. morbus and yet asibuda paleotich and eas , you'de beliadeb a not (50)
- 73) Ibid. Crove, and Verce of Plants, by the head to be the property of the pr
- 74) Ibid.
- 75) Ibid.
- 76) MGG, s.v., "La Voye-Mignot, de", by Robert Siohan.
- 77) New Grove, s.v., "La Voye-Mignot, de", by Albert Cohen.
- 78) Mráček, MMS, vol. 8, No. 42.
- 79) Ecorcheville 2, p. 19. The an (Carr) at 2MAS and record to popular a voltida
- 80) Robert Eitner, Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon, 11 vols., repr. Graz 1959-1960, vol. 6, p. 88.
- 81) Brossard, p. 174.
- 82) Jurgens 1, pp. 294-295.
- 83) Brossard, p. 174.
- 84) Marin Mersenne, Harmonie universelle, Paris 1636, quoted in Écorcheville 1, 16.
  Trans. by this writer.
- 85) Mráček, MMS, vol. 8, Nos. 11-19.
- 86) Ibid., Nos. 58-60.
- 87) Ibid., Nos. (94-97), 98. (94-97), 98. (711)
- 88) Ecorcheville 2, p. 147.
- 89) Phil. 1, pp. 119 and 126.
- 90) See Jurgens 1, p. 38 for the Mazuel genealogy.
- 91) Roquet, p. 30.
- 92) Phil., p. 4, "Preface".
- 93) Roquet, pp. 33-34.
- 94) Benoit, p. 43.
- 95) Roquet, p. 37.
- 96) Phil., 1, p. 47.
- 97) Ibid., pp. 47-53.
- 98) Ibid., pp. 69-70.
- 99) Ecorcheville 2, p. 9; Mráček, MMS, vol. 8, No. 203.

- 100) Ecorcheville 2, pp. 13-18.
- 101) Ibid. pp. 151-153.
- 102) Ecorcheville 1, p. 9.
- 103) For a detailed study, see the following studies by the author: Diss. 1, pp. 88-98; the commentary in MMS, vol. 8, pp. 16\*-18\*; and the New Grove, "Nau", "Naudé".
- 104) Dictionary of National Biography, 14, pp. 125-126; La Grande encyclopédie, 24, p. 848.
- 105) Eitner, 7, p. 150.
- 106) H.C. de Lafontaine, The King's Musick, London 1909, pp. 64ff.
- 107) Ibid., pp. 74-75, 78, 99, 114. TadiA vd 1 ab .dong H-ayov al ... ... ... ... ... ... (1)
- 108) Murray Lefkowitz, The Longleat Papers of Bulstrode Whitelocke; New Light on Shirley's Triumpg of Peace, in: JAMS 18 (1965), p. 47.
- 109) Lafontaine, pp. 110-111.
- 110) Bulstrode Whitelocke, A Journal of the Swedish Embassy, rev. ed., 2 vols., London 1855, 1, p. 293.
- 111) Lafontaine, p. 114.
- 112) Ibid.
- 113) Ibid., p. 115.... Hermonie universelle, Paris 1535, quoted in Coorcean Mars (AS
- 114) Ibid., p. 132.
- 115) Mráček, MMS, vol. 8, No. 140.
- 116) Ecorcheville 2, pp. 25-30.
- 117) La Grande encyclopédie, 24, p. 849; Nouvelle biographie générale, 37, pp. 513-518.
- 118) Mráček, MMS, vol. 8, No. 41.
- 119) Ibid., Nos. 40, 71, 119, 120.
- 120) Ibid., Nos. 121-125.
- 121) Ibid., p. 9\*, n. 1.
- 122) Brossard, p. 238.
- 123) Jurgens 1, pp. 422ff.
- 124) Ibid. 2, p. 336.
- 125) Ibid., p. 327.
- 126) Lafontaine, p. 66.
- 127) Ibid., p. 76.
- 128) Lefkowitz, p. 47.
- 129) Lafontaine, p. 108.
- 130) Jurgens 2, p. 327.

- 131) See note 121.
- 132) Lafontaine, p. 114.
- 133) Mráček, MMS, vol. 8, Nos. 170 (171-177).
- 134) See note 121.
- 135) New Grove, s.v., "Verdier, Pierre", by Erik Kjellberg.
- 136) Brossard, p. 281.
- 137) Ibid.
- 138) Stockholm, Slottsarkivet, Hans Kongel Maytz Cassa Rechningh Pro Anno 1662, fol. 125-126; Sthlm., Riksarkivet, Biographica W 22; and Sthlm., Riks., E 1595 in Mráček, Diss. 1, p. 105-107.
- 139) Phil. 1, p. 31.
- 140) Mráček, MMS, 8, Nos. 20, 39, 45, 47, 57, 84, 92, 99, 100, 114, 188, 204, 205, 206. See Mráček, Diss. 1, p. 107-109. Nos 204 and 205 are ascribed rather than attributed to Pierre Verdier.
- 141) Mráček, Diss. 1, pp. 108-109.
- 142) Ecorcheville 2, p. 229 (Suite XVIII).
- 143) Ibid., p. 167 (Suite XIII).
- 144) Mráček, MMS, vol. 8, No. 92.
- 145) Idem, Diss. 1, p. 108.
- 146) Cf. note 143.
- 147) Ecorcheville 2, p. 163-169 (Suite XIII).
- 148) Mráček, MMS, vol. 8, p. 26\*.
- 149) Phil. 1, p. 1.
- 150) Nils Schiørring, Allemande og fransk ouverture, in: Festskrift udgivet af Københavns Universitet, Copenhagen 1957.











Plate V

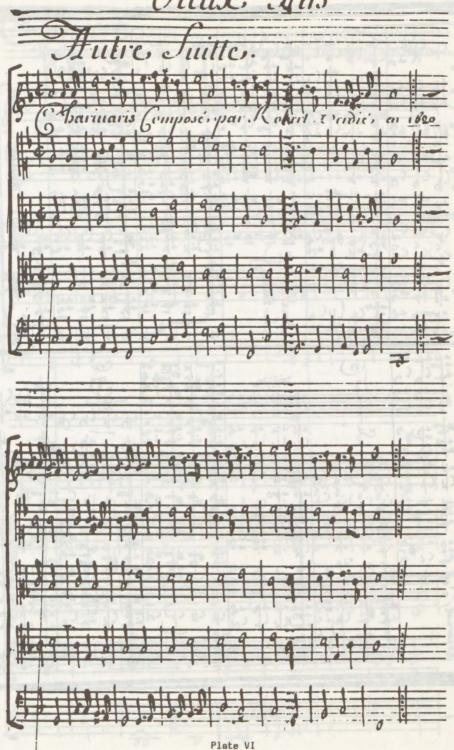
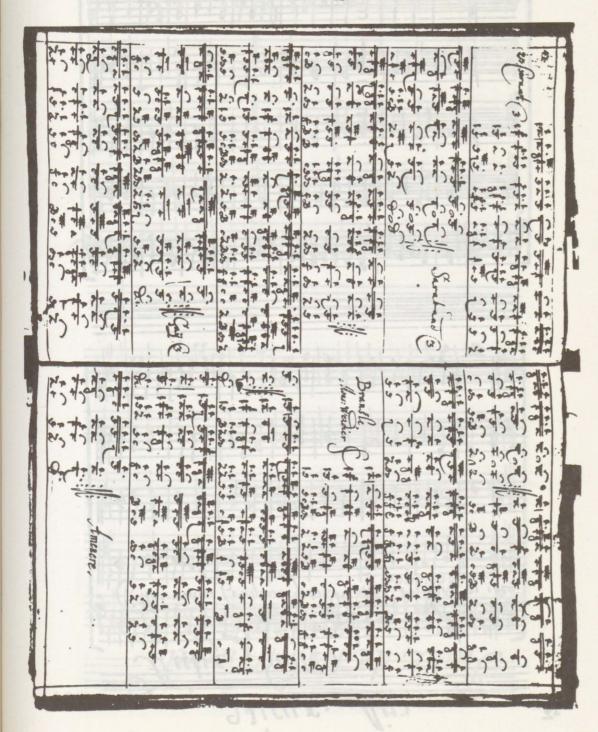


Plate VII



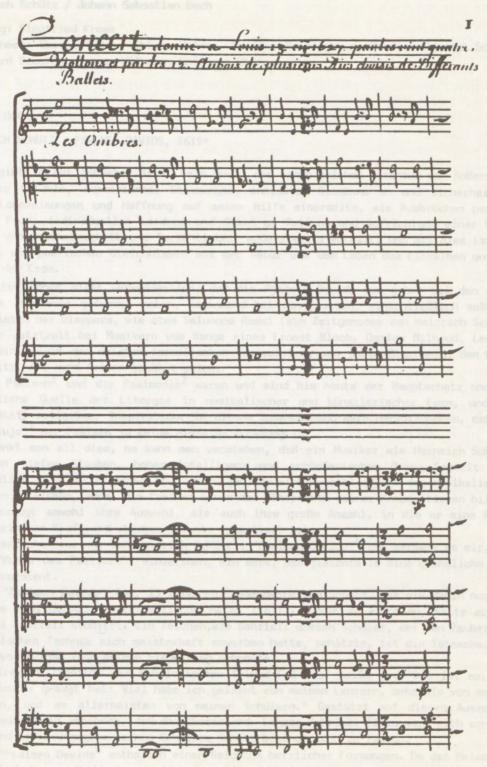


Plate VIII