

**OUTLANDISH AUTHORS: INNOCENZO FEDE AND MUSICAL PATRONAGE
AT THE STUART COURT IN LONDON AND IN EXILE**

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
LIST OF FIGURES	v
ABSTRACT.....	vi
CHAPTER ONE: Introduction	1
Extant Sources for the Stuart Court Culture	5
Stuart Musical Artifacts	9
Historical Context	20
The Restoration.....	29
Stuart Catholicism and the Catholic Chapel	41
The Exile of James II	43
CHAPTER TWO: Stuart Musical Patronage.....	48
The Restoration.....	53
The Organization of Music at the Stuart Court in London	60
The Chapel Royal	63
Music of The Catholic Chapel	69
French Musical Culture Under Louis XIV	76
The French Adoption of Cantata.....	89
Stuart Musical Patronage in Exile.....	94
Mary of Modena as Musical Patron.....	95
Innocenzo Fede and the Musicians of the Exiled Court	104
Interaction between the French and Stuart Courts.....	108
Mary's Patronage of Cantata	115
Conclusions.....	120
CHAPTER THREE: The Arias and Cantatas of Innocenzo Fede	123
Surviving Fede Cantata Repertoire.....	133
Poetic Texts set by Fede	141
Texts from Ariberto e Flavio	149
Music of the Recitative	155
Music of the Aria	165
The Arias of Numeri amorosi	172
General observations.....	181
Conclusions.....	185

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER THREE	186
CHAPTER FOUR: The Sonatas of Innocenzo Fedè	197
Sonata #1—G minor “Sonata per Il Flauto solo”	210
Sonata #4—D minor “Sonata di Camera”	222
Sonata #5—C major “Seguita a 3 flauti”	230
General Observations.....	237
Conclusions.....	238
CHAPTER FIVE: Conclusions	240
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	246

LIST OF FIGURES

2.1	Purcell, Sonata no. 1 in G minor	67
3.1	Titles and Lengths of Fede's cantatas and arias	124
3.2	Scarlatti, "Lascia piu di tormentarmi"	128
3.3	Campra, "Sévère Sagasse"	130
3.4	Fede, Cantatas with Movements	137
3.5	Fede, Independent Arias	140
3.6	Texts by Rinaldo Cialli set by Fede	151
3.7	Text of "Ha torto, bella bocca"	154
3.8	Text of "Ardo, sospiro e peno"	157
3.9	Fede, "Ardo, sospiro e peno," mm. 1–19	158
3.10	Text of "Ma poscia che con lei"	159
3.11	Fede, "Ma poscia che," mm. 1–7	160
3.12	Fede, "Presso un fiume tranquillo," mm. 1–3	161
3.13	Fede, "Rispose d'amor piena," mm. 1–3	162
3.14	Fede, "Dunque con lieto core," mm. 1–3	162
3.15	Fede, "Sì sì con voglie accese," mm. 1–3	163
3.16	Fede, "Onde in sì dolci tempore," mm. 1–3	164
3.17	Fede, "Per vooi lumi adorati," mm. 1–29	167
3.18	Fede, "Seci potesse l'oro," mm. 1–16	169
3.19	Fede, "Su dunque voglio bere," mm. 1–21	171
3.20	Fede, "Quante son queste arene," mm. 1–40	174
3.21	Fede, "Quante la terra ha foglie," mm. 1–10	175
3.22	Fede, "Quante l'aria augelletti," mm. 1–32	177
3.23	Fede, "Facciam concordi amanti," mm. 1–36	179
4.1	Couperin, <i>La Steinquerque</i> , mvmt. 1, mm. 1–34	204
4.2	Couperin, <i>La Steinquerque</i> , mvmt. 3, mm. 1–14	206
4.3	List of Fede Sonatas	209
4.4	Fede, Sonata no. 1 in G minor, mvt. 1	212
4.5	Fede, Sonata no. 1 in G minor, mvt. 2	214
4.6	Fede, Sonata no. 1 in G minor, mvt. 3	216
4.7	Fede, Sonata no. 1 in G minor, mvt. 4	220
4.8	Fede, Sonata no. 4 in D minor, mvt. 1	224
4.9	Fede, Sonata no. 4 in D minor, mvt. 2	227
4.10	Fede, Sonata no. 4 in D minor, mvt. 3	228
4.11	Fede, Sonata no. 4 in D minor, mvt. 4	229
4.12	Fede, Sonata no. 5 in C major, mvt. 1	232
4.13	Fede, Sonata no. 4 in D minor, mvt. 2	234
4.14	Fede, Sonata no. 4 in D minor, mvt. 3	236

ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyzes musical patronage at the courts of Charles II (r. 1660–1685) and James II (r. 1685–1688) and argues that the 1688 exile of the Stuart court to Saint-Germain-en-Laye, near Paris, was a key catalyst for the introduction of foreign musical styles in France in the post-Lully era. It focuses on the music of Stuart court composer Innocenzo Fede (ca. 1660–ca. 1732) who presided over the substantially Italian musical culture at the exiled court. In the wake of the pioneering work of Edward Corp in the early 1990s scholars have recognized the exiled Stuart court as an important center for the cultivation Italian music in France. This study, however, is the first to engage Fede’s secular chamber music analytically, and includes an examination of his cantatas, independent arias, and sonatas. It also identifies Queen Mary of Modena (1658–1718), the Italian wife of James II, as the primary patron of music and art at the exiled Stuart court. This analysis of Fede’s music not only illuminates his obscure oeuvre, but also provides a new perspective on the activities of Mary of Modena as a musical patron, highlighting her potentially surprising support of secular music. This dissertation argues that a politically and religiously motivated English receptivity to foreign styles stimulated the French adoption of Italian forms, and suggests that Fede’s contribution to the transmission of Italian cantata in France was more significant than previously recognized.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In 1688 the birth of a male heir to the Catholic king and queen of England, James II and Mary of Modena, stimulated among their Protestant subjects a storm of anti-Catholic hysteria. Fearing that a new order of papist oppression was imminent, seven members of the English parliament invited William of Orange, Prince of the Netherlands, to mount an invasion in order to replace James II as king of England. By November, the Stuart court was shattered by the desertion of the king's army in the face of the advancing Dutch force.

Early in December Queen Mary and her infant son crossed the English Channel seeking refuge with King Louis XIV of France, followed closely by King James, fleeing in disguise and desperate to avoid the fate of his father who had been executed by his subjects nearly forty years earlier. The king reached the safety of Paris during the first week of 1689, where he joined his wife, a handful of servants, and his host and protector Louis XIV.

Exiled in 1689, James II and his son James III were for nearly a half-century recognized by many throughout the continent as the rightful sovereigns of the United Kingdom (*de lege* if not *de facto*), despite the fact that the Stuarts were never to succeed

in their efforts to reclaim the English throne.¹ During the two decades surrounding the turn of the eighteenth century, the French King Louis XIV supported the Jacobites (as the supporters of James II were known), housing them in his palace at Saint-Germain-en-Laye and granting them generous financial support. There the Stuarts established their court in exile and pursued a very royal existence, if not the lifestyle to which they had been accustomed in their homeland. More importantly for this study, the Stuart court in exile, guided by the Italian Queen Mary of Modena and the Italian music director Innocenzo Fede, featured a musical culture that overwhelmingly favored Italian genres. That this musical culture sprang into being just outside of Paris and well within the social milieu of French royal society at nearly the precise moment that Parisian composers conceived an explosion of interest in the Italian styles championed by the Stuart court seems unlikely to have been strictly coincidence. Can the musical tastes and patterns of artistic patronage advanced by the exiled Stuarts help to explain the surge in pro-Italian musical activity among French composers during the 1690s?

Ironically, since until recently scholars of English music have focused on musical culture at the court in London almost to the exclusion of the exiled Stuart court in France, the scholar who first identified the musicological significance of the exiled Stuart court was not a musicologist at all, but the British historian Edward Corp.² Corp is the author

¹For a comprehensive and illuminating account of the unsuccessful Stuart attempts at re-ascension under James II, see Peter Earle, *The Life and Times of James II* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972). A very thorough account of the circumstances and activities of the court through the “reign” of James III is found in Edward Corp, *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689–1718*, with contributions by Edward Greig, Howard Erskine-Hill, Geoffrey Scott (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

² See Edward T. Corp, “The Exiled Court of James II and James III: A Centre of Italian Music in France, 1689–1712,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 120 (1995): 216–231. See also Edward T. Corp, “Music at the Stuart Court at Urbino, 1717–

of numerous articles and books about cultural life at the Jacobite court, including the topics of religion, politics, etiquette, society, poetry, and visual art.³ Vital for this study, Corp has surveyed the performance and patronage of music at the exiled court from the arrival at Saint-Germain-en-Laye of Queen Mary of Modena in December 1688 through the later years the court spent in exile in Italy at Urbino. His research is summarized in the eighth chapter of his 2004 book *A Court in Exile* entitled “The court as a centre of Italian music.”⁴ Here Corp makes the bold suggestion that the powerfully pro-Italian musical culture at the English court in exile significantly influenced French musical culture, helping to drive the explosion of interest in Italian musical trends that occurred in Paris beginning in the 1690s.

The final decade of the seventeenth century saw a sudden spike of interest in the Italian style among French composers. The death of Lully in 1687 had produced a vacuum in the French musical world that was quickly and energetically filled by Italianate music as composers began to experiment with the newly imported genres of sonata and cantata. In the first years of the 1690s, François Couperin and Elizabeth Jacquet de la Guerre began to compose trio and solo sonatas in overt imitation of Corelli, and the following decade witnessed the first French efforts at cantata, led by composers such as Jean-Baptiste Morin, Nicholas Bernier, and André Campra. These composers did not merely adopt the Italian genres wholesale, but saw themselves attempting to

18,” *Music and Letters* 81 (Aug., 2000): 351–363. See also Edward T. Corp, *A Court in Exile*.

³ Corp, “The Exiled Court of James II and James III,” 216–231. Also Edward T. Corp, “The Musical Manuscripts of “Copiste Z”: David Nairne, François Couperin, and the Stuart Court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye,” *Revue de musicology* 84e (1998): 37–62, and “Music at the Stuart Court at Urbino, 1717–18,” *Music and Letters* 81 (Aug., 2000): 351–363.

⁴Edward T. Corp, *A Court in Exile*.

ameliorate them by applying the influence of a more mild–tempered French musical idiom.⁵

But the specific paths that led new Italian musical influences into the heart of French aristocratic society have remained difficult to trace. Was this a natural migration made inevitable by geographical proximity, or the result of intentional sponsorship by specific patrons? Given the importance of perceived national style to French musical patrons and critics of the early modern period, and the controversy that composers of Italianate music generated in France at the turn of the eighteenth century,⁶ the history of the introduction of that music to French aristocratic society is worthy of scholarly interest. It therefore seems surprising that scholars have only recently recognized that, just as the death of Lully caused a creative vacuum in Parisian musical life, the French aristocracy found itself playing host to its recently exiled family of royal cousins from across the water: the house and court of King James II of England.

In this dissertation, I seek to understand the complex and fluid ways in which the

⁵William Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era*, revised edition (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966); Guido Olivieri, “The ‘Fiery Genius’: The Contribution of Neapolitan Virtuosi to the Spread of the String Sonata (1684–1736)” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2002); Adrian Rose, “Elisabeth-Claude Jacquet de la Guerre and the Secular Cantate Française,” *Early Music* 13 (Nov., 1985): 529–541; Michele Cabrini, “Expressive polarity: the aesthetics of Tempete and Sommeil in The French Baroque Cantata” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2005); David Tunley, *The Eighteenth-Century French Cantata*, 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); David Tunley, “The French Cantata in Performance,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 8 (Autumn, 1974): 47–55; Peter Walls, “‘Sonade, que me veux tu?’: Reconstructing French identity in the wake of Corelli’s op. 5,” *Early Music* 32 (February, 2004): 27–47; Don Fader, “Philippe II d’Orléans’s ‘chanteurs italiens’, the Italian cantata and the *gouts-réunis* under Louis XIV,” *Early Music* 35(2) (2007): 237–250.

⁶Lecerf disparaged Charpentier, Collasse, Campra and Destouches as “imitators of the Italian manner” who had been “reduced” to the use of “bizarre effects.” Quoted in James R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoeulx to Rameau* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1974), 108.

intervention of an English court and an Italian queen helped to create a musical climate receptive to Italian influences, disrupting a musical culture that, since the time of Lully, had promoted the self-conscious fashioning of an idea of exclusive "Frenchness" pertaining to music. I also attempt to address the theories offered by Edward Corp. Moreover, I build on Corp's work by adding a musicological dimension; I provide an analysis of patterns of Stuart musical patronage and critically engage the secular chamber music of Innocenzo Fede, the Stuart court composer in exile.

Extant Sources for the Stuart Court Culture

The "Stuart papers" were those court documents taken by (or sent to) James III ("the Old Chevalier" or "the Old Pretender") when his court moved from Saint-Germain-en-Laye to Avignon in 1716 and Rome in 1719. After the death of the last Stuart claimant (Cardinal York) in 1807, they passed into the possession of several executors and inheritors, and it was not until the 1820s that the British government began to purchase, in two large and several smaller partial collections, the extant Stuart documents. Despite several efforts in the nineteenth century, this archive had never been completely, or even substantially published, although several historians, including Agnes Strickland, Campana de Cavelli, and Martin Haile,⁷ did make extensive use of them by providing contextualized printings of many of the more important letters, and limited printings were made of important parts of this archive for a private club in London (see below).

Strickland was able to do unprecedented research into the life of Mary of Modena during the spring and summer of 1844, and in doing so brought to light a wealth of

⁷Martin Haile, *Queen Mary of Modena: Her Life and Letters* (London: J. M. Dent & Company, 1905). Martin Haile was the pen name of Marie Hallé.

previously unknown Jacobite correspondence manuscripts. Thanks to the patronage of several highly placed French governmental officials, she was able to gain access to what were, at the time, the Secret [and unedited] Archives of the French Realm.⁸ Strickland demonstrates Mary's control over the management of the domestic affairs and arrangements for the Jacobite courtiers. It becomes clear, from examples such as Mary's subtle demand at her husband's deathbed that Louis XIV recognize her son as heir to the throne of England, that she more than anyone caused the Jacobite movement to endure long after it was clear that James II would never regain his crown.

The core of the manuscript collection examined by Strickland are letters of Mary of Modena, the majority of which are correspondence between the queen and the sisters of the convent of Chaillot, of which Mary was patron. Many letters concern the activities of the Queen on behalf of the convent of the Visitation of Saint Mary at Chaillot, which had been founded in 1652 by Queen Henrietta Maria of England, mother of James II. This convent, which had originally been populated by expatriate English nuns, became the center of Mary's devotional life. The letters that she exchanged with her cloistered friends at Chaillot document Mary's most intimate thoughts as well as her never-ending political maneuvers and personal opinions about parenthood and social and religious propriety.

This cache of letters and papers that Strickland discovered in 1844 was edited by Falconer Madan, the Bodley's librarian, for an 1889 private printing for the members of the Roxburghe Club under the title *Stuart Papers Relating Chiefly to Mary of Modena*

⁸See the introduction Agnes Strickland, "Mary of Modena," in *Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest*, vol. 9 (Boston: Taggard and Thompson, 1864), v.

*and the Exiled Court of King James II.*⁹ The Roxburghe Club, which has been described as “the parent of all the book clubs,” was an exclusive and elite society of self-described “bibliomaniacs” that was founded in 1813 and flourished throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁰ This society was responsible in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries for the private printing of several manuscripts of interest to Jacobite scholars, including a 1925 edition by Godfrey Davis of *The Papers of Devotion of James II*, which are the somewhat haphazard spiritual memoirs of that pious monarch.¹¹ In editing the Chaillot correspondence of Mary of Modena, Madan confined himself almost exclusively to the task of printing the letters, and rather than providing commentary on the historical significance of the documents, he referred his readers to the previously published works of Agnes Strickland as the best possible companion to his edition.¹²

The collection examined by Strickland and edited by Madan is “printed from official copies of originals with facsimiles.”¹³ In his editorial introduction, Madan notes that this collection is highly unusual among Stuart papers, in that its focus is not on

⁹Falconer Madan, *Stuart Papers Relating Chiefly to Mary of Modena and the Exiled Court of King James II* (London: Published for the Roxburghe Club by J.D. Nichols & Sons, 1889).

¹⁰The Roxburghe Club intended itself to be rigorously exclusive, initially limiting its membership to thirty-one persons. The society maintained a notably insightful economic policy of always printing fewer copies than the number of its members, in order to ensure the highest possible demand for its publications. This author is very grateful that one copy now resides in the special collections library at the University of Michigan. For a very thorough (and possibly the only extant) description of the origins and development of the outstanding organization, see John Hill Burton, *The Book Hunter* (Bristol, United Kingdom: Thoemmes Press, first printing 1882, reprinted 1997): 265–283.

¹¹ Godfrey Davies, editor, *Papers of devotion of James II, being a reproduction of the ms. In the handwriting of James the Second now in the possession of Mr. Davies*. (Oxford: Printed for presentation to the members of the Roxburghe club, 1925).

¹²Davies, *Papers of devotion*, from the introduction.

¹³Falconer Madan, *Stuart Papers*, from the title page.

political or military events, but rather on “what might be called the domestic features of the life at St.–Germain.”¹⁴ Nearly all of this collection is in French, and the documents serve to reflect the activities of Queen Mary during the time of her exile. The letters are arranged in roughly chronological order, or by category of correspondence, and are listed and cross-listed in a table of contents and an index that is surprisingly thorough given the date of this printing. Many letters are between Mary and the Mothers Superior at Chaillot and other convents that she supported, but others are to and from her daughter, Princess Louise. Some are not letters at all, but memoirs and assorted papers related to earlier Stuart figures including Henrietta Maria, Charles II, and James II, as well as younger generations of Stuarts, up to Princess Charlotte, grand-daughter of James II.

Another principal source on the Jacobite court is the work of the Marchesa Campana di Cavelli, collected in *Les Dernier Stuarts à Saint-Germain-en-Laye*.¹⁵ This is a collection of documents in English, French, German, Italian, and Latin, and is neither a complete history nor biography, but an assemblage of documents with footnotes. It consists of two enormous volumes, and a third was intended but never finished because the author’s husband, who had been the financier of the project, was prematurely struck down with bankruptcy.¹⁶

¹⁴Madan, from the prefatory note, ix.

¹⁵Emilia (Rowles) Marchesa Campana Di Cavelli, *Les Dernier Stuarts à Saint-Germain-en-Laye, documents inédits et authentiques puisés aux archives publiques et privées, par la marquise Campana de Cavelli* (Paris: Didier & Company, 1871).

¹⁶Carola Oman, *Mary of Modena* (Bungay, Suffolk: Hodder & Stoughton, 1962), from the introduction.

Stuart Musical Artifacts

Financial realities and moral concerns may have prevented the exiled Stuarts from staging splendid musical performances or otherwise engaging in ostentatious displays of cultural grandeur, but it nonetheless generated a significant amount of musical material in the form of a large library of musical manuscripts.¹⁷ This collection, apart from its function as a source for musical performance and study, served to provide the court with what Margaret Murata has called a “proprietary interest in music,” and allowed the Stuarts to claim cultural sophistication through the possession of a outstanding musical library rather than a brilliant performative culture.¹⁸ Since the Stuarts lacked the conventional courtly resources of money and manpower, they strove to establish a reserve of cultural currency in the form of a repository of musical manuscripts that could be perceived as valuable regardless of whether it was actually in use.

The largest part of this manuscript collection, which is predominantly devoted to secular vocal music, forms seven volumes under the call number H. 659 in the Bibliothèque National in Paris, consisting of the repertoire used by Fede in his capacity of music director at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. The copies were bound near the turn of the eighteenth century, and have been described by Jean Lionnet.¹⁹ The pieces are mostly vocal, arranged alphabetically by incipit, with sonatas punctuating the ends of letter groups. The manuscripts contain the works of twenty-one Italian composers including

¹⁷Edward Corp, *A Court in Exile*, 369.

¹⁸Margret Murata, “Roman Cantata Scores as Traces of Musical Culture and Signs of its Place in Society,” *Atti del XIV congresso della società internazionale di musicologia* (Torino: Edizioni di Torino, 1990): 278–279. Murata describes this hoarding of fine but unusable manuscripts as *musica da biblioteca*, as opposed to actual musical performance, or *musica da camera*.

¹⁹See Jean Lionnet “Innocenzo Fede et la musique à la cour des Jacobites à Saint-Germain-en-Laye” *Revue de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 46 (Winter 1992, a special number devoted to ‘Les Jacobites’): 14–18.

Alessandro Scarlatti and Bernardo Pasquini, the presence of whose works has been identified by Margaret Murata as an indicator that these manuscripts were compiled in the last two decades of the seventeenth century.²⁰ The other known Stuart manuscripts of secular Italian vocal music are found in London²¹ and Berkeley²² and contribute to a collection of impressive size. The care taken in creating the majority²³ of these meticulously copied and decorated manuscripts shows that they were intended not just for performance, but also for preservation. In the absence of financial wealth, these scores were musical riches hoarded by the court to signal its cultural sophistication.

We see from the preface written by Jean-Baptiste Morin to his 1709 divertissement *La chasse du cerf* that contemporary scores were used as templates to be copied for players as needed: “At first I thought to have the parts of the divertissement printed separately for the convenience of the performers, but that would have resulted in many little booklets subject to being easily misplaced; I have therefore preferred to give you the full score, from which you may extract whatever parts you need.”²⁴

²⁰Murata has offered sets of characteristics for the chronological identification of Roman manuscripts. See Murata, “Roman Cantata Scores as Traces of Musical Culture,” 276.

²¹British Library, London: Add. MSS 31476, 31480, 31502; Bodleian Library, Oxford: Mus. Sch. E. 400–3.

²²University of California at Berkeley, MS 118.

²³Not all of the copies in the British Library manuscripts are equally beautiful. Innocenzo Fede’s aria *Vieni o caro* (Add. Ms. 31502) is hastily copied at the end of a collection of pre-existent fascicles. For a description of common types of miscellanies and anthologies of Roman manuscripts, see Murata, “Roman Cantata Scores,” 273.

²⁴Jean-Baptiste Morin, quoted by Pietri, Don J., translated by David Mason Greene, in the liner notes for Morin, *La chasse du cerf*, directed by Jean-François Paillard (New York: The Musical Heritage Society, MHS 1137, 1971). Recorded by Erato, long playing record.

Many of the musical manuscripts associated with the exiled English court are copies made in the workshop of Antré Danican Philidor, *l'ainé* (ca. 1652–1730).²⁵ Philidor was from a large musical family that served the French royal family for several generations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.²⁶ Skilled in a variety of wind and percussion instruments, Philidor played in the band of the royal musketeers (both in ceremony and on campaign), in Lully's orchestra for ballet and opera, and from 1690 in the *Petits Violons*. Philidor was a composer of occasional and theatrical pieces throughout his career, but his greatest contribution to history was in his capacity as the king's music librarian, a post that he held from 1681 if not earlier. His workshop included a number of assistant copyists, but Philidor copied many volumes personally. After the fall of the *ancien régime* the Philidor manuscript collection was gradually dispersed; in the early 19th century an inventory by Nicolas Roze included 59 volumes held at the Bibiotheque National, only about half of which remain known.²⁷ Volumes from the Philidor workshop are in various academic libraries and private collections, but the two most substantial collections are in the Bibliotheque Nationale and in the Bibliotheque Municipale of Versailles.

²⁵ Edward T. Corp, "The Musical Manuscripts of 'Copiste Z'," 37.

²⁶ General biographical information for Andre Philidor is found in Benoit, Marcelle, *Versailles et les musiciens du roi, 1661–1733: étude institutionnelle et sociale* (Paris: Editions A. et J. Picard, 1971): 34–35. Also see Lionel Sawkins "The Manuscripts of the Philidor *Atelier*" in *Sothebey's Catalogue of The Highly Important Toulouse-Philidor Collection of Manuscript and Printed Music and other Valuable Manuscripts and Printed Books* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet & Company, 1978), from the foreword.

²⁷ E.H. Fellowes, "The Philidor Manuscripts: Paris, Versailles, Tenbury," *Music & Letters* 12 (Apr., 1931):117.

Another large collection existed at St. Michael's College, Tenbury, until it was sold in London at Sotheby's auction house as Lots 1–98 on June 26, 1978.²⁸ This collection has been called the “Toulouse-Philidor collection” since it was compiled for the Comte de Toulouse, a son of Louis XIV by Madame de Montespan. The Toulouse manuscripts came into the possession of King Louis Philippe in the nineteenth century, where they were stamped “Bibliothèque du roi” and were sold by auction in Paris after his abdication in 1848.²⁹ They soon passed into the hands of Sir Fredrick Ouseley, professor of Music in Oxford University and founder of St. Michael's College at Tenbury, who deposited them in the library of his new school. This collection remained obscure until described by E.H. Fellowes in 1931.³⁰

The largest collection consists of the seven volumes H. 659 in the Bibliothèque National in Paris, which Jean Lionnet has described as being “almost without any doubt, witnesses to the the activity of Fede in France,”³¹ and are believed to have been copied c. 1705–10. The pieces are mostly vocal, arranged alphabetically by incipit, with sonatas punctuating the ends of letter groups. According to Lionnet, the volumes consist of music used by Fede in his capacity of music director at the exiled court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, and were probably copied circa 1705–1710.³² The manuscripts contain the works of twenty-one Italian composers including, Alessandro Scarlatti, Corelli, Stradella, and others whose fame flourished at the end of the seventeenth century, as well as works by

²⁸See *Sotheby's Catalogue of The Highly Important Toulouse–Philidor Collection of Manuscript and Printed Music and other Valuable Manuscripts and Printed Books* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet & Company, 1978), 1–75.

²⁹Fellowes, 128.

³⁰Fellowes, 116–129.

³¹“presque sans aucun doute, témoins de l'activité de Fede en France.” Lionnet, “Innocenzo Fede et la musique à la cour de Jacobites,” 15.

³²Lionnet, “Innocenzo Fede et la musique à la cour des Jacobites,” 14–18.

Fede, Finger, and Paisible, musicians known to have been employed at the Stuart court. Lionnet notes that it is almost impossible to imagine the creation of a manuscript collection featuring works by the almost-unknown Fede juxtaposed with those by such recognized masters as Corelli, Scarlatti, and Carissimi, unless Fede or someone very close to him were overseeing the production.³³ Lionnet also points to the presence of British-themed cantata “*Lamento dela Regina di Scozzi*,” which takes as its subject the death scene of Mary Queen of Scots, which further suggests that the collection belonged to the exiled English court.³⁴

Another manuscript volume survives in the Versailles Municipal Library (MS MUS 161), which Jean Lionnet has shown to be part of the repertoire of the exiled court.³⁵ The manuscript contains sixteen musical works in all: ten pieces identified by their titles as sonatas (each featuring between four and six movements), and six pieces otherwise labeled. There are two sonatas by Innocenzo Fede and two sonatas by James Paisible. There are also two suites of dance movements by Gottfried Finger and one by Jeremiah Clarke.

A collection of part-books for trio sonatas (parts for violin I, violin II, basso, and basso continuo) resides at the University of Chicago (Manuscript MS 959).³⁶ Each book is signed on the inside cover as the property of William Bree of Allesley, who was a clergyman at the parish in Allesley (a village near Coventry, England) and apparently

³³Lionnet, “Innocenzo Fede et la musique,” 14–18.

³⁴Lionnet, “Innocenzo Fede et la musique,” 16.

³⁵Lionnet, “Innocenzo Fede et la musique,” 16.

³⁶See the University of Chicago library catalogue information for this manuscript: <http://www1.lib.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/nand/search/stc?browse=%3A%3ACONFIG%3A%3Abmss&key=00000000959&limit=0>. The codex manuscript listing is as follows: Corelli, Arcangelo [sic], 1653–1713, et al. Trio sonatas. 4 vols. [scores.] Date: 1710–1712. Place of Origin: Music (Great Britain).

owned the collection during its English sojourn in the early nineteenth century. In the second violin book the same hand has, in English, erroneously identified the works as “quartets for two violins, a violincello, and double bass,” perhaps indicating that this commentator failed to recognize trio sonata texture, or perhaps the very concept of basso continuo. All four volumes contain the following dedication on the inside (verso) of the hardboard, leather-bound front cover: “*Sonate a tre, doi violini, e violone o Arciliuto/ col Basso per l’organo/ Consecrate All’ Sacra Real Maesta Di Christina Alessandra/ Regina di Suezia, Oc./ Da Arcangelo Corelli Da Gusignano, detto il Bolognese/ Opera Prima.*” This inscription is the dedication originally published with Corelli’s opus one in 1681.

The collection contains a variety of Italian works, interspersed with English composers including John Blow, Anthony Poole, Henry Purcell, and Gottfried Finger, all of whom were associated with the Jacobite court.³⁷ Further evidence that the collection was the provenance of the Jacobites is the fact that, in a work otherwise written in Italian, the copyist has written performance instructions on page 48 in all parts in English, reading “Conclude [with the] first Straine.” Furthermore, the paper seems likely to be of English manufacture, and therefore the manuscript was probably begun at the Whitehall court before being taken into exile.³⁸ Corp also notes that, like Fede, all the Italian composers represented in the manuscript worked in Rome except Vitali, who worked in

³⁷Several unattributed pieces in this collection have been identified by Robert Thompson, see Edward Corp, “Copiste Z,” 57. Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 118–121. I wish to thank both Professors Shay and Thompson for their correspondence regarding the provenance of this manuscript.

³⁸For a thorough discussion of seventeenth-century paper making industry see Shay and Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts*, 8–20; Corp, “Copiste Z,” 57.

Modena.³⁹ It is notable that this collection includes entire opus collections by Corelli (opp 1&3) Bassani, Finger, and Kruger as well as scattered individual sonatas, showing a musical culture that was concerned with intact sonata collections of specific composers, rather than simply the most popular works of the genre.

The majority of composers whose works are found in Jacobite manuscript collections were Italians who never set foot in the court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Nearly all of them had professional connections with Rome or Modena, which suggests that the presence of their work in the Stuart collections is attributable to the influence of the Roman Innocenzo Fede and the Modenese Queen Mary. Only composers whose works are found in Jacobite manuscript collections and were directly patronized by James II and his family will be considered “Jacobite” composers. This group includes the composers who worked at the Stuart court in London but did not follow the king into exile: John Blow, Anthony Poole, Henry Purcell, Gottfried Finger, and Jeremiah Clarke. These composers are responsible for a substantial portion of the Stuart repertoire, and their contributions help to mark the Jacobite music collection as distinctly English.

John Blow, known primarily for his stage work, was a prolific composer of vocal music. He became organist at Westminster abbey in 1668, and remained in that post until he was replaced by his pupil, Henry Purcell, in 1680.⁴⁰ In 1674 he was appointed master of the children of the Chapel royal and composer in the king’s Private Musick, and he was renewed in this post on the ascension of James II in 1685. From 1687–1693 he was choirmaster at St. Paul’s Cathedral. Clarke’s name was spelled variously by his

³⁹Corp, “Copiste Z,” 57.

⁴⁰Jeffery Pulver, *A Biographical Dictionary of Old English Music* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1927), 61.

contemporaries (“Clark,” “Clarke,” or “Clerk”) so it is very likely that Jeremiah Clarke is the author of this suite attributed to Signor Clerke. This theory is strengthened by its juxtaposition in the manuscript with other Stuart court composers (Finger, Paisible, and Fede). Clarke is known to have written two suites for harpsichord and one for woodwind ensemble around 1700 (one of which includes the famous “Prince of Denmark’s March”) which are found in the British Library.⁴¹ Like Blow, Clarke wrote very few pieces of instrumental chamber music, so it is notable that this is the genre taken into exile by the Jacobites.

A Stuart manuscript at the Municipal Library of Versailles⁴² is in the hand of Philidor, just as are the six volumes in the Bibliothèque nationale. Whereas the Bibliothèque nationale collection is predominantly composed of cantatas and arias, the pieces contained in the Versailles manuscript are exclusively instrumental works. The instrumental pieces in this volume were probably played at informal musical settings and used by Fede for the instruction of the two Stuart princes.⁴³ The manuscript contains sixteen musical works in all: ten pieces identified by their titles as sonatas (each with between four and six movements), and six pieces otherwise labeled. Of those titled “sonata,” two are credited “Del Sig. Paisible” and the rest are unattributed. Of the works not listed as sonatas, three are suites of between five to seven dance movements, but are not labeled with titles. One is titled “Sinfonie,” is unattributed, and consists of five movements programmaticly related to one Sieur Gautier,

⁴¹Add. MSS 31465, 39565–7, 30839.

⁴²Vers. MS Mus. 161.

⁴³Jean Lionnet, “Innocenzo Fede et la musique,” 16.

One of the most intriguing of these anonymously composed pieces is a five-movement suite (ff. 58–65) related by title to one “Sieur Gautier,” the identification of whom could be a tantalizing clue to the identity of the composer. Writing in 1992, Jean Lionnet speculated that the composer of this piece may be Pierre Gautier of Marseille, author of a volume of “Symphonies” published in Paris in 1706.⁴⁴ Given the fact, however, that the name Gautier appears in the context of the enigmatic movement titles in this suite, Sieur Gautier is most likely the subject, rather than the author of this piece.

Another possible subject of the music is Richard Gautier, the son of a senior household servant at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. He was a soldier in the 1715 invasion of Scotland under James III and lost an eye in that campaign.⁴⁵ Yet another possible candidate is Francis Gaultier, a brother-in-law of Madame de Labadie, nurse to the young James Francis Edward (future claimant to the title James III), who escorted the first group of Jacobite refugees to their embarkation at Gravesend on 9 December 1688.⁴⁶ The man bearing the name of Gaultier whose association with the Stuart court is most well documented, and likely to be the “Sieur Gautier” referred to in this piece, is the Abbé Gaultier who had been the third curate at the parish church of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, and who, having travelled to London in 1710, acted as a French agent until at least 1713, conspiring with the Earl of Oxford and the Duke of Berwick for the restoration of King

⁴⁴Jean Lionnet, “Innocenzo Fede et la musique,” 16. Lionnet notes that there was a Charles Gautier among the young musicians of the Royal Chapel in London in 1687.

⁴⁵See Edward Corp, “Copiste Z,” 47. Corp identifies Richard Gaultier as the possible subject of an eighteenth-century bookplate labeled “Gautier Mousquetaire du Roy” found in a privately-held score of Lully’s *Thésée*.

⁴⁶The first group of fugitives, which was escorted by Ralph Sheldon as well as Francis Gaultier, consisted of Lord and Lady Powis, Donna Vittoria with her father and brother, Lord and Lady O’Brien (Clare), and Sir William Waldegrave, a physician who would feature prominently as a court musician in exile. See Oman, *Mary of Modena*, 132.

James III.⁴⁷ His unsuccessful efforts were predominantly concerned with attempts to persuade Queen Anne (James's half-sister) to declare James successor to the throne, rather than allow it to pass to the German Hanover dynasty. Gaultier certainly did not return to Saint-Germain-en-Laye until 1714 at the earliest, by which time James III had been forced to remove himself to Lorraine due to the new political realities placed on Louis XIV by the treaty of Utrecht. If this music does indeed refer to the Abbé, it was most likely written some time before 1710, when Abbé Gaultier was present and known among the society at Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

The opening sinfonia entitled "Sinfonie du Sieur Gautier" in g minor begins in triple meter with Lullian faux-imitation at the fourth bar, resolving into homophony by the sixth. Regal dotted rhythms are present in all but eight of the fifty-three measures of this piece, and the melody consists almost entirely of conjunct sequences. The composer alternates between repeatedly placing a dotted half-note on the first beat, and placing it on the second beat, invoking a dialogue between chaconne and loure dance references. While no tempo marking is given, the piece resembles the initial slow section of a French Overture in its use of large-value notes, minor mode, imitative opening, and sequential melodic structure. The second movement is a gigue in six-four time, marked "gay." It is constructed in a ternary structure, with the first A section itself in binary form. The double-bar dividing the large A section from the B section is emphasized by a complete rewriting of all keys and clefs: the A section is in g major, with two f-sharps written in the key signature, while the B section is in the parallel minor key with the expected two flats in the signature. The time signature becomes three-two, resulting in an absence of

⁴⁷From the memoires of the Duke of Berwick, quoted in Martin Haile, *Queen Mary of Modena*, 416.

dotted-quarter and eighth notes, and a preference for dotted-half and quarter notes. The presence of three *segno* marks in this piece is not self-explanatory, but may indicate a need for performers to skip forward or backward in the part when it became necessary to end or extend a dance.

Two are untitled dance suites attributed “Del. S. God. Finger (ff. 53–57) or “Del S. G. Finger” (ff. 66–71). One dance suite of seven movements is titled “Plainte” and is attributed “Del. S. Clerke” (ff. 46–52).⁴⁸ One piece seemingly similar to a sonata da chiesa is entitled “Sinfonia a 3 flauti” and attributed “Del Sig. D. Ignatio Pulici” (f. 34). There are two pieces attributed “Del Sig. Inn Fede” both of which are four-movement sonatas. One seems to bear the title “Overture,” but this title probably refers only to the French overture form of the first movement (f. 29). The other piece is labeled “Sonata di Camera” (f. 80), which is unusual in that none of the other sonatas in the collection bear this secular designation.

Perhaps the specific labeling of the Fede “Sonata di Camera” is intended to distinguish this from some church sonatas by the same composer that are, for some reason, not in this collection. This possibility is hinted at by the fact that this book remains half-empty, or rather half-full of expensive blank pages. It would seem that the copyist intended to include more music in this volume, and we are left to wonder why this never happened.

⁴⁸As Jean Lionnet has suggested, this attribution most likely refers to Jeremiah Clarke. See Lionnet, “Innocenzo Fede et la musique,” 16.

Historical Context

The royal house of Stuart has its roots in fourteenth-century Scottish history, but may be said to have stepped onto center stage of British history in 1603 when James VI of Scotland assumed the English throne to become James I. The overthrow and execution of his son Charles I in 1649 interrupted Stuart rule until the Restoration of 1660 placed the crown on the head of Charles II, grandson of James I and son of Charles I. Upon the death of Charles II in 1685 his younger brother became James II, but was driven from the country in an event that has come widely to be known as the “Glorious Revolution.”

Twice deposed, the only family of British monarchs to suffer judicial regicide, the Stuarts have frequently been depicted by historians as insensitive oppressors cast off by a British populace too proud to submit to “absolutism” or “popery.” These two terms have been central to historical assessments of the Stuart kings, providing justification for the two most prominent events of the Stuart dynasty: the English Civil War (1642–1660) and the so-called “Glorious Revolution” (1688). The Civil War has frequently been seen as a refusal of freedom-loving Britons to yield to a continental-style absolute monarchy, while the revolution of 1688 is seen as the moment when the absolutist question, this time in the face of a Catholic tyrant, was settled once and for all.

The movements of the Stuarts during the first exile (1649–1660) have attracted significant historical study, and even histories that focus primarily on the Commonwealth must almost necessarily offer some scrutiny to the exiled royal family since the interregnum was terminated by their eventual return and restoration.⁴⁹ Considerably less

⁴⁹Eva Scott, *The King in Exile: The Wanderings of Charles II from June 1646 to July 165*, (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co.), 1905; Eva Scott, *The Travels of the King: Charles II in Germany and Flanders 1654–1660*, (London: Archibald Constable and

attention has been given to the Stuarts during the second exile, likely because that exile did not end in restoration.

Royal courts in London had begun to construct an image of their capital as a center of international musical activity well before the ascension of the Stuart dynasty. As early as 1597 Thomas Morley observed the enthusiasm for Italian madrigals among his countrymen, sparked in large part by the 1588 publication of Nicholas Yonge's *Musica Transalpina*, remarking that the English "highly esteem whatsoever cometh from beyond the seas (and specially from Italy) be it never so simple, condemning that which is done at home though it be never so excellent."⁵⁰

English royal policy from at least the time of Henry VII (r. 1485–1509) favored foreign artists, musicians, and musical styles in an effort to enliven the court culture with the latest cultural currents from abroad. Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603) employed four times the number of foreign musicians as English, introducing such family names as Bassano, Lupo, Lanier, and Ferrabosco that dominated London as musical dynasties through the reign of James I. James I paid Italians double what he paid domestic musicians.⁵¹ In the

Co.), 1907; Neil Reynolds, "The Stuart Court and Courtiers in Exile, 1644–1654," Ph.D. Dissertation (Trinity Hall: Cambridge, 1996).

⁵⁰Thomas Morely, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, edited by R. Alec Harman. (London: printed by Peter Short, 1597. Reprinted in London by J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1952), 293. Harman notes here that the English fascination for foreign music "unfortunately persisted for several centuries." For analysis of the English madrigal in relationship to the Italian madrigal, see Joseph Kerman, "The Elizabethan Madrigal, a Comparative Study" (Ph. D. diss., Princeton University, 1950); Joseph Kerman "Elizabethan anthologies of Italian Madrigals," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 4 (1951): 122–138. The indebtedness of English madrigal composers was part of a larger scheme of Italian influence upon English music in the sixteenth century, see Arthur William Byler, "Italian Currents in the Popular Music of England in the Sixteenth Century" (Ph. D. diss., The University of Chicago, 1952).

⁵¹"It is telling that in terms of material remains, so many of the surviving art objects which are held up as great works from the courts of Henry VII and Henry VIII are

years leading up to the English Civil War (1642–51), native English composers and publishers could make their works more attractive by claiming to present Italianate music: Walter Porter's *Madrigales and Ayres* (1632) and William Child's *First Set of Psalms* (1639) were both presented as being "after the Italian way," and were advertised as such by John Playford in his 1653 publication, *A Catalogue of all the Music Books that have been printed in England*.⁵²

During the English Civil War (1641–1651) and the years of Puritan rule (1649–1660), music was suppressed as an asset to liturgical worship but continued to flourish in private as a cultural activity. While the Puritans were generally suspicious of the arts (Cromwell closed the theaters and liquidated or destroyed much of the royal picture and statuary collection)⁵³ they not entirely intolerant of music; Oxford scholar and diarist Anthony à Wood recalled that Oliver Cromwell "loved a good voice and instrumental musick well."⁵⁴ The Puritans did object to music itself, but kept musical function under strict control: "[the Puritans] used to love and encourage instrumental musick; but did not

foreign items—the image of the Tudor line was to be one that could take its place not just in the succession of English kings, but equally among the great European dynasties. In this sense, the unprecedented extent of the foreign arrivals at court during the early Tudor period is indicative of a concerted policy which certainly extended into the musical domain." Theodor Dumitrescu, *The Early Tudor Court and International Musical Relations* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007), 29; Christopher Hogwood, *Music at Court* (London: The Folio Society Limited, 1977), 41.

⁵²The Italianate style was also cultivated before the Civil War by the chapel organist George Jefferys. See Robert Thompson, "George Jeffreys and the 'Stile Nuovo' in English Sacred Music: A New Date for his Autograph Manuscript Score, British Library Add. MS 10338," *Music & Letters* 70 (Aug., 1989): 317–341.

⁵³Stephen Orgel, *The Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 41.

⁵⁴Anthony Wood, *The Life and Times of Anthony à Wood*, abridged from Andrew Clarke's edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 90.

care for vocall, because that was used in church by the prelati call partie.”⁵⁵ The Calvinist Puritans believed that God was offended by ostentatious musical displays during worship and even saw divine judgment in the misfortunes of parish musicians—Puritan diarist Nehemiah Wallington described an event at Lincolnshire where a newly-installed organ was destroyed when “a violent storm came in at one window and blew [the organ] to another window and brake both organ and window down.”⁵⁶

Vocal music, though driven out of the church, was still sufficiently tolerated during the interregnum for William Davenant to be allowed to produce four operatic “entertainments” between 1656 and 1659.⁵⁷ On 21 February 1660, at the very eve of the restoration, Samuel Pepys visited a coffee house with Mathew Locke and Henry Purcell: “Here we had variety of brave Italian; and Spanish songs, and a canon for eight voices, which Mr. Lock had lately made on these words: “Domine salvum fac Regem.”⁵⁸

⁵⁵Wood, *The Life and Times*, 90. “[F]ew of the leading Puritans objected to music as a thing in itself though they were surprisingly ready to nose out anything they considered to be an abuse of music—its use for any purpose on the Sabbath, in church choirs, in theatres.” Henry Raynor, *Music in England* (London: Robert Hale, 1980), 89.

⁵⁶Nehemiah Wallington, quoted in Paul S. Seaver, *Wallington’s World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 61.

⁵⁷These were *The First Day’s Entertainment at Rutland House* (1656), *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656), *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* (1658), and *Sir Francis Drake* (1659). The music for these works was composed by a team of musicians that included Mathew Locke, Henry Lawes, Henry Cooke, Charles Coleman, and George Hudson. See Raynor, 90–91; Roy Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977), 145–146; Andrew R. Walking, chapter I, part V, “Courtly entertainments in the Commonwealth and early Restoration,” in “Court Culture, and Politics in Restoration England: Charles II, James II, and the Performance of Baroque Monarchy” (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1997): 80–98; James A. Winn, “Heroic Song: A Proposal for a Revised History of English Theatre and Opera, 1656–1711,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 30 (1996–97): 113–137.

⁵⁸Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys, Esq., F.R.S.*, Edited by Lord Braybrooke (Teddington: The Echo Library, 2006), 12.

Music was continually cultivated within private English society during the interregnum, as is attested to by the regular publication during this time of musical lesson books, consort collections, and anthologies, at least seventeen of which were printed by John Playford alone during the eleven years of the puritan commonwealth.⁵⁹ As the official suppression of sacred music and the discouragement of public theatrical performances virtually eliminated musical performances in church and theater, London musicians turned to private homes and business places as the new centers of musical activity.⁶⁰ Driven by necessity, newly unemployed instrumentalists were commonly seen in the streets and taverns offering to play for tips.⁶¹

In a dangerous climate where the prohibition on public musical entertainment could be enforced with violent severity, many English families cultivated music in the safety of their own homes, resulting in the proliferation of amateur musical activity and the increased participation of women—Roger North later recalled:

⁵⁹A list of these publications is found in Percy Alfred Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, reprinted 1969), 130–131.

⁶⁰Stage plays were officially prohibited by Parliament on 2 September, 1642, see *Journals of the House of Commons*, 2 (1640–1643): 747; “...[T]he forbidding the use of the liturgy, and the restraints on the stage, amounted in effect, to a proscription of music from the metropolis, and drove the professors of it to seek protection where they were most likely to find it.” Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 2 vols. (London: 1776, reprinted New York: Dover Publications, 1963), 697; Andrew R. Walking, “Court Culture, and Politics in Restoration England: Charles II, James II, and the Performance of Baroque Monarchy” (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1997); Martin Butler, *Theatre and Criticism, 1632–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Percy Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England* (Oxford, 1934; reprinted 1969); Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540–1690* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1993; reprinted 2002), 265–267; Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday, eds., *Literature and the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Jean E. Howard, *The Stage and Social Struggle in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1994).

⁶¹Scholes, 276.

when most other good arts languished Musick held up her head, not at Court nor (in the cant of those times) profane Theaters, but in private society, for many chose rather to fiddle at home, than to goe out, and be knockt on the head abroad; and the entertainment was very much courted and made use of, not onely in country but citty familys, in which many of the Ladys were good consortiers; and in this state was Musick dayly improving more or less till the time of (in all other respects but Musick) the happy Restauration.⁶²

North's observation reveals not only that the practice of music continued to flourish, but also that the need for safety in violent times emphasized a more private musical culture. Furthermore, North's description of those many who "chose rather to fiddle at home" illuminates an important point about contemporary house-music culture in England—the rising prominence of instrumental music, and specifically the violin, in the mainstream of English musical life.

As a relative newcomer from Italy,⁶³ the violin stimulated an English musical culture that had already an easy familiarity with the practice of instrumental music. From the sixteenth century through the English Civil War, most instrumental music in London was written for small ensembles, or consorts, of woodwinds or viols.⁶⁴ Despite the similarity in name, the viol was structurally distinct from the violin insofar as it had frets and was tuned in perfect fourths but with a major third between the middle two strings; in

⁶²Roger North, *Roger North on Music*, transcribed and edited by John Wilson (London: Novello and Company LTD, 1959), 294.

⁶³Very few violins were made in England until after 1660; Restoration violin makers included Urquhart, Pamphilon, Rayman, and Barak Norman. See Francis W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music*, fourth edition revised by Thurston Dart (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1965), 70. For the most thorough history of the violin in England, see Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 266–269.

⁶⁴Warwick Edwards, "Consort," In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/06322> (accessed August 22, 2012).

these respects it may be best thought of as a bowed guitar.⁶⁵ Henry Peacham attested to the common usage of viols among amateur musicians in his 1622 etiquette manual *The Compleat Gentleman*: “I desire no more in you then to sing your part sure, and at the first sight, withall, to play the same upon your Violl.”⁶⁶ Contemporary Englishmen who aspired to the cultural standards set by Peacham would therefore have been expected not only to sing accurately at sight, but also to cultivate instrumental skill and sight reading ability. Roger North claimed with pride that from the early seventeenth century the leading musicians at the newly established Stuart court “gained the nation the credit of excelling the Italians in all but the vocall.”⁶⁷ Christopher Simpson later went so far in his 1678 *Compendium of Practical Music* to designate the English the finest instrumental musicians in the world—“[y]ou need not seek outlandish [foreign] authors, especially for instrumental musick; no nation (in my opinion) being equal to the English in that way.”⁶⁸

During the 1650s the violin remained a novel instrument that was beginning to find a central place in English chamber music, drawing the interest of amateur musicians.⁶⁹ In his 1660 *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, music publisher John

⁶⁵Howard Mayer Brown, “Notes on the Viol in the 20th Century,” *Early Music* 6 (Jan., 1978): 47–55; Julie Anne Sadie, “Bowed Continuo Instruments in French Baroque Chamber Music,” *Proceedings of the royal Musical Association* 105 (1978–1979): 37–49.

⁶⁶ Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (First Printing London, 1622; Reprinted London: Clarendon Press, 1906), 100.

⁶⁷The musicians North refers to here are Alfonso Ferabosco, Giovanni Coperario, Thomas Lupo, Richard Mico, and Michael East. He also identifies Italy as the source of instrumental “fantasias” that were imitated by the English until “in vocal, the Itallians, and in the instrumentall music, the English exelled.” See Roger North, *Memoirs of Music*, edited by Edward F. Rimbault (London: George Bell, 1846), 73; 83–85.

⁶⁸Christopher Simpson, *A Compendium of Practical Musick* (London: Henry Brome, 1678. Reprinted by Travis & Emery Music Bookshop, 2009), 117–118.

⁶⁹John Playford, *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (London: W. Godbid, 1660, republished in London: Travis & Emery, 2008), 109. “The vehicle for the

Playford described the violin as an instrument “much practiced of late,” indicating that it had not been long in vogue. The scholar and diarist Anthony Wood described efforts to master the new instrument among amateur musicians at Oxford in the 1650s, including the resistance expressed by viol players who “esteemed a Violin to be an instrument only belonging to a common fiddler, and could not endure that it should come among them, for feare of making their meetings to be vaine and fidling.”⁷⁰ Wood undertook to learn to play the violin in 1651, at first tuning the instrument in fourths like the more familiar viol until in 1653 Charles Griffith, a music professor at Oxford, helped him learn to play on the open–fifth Italian tuning.⁷¹ During the next several years Wood and his friends engaged in regular musical meetings, including a public “frolick” at a lodging house in Farringdon that featured two violins and a form of continuo accompaniment.⁷² Such chamber music performances reflect a socio–political climate that limited musical activity to the private sphere, and where vocal music was considered potentially dangerous. The sudden popularity of the violin during this decade reflects a demand for a novel infusion within a culture already accomplished in instrumental chamber music.

The experience of the violin in England was transformed in 1656 with the arrival of Thomas Baltzar, a German violinist recently employed in Sweden at the court Queen

dissemination of the violin and its court repertoire into the wider musical community was, of course, the Civil War.” Holman, *Fiddlers*, 265.

⁷⁰Anthony Wood quoted in Francis W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music*, fourth edition revised by Thurston Dart (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1965), 70.

⁷¹Wood, 62–63. During the Commonwealth, Oxford flourished as a center of English musical activity, but after the restoration “the repertoire of the Music School once again became dependent on the court.” See Holman, *Fiddlers*, 267–275.

⁷²Wood, 68, 72. The Farringdon concert included Anthony Wood, violin; William Bull, violin; Edmund Gregorie, bass viol; John Trap, citerne; and George Mason, playing “another wyer instrument.”

Christina.⁷³ He introduced a level of virtuosity that had been previously unknown in England, and was perhaps the first violinist in that country to earn diabolical associations through his shocking technical brilliance.⁷⁴ Upon hearing a performance by Baltzar on the fourth of March 1656, John Evelyn wrote that he had heard “that incomparable Lubicer [Lübecker],” and uncharacteristically mentioned no other events for the entry of that date.⁷⁵

The most significant factor contributing to the disruption of English musical traditions during the interregnum was the near absence of music at court—the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell paradoxically combined a Calvinist ideal of moral simplicity with a political reality based on monarchical court model.⁷⁶ As observed by Roy Sherwood in his 1977 study of the Protectorate court, “whereas a royal court of the seventeenth century was very much a social and cultural institution, that of the Protectorate was not. The Protectoral court tended to reflect current society rather than set patterns for attitudes, manners and customs for society, or at least sections of it, to imitate

⁷³Baltzar’s few extant compositions include seventeen pieces in John Playford’s *Division Violin* (1684) including variations on “John Come Kiss Me Now”; also two divisions and three suites in manuscript (Ob, US–NYp; GB–Ob). See Peter Holman, “Baltzar, Thomas,” In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/01921> (accessed March 22, 2011). Also see Peter Holman, “Thomas Baltzar (?1631–1663), the Incomparable Lubicer on the Violin’,” *Chelys*, xiii (1984): 3–38.

⁷⁴Roger North, *Memoirs*, 99.

⁷⁵By the term “Lubicer” Evelyn made reference to Lübeck, the Northern German city of Baltzar’s birth. John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, edited by Guy de la Bédoyère (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004), 100.

⁷⁶“[B]eing desirous to permeate an atmosphere of stability and normalcy, it was incumbent upon the protectoral regime to surround the new ruler with all the trappings of monarchy including, of course a court.” Roy Sherwood, *The Court of Oliver Cromwell* (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977), 155.

as royal courts did.”⁷⁷ In other words, the court of the Protector differed from other contemporary courts by its strict adherence to the Calvinist ideal of simplicity and the consequent rejection of the use of musical and artistic spectacle that many contemporary courts used to emphasize the power of central authority. While Cromwell did maintain a court, his musical establishment was extremely sparse and only employed a total of ten musicians, including two “lads [students] brought up to music.”⁷⁸ The interregnum was, in effect, a break from the traditional court use of music as an element of public image; English music at this time was more of a private, domestic affair. The protectorate was a period of discontinuity, and that meant that after 1660 there was a chance for new meanings to appear, even as applied to older patterns of practice.

The Restoration

The Restoration marked an end to the Puritan prohibition on liturgical music, allowing London churchgoers the first chance to encounter the music of choir and organ in nearly a generation. Samuel Pepys reported on July 8, 1660 that he did not remember ever having heard liturgical music before: “[to] White Hall chapel, where . . . I heard very good musique, the first time that ever I remember to have heard the organs and singing-

⁷⁷Sherwood, 155.

⁷⁸Cromwell’s musical court comprised John Hingston (“Master of the music”); Richard Hudson; Thomas Mallard; John Rodgers; David Mell; William Howes; William Gregory; Thomas Blagrove and “Two lads brought up to music”. See the list of known members of the protectoral court in Sherwood, 170. Upon comparing Cromwell’s court with Stuart courts, Sherwood notes “the first and strongest impression gained is of the difference in size and complexity between the protectoral court and the royal courts which preceded and succeeded it.” Numerous household posts, such as court painters, were simply not maintained by the Cromwellian regime. Sherwood, 149–151.

men in surplices in my life.”⁷⁹ Pepys had been no more than eight years old at the start of the Civil War.

During the warfare that resulted in the execution of their father, Charles I, James and Charles Stuart grew up in exile on the continent, spending much of their time near the French court in Paris.⁸⁰ Charles was introduced to the French court at Fontainebleau in 1646, and was favorably received and given the highest honors, although he could speak no French at the time.⁸¹ He was not at a complete disadvantage, however, since he was with his mother Henrietta Maria, for whom the journey to France was as much a homecoming as it was an exile. She was welcomed not only as a queen, but as a daughter of France.⁸² During the winter of 1646–47, the French court embraced the Stuarts and entertained them continually with “balls, concerts, masques, and plays follow[ing] one another in quick succession.”⁸³ Charles quickly became popular at the court and, young as he was, struck up several romances with young female courtiers, while his mother tried in vain to arrange an advantageous marriage for him. In 1648, as renewed fighting broke out in England, Charles tried to return home but was forced instead to spend the winter on 1648-49 at the Hague in Holland, where he was joined by his brother James who had managed to escape a confinement by parliamentary forces.⁸⁴ Here again, Charles found himself a popular figure among many young courtiers in a merry atmosphere of dances

⁷⁹Samuel Pepys, *Diary*, 16.

⁸⁰Details of the Stuarts in exile during this period are found in Eva Scott, *The King in Exile: The Wanderings of Charles II from June 1646 to July 1654* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1905), and Eva Scott, *The Travels of the King: Charles II in Germany and Flanders 1654-1660* (London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1907).

⁸¹Scott, *The King in Exile*, 25.

⁸²Scott, *The King in Exile*, 18.

⁸³Scott, *Exile*, 25.

⁸⁴Scott, *Exile*, 70.

and other courtly entertainments. That winter Charles had several romantic affairs, the most productive with Lucy Walter, who bore him an illegitimate son who would grow up to become the Duke of Monmouth.⁸⁵

On 4 February 1649 word arrived that Charles I had been executed and that Charles II was now reigning king of England, Ireland, and Scotland. His subsequent efforts to reclaim his realms by force, however, were disastrously unsuccessful. Charles and James remained on the continent for ten more years. Having arrived at the French court at the age of sixteen, Charles remained largely immersed in the culture of French-speaking nobility—where music and dance were essential elements of polite social intercourse—until he was thirty years old. Small wonder, therefore, that he would retain a fondness for the dance-oriented music that flourished in those French circles even after his return to London in 1660. It was, after all, the music that he had grown up with, and to him symbolized the sophistication and power the French court.

Apart from the king's predilection for French music, diverse styles were advanced by an influx of foreign musicians to London. Michael Tilmouth writes that “[t]he preference shown for foreign rather than English music, and the attractive economic prospects of the vigorous new concert-life in London acted like magnets in drawing to the city musicians from all over Europe.”⁸⁶ Thomas Baltzar, the German violinist uncontestably as the finest in London and the leader of the newly-formed Twenty-four Violins, was soon joined by others of his countrymen seeking employment in the English musical scene—the contemporary musician and historian Roger North observed, “[h]ere came over many Germans, chiefly violists as Scheiffare, Voglesang, and of other names

⁸⁵Ibid., 70.

⁸⁶Michael Tilmouth, “Nicola Matteis,” *The Musical Quarterly* 46 (Jan., 1960): 22.

to fright one. These introduced many solos for the viol and violin, being rough and unairy devisions, but for the active part they were coveted.”⁸⁷ The fact that the newly arrived German composers found their music in demand despite it being perceptibly “rough and unairy” testifies to the appetite that London audiences had for foreign music and foreign performers.

Italian opera, and indeed opera of any sort, met resistance in London throughout the later seventeenth century largely on the grounds that fully sung dialogue detracted from dramatic verisimilitude:

Other Nations bestow the name of opera only on such plays whereof every word is sung. But experience hath taught us that our English genius will not relish that perpetual singing. I dare not accuse the language for being over charged with consonants, which may take off the beauties of the recitative part, tho in several other countries I have seen their opera’s still Crowded every time, tho long and almost all recitative. It is true that their *trio’s*, chorus’s, lively songs and *recits* with *accompaniments* of instruments, symphony’s, machines, and excellent dances make the rest be born with, and the one sets off the other: but our English gentlemen, when their ear is satisfy’d, are desirous to have their mind pleas’d, and music and dancing industriously intermix’d with comedy or tragedy: I have often observed that the Audience is no less attentive to some extraordinary scenes of passion or mirth, than to what they call *Beaux Endroits*, or the most ravishing part of the musical performance. But had those scenes, tho never so well wrought up, been sung, they would have lost most of their beauty. All this however doth not lessen the power of music, for its charms command our attention when used in their place, and the admirable consorts we have in Charles street, and York buildings, are an undeniable proof of it. But this shows that what is unnatural, as are plays altogether sung, will soon make one uneasy, which comedy or tragedy can never do unless they be bad.⁸⁸

⁸⁷Roger North, quoted in Jonathan Keates, *Purcell, a Biography* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1995), 88.

⁸⁸An extended account of music at the Feast of Cecilia’s Day, Opera, history of music in *The Gentleman’s Journal: or, the Monthly Miscellany*. (January, 1691/2, pp. 4–6. Microfilmed at the British Museum, London, 1956), 4

English audiences recognized that opera, according to the modern definition as fully sung dramatic theater, was essential to mainstream continental musical theater, but nevertheless found it to be distracting and unrealistic. London had its own very successful tradition of musical drama that differed from continental opera primarily in the use of spoken dialogue, rather than recitative, between musical numbers.

Seventeenth-century Restoration theatre functioned as an adjunct branch of court music; four London theatres hosted performances by two rival companies—the King’s Company (named after Charles II) and the Duke’s Company (named for the King’s brother, the Duke of York and future James II).⁸⁹ The theatres served as places for ladies and gentlemen of the court to socialize and display themselves, and the theater’s orchestras were often drawn from members of the King’s Violins.⁹⁰ If London audiences preferred spoken to fully sung dialogue, they freely used the term “opera” to describe plays that featured elaborate staging, dance, and machinery.⁹¹ These “operas” did not

⁸⁹The four theatres were Lincoln’s Inn Fields (opened 28 June 1661), Bridges Street (opened 7 May 1662), Drury Lane (opened 26 March, 1674), and Dorset Garden (opened 9 November, 1671). See Michael Burden, “Where did Purcell keep his theatre band,” *Early Music* 27 (Aug., 2009): 430.

⁹⁰Curtis A. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979), 58. Curtis A. Price, “Restoration Stage Fiddlers and Their Music,” *Early Music* 7 (Jul., 1979): 315–322.

⁹¹“The term usually means little more than a dramatic work of any genre in whose performance music and scenery figure prominently.” Robert D. Hume, “The Politics of Opera in Late Seventeenth-Century London,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 10 (Mar. 1998):15–43; 16; John Harley, “Music and Musicians in Restoration London,” *The Musical Quarterly* 40 (Oct., 1954): 513–515; Amanda Eubanks Winkler, “Gender and Genre: Musical Conventions on the English Stage, 1660–1705” (Ph. D. diss., University of Michigan, 2000); Amanda Eubanks Winkler, *O Let us Howle Some Heavy Note*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006); Emmett L. Avery, ed. *The London Stage, 1660–1800 [Part II]*, (Carbondale, IL. Southern Illinois University Press, 1960); Alexandre Beljame, *Men of Letters and the English Public in the Eighteenth Century 1660–1744, Dryden, Addison, Pope*, trans. E. O. Lorimer (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1948).

need to be fully sung, but generally included musical entertainment surrounding a dramatic structure. Some scholars, including Curtis Price and Andrew Walking, have claimed that the dramatic content of these productions is often founded on transparently allegorical royalist propaganda.⁹² Robert Hume, however has rejected the view that Restoration opera should be read for subtle and covert political allegory, arguing that “the political point of these operas, whether explicit or indirect, is a lot likelier to be flagrantly obvious than it is to be subtle and hidden.”⁹³

Italian musicians had been active in England since the early Restoration: a group of seven Italians, formerly employed in Sweden by the now abdicated Queen Christina, arrived in the early 1660s.⁹⁴ These newcomers joined Angelo Notari, an Italian musician first employed at the Stuart court in the 1620s, graciously reinstated in his old age by the returning Charles II. Giulio Gentileschi became a part of this group briefly in 1660 when he was recruited as part of his ill-fated effort to establish an Italian opera in London.⁹⁵

⁹²Curtis A. Price, “Political Allegory in Late-Seventeenth-Century English Opera,” *Music and Theatre: Essays in Honour of Winton Dean*, ed. Nigel Fortune (Cambridge, 1987): 1–29, and Andrew R. Walking, “Court Culture, and Politics,” 80–98.

⁹³Hume, *Politics of Opera*, 43. Hume opposes the view that Restoration opera should be read for subtle and covert political allegory: “The political point of these operas, whether explicit or indirect, is a lot likelier to be flagrantly obvious than it is to be subtle and hidden.” Advocates for a closer reading include Curtis A. Price, “Political Allegory in Late-Seventeenth-Century English Opera,” *Music and Theatre: Essays in Honour of Winton Dean*, ed. Nigel Fortune (Cambridge, 1987): 1–29, and Andrew R. Walking, “Court Culture, and Politics,” 80–98.

⁹⁴These were Vincenzo Albrici (who left for Dresden in 1668 for lack of payment), his brother Bartolomeo Albrici and sister Leonora Albrici, Hilario Suarez (a castrato), Pietro Reggio, Girolamo Zenti, and Andrea Testa. See Margaret Mabbett, “Italian Musicians in Restoration England (1660–90),” *Music & Letters* 67 (Jul., 1986): 237–247.

⁹⁵J. A. Westrup, “Foreign Musicians in Stuart England,” *The Musical Quarterly* 27 (Jan., 1941): 70–89. Despite some early interest in establishing an Italian opera in London, Charles II was never enthusiastic about Italian vocal music and preferred to hear singing in English. See North, *Memoires*, 104.

Other Italian musicians at court include the King's harpsichordist Girolamo Zenti and his assistant and successor Andrea Testa; Francesco Galli; Matteo Battaglia, a violinist who became master of Italian musicians in 1669; Giovanni Sebenico, organist and leader of music at the royal chapel at Somerset house from 1668;⁹⁶ Francesco Corbetta who was guitar teacher to the King and the Duke of York (from 1661–1671); and Giovanni Battista Draghi (“Baptist”) who arrived around 1667 and was master of the Italian musicians by 1673.

The year 1673 was a watershed year for Italian music in London not so much because of the appointment of Draghi as leader of the court's orchestral forces, but because of the sensation caused by violinist Nicola Matteis, and most importantly because of the arrival James Duke of York's new bride, the glamorous young Mary of Modena (Maria d'Este 1658–1718) and her entourage—soon to become a powerful force for Italian culture at the London court.

Mary was a devout Catholic, and considered her personal mission not only to encourage a similar devotion in her husband, but to bring the subjects of Britain back into the Papal fold.⁹⁷ Indeed, the re-conversion of the English was the only goal before Mary's eyes when she finally agreed to the marriage with James. Hoping to enter a convent, she initially rejected marriage despite a stream of English and French ambassadors, Cardinals, even letters from King Louis XIV urging her to accept the match. It was only a personal letter from Pope Clement X that finally convinced her that the marriage proposal was God's way of calling her to a higher level of service:

⁹⁶Sebenico shared his leadership position with Mathew Locke. Keates, 89. North reports that “Sabinico” came to London from Italy with Mary of Modena, and that he did not approve of Matthew Locke's playing style. See North, *Memoires*, 95.

⁹⁷Haile, *Queen Mary of Modena*, 20–25.

Since the design of the Duke of York to contract alliance with your Nobility reached our ears, We return thanks to the Father of Mercies who, knowing our solicitude for His Glory, is preparing for us, in the Kingdom of England an ample harvest of joy. Considering, in effect, the influence of your virtues, **We easily conceived a firm hope that an end might come to the persecution still smouldering in that kingdom and that the orthodox faith, reinstated by you in a place of honour might recover the splendour and security of former days**, and effect which no exterior power could accomplish and which might become due to the victory of your piety, the inheritance of your eminently religious family. You can therefore easily understand, dear daughter in Christ, the anxiety which filled Us when We were informed of your repugnance for marriage. For although we understood that it arose from a desire, most laudable in itself, to embrace religious discipline, reflecting that in the present occasion it opposes itself to the progress of religion, we were nevertheless sincerely grieved. **We therefore, fulfilling the duties of Our charge, earnestly exhort you by these presents to place before your eyes the great profit which may accrue to the Catholic faith in the above-named kingdom through your marriage**, and that inflamed with zeal for the good which may result, you may open to yourself a vaster field of merit than that of the virginal cloister.⁹⁸

The Pope's letter had its desired effect; Mary immediately submitted and the marriage was performed in Modena on September 30, 1673 with the English ambassador, the Earl of Peterborough standing in for the Duke.

Having married James by proxy in Modena on 30 September 1673, Mary already held the title of Duchess of York when she arrived in England on 23 November 1673. Since she was only fifteen years old and desperately sad about leaving her childhood home and family, her mother (Laura Martinozzi the Duchess and regent of Modena) and her brother Prince Rinaldo had agreed to escort her to London.⁹⁹ Mary and the Ducal court progressed formally from Dover to London as curious crowds lined the streets for a glimpse of these foreign nobles; Mary was acclaimed for her sylph-like beauty, especially

⁹⁸Papal letter of Clement X written September 19, 1673. Quoted in and translated by Martin Haile, *Queen Mary of Modena*, 21. Emphasis added.

⁹⁹Walking, 139–140.

in London by Charles who had once been in love with her cousin Hortense Mancini.¹⁰⁰ The number of Italian servants that she was allowed to bring to London was limited by fears that a large influx might arouse anti-Catholic sentiments, but she nevertheless arrived with a small entourage.¹⁰¹

As the Duchess of York, Mary maintained a court separate from that of her husband, a court that featured both high-ranking Italian ladies in waiting and English noble women.¹⁰² Her most prominent Italian courtiers were Madame Molza, Madame Montecuculi and her daughter Anna Montecuculi, and Madame Turenne.¹⁰³ All of these ladies followed Mary into exile and continued to serve her until her death. Mary and her courtiers formed a substantial Italian faction at court, advocating the merits of Italian music as Mary surrounded herself with Italian music “which constantly divert[ed] her.”¹⁰⁴

The sister of Francesco II of Modena, the greatest musical patron in one of the most musical cities in Northern Italy, Mary of Modena was particularly situated to connect her husband to the religious, cultural and artistic currents of her homeland. Modena had been a noteworthy center of sacred music since at least the 15th century, and became the center of Este family court music when Duc Cesare d’Este (Mary’s great-

¹⁰⁰Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol 9, 51–53.

¹⁰¹Strickland, vol. 9, 44.

¹⁰²As Duchess of York, Mary maintained a court that was more orderly and better paid even than the court at Whitehall. Her English courtiers listed by Gregorio Leti, historiographer to Charles II, are Penelope O'Brien the countess of Peterborough, Susannah Armine, and the Countess of Roscommon—Ladies of the Bedchamber; Frances Walsingham, Catherine Fraser, Anne Killigrew, Anne Kingsmill, Catherine Walters, and Catherine Sedley—Chamber Maids; Ladies Dawson, Bromla, Wentworth, Boucher, and Turner—Bedchamber Women; Lady Harrison—Mother of Maids; and Lady Jones—Chamber Keeper. See Strickland, vol. 9, 119–120.

¹⁰³Strickland, vol. 9, 44.

¹⁰⁴From a letter by Ambassador Terresio to the secretary of state, 1687. Quoted in Haile, 167.

great grandfather) moved the family seat there from Ferrara.¹⁰⁵ Under the patronage of the Estes, music in Modena developed a high reputation, rivaling that of nearby Bologna. It was during the reign of Mary's brother Francesco II, however, that musical culture at Modena reached its zenith. Mary was a cultural ambassador from one of the most sophisticated musical centers in Northern Italy, and a significant number of composers whose works are found in the Stuart music collections flourished in Modena or nearby Bologna.

The 1773 arrival of Mary and her Italian courtiers nearly coincided with an explosion of popular interest in Italian music caused in large part by the performances of violinist Nicola Matteis, who had appeared in London around 1670 and struggled briefly for recognition before achieving fame around 1672.¹⁰⁶ North wrote, "this poor Man as a gratefull legacy to the English Nation left with them a generall favour for the Itallian Manner of Harmony, and after him the French was wholly lay'd aside."¹⁰⁷ On November 19, 1674, John Evelyn wrote:

I heard that stupendious violin Signor Nicholao (with other rare musicians) whom certainly never mortal man exceeded on that instrument: he had a stroak so sweete, and made it speake like the voice of a man; and when he pleased like a consort of severall instruments: he did wonders upon a note: was an excellent composer also: Here was also that rare Lutinist Dr. Wallgrave: but nothing approach'd the violin in Nicholao's hand: he seem'd to be *spiritato*'d and played such ravishing things on a ground as astonish'd us all.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Janet Southorn, *Power and Display in the Seventeenth Century: the Arts and Their Patrons in Modena and Ferrara* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Elvidio Surian and Alessandra Chiarelli, "Modena," *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2, May 2013).

¹⁰⁶ See North, *Memoires*, 122; Michael Tilmouth, "Nicola Matteis," *The Musical Quarterly* vol. 46, no. 1 (Jan., 1960), 23.

¹⁰⁷ North, *Essay of Musically Ayre*, B.M. Add. 32536, quoted in Tilmouth, "Matteis," 22.

¹⁰⁸ Evelyn, *Diary*, 202.

North described Matteis' influence on musical taste in London by declaring that "[n]othing in towne had a Relish without a spice of Italy."¹⁰⁹

The unprecedented virtuosity of Matteis exhilarated London audiences and caused an explosion of interest in Italian violin music. His astonishing bowing technique allowed Matteis to reach a level of expressivity that had previously only been associated with the human voice—"every stroke of his was a mouthful."¹¹⁰ He soon taught eager English violin students to hold the bow "without touching the hair, which before him was not done in England: but from the first hint, it was immediately taken up by the best hands in a few years and became the universall practise."¹¹¹ By 1676 he published a book of pieces for violin and bass (*Arie Diverse per il Violino*), but North remarked that his published works do not reflect the genius of his performance: "[n]o person can have an idea of [his skill] who was not witness of his playing in person."¹¹²

Aside from his status as an Italian virtuoso, Matteis as a composer acknowledged his willingness to adopt musical styles that were foreign to his own—in the preface to *Arie Diverse* he writes, "Having lived myself for some years under the northern sky, I have tried to adopt the musical tastes of the people of this country, although not to so great an extent as to separate myself too much from the Italian school."¹¹³ He announces here, evidently as a selling point of his publications, his intentional blending of English and Italian styles. Indeed, even the decision to call these pieces "airs" is something of a concession to English sensibilities, since they are really suites of contrasting movements

¹⁰⁹Roger North, quoted in Westrup, 86.

¹¹⁰North, *Memoires*, 122.

¹¹¹North, quoted in Tilmouth, "Matteis," 26.

¹¹²North, *Memoires*, 126.

¹¹³Quoted and translated from the Italian in Tilmouth, "Matteis," 24.

and could just as properly have been called sonatas.¹¹⁴ Matteis sought to present himself as the image of musical eclecticism—North wrote that Matteis played only his own compositions and “pretended to compose in the style of all nations.”¹¹⁵

As the fascination with Italian arts continued in London, musicians who could claim Italian training were highly prized. John Evelyn wrote of a musical evening on December 2, 1674, “[h]eard Signor Francisco [probably Francesco Galli] on the harpsichord, esteemed one of the most excellent masters in Europe on that instrument: Then came Nicholao [Matteis] with his violin and struck all mute, but Mrs. Knight, who sung incomparably and doubtlesse has the greatest reach of any English woman. She had lately ben roming in Italy and was much improv’d in that quality.”¹¹⁶ A few years later he described Mr. Abel, “newly returned from Italy and indeede I have never heard a more excellent voice, one would have sworne it was a woman’s it was so high and so well and skillfully managed.”¹¹⁷ Those who did not make the trip to Italy still demanded Italian music teachers. Evelyn enrolled his daughter in 1682 as a student of Batholomeo Albrici as one of “the best masters” available.¹¹⁸

In addition to Italian native and Italian-trained musicians, private clubs were formed among the upper classes to advance the dissemination of foreign music in London—North describes “polite” societies that procured “foreign consorts [instrumental music],” including the works of Cazzati and Vitali from Italy, Beckler from Sweden,

¹¹⁴See Keates, 94. A rich discussion on the definition of the sonata as a genre is presented in Newman, 17–32.

¹¹⁵North, *Memoires*, 126.

¹¹⁶Evelyn, *Diary*, 202–203.

¹¹⁷Evelyn, *Diary*, 27 January 1682, 251.

¹¹⁸Evelyn, *Diary*, 5 February 1682, 251. “My daughter Mary now first began to learne Musick of Signor Bartholomeo and Dauncing of Monsieur Issac, both reputed the best masters.”

Sheiffar and Voglefank from Germany, and Porter and Farinell from France.¹¹⁹ These societies were concerned with the propagation and performance of foreign music, including the works of some composers (such as Voglefank and Sheiffar) who had visited or resided in London. North observed that the foreign music that they introduced “found here good encouragement.”¹²⁰

By the turn of the decade, a musical *mélange* was taking place in London, as musicians of various ethnic groups began to experiment with each other’s native styles. On September 23, 1680, Evelyn reported, “came to my house some German strangers, and Signor Pietro a famous musician, who had ben long in Sweden in Queene Christinas court: he sung admirably to a guitar and has a perfect good tenor and base etc: and had set to Italian composure many of Abraham Cowleys pieces which shew’ed extreamely well.”¹²¹ Here Evelyn, an eminent English polymath, gives his approval to a performance among Germans by an Italian musician from Sweden of an Italianized musical setting of poems by an Englishman.¹²²

Stuart Catholicism and the Catholic Chapel

As early as the winter of 1650, James had secretly attended Catholic services in Brussels, expressing admiration for the ceremonies and the music.¹²³ He entered the

¹¹⁹North, *Memoires*, 105–106.

¹²⁰North, *Memoires*, 106.

¹²¹Evelyn, *Diary*, 239.

¹²²Evelyn is a creditable judge of musical taste and competence, having “arriv’d to some formal knowledge” of the art sine 1639, during which time he toured Europe extensively and made a serious study of the lute with Monsieur Mercure in Paris during 1647. See Evelyn, 27, 35, 65.

¹²³His incognito Mass attendance is described in a letter from Dr. Stewart to Secretary Nicholas, December 8, 1650. Quoted in Allan Fea, *James II and his Wives* (London: Methuen and Company, 1908), 22.

Catholic communion soon after 1668 when his first wife, Catholic convert Anne Hyde (1638–1671), entreated him to study church history.¹²⁴ He was soon convinced that the Church of England had been created for no higher moral purpose than the divorce of Henry VIII from Catherine of Aragon.¹²⁵ James felt that the Catholic Church was the true church, outside of which religious and political stability could never be achieved:

[N]obody ought to wonder that there are such alterations made in the Church of England as established by Law, every day, since those who come after the first reformers, have as much authority to reform again as those who began, nay much more, for if some few members of the Church of England when united to the Catholic and Apostolic Church took upon them to fall off and separate themselves from the body of the Universal Church: how can those of the present Church of England, as they call themselves, find fault with such of their body, or others, who would reform upon them? Till they began the schism all was quiet as to religion in our unfortunate country, but since all the world sees what disorders it has caused and how our islands have been overrun with diversities of sects in the Church and with ruin and rebellion in the State, when people set ill out at first and mistake their way, it is no wonder if they go still more and more astray.¹²⁶

James understood the political ramifications of a public conversion, and continued to attend Anglican services with his brother the King until the shock of his wife's death on 31 March 1671 caused him abandon the charade.¹²⁷

¹²⁴The Marquis de Dangeau, a French courtier, recorded that James's conversion was originally inspired before the Restoration by mother Agnes of the Grand Carmelites. Dangeau, *Memoirs of the Court of France*, translated by John Davenport (London: Henry Colburn, 1825), 151.

¹²⁵John Callow, *James II: the Triumph and the Tragedy* (Surrey: The National Archives, 2003), 28–33.

¹²⁶From a manuscript written in the 1690s for the religious education of his son. Trinity College, Dublin, MS 3529, f.23. Cited and reproduced in Callow, *James II: The Triumph and the Tragedy*, 32–33.

¹²⁷Anne Hyde's last agonized words were to her husband: "Duke, death is terrible, death is very terrible." Recorded in a letter from Dr. William Denton to Sir Ralph Verney quoted in Fea, *James II and his Wives*, 62.

Political opposition to James's religion led to the Test Act of 1673, which required all public office holders to renounce Catholicism, forcing James to resign all his offices including that of Lord High Admiral. Suddenly unemployed and recently widowed, James (then Duke of York) withdrew into private life and took the 15-year-old Italian Maria d'Este as his new wife. Mary of Modena entered London as Duchess of York in December 1673, where she would be for fifteen years a highly visible and powerful member of the court.

As a strong advocate of Catholicism, Mary apparently could hardly have been a better match for James. Each of the pair took great comfort in the strong Catholic faith of the other, and Mary soon wrote to relatives that she was happy with James because "he is so firm and steady in our holy religion."¹²⁸ For his part, James grew more and more fascinated with his young bride and with her fierce Italian brand of Catholicism.¹²⁹ Over the course of fifteen years at her side in England, and for the rest of his life in exile, James looked to Mary as an inspiration of the Italian-Catholic religious ideal that he hoped to instill in the culture of his court and kingdom.

The Exile of James II

In 1688 the birth of a male heir to James II and Queen Mary stimulated a storm of anti-Catholic hysteria, already inflamed by the unguarded promotions of Catholic military officers and courtiers. Fearing that a new order of papist oppression was imminent, seven members of parliament invited William of Orange, Prince of the

¹²⁸Mary of Modena is quoted in Peter Earle, *The Life and Times of James II* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, Ltd., 1972), 105.

¹²⁹John Callow says of Mary, "her faith bordered on bigotry." See Callow, *James II*, 35.

Netherlands, to replace his father-in-law James II as king of Great Britain.¹³⁰ By November, the Stuart court was shattered by the desertion of the King's army in the face of the advancing Dutch force.

Early in December the Queen Mary and the Prince of Wales sought refuge with King Louis XIV of France,¹³¹ followed closely by King James who was desperate to avoid the fate of his father.¹³² During a harrowing flight the king was robbed, arrested, and brought back to London before finally escaping for good.¹³³ The king finally reached

¹³⁰The seven parliamentarians were Lords Devonshire, Danby, Shrewsbury, Lumley, Compton (Bishop of London), Admiral Russell, and Henry Sidney. See Martin Haile, *Queen Mary of Modena*, 191. Historian Pierre Goubert wrote of the Glorious Revolution: "It is permitted to add that the fears of the Anglicans may not have been entirely unfounded." Pierre Goubert, *Louis XIV and Twenty Million Frenchmen*, translated by Ann Carter (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), 162. See political, social, and cultural analysis of the revolution of 1688 in Patrick Dillon, *The Last Revolution: 1688 and the Creation of the Modern World* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2006).

¹³¹Madame de Sévigné breathlessly relates in a letter of 24 December 1688 the harrowing details of the rescue, only four days earlier, of the English Queen and her infant son by the French courtier M. de Lauzun. See Madame de Sévigné, *Selected Letters*, translated by Leonard Tancock (London: Penguin Books, 1982), 283–284. The story is also related in the diary of the Marquis de Dangeau, in an entry from 23 December 1688. See Dangeau, *Memoirs of the Court of France*, vol. I, 135–138. James II later made M. de Lauzun a Knight of the Garter in recognition of his services. Dangeau, 25 February 1689, vol. I, 157.

¹³²Charles II had been executed by his subjects in 1649. The royalist version of events was eminently expressed in an anonymously published work (actually by Dr. John Gauden), *Eikon Basilike: The Portraiture of His Sacred Majesty in His Solitudes and Sufferings* (London: first edition published by William Dugard, 1649. Republished Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966); a Whig version is presented by Lord Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The History of England* (New York: Penguin Books Ltd. 1983); Also see C. Veronica Wedgwood, *The King's Peace* (London: Collins, 1955. Republished by the Folio Society, 2001); eadem, *The King's War* (London: Collins, 1958. Republished by the Folio Society, 2001); eadem, *The Trial of Charles I* (London: Collins, 1964. Republished by the Folio Society, 2001).

¹³³ Arrested after taking ship for France, James was detained in Whitehall Palace on 16 December 1688. The ease of his escape six days later has led contemporaries and historians to speculate that it was facilitated by William of Orange: in a letter dated 10 January 1689, Sévigné wrote, "As for the flight of the King, it seems that that was what the Prince of Orange really wanted....He was very closely guarded at the front of the

the safety of Paris during the first week of 1689, where he joined his wife, a handful of servants, and his host and protector, Louis XIV.¹³⁴ Early in 1689, Williams's success became official—on 4 January James wrote to his subjects that he wanted to return to call a Free Parliament, but his offer was rejected. Instead parliament proclaimed William the lawful king, causing most of the English bishops—even those who had previously opposed James—to forsake their livelihood by resigning in protest rather than swear allegiance to William.¹³⁵

During January 1689, the royal family settled into the palace at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, an estate some twenty miles West of Paris where Louis XIV had been born and which had housed French kings since its construction by Charles V in the fourteenth century. At first, since few English courtiers had yet assembled to serve the overthrown king, the palace was staffed by French servants and the social needs of the king and queen were met by French courtiers from Versailles, with whom the English couple

house, but all the back doors were left open. The Prince was unwilling to cause his father-in-law's death." Sévigné, 290. Historian Mary Hopkirk described the situation this way: "William would have found the King a very embarrassing captive; and hoping fervently that he would escape, did everything possible to enable him to go to France—even issuing a blank passport for some unnamed person who wished to leave England." Mary Hopkirk, *The Queen Over the Water* (London: John Murray Publishers, 1953), 164. Also see Oman, 142–144.

¹³⁴This was the second time that James had sought refuge with Louis XIV; after the defeat of the royalists in the English Civil War, he had fled to France where he embarked on a spectacular military career under Marshall Turenne, and later served in the Spanish army under Condé. See James Stuart, *The Memoirs of James II: His Campaigns as Duke of York, 1652–1660*, translated and edited by A. Lytton Sells (London: Chatto & Windus, 1962). In his diary entries for 5–12 January 1689, Dangeau provided a contemporary account of the arrival of James II in France and the installation of the Stuarts court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye. See Dangeau, vol. I, 141–148.

¹³⁵According to Dangeau, William had a similar problem with the English soldiery: "He cannot avail himself of any of the troops which were in the service of the King of England, as neither privates nor officers would take the new oath." See Dangeau, entry of 17 March 1689, vol. I, 160.

exchanged visits according to the complex demands of contemporary etiquette.¹³⁶ Within a few short weeks however, British royalists began to stream into France, ready to take up James' cause against the new foreign King¹³⁷ and the Whig¹³⁸ parliamentarians.

Even while suffering the indignity of exile, the Stuarts maintained a flourishing court that cultivated etiquette, music, culture, and the arts, as well as the claim that they were still the legitimate rulers of Britain. Provided with a generous allowance and the sumptuous halls and grounds of the palace at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, the Stuarts were in a position to support sacred music for the chapel, regular court balls, outdoor ceremonial music, daily music for the royal table, and court concerts and music for special royal occasions.¹³⁹ In short, they continued to act in a manner befitting heads of state by

¹³⁶Upon installing the newly arrived English king at St-Germain-en-Laye, Louis XIV assured him of his sovereign position in the hierarchy of protocol, saying, "This is your home; when I come here you will do the honours to me, and I will do so to you when you come to Versailles." Indeed, no time was lost—the entire French court visited the Stuarts in their new arrangements the following day. See Sévigné, letter of 10 January 1689, 291–292; Dangeau, vol. I, 142–145. French and English court formality differed substantially, see Dangeau, vol. I, 27–28, 147–150; Also see Strickland, vol. 9, 228. Details are found in Edwin and Marion Sharpe Grew, *The English Court in Exile* (London: Mills & Boon, Limited, 1911), 44–98.

¹³⁷William of Orange's main claim to the British throne was through his wife Mary, the daughter of James II. James and Mary of Modena both maintained warm correspondence with William and Mary, and absolutely refused to entertain reports that he was preparing a hostile invasion against them. See Strickland, vol. 9, 65. Also see Maureen Waller, *Ungrateful Daughters: The Stuart Princesses Who Stole Their Father's Crown* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin Publishing, 2004).

¹³⁸The term "Whig" originally meant a Scottish covenanting fanatic, and the term "Tory" an Irish Catholic outlaw. They came to refer to political royalism versus parliamentarianism during the Jacobite Struggles. See Oman, 39.

¹³⁹The notion of a gloomy and continually disappointed Stuart court in exile was generated by the writings of John Macky, a Williamite agent and propagandist and has been perpetuated by Whig historians. See John Callow, *King in Exile* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2004), especially chapter six, "The Shadow Court," pp. 205–240 (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2004); Also see Edward Corp, *A Court in Exile*; Edwin and Marion Sharpe Grew, especially chapter thirteen, "The Household at Saint-Germain," pp. 264–265; Peter Earle, chapter eight "The King Over the Water," in *The*

surrounding themselves with pomp, ceremony and high culture. The Revolution of 1688 displaced not only a king, but also much of his attendant court culture. The exile of the Stuarts effectively transferred musical ideas that had been nurtured in London to a French landscape where they were largely foreign. In the chapters that follow, I analyze the impact of these Stuart musical practices of both patronage and musical influence on Parisian musical culture at the end of the seventeenth century.

Life and Times of James II, pp. 200–217; Eveline Cruickshanks and Edward Corp, editors, *The Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1995); Sir Charles Petrie, *The Stuart Pretenders: a History of the Jacobite Movement, 1688–1807* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933).

CHAPTER TWO

STUART MUSICAL PATRONAGE

In 1666 Charles II took offence when John Banister, leader of the King's Select Band of musicians, objected to the King referring to his royal orchestra as his "Italian" music,¹⁴⁰ and suggested that the ensemble should be recognized as English. The King was so incensed by this request that Banister, who had also been accused of financial impropriety, lost his position, and was replaced by a director from Catalonia. But why would the King of England be angered by the request to acknowledge that his own personal ensemble was English? Did Banister speak for others among the musicians in wanting to claim an English identity? The episode invites us to explain the complex ways in which Stuart patronage of music perceived in London as "foreign" became crucial to the cultural identity of the royal court. More importantly, it provides a window into a moment in time unique in British musical history: the restoration not only of a monarchical dynasty, but of a court musical culture that had been effectively suspended for nearly two decades.

¹⁴⁰Wood describes the king asking for his "Italian music," while Pepys describes him referring to the same ensemble as the "French music." See Pepys, 58. Also see Peter Holman and David Lasocki, "Banister." *GroveMusicOnline. OxfordMusicOnline*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/42774pg2> (accessed November 3, 2010).

Upon returning from exile in 1660 to reclaim the English throne following the interregnum, Charles II saw not only a need but also an unprecedented opportunity to rebuild Stuart culture from the ground up; as musicians stepped forward to re-seed the fallow musical ground at the London court, Charles was in a position to recruit whichever of these musicians he wanted with the offer of his favor and support. The choices he made would generate the cultural, social and intellectual identity that he wanted to project, and would come to represent the Stuart court at home and abroad, for better or for worse.

The post-Restoration Stuart Kings, Charles II and James II, understood music to be a tool well suited to the creation of an imagined collective identity.¹⁴¹ They used their control of court musical culture to project an image of welcoming cosmopolitanism; they embraced foreign musicians and admired the blending of styles from abroad. Furthermore, I argue that as both rulers adopted Catholicism, Charles II privately and James II publically, their self-fashioning as patrons of continental music implied a culturally coded move away from Anglicanism.¹⁴² The Stuart preference for French or Italian music is an example of how musical patronage allowed the court to signal an English tradition paradoxically based on imported music, while also using a promotion of French and then

¹⁴¹A discussion of music as a reflection of group identity is found in Philip V. Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History* (Santa Barbara: ABC Clio, 2004), especially in chapter three “National Music,” 81–116. For the English court and early nationalism, see Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992). Greenfeld argues that modern nationalism arose in sixteenth-century England, over a century before its development elsewhere. See especially chapter one, “God’s Firstborn: England,” pp. 27–88; also see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition (New York: Verso, 1991).

¹⁴²Strickland, vols. 8 and 9; Peter Earle, *The Life and Times of James II*; Mary Hopkirk, *The Queen over the Water*; Lord Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The History of England*.

especially Italian musicians as a subtle way of associating and connecting themselves with Catholic culture flourishing on the continent.

Receptivity to outside musical influence was foundational to the image of English musical sophistication. Henry Peacham emphasized this principle in his 1622 artistic guidebook *The Compleat Gentleman* by criticizing the French and Italians “who are very sparing in the commendation of strangers, in regard of that conceit they hold of themselves.” Peacham also praised the adoption of Italian techniques by English musicians, citing the organist Peter Philips as “one of the greatest Masters of musicke in Europe...he affecteth altogether the Italian veine.”¹⁴³ Thus for Peacham the appreciation and adoption of foreign styles was one of the great virtues of English musical character. Similarly, the reluctance that he perceived among the French and Italians to embrace foreign music was for him a sign of cultural chauvinism, backward in comparison with the progressive open-mindedness of the English.

The tendency to admire the musical excellence of foreigners was not uniquely English, but was part of the way English men and women imagined their cultural relationship to the continent; they were consumers of a musical production that they felt able to expropriate and brandish as a badge of sophistication.¹⁴⁴ In early-modern Europe, artistic patronage was widely recognized as a requirement of political power, and competition arose between rival courts to acquire the work of the most sought after and

¹⁴³Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, 100.

¹⁴⁴From 1660–1710 nearly all notable English composers were centered in London, and a very large percentage were foreigners; “the question of nationality [in England] is more complex than in any other region.” See William S. Newman, *Sonata in the Baroque Era*, 301.

progressive musicians available, usually but not always Italians.¹⁴⁵ But its embrace of the superiority of foreign music made the Stuart court sharply distinct from the musical patriotism of the contemporary court of Louis XIV, which held French arts and sciences, including music, to be the finest in the world and looked upon the parallel efforts of other nations with a certain suspicious contempt.¹⁴⁶ As J. A. Westrup has pointed out, seventeenth-century rulers commonly pursued cultural reputations by soliciting the most up-to-date musicians from whatever countries produced them.¹⁴⁷ Musical patrons in London sought the finest musical culture available and were willing to import it if necessary.

In the decades that followed the Restoration several factors contributed to an English receptivity to outside musical influences: first, the social and political conditions of the interregnum stimulated the development of new musical culture in response to official suppression of musical activity in some of its most traditionally productive

¹⁴⁵ “[T]he principal European music-lovers, who often formed a select, aristocratic and cultivated public, were very receptive to...everything that came from Italy...Italy, however, merely exported her musical output as it was, like highly-priced merchandise.” See Patrick Barbier, *The World of the Castrati*, translated by Margaret Crosland (London: Souvenir Press, Ltd., 1996), 174; J. A. Westrup, “Foreign Musicians,” 77–78. Also see Hogwood, 8–11. Mazarin at the French court and Queen Christina in Sweden had both tried to build cultural capital through the patronage of Italian music in the 1640s and 1650s respectively. See Margret Murata, “Roman Cantata Scores,” 275.

¹⁴⁶ Peter Burke offers a study of the controlled use of French artistic media, including statues, portraits, medals, prints, sermons, speeches, poems, plays, ballets, and opera in the construction of Louis XIV’s official royal image. See Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 16–17; Hogwood argues that the French under Louis XIV believed that they “had achieved a unity of sensibility and civilization which had escaped the rest of Europe.” See Hogwood, 55.

¹⁴⁷ J. A. Westrup, 70. Westrup claims that “[n]o prince of the 17th century was so short-sighted as to put patriotism before artistic excellence.” Louis XIV was arguably the exception to this rule.

contexts, such as the church, court, and theater.¹⁴⁸ Second, the restoration of the Stuart dynasty brought to power a royal family that for nearly two decades had lived in exile where it had experienced continental musical customs directly.¹⁴⁹ The returning Stuarts and royalists created musical establishments at court in imitation of French and Italian models.¹⁵⁰ Third, a growing Catholic presence at the courts of Charles II and James II led to a Catholic royal chapel alongside the Anglican Chapel Royal, and the development of a parallel musical establishment dominated by Italian Catholic music.¹⁵¹ But the overarching motive for the cosmopolitan musical culture in London was a court seeking to enhance its cultural legitimacy by brandishing demand for foreign music as a sign of its own sophistication. The resulting musical activity brought various styles into juxtaposition, allowing composers to experiment with outside influences without regard for loyal adherence to a single school or tradition.

¹⁴⁸The Puritan Commonwealth government did not generally prohibit music in society, and in fact passed no specific legislation against it. See Percy Alfred Scholes, *The Puritans and Music*,” 130. Nevertheless, contemporary writers make it clear that music in church was not tolerated. See Anthony Wood, *The Life and Times*, 90.

¹⁴⁹“[Charles II] was the first English monarch since Henry VIII to have experienced the culture of Continental courts at first hand; he and the courtiers who had shared his years of exile knew that much of the music that his court musicians tried to offer him was hopelessly old-fashioned in European terms.” See Peter Holman, *Henry Purcell* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 3.

¹⁵⁰This includes most notably the organization of the Twenty-four Violins, and the undertaking of court opera. See Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 305–388.

¹⁵¹See Peter Leech, “Catherine of Braganza and the Catholic Chapel” *Early Music* 29 (Nov. 2001): 570–587; Peter Leech, “Music and musicians in the Catholic chapel of James II at Whitehall, 1686–1688,” *Early Music* 39 (2001): 379–400.

The Restoration

At the time of the Restoration in 1660,¹⁵² the Stuart court returned to London having participated in continental musical culture. During the interregnum Charles II and his brother James had lived either in France itself,¹⁵³ or as Roger North observed, “where the French musick was in request.”¹⁵⁴ Charles II promptly resurrected what was a time-honored tradition among English monarchs: the cultivation and elevation of foreign music as an announcement of the cultural sophistication and enlightenment of the English court.¹⁵⁵ But the potential political meaning of this choice had now shifted, because this was a court returning from exile in France, bringing a knowledge of foreign musical currents acquired abroad and insisting, as late as the 1666 demotion of John Bannister, that a foreign musical identity should represent English music. The use of foreign music and musicians had now taken on new meaning in the context of the Restoration.

¹⁵²Curtis Price points out that the term “Restoration” was used by writers of the time “to apply equally to the restoration of the theatre and to the restoration of the House of Stuart.” Curtis A. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979), xiii.

¹⁵³After his initial flight from England he took refuge at the French court from 1652 to 1654, in time to witness the famous episode of the young Louis XIV dancing with Lully in the *Ballet de la nuit* on 23 February 1653. See Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 289.

¹⁵⁴Quoted in Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 289. During his exile, Charles II lived in several parts of France, as well as The Hague, Bruges, and Brussels. <http://www.luminarium.org/encyclopedia/charles2.htm>. For further information on the exile of the Stuarts during the Civil War, see Neil Reynolds, “The Stuart court and courtiers in exile, 1644–1654” (Ph. D. diss., Trinity Hall, Cambridge, 1996); Eva Scott, Eva. *The King in Exile*; Eva Scott, *The Travels of the King*.

¹⁵⁵“The preference for Continental music was only a part of a great shift in taste, for in many other areas as well the Restoration upper class turned toward the Continent as a guide.” H. James Jensen, “English Restoration Attitudes toward Music,” *The Musical Quarterly* 55 (April, 1969): 206–214; 206. Jensen uses dialogue from Restoration theatre (specifically the plays of Thomas Shadwell) to show a consistent bias in favor of continental music and arts among English aristocratic characters. “[Shadwell’s] well-bred characters are intolerant of English songs and dances, and his low-bred characters dote on them.” Jensen, 208.

Within the first months of his restoration on 29 May 1660, Charles II overhauled the music of the court and royal chapel, introducing a company of twenty-four violins in overt imitation of the *Vingt-quatre violons* of the French court.¹⁵⁶ This ensemble was assembled in time to perform at the coronation ceremony on April 23, 1661, witnessed by Samuel Pepys: “I took a great deal of pleasure to go up and down, and look upon the ladies, and to hear the musique of all sorts, but above all, the Twenty-four Violins.”¹⁵⁷

The restoration of Charles II also meant an end to the prohibition on Anglican church music that had existed during the Puritan Interregnum. Just as London’s churches and cathedrals began for the first time in nearly two decades to resound once more with choir and organ, however, the royal preference for the French style began to displace traditional English liturgical practice. John Evelyn described a chapel service that he witnessed on December 21, 1662:

One of his majesties chaplains preached after which, instead of the antient grave and solemn wind musique accompanying the organ was introduced a consort of twenty-four violins between every pause after the French fantastical light way, better suiting a tavern or playhouse than a church: this was the first time of change, and now we heard no more the cornet, which gave life to the organ, that instrument quite left off in which the English were so skillful.¹⁵⁸

Whether or not he was alone in his disapproval of the substitution of “fantastical” violins for the “antient grave and solemn wind musique,” Evelyn was surely not the only member of the congregation to notice such a significant deviation from musical traditions in the Anglican liturgy. The fact that this substitution took place in the royal chapel under the

¹⁵⁶Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers* 284–288. Also Simon McVeigh, “The violinists of the Baroque and Classical periods,” *The Cambridge Companion to the Violin*, ed. Robin Stowell (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 48.

¹⁵⁷Pepys, 71.

¹⁵⁸Evelyn, 132.

direction of “one of his majesties chaplains,” and presumably before the King himself, strongly suggests that the change occurred with the King’s approval if not by his direct command.

Charles II took a personal interest in fashioning a musical image of continental orientation, causing embarrassment on one occasion when during the performance of some incidental theater music, “the King did put a great affront upon Singleton’s¹⁵⁹ musique, he bidding them stop and made the French musique play, which my Lord [Admiral Sir Edward Montagu, Pepys’s friend and patron] says, do much outdo all ours.”¹⁶⁰ The King’s promotion of ideas of “Frenchness” in the instrumental music at his court spurred great enthusiasm for dance music in the style of Jean-Baptiste Lully, “an Italian Frenchiyed.”¹⁶¹ North reports that early in the Restoration such music came to predominate in London, whereas “old music” held on in the country, and that the violin replaced the treble viol everywhere in England—“all the compositions of the town [London] were strained to imitate Baptist’s vein.”¹⁶² As the musical court in London “strained” to imitate French style in 1660s, Anthony Wood observed that the learned, labored, and serious had become unfashionable in restoration England: “to be earnest or zealous in any one thing [is frowned upon]. But all forsooth, must be gentile and neat—no paines taken: Bantring.”¹⁶³ This light and unpretentious musical “banter” reflected the

¹⁵⁹John Singleton was leader, together with Matthew Locke, of the Twenty-four Violins from Midsummer 1660. See Holman, *Fiddlers*, 284.

¹⁶⁰Pepys, 58.

¹⁶¹North, *Memoirs*, 102. Born in northern Italy, Lully arrived in France in 1646 and became a naturalized French citizen in 1661. For information on Lully’s Italian roots, see Jérôme de la Gorce, “Lully’s Tuscan Family” in *Lully Studies*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1–14.

¹⁶²North, *Memoirs*, 102–105.

¹⁶³Wood, 216.

deliberately uncomplicated ballet music idiomatically constructed by Lully during the time that the future Charles II and his brother had been living in exile in close proximity to the French court in Paris.

Although musical culture in London had become substantially cosmopolitan even by the early the 1660s, Charles II showed his personal preference for the French style through his patronage of individual musicians: he sponsored a trip to France for John Bannister, who became leader of the Twenty-four violins after Baltzar had succumbed to alcoholism, in order that he could undergo a formal training in French music.¹⁶⁴ Similarly Charles II displayed his favor of French musicianship when he unexpectedly replaced Bannister, despite his French musical education, with Louis Grabu in 1666.¹⁶⁵

The King must have anticipated that his actions would cause aggravation, at least for Bannister if not other English musicians, and so it did: Samuel Pepys recorded on February 20, 1666 that “the king’s viallin [violin], Bannister, is mad that the king hath a Frenchman come to be chief of some part of the king’s musique.” Moreover, Louis Grabu did not have a musical reputation positive enough to seem to warrant such a sudden and important promotion, nor did he gain one subsequently:¹⁶⁶ on October 1, 1667, Samuel Pepys reported:

¹⁶⁴See North, *Memoirs*, 110. Also see Wood, 136.

¹⁶⁵Pepys, 351.

¹⁶⁶Peter Holman called Grabu “perhaps the most derided figure in English musical history”. See Holman, *Fiddlers*, 296. Holman refers to the opinions of musicologists such as Robert Moore, who called Grabu “a pallid Frenchman . . . whose talent for setting English verse to music left almost everything to be desired” and Edward J. Dent, who called him a “caricature” of Lully, and called his opera *Albion and Albanus* “a monument of stupidity” the failure of which “was due more to Grabu than to anyone else.” See Robert Moore, *Henry Purcell and the Restoration Theatre* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 39; Edward J. Dent, *Foundations of English Opera: A Study of*

I did hear the musick with which the King is presented this night by Monsieur Grebus [Grabu], the Master of his Musick: both instrumental (I think twenty-four violins) and vocall: an English song upon Peace. But, God forgive me! I never was so little pleased with a concert of music in my life. The manner of setting words and repeating them out of order, and that with a number of voices, makes me sick, the whole design of vocall musick; being lost by it. Here was a great press of people; but I did not see many pleased with it, only the instrumental musick he had brought by practice to play very just.¹⁶⁷

Charles's personal enthusiasm for the French musical style, which is seen in his decision to send select English musicians such as Bannister to France for musical training, gained political significance with his sponsorship of Louis Grabu; Charles favored Grabu for his French nationality in spite of an unflattering musical reputation and an apparent inability to connect positively with London audiences. This is significant in that it represents an effort by the sovereign to display good taste and judgment through musical patronage, while in fact providing music that did not always seem pleasing to his subjects.

By the end of the first decade of the restoration, newly arrived foreign musicians held prominent positions at the court of Charles II. The German string player Dietrich Stoeffken [known in London as Mr. Steffkins], who had been a bass viol player at court before the civil war was reappointed upon the Restoration. Ferdinand de Florence had been among the French musicians since 1663. Another French musician who came to London was Lully's famous and unfortunate competitor, Robert Cambert, who transplanted himself in London after losing his patent for the production of French opera in 1672. He worked at the English court (before his death in 1677) with moderate success,

Musical Drama in England During the Seventeenth Century (New York: Da Capo Press, 1965), 165–166.

¹⁶⁷Pepys, 429.

achieving a position of leadership among the instrumentalists, and possibly as a composer.¹⁶⁸ Cambert played his hand in London just as the reign of French music was joined by a new fascination with the music of Italy.

Charles II attempted soon after the Restoration to establish Italian Opera in London by granting a patent in 1660 to Giulio Gentileschi for building a theatre and managing an Italian opera company.¹⁶⁹ In 1664 the patent fell to Thomas Killigrew who planned to construct his own theater for Italian opera:

Four operas it shall have in the year, to act sex [sic] weeks at a time; where we shall have the best scenes and machines, the best musique, and every thing as magnificent as in Christendome; and to that end hath sent for voices and painters and other persons from Italy.¹⁷⁰

Although Gentileschi and Killigrew failed to find success with the project, their efforts attracted the Albrici family, as well as Hilario Suarez, Pietro Reggio, Pietro Cefalo, Matteo Battaglia, Giovanni Sebenico.¹⁷¹ These Italian-oriented musicians became central to musical life in London despite the failure of Italian opera to achieve popularity there until the first decade of the eighteenth century.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸Westrup, 76. Hawkins credited Cambert with introducing the violin family to London and the subsequent interest in Italian sonatas. See Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era*, 302.

¹⁶⁹*State Papers*, public record office, London, 29/19, no. 16 (22 October 1660: *Register*, no. 38; Ashbee, 8z, 140; see *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1660–1661, 319), cited in Andrew R. Walking, 86–88. Also see Westrup, 77; Mabbett, 237.

¹⁷⁰Mabbett, 237; Pepys reports that as late as 1667 Killigrew was still determined to have Italian operas performed in England and that Batista Draghi had composed one in Italian that was intended to be soon performed. See Pepys, Feb. 12, 1667; Walking, 86–88.

¹⁷¹The immigration contract for these musicians is provided in Mabbett, 238.

¹⁷²Curtis A. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre*, 112–117. Also see Curtis A. Price, “The Critical Decade for English Music Drama, 1700–1710,” *Harvard Library Bulletin* 26 (1978), 38.

Patronage of Italians in Stuart London extended beyond musicians—in 1674, one year after the arrival of Mary of Modena, Italian painter Benedetto Gennari of Bologna came to London from Paris, where he had been working for King Louis XIV and his brother the Duc d’Orleans.¹⁷³ Gennari was known for classically themed portraits and religious works, and through Mary’s enthusiastic patronage he soon developed a “near monopoly” on Catholic devotional images at court.¹⁷⁴ The devotional paintings that Mary commissioned from Gennari include portraits of St. Xavier and St. Francis de Sales for her oratory at St. James.¹⁷⁵ Gennari arrived in London with his travelling companion, Francesco Riva, who also found employment with Mary as her Keeper of the Royal Wardrobe.¹⁷⁶ Both Gennari and Riva followed the Stuarts into exile.

Gennari’s main competitor in London during the 1680s was another Italian, Antonio Verrio. Unlike Gennari, Verrio specialized not in portraiture but decorative painting. Charles II employed him to paint the interiors at Windsor Palace, and in 1685 made him Keeper of the Great Garden at St. James.¹⁷⁷ James II took great pride in Verrio’s work, which he felt “set the standard against which other decorative painters were to be judged.”¹⁷⁸

¹⁷³See Oman, *Mary of Modena*, 43.

¹⁷⁴Andrew Barclay, “Mary Beatrice of Modena: The ‘Second Bless’d of Woman-Kind’?” in *Queenship in Britain, 1660–1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture, and Dynastic Politics*, ed. Clarissa Cambell Orr (New York: Manchester University Press, 2002), 85.

¹⁷⁵Oman, 43. Francis de Sales’ *Introduction à la vie devote* was venerated by both James and Mary, who had it published in English by the royal printer shortly after their ascension to the throne. See Barclay, 82–83.

¹⁷⁶Martin Haile, *Queen Mary of Modena*, 121.

¹⁷⁷Barclay, 84.

¹⁷⁸Oman, 84.

The Organization of Music at the Stuart Court in London

Royal music after the Restoration came to be divided into three general departments. The royal drum and trumpet corps supported military, ceremonial, and political functions and is not especially important to this study. Instrumental forces, including the “Private Musick,” the Twenty-four Violins, and other instrumental groups, served to provide secular music for the king’s dining, dancing, and general entertainment. The Chapel Royal was a body of musicians organized to meet the religious needs of the royal family.

During the early years of the Restoration, the instrumental forces comprised several groups tailored to specific purposes. A small group of elite players known as the “Private Musick” performed within the inner sanctum of the court, serving the royal family in the privacy of their apartments.¹⁷⁹ For the first several years of the Restoration, Private Musick included an ensemble called the Broken Consort, made up of mixed (“broken”) instruments for the performance of fantasias or “fancy-music” under the direction of violinist Thomas Baltzar. The Broken Consort fell out of use with the death of its leader in 1663.¹⁸⁰

Most royal instrumentalists performed in string or wind ensembles that served public functions at Whitehall palace.¹⁸¹ The largest of these, the “Twenty-four Violins,” was established by 1661 as a string orchestra of two-dozen members but soon absorbed or replaced the other court ensembles. By the mid 1660s, the Twenty-four “only performed

¹⁷⁹The “Private Music” formed the equivalent of what had been known before the civil war as the Lutes and Voices. See Holman, *Purcell*, 2.

¹⁸⁰Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 275–276.

¹⁸¹Holman, *Purcell*, 2.

as a single group at coronations or state occasions of similar importance” and served mainly as a pool from which ensembles of any size and instrumentation could be drawn to fit a particular performance need.¹⁸²

The primary employment of instrumental musicians at court was to provide entertainment at royal meals, which were often held in public.¹⁸³ Andrew Newport described a royal dinner that he witnessed on 5 July 1660:

[T]he King sat under a state at the upper end of the hall in the middle of the table, the Duke of York at the end on the right hand, and [the] Duke of Gloucester on the left; a degree lower (divided with a rail) , were four tables, two on each side of the hall for the Lords, and a degree lower than that, six tables, three on each side for the Commons, the King’s own music on one side of the hall in a little gallery, and opposite to them 24 viols and violins in another...¹⁸⁴

The presence of two identifiably separate groups of instrumentalists—“the King’s own music” on one side of the hall and the “24 viols and violins” on the other—reflects an occasion of sufficient grandeur to require all the instrumental forces of the court, both public and private.

Court instrumentalists were also called upon to provide music for dancing, the practice of which was “perhaps the most highly prized social grace of Restoration society.”¹⁸⁵ The entire royal family, including the duke and duchess of York (the future king and queen James II and his first wife Anne Hyde) took dancing lessons from the best

¹⁸²Holman, *Fiddlers*, 284–288, and *Purcell*, 2–3.

¹⁸³“Charles II was the first English monarch since Henry VIII to dine regularly in public (though he probably got the idea from Louis XIV rather than from his ancestor).” See Holman, *Fiddlers*, 306–307.

¹⁸⁴Andrew Newport to Sir Richard Leveson, letter of 5 July, 1660. Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Fifth Report*, i. 154. Quoted in Holman, *Fiddlers*, 306.

¹⁸⁵Holman, *Fiddlers*, 307.

French masters available, including Sebastian La Pierre, and Jerome Gohory.¹⁸⁶ Samuel Pepys reported seeing the young Mary Stuart (daughter of James Stuart and Anne Hyde) perform at a dance in 1669:

I did see the young Duchess, a little child in hanging sleeves, dance most finely, so as almost to ravish me, her airs were so good—taught by a Frenchman that did heretofore teach the King and all the King’s children, and the Queen-Mother herself, who doth still dance well.¹⁸⁷

As Pepys’s report demonstrates, three generations of the English royal family—the King’s mother Henrietta Maria (who was French), the King himself, and the King’s children—publically presented themselves as dancers in the French tradition and of French training.

Instrumental musicians of the court traveled with members of the royal family when they moved throughout the kingdoms; in a letter of 19 September 1687, Terriesi described Queen Mary of Modena as she went to take the waters at Bath:

Her Majesty is taking them very conscientiously, and has the company of other ladies, who bathe with her, the music of the Italians, which constantly diverts her, and the sight of all the people who crowd around to pay their court, or to witness a hitherto unseen spectacle.¹⁸⁸

The future James II also travelled with musicians and evidently valued them highly—when a sudden storm sank his ship, the *Gloucester*, on a voyage from Windsor to Scotland in 1682 the Duke ordered that a drowning violin player be hauled aboard his overcrowded lifeboat over the objection of other passengers.¹⁸⁹ This fact is significant considering that about a hundred and thirty men, including Lords Roxburgh and O’Brien,

¹⁸⁶Holman, *Fiddlers*, 307.

¹⁸⁷Pepys, ix. 507; Holman, *Fiddlers*, 307.

¹⁸⁸Martin Haile, *Queen Mary of Modena*, 167.

¹⁸⁹Strickland, vol. 9, 112.

lost their lives in the shipwreck, and that the lifeboats were intended only for use by “persons of quality.”¹⁹⁰

The Chapel Royal

Sacred music formed a large part of the musical repertoire composed and performed for the royal court, and was often referred to as music of the Chapel Royal. “Chapel Royal” is a potentially confusing term since it was used to refer to the musicians employed by the royal family for use in religious services, rather than to any specific chapel. Ian Spink writes, “Strictly speaking, the Chapel Royal was not a building, but a body of men and boys whose job was originally to sing the daily service wherever the king happened to be.”¹⁹¹ As the personal musical establishment belonging to the sovereign of England and titular head of the Anglican Church, the Chapel Royal is often assumed to be the musical forces of the royal Anglican services. During the seventeenth century, however, a succession of Catholic Queens of England required a parallel Catholic chapel at court, which became of central importance during the reign of the openly Catholic James II. Since the Anglican chapel was not abolished but was preserved under the Act of Toleration, the situation developed where two “Chapels Royal,” one Anglican and one Catholic, operated simultaneously.

The Anglican Chapel was the official royal church, but by the middle 1670s, James II had stopped attending Anglican services and began openly attending Catholic mass. Mary of Modena happily wrote to her brother Francesco II on Good Friday 1675 that her husband refused to attend Anglican services with his brother and that “nothing else is

¹⁹⁰See *Correspondence of Henry Hyde*, vol. I., p. 73, quoted in Fea, 102.

¹⁹¹Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660–1714* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995), 101.

talked of in the whole town.”¹⁹² By 1687 the King’s continual absence at the Anglican chapel had deprived the Anglican musicians of much incentive to attend to their duties—a letter from Aylesbury to Nicholas Staggins on 21 October 1687 suggests that the players did not always consider their presence necessary:

Whereas you have neglected to give order to the violins to attend at the Chapel at Whitehall where Her Royal Highness the Princess Anne of Denmark is present, these are therefore to give notice to them that they give their attendance there upon Sunday next, and so to continue to do so as formerly they did.¹⁹³

These players must understandably have assumed that, since it was their job to perform for the King and there was no chance his attending Anglican services, there was no need for them to attend them either. Nevertheless, the Anglican Church remained the official Church of England and its musical importance remained central to the vast majority of Londoners, if not to their King. Furthermore, the Anglican Chapel Royal not only employed some of the most notable musical figures of the day, but also witnessed bold musical experimentation as foreign musical styles were blended into the English tradition. Foremost among composers interested in this musical blending was Henry Purcell.

By the 1680s Henry Purcell was the most famous composer at the Anglican chapel. Because the Test Act of 1673 denied the right of Catholics to hold civil office, Italian Catholics were effectively prevented from serving alongside musicians in the Anglican chapel.¹⁹⁴ Nevertheless, Purcell developed a strong interest in Italian music

¹⁹²Oman, *Mary of Modena*, 50. James’ public avowal of the Anglican Church was against his brother’s wishes.

¹⁹³Aylesbury to Nicholas Staggins, 21 October 1687, Quoted in Keates, *Purcell*, 143.

¹⁹⁴See “An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants,” *Statutes of the Realm*: volume 5: 1628–80 (1819), pp. 782–85. Date

during the 1670s.¹⁹⁵ Purcell was recognized by his contemporaries and by posterity as the finest English composer of his age. In 1698, John Evelyn wrote:

I dined at Mr. Pepys', where I heard that rare voice, Mr. Pate, who was lately come from Italy, reputed the most excellent singer ever England had: he sang indeede many rare Italian recitatives etc. and severall compositions of the last Mr. Pursal, esteemed the best composer of any Englishman hitherto.

The juxtaposition of Purcell's music with "rare Italian recitatives" on the program of a great Italian singer seems to be a point of pride for Evelyn; Purcell's ability to compete with the Italians on their own terms was a measure of his success. Indeed, the inclusion of Purcell's music in the performance that Evelyn described, that of an Italian-trained singer performing mostly Italian music, suggests that Purcell's music was deemed compatible with the Italian in terms of style and sensibility.

In his publication in 1683 of a set of trio sonatas in the Italian style,¹⁹⁶ Purcell went so far as to recommend Italian music to English artists. He wrote:

[The Author] has faithfully endeavor'd a just imitation of the most fam'd Italian masters; principally to bring the seriousness and gravity of that sort of musick into vogue, and reputation among our countrymen, whose humor, 'tis time now should begin to loathe the levity, and balladry of our neighbors.¹⁹⁷ ... He is not ashamed to own his unskillfulness in the Italian

accessed: 28 August 2012. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=47451>

¹⁹⁵Holman, *Purcell*, from the introduction, ix.

¹⁹⁶This was the first "nationally composed collection of trios in the newest Italian vein." See Keates, 94. Newman writes that Purcell's sonatas are based on unknown Italian models, but also bear the influence of such English traditions as the *In Nomine* with the cantus firmus in the bass—"Purcell's Anglicanisms are at least as much responsible as his Italianisms for the high quality and appeal of his sonatas." Newman also points out that Corelli's Op. 1 was published in 1681, not in 1683 as was once widely believed, and therefore may have had an influence on some of Purcell's sonatas. See Newman, 308–310.

¹⁹⁷See Keates, 96. Keates has read "the levity and balladry of our neighbors" as a reference to the French, but I believe that the terms "levity and balladry" are more plausibly associated with the lyrical, melodic, and rhythmic traditions of the neighboring Gaelic cultures in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.

language; ... however he thinks he may warrantably affirm, that he is not mistaken in the power of the Italian notes, or elegance of their compositions, which he would recommend to the English artists.¹⁹⁸

Just which “fam’d Italian masters” Purcell sought to emulate is still unclear, but he is known to have studied pieces once thought to be by Colista but actually composed by Carlo Ambrogio Lonati, who later visited London during the reign of James II.¹⁹⁹ Purcell’s sonata publications circulated to a wider audience than his consort music, because they had the advantage of being printed.²⁰⁰ Purcell adopts the Italian trio-sonata idiom, using a structure of short contrasting movements, a texture of two solo instruments plus continuo, and a contrapuntal language rich with suspensions, and imitation:

¹⁹⁸Henry Purcell, from the “Introduction to the reader” of his 1683 publication of a collection of 12 sonatas. Found in Purcell, *Sonatas*, edited by W. Gillies Whittaker (Paris: Editions de L’oiseau Lyre, 1936). Originally published as *Sonnatas of III parts* (London: engraved by Thomas Crosse, published by John Playford and John Carr, 1683).

¹⁹⁹In addition to the twelve sonatas “in III parts” published in 1697, ten sonatas “in IV parts” by Purcell were published posthumously in 1697. An autograph copy (dated 1680) in the British Library of eight of the 1697 sonatas suggests that all of Purcell’s sonatas were produced during the same time period. See Keates, 93–97.

²⁰⁰Holman, *Purcell*, 92.

Figure 2.1: Sonata no. 1 in G minor by Henry Purcell²⁰¹

The image displays a musical score for Sonata no. 1 in G minor by Henry Purcell, spanning measures 1 to 22. The score is written in G minor (two flats) and common time (C). It consists of five systems, each with three staves: a treble clef staff, a treble clef staff, and a bass clef staff. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and phrasing slurs. Measure numbers 6, 12, 18, and 22 are indicated at the beginning of their respective systems. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of measure 22.

In addition to highly chromatic counterpoint, Purcell achieves surprising syncopations by use of weak beat suspensions in the bass line.

²⁰¹Facsimile reprinted from the Pepys Library (London: Paradine, 1975). Also see W. Gillies Whittaker, ed., *Purcell Sonatas* (Paris: The Lyrebird Press, 1936), 1–4.

The success achieved by Purcell's Italianate sonatas soon inspired other English composers to experiment with the genre as he had suggested—an advertisement of 23 November 1685 in the *London Gazette* announces “several sonata's, composed after the Italian way, for one and two bass viols with a thorough-basse” for sale to be printed for subscribers by Mr. August Keenell (Kühnel) who would perform them “next and every Thursday at the dancing school at Walbrook.”²⁰²

Purcell's ability to blend foreign styles in his own compositions was observed by Pierre Motteux in an article for *The Gentlemen's Journal* announcing the upcoming production of Purcell's *The Fairy Queen*:

Now I speak of Music I must tell you that we shall have speedily a new opera, wherein something very surprising is promised us; **Mr. Purcel who joyns to the delicacy and beauty of the Italian way, the graces and gayety of the French**, composes the music, as he hath done for the Prophetess, and the last opera called King Arthur, which hath been plaid several times the last month.²⁰³

Purcell himself recognized that his native musical culture was infused with foreign influence, and he considered it a sign of improvement:

Musick is yet but in its Nonage, a forward Child, which gives hope of what it may be hereafter in England, when the Masters of it shall find more encouragement. 'Tis now learning Italian, which is its best Master, and studying a little of the French Air, to give it somewhat more of Gayety and Fashion. Thus being farther from the Sun, we are of later Growth than our Neighbour Countries, and must be content to shake off our Barbarity

²⁰²From the *London Gazette*, November 23, 1685. Quoted in Michael Tilmouth, *A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719)* (Cambridge: Royal Music Association, 1961), 7.

²⁰³Pierre Antoine Motteux in *The Gentleman's Journal: or, the Monthly Miscellany* (January, 1691/2): 4–6. Microfilmed at the British Museum, London, 1956, 4. Emphasis added. Cited in Kathryn Lowerre, *Music and Musicians on the London Stage, 1695–1705* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 89.

by degrees. The present Age seems already dispos'd to be refin'd, and to distinguish betweixt wild Fancy, and a just, numerous Composition.²⁰⁴

The Anglican Chapel remained less influenced by foreign musicians, and was perhaps the most “English” of all the musical organs of state. Not surprisingly, it was largely musicians from the Catholic chapel that travelled with the Stuarts into exile, making that institution more relevant to this study.

Music of The Catholic Chapel

The servants of foreign queens had augmented the presence of foreign musicians in England since the beginning of the Stuart dynasty.²⁰⁵ Anne of Denmark, Henrietta Maria of France, Catharine of Braganza, and Mary of Modena all arrived in England with servants including an entourage of musicians representing their native countries. The musicians of Catharine of Braganza and Mary of Modena found situations of peculiar importance because they were called upon to comprise the musical establishment of the Catholic chapel at court, which was allowed by special dispensation to exist in a country where Catholicism was otherwise all but outlawed.

As Duchess of York, Mary of Modena was allowed her own chapel, but would have nothing to rival Catherine’s establishment until after her coronation in 1685—an entry from Codebo’s Journal in 1673 records the splendor of Queen Catherine’s chapel music:

[At Whitehall] Queen Catherine, Infanta of Portugal, attends to her devotions, spending the greater part of the day in prayer....The singing at

²⁰⁴Henry Purcell, in the dedicatory epistle from the opera *The Prophetess*, or *Dioclesian*. Quoted in Curtis Alexander Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 264.

²⁰⁵Westrup, 70.

mass and vespers in her chapel is better than in Italy....The Duchess of York has her chapel at St. James, but it is a private one.²⁰⁶

Catherine's chapel, led by Giovanni Sebenico and Giovanni Battista Draghi, was the best center of Italian music in London before the creation of Mary of Modena's chapel under the direction of Innocenzo Fede.²⁰⁷ There was some friction between Queen Catherine and the Duchess of York over the use of the Catholic chapel at St. James, which had belonged to the Queen Mother Henrietta Maria; Catherine was unwilling to make room for Mary, and Charles II was reluctant to test anti-Catholic sentiments by building another chapel.²⁰⁸ The matter was effectively settled upon Charles's death in 1685, when Catherine became the Dowager Queen and removed herself and her Catholic service to the Chapel at Somerset House.²⁰⁹

In 1686, as James II oversaw the expansion of the Catholic chapel at Whitehall,²¹⁰ he recruited a new group of musicians to provide service music after the Roman fashion, and selected as his new music director the composer Innocenzo Fede, an organist and tenor who had served as *maestro di cappella* at *S Giacomo degli Spagnuoli* in Rome.²¹¹

²⁰⁶Letter quoted in Haile, 42.

²⁰⁷See Barclay, 84.

²⁰⁸See Strickland, vol. 9, 55.

²⁰⁹Charles II privately converted to Catholicism on his deathbed. See Dangeau, 22.

²¹⁰The Catholic chapel, destroyed by fire in 1698, was designed by Sir Christopher Wren. For architectural details see Simon Thurley, *Whitehall Palace, An Architectural History of the Royal Apartments, 1240–1690* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1999), 133–136. Also see Andrew Freeman, "Organs built for the Royal Palace of Whitehall," *The Musical Times* 52 (Aug. 1, 1911): 521–523.

²¹¹Fede was an assistant at *San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli* from 1679 before becoming *maestro di cappella* in July 1684. Fede's two castrati uncles (Giuseppe and Francesco Maria), and organist great-uncle (Giovanni Battista) were all well-established musicians in Rome. See Jean Lionnet, "Fede, Innocenzo," *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 29, November 2013). Also see Edward Corp, 'Fede, Innocenzo (1661?–1732),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004

Arriving in 1686, Fede assumed command of a well-funded group of singers and instrumentalists.²¹² Fede also collaborated with the musicians of Catherine of Braganza's Catholic chapel even though it remained nominally separate.²¹³

As an Italian maestro di cappella, Fede was a jewel in the Stuarts' musical crown; in addition to his personal musicianship he brought connections to other Roman composers, especially Arcangelo Corelli, who had worked with Fede in Rome at the court of the exiled Queen Christina of Sweden.²¹⁴ Fede's father Antonio Maria was a singer who worked at S. Luigi dei Francesi in Rome, where Corelli also worked, and he is also known to have performed with Corelli.²¹⁵ The importance of Fede's appointment to the London court could not have escaped notice by Corelli, who led two performances in praise of the Stuart monarchs: in 1687 Bernardo Pasquini's cantata *Accademia per musica* at the academy of Christina of Sweden, and two years later at the Roman seminary Pasquini's *Il colosso della costanza*, for which Corelli composed the sinfonias.²¹⁶ Corelli also shared with Fede the patronage of the d'Este family of Modena; although Corelli declined to be

[<http://www.oxforddnb.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/view/article/46465>, accessed 1 Feb 2013].

²¹²Keates asserts that it was "surely through [Mary of Modena's] influence" that Fede was appointed music director. See Keates, *Purcell*, 140.

²¹³Corp, *A Court in Exile*, 202.

²¹⁴Barclay calls Corelli the "greatest indirect influence on the music at James' court." See Barclay, 84.

²¹⁵Corelli and "the famous singer" Antonio Fede both took part in a musical event at the Pamphili sponsored by Cardinal Flavio Chigi in February 1687. See Peter Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli: The New Orpheus of Our Times* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 33–34.

²¹⁶S. E. Plank, "Monmouth in Italy: L'Ambitione Debellata," *The Musical Times* 132 (June 1991), 280. Also see Allsop, *The New Orpheus*, 41–42.

recruited to the service of the Modenese court, in 1689 he dedicated his *Sonate a trè*, op. 3 to Francesco II d'Este.²¹⁷

As James II became increasingly open about his Catholicism, his Catholic chapel moved to the forefront of the musical life at his court. John Evelyn was scandalized by what he saw as a flaunting of the Popish faith at Whitehall:

I was to hear the Musique of the Italians in the new chapel, now first of all open'd at Whit-Hall publicly for the Popish service...with a world of mysterious ceremony the musique playing and singing and so I came away not believing I should ever have lived to see such things in the King of England's palace.²¹⁸

It is significant that Evelyn refers to the music of the English king's chapel as "music of the Italians," identifying the performance as inherently foreign.

During the reign of James II, references to the "Chapel Royal" are more likely to refer to the Catholic chapels either at St. James Palace or at Somerset house, where the Queen Dowager worshiped, rather than to the Anglican chapel. A London newspaper in 1688 identifies Innocenzo Fede only as "Master of the Chapel Royal," rather than master of the Catholic chapel.

Mr. Abel, the celebrated Musician, and one of the Royal Band, entertained the publick, and demonstrated his loyalty on the evening of 18th June 1688, by the performance of an aquatic concert. The barge prepared for this purpose was richly decorated, and illuminated by numerous torches. The musick was composed expressly for the occasion by Signior Fede, Master of the Chapel Royal, and the performers, vocal and instrumental, amounted to one hundred and thirty, selected as the greatest proficients in

²¹⁷Allsop, *New Orpheus*, 40. Two years earlier, Francesco II d'Este of Modena commissioned Giovanni Battista Vitali to commemorate the suppression by James II of an uprising led by his nephew in an oratorio *L'Ambitione Debollata overo la Caduta di Monmouth*. The libretto by Giovanni Andrea Canal was printed in Modena 1686 and is in the *Biblioteca del Civico Museo* at Bologna, see S. E. Plank, 280.

²¹⁸Evelyn, *Diary*, 5 January 1687, 303–304.

the science. ‘All ambitious,’ says the author of *Public Occurrences*, ‘hereby to express their loyalty and hearty joy for Her Majesty’s safe deliverance, and birth of the Prince of Wales.’ The first performance took place facing Whitehall, and the second opposite Somerset House where the Queen Dowager then resided.²¹⁹

Two non-Italian foreign musicians held important posts at the Catholic chapel, both of whom are notable as pioneering woodwind musicians. James Paisible (born Jacques) was a French flautist, oboist, and bass violinist who moved to London in 1673 and began to work at the court of Charles II; he was one of a small group of French professionals who introduced the baroque flute to England.²²⁰ On the ascension of James II in 1685 he was appointed to the King’s Musick, and to the Royal Catholic Chapel the following year.²²¹ Because he was a Catholic, he chose to follow the Stuarts into exile rather than face unemployment at the court of William and Mary. In 1693 he abandoned the exiled court and returned to London where he flourished in the theatrical scene along with Gottfried Finger. That he left the court for the theaters of London may reflect an absence of stage music being performed at St. Germain, or that he or his wife Mary Davis (an amateur singer at court) simply preferred the cosmopolitan environment of London.

Gottfried Finger (*ca.* 1660–1730) was a Moravian composer who settled in London *ca.* 1685, was known to have been in London in the spring of 1687, and served in

²¹⁹Reported in *Public Occurrences*, quoted in Van der Straeten, E. *The Romance of the Fiddle* (London: Rebman Limited, 1911), 124.

²²⁰The term “flute” had referred to the transverse flute, but applied to the recorder in London from 1673 to c. 1720, when the term reverted to its earlier meaning. See Jeremy Montagu, et al., “Flute,” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed December 30, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/40569>.

²²¹Newman does not mention Paisible, or any composers of French nationality in his list of foreign composers of sonata in Restoration London. See Newman, *Sonata in the Baroque Era*, 302.

the Royal Catholic Chapel from July 1687. He was a prolific composer of free or “church” sonatas, all composed in London and the first twelve (opus I, 1688) of which were dedicated to James II.²²² He did not follow the king into exile, choosing instead to focus his career on the developing London theatrical scene. The large number of his works distributed in three separate manuscript collections attest to the popularity of his music among the Jacobites. In the dedication to his Opus I trio sonatas, Finger declares that they were composed for and played in the services at the royal Catholic chapel,²²³ proving that sonatas were an accepted and regular part of worship at the Stuart court. Finger is credited with technical innovations in woodwind performance:

While the company is at table, the hautboys and trumpets play successively. Mr. Showers hath taught the latter of late years to sound with all the softness imaginable, they plaid us some flat tunes, made by Mr. Finger, with a general applause, it being a thing formerly thought impossible upon an instrument design’d for a sharp key.²²⁴

Finger did not follow the Stuarts into exile but left London around 1701 after losing a musical contest, exclaiming “that he thought he was to compose music for men, and not for boys.”²²⁵

The Restoration Stuart court sought to display a continentally oriented cultural sophistication through the enthusiastic patronage of foreign music. In so doing, the Stuarts at once signaled adherence to English tradition—since claiming musical

²²² “[T]hese reveal the standardized church plan and a fluent but conventional and undistinguished use of the current Italian idiom,” see Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era*, 311.

²²³ Holman, *Purcell*, p.92

²²⁴ Motteux, *The Gentleman’s Journal: or, the Monthly Miscellany*. (January, 1691/2: 4–6. Microfilmed at the British Museum, London, 1956, 4.

²²⁵ This sort of contest, arranged by patrons who would award a financial prize to the winner, flourished in the 1690s and would continue through the end of the eighteenth century. See North, *Memoirs*, p. 119.

worldliness through the sponsorship of perceived foreign music was a characteristic of royal courts in London—while associating themselves with Catholic courts on the continent. The earlier Interregnum caused a cultural upheaval that forced changes in musical behavior and stimulated a reinvention of musical spaces and genres, resulting especially in a demand in London for Italian chamber music. The returning Stuart court signaled the modernization of its musical forces by advocating the importation of fashionable styles. As foreign musicians arrived in Restoration London, they and their English counterparts exchanged musical ideas and experimented with hybrid results. Composers at the Stuart court sought broad horizons rather than loyal adherence to school or tradition.

What then can we conclude from the dismissal in 1666 of John Banister as the musical leader at court? Was it really due to the King of England's refusal to acknowledge that his own personal ensemble was English? In fact, the event reflects the King's insistence on controlling the image of his court: Charles II was staking the claim that Frenchness or Italianness actually signaled Englishness in the context of his royal musical patronage. In so doing, he was engaged in a tradition inherited from earlier English monarchs that would be strengthened under James II: control of court musical culture as a signal of enlightened cosmopolitanism. As far as the King was likely concerned, the Englishness of the music, insofar as it was the music of his own choosing, was not in question and therefore not to be questioned.

Finally, as Catholicism became first a suspected and then a primary element at the London court, Stuart patronage of musical styles perceived as foreign and associated with Catholic cultures brought about a shifting resonance; what had been offered as a sign of

musical sophistication came to signal a retreat from Anglicanism. A dichotomy came to exist between the Anglican and the Catholic chapels, both of which offered a musical face of the English court; while Anglicans such as Purcell utilized and even advocated Italian influences, the Catholic chapel constituted an actual center of Italian music in the heart of London. After the ascension of the openly Catholic James II, and the arrival of his Italian Master of Music, Innocenzo Fede, royal favor clearly falls upon the Catholic Chapel, almost to the exclusion of the Anglican. This is a moment of very overt tension, where it is clear the English king is signaling his loyalty to Catholicism through his musical choices. The pattern of patronizing Italian music is not new, and the music itself had even been endorsed by Purcell, but the shift in the religious landscape imposes new cultural meanings. After 1685, the now religiously-freighted message offered by Stuart musical patronage was being asked to perform a politically impossible task in a country that voiced a shrill anti-Catholicism.

As James II was swept out of his country in December 1688 in a wave of anti-Catholic hysteria, it was only natural that the musicians who chose to follow him into exile included those most closely associated with the Catholic chapel and with Catholic culture—the very people whom James II had risked so much to patronize. These musicians, accustomed to the eager embrace of the London musical culture, would abruptly find themselves juxtaposed with the xenophobic musical conservatism of the French court under Louis XIV.

French Musical Culture Under Louis XIV

Like the Stuarts in London, King Louis XIV patronized the arts, and used his support of music as a political tool to project an image of sophistication at his court. The

French king, however, differed sharply from his English counterparts, and indeed from many other continental monarchs, by attempting to champion a “French” musical flavor. The fiery emotions and liberal ornaments of contemporary Italian music, for example, were labeled as distasteful at the French court, when compared to the more orderly and dignified *bon goût* of the style exemplified by Louis XIV’s favored composers.²²⁶ The French king advocated a music that, like the society he ruled, was closely governed by traditions and laws and thus reinforced his own position and privilege. The music of his court was bound not only by the fiercely-guarded ideals concerning an uncomplicated elegance in harmony, affect, and style, but also by legal specifications concerning who was entitled to compose, perform, or sponsor various kinds of music. Political favor was given only to music that functioned within the confines of the government-controlled system, and thereby contributed to the maintenance of that system.

Late seventeenth-century French music critics frequently discussed musical taste and trends in terms of its perceived national origin. Musical styles were seen as reflections of the tendencies and character of national groups, and were considered naturally distinct just as were the peoples themselves. The early-modern French monarchy encouraged a perception of dichotomy between French and Italian music by its program of cultural management that simultaneously proclaimed its own sophisticated

²²⁶Susan McClary has offered a political interpretation of French resistance to the Italian style: “the individual-centered explosivity of the Italian compositional procedures...could only have revealed the oppressiveness of Louis’ absolutist regime of enforced Platonic harmony.” See the afterword to Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, trans., Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 155.

majesty²²⁷ while building a strong sense of national-identity within a cohesive state.²²⁸ In this climate, contemporary French musical critics sought to identify a distinctly “French” music, and endeavored vigorously to defend it against perceived incursions by the forms and genres associated with their Italian neighbors.²²⁹

The regime of Louis XIV required the music it sponsored to adhere to a political ideal.²³⁰ In this case, that ideal was the glorification of the king as the embodiment of the state. Music and art supported by the court was intended for a purpose: the cultivation and protection of a public image of absolute power. Just as Louis was a supporter of the arts, he expected the arts to support him in turn.

The king and his advisors continually cultivated an image of unassailable royal power, synonymous with regal virtue and the divine right to rule, not only through music, but through various media: visual arts, orations, and performing arts.²³¹ There is perhaps

²²⁷Robert M. Isherwood has explored the political function of art in early–modern France. See *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973).

²²⁸See Rose A Pruiksma, “Danse Par le Roi: Constructions of French Identity in the Court Ballets of Louis XIV” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1999). Also see Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 16–17, and Louis Marin, *Portrait of the King*, trans. Martha M. Houle (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988).

²²⁹Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, 101–110.

²³⁰It should not be inferred, however, that the absolute monarchy of the seventeenth century was politically or culturally identical to twentieth-century totalitarianism. For an examination of the differences between these forms of autocratic government, see Orest Ranum, “Forming National States,” chapter 62 in *The Columbia History of the World*, ed. John A. Garraty and Peter Gay (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 727; Nicholas Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism: Change and Continuity in Early Modern European Monarchy* (London: Longman, 1992); John Miller, “The Potential for ‘Absolutism in Later Stuart England,” *History*, 69 (1984); Andrew Walking has criticized the term “absolute monarchy” as misleading, and emphasizes the performative aspects of what he instead calls “baroque monarchy.” See Walking, 34–69.

²³¹Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 16–17. For a discussion of performative constructions of royal authority in early modern monarchies, see Stephen Orgel, *The*

no greater example of artwork expressing royal power than the palace and grounds of Versailles. From the 1660s Louis XIV adorned his once humble hunting estate with a vast array of palaces, gardens, fountains²³² and many other artistic media conscripted to glorify the king.²³³ At Versailles and elsewhere, the arts were harnessed and pressed into the service of the crown. In this way King Louis was able to radiate an image of cultural superiority, just as the arts he supported wove for him an image of political and moral superiority.²³⁴ The contemporary social theorist Montesquieu wrote, “The magnificence and splendour which surround kings form part of their power.”²³⁵ Historian Peter Burke has pointed out: “the royal image should be seen as a collective production. Painters, sculptors and engravers made their contribution to it. So did the king’s tailors, his wigmaker and his dancing master. So did the poets and choreographers of the court

Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 42.

²³²The art historian Nathan Whitman has written about the fountains of Versailles, pointing out that the image of an omnipotent ruler is created not only by the breathtaking beauty and mythological subject matter of the sculptures in these fountains, but also by the mastery of the sophisticated hydro–engineering required to make them work. He describes the Fountain of Latona, in which the enemies of the mother of Apollo are seen being transformed into frogs, as “an almost threatening affirmation of the principle of divine–right monarchy.” Nathan T. Whitman, “Myth and Politics: Versailles and the Fountain of Latona,” in *Louis XIV and the Craft of Kingship*, ed. John C. Rule (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1969), 286–301.

²³³Nathan Whitman writes of the power and significance of the imagery at Versailles, describing the estate as an “overwhelming embodiment of the centralized power of the emerging nation–state, a symbol whose formal impact was to be felt from St. Petersburg to Washington.” Whitman, “Myth and Politics,” 287.

²³⁴Louis XIV sponsored an enormous number of artworks depicting himself; more than three hundred statues and portraits survive, as well as nearly seven hundred engravings. Other commissioned artworks were of enormous scale, such as the equestrian statue of the Place Louis-le-Grand, inside of which twenty men once sat for lunch. Burke, *Fabrication*, 16.

²³⁵Montesquieu, quoted in Burke, *Fabrication*, 5.

ballets, and the masters of ceremonies who supervised the coronation, the royal entries and other public rituals.”²³⁶

This strict employment of the arts for royal image control was official state policy directly overseen by chief administrator Jean-Baptist Colbert. Colbert had served under Cardinal Mazarin and was well aware of the power of the arts to contribute to the power of the king. He understood that “all the arts, letters, and sciences must come together, as in the time of Augustus, to glorify [the king’s] person and his reign, and all naturally, in perfect order and obedience.”²³⁷ This was accomplished by bringing artists, architects, and musicians into national academies under the auspices of the crown.²³⁸ Colbert so well understood the potential of the arts as a political tool that he requested Jean Chapelain, a member of the *Académie Française*, to submit a report concerning the establishment of the king as the dominant patron of the arts, and how this in turn could increase the king’s splendor.²³⁹ Needless to say, chroniclers and historians had their part to play as well, something that Colbert also well understood. Letters from Paul Pellison-Fontanier to

²³⁶Burke, 45.

²³⁷Goubert, *Louis the XIV*, 81.

²³⁸Goubert, 81.

²³⁹In his response written 18 November, 1662, Chapelain described many well-established ways to build and maintain royal glory: “*Il y a bien, Monsieur, d’autres moyens louables de resplandre et de maintenir la gloire de Sa Majesté, desquels mesme les anciens nous ont laissé d’illustres exemples qui arrestent encore avec respect les yeux des peuples, comme sont les pyramides, les colonnes, les statues équestres, les colosses, les arcs triomphaux, les bustes de marbre et de bronze, les basses-tailles, tous monumens historiques auxquels on pourroit ajouter nos riches fabriques de tapisseries, nos peintures à fresque et nos estampes au burin, qui, pour estre de moindre durée que les autres, ne laissent pas de se conserver longtemps. Mais ces sortes d’ouvrages appartenant à d’autres arts que celui des Muses, sur lequel vous avés sonhaité mes sentimens, je me contenteray de vous en avoir fait souvenir, afin que vous jugiés s’ils peuvent entre en part de vos autres sublimes idées.*” See Jean Chapelain, *Lettres*, vol. 2, ed. Tamizey de Larroque (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1883), 277.

Colbert concerning the style of a proposed royal history show the level of consciousness that was a part of every aspect of this image production:

The King must be praised everywhere but, so to speak, without praise, by a narrative of all that he has been seen to do, say, and think. It must appear disinterested but be lively, piquant, and sustained, avoiding in its expressions all the veers toward the panegyric. In order to be better believed, it should not give him the magnificent epithets and eulogies he deserves; they must be torn from the mouth of the reader by the things themselves. Neither Plutarch nor Quintius Curtius praised Alexander in any other way, and he was well praised. It would no doubt be hoped that His Majesty approve and accept this design, which can almost not be well executed without him. But he must not seem to have accepted, known about, or ordered it.²⁴⁰

This is perhaps one of the most striking justifications of the co-option of artistic media for the control of a public image for Louis XIV.

As a patron of music, Louis sought to establish a classical form that would represent an unassailable dignity that he hoped would distinguish his musical court. The seminal figure in the creation of a French musical idiom in the seventeenth century was Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687). Born Giovanni Battista Lulli in Florence, Italy, he moved to Paris in 1646 to serve as a teacher of Italian to King Louis XIV's cousin. An accomplished musician and dancer, he was appointed *compositeur de la musique instrumentale* by the king in 1653, and became a naturalized French citizen in 1661, the same year that he was made *surintendant de la musique de la chambre du Roi*. From

²⁴⁰Louis Marin, *Portrait of the King*, 40. Marin's work focuses on the use of visual imagery and narrative to construct and legitimate royal power, but he does not discuss *tragédie lyrique*. Marin's ideas are extended and applied to an examination of the role of opera by Downing Thomas in *Aesthetics of Opera in the Ancien Régime, 1647–1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Of particular relevance is the second chapter, "The Opera King," pp. 53–100.

1672 Lully became head of the *Académie Royale de Musique*,²⁴¹ and for the rest of his career was primarily concerned with the development of French opera.²⁴² Concerning

Lully's importance and position in the royal court, Robert Isherwood has written:

With Louis' aid and encouragement, [Lully] became the absolute ruler of the musical world; he got rich from the profits of the *Académie*, and he rose to the lofty rank of *secrétaire du roi*. Louis treated the composer like a crown official—a role which fitted him admirably. His compositions served the monarchy by presenting attractive explanations of the king's motives for waging war and by representing the king as he wished to appear to his subjects—a peaceful, amorous, benevolent, indestructible hero. For having portrayed the king's virtues and chronicled his military adventures, Lully merits the title of “musical historiographer.” He projected the aura of pride and grandeur of the royal absolutism through the massive choruses, majestic trumpet fanfares, solemn processions, and spectacular scenery of his operas. Finally, Lully gave his royal patron a music drama that was distinctively French, and he made music a part of the general policy of national self-sufficiency. Under the aegis of the Sun King and the direction of the Florentine (Lully), music was established as an institution of the state.²⁴³

Lully created a musical style based on gestures instead of dissonance and harmonic modulations in order to outpace Italian culture.²⁴⁴ He created an operatic style that was not clearly divided into aria and recitative, as Italian opera was, but used a melodic

²⁴¹The performances of *tragédies lyriques* that were open to the paying public took place in the Palais Royal, one of many palaces around Paris that could house theatrical productions. It was typical for a *tragédie lyrique* to have a première at court before being performed for the general public, although some were given premiers at the Palais Royal. For a thorough description of the Palais Royal, as well as a discussion of performance venues for *tragédie lyrique*, see Barbara Coeyman, “Walking through Lully's opera theatre in the Palais Royal,” in *Lully Studies*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 216–242.

²⁴²The Marquis de Dangeau noted in his diary, “in every town where violin players are engaged for the opera concerts, they are obliged to grant Lully a pension. This is done at Rouen and elsewhere.” Dangeau, *Memoirs of the Court of France*, translated by John Davenport (London: Henry Colburn, 1825), vol. I, 21.

²⁴³Robert Isherwood *Music in the Service of the King*, 247.

²⁴⁴David Tunley, *Francois Couperin and 'the Perfection of Music'* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2004), 6.

declamation that featured elements of both.²⁴⁵ This Lullian style, established in the middle of the seventeenth century, became the archetype of French musical classicism.

Lully is best known for establishing the French operatic genre *tragédie en musique*, today more commonly known as *tragédie lyrique*.²⁴⁶ Influenced by the well-established conventions of French spoken tragedy, *tragédie lyrique* is presented in five acts, each containing a *divertissement* involving ballet, choruses, and stage spectacle.²⁴⁷ The five acts, in the works of Lully, were preceded by a prologue designed to praise the king lavishly. Unlike spoken tragedy, the *tragédie lyrique* was not constrained by theatrical unities of time and place; it was not unusual for successive acts to be set in completely different locations. *Tragédie lyrique* was also unlike spoken tragedy in that the plot invariably involved the supernatural, the magical, and the marvelous. The unnaturalness of sung dialogue found its excuse in plots centered upon divinities and magicians, and among elaborate and impressive stage machines. Only high characters such as gods, kings and heroes have a place in these plots. The stories always involve a love conflict, sometimes with several couples involved.

The political aspects of the plots and characters in the *tragédie lyrique* are clear and have been well documented.

²⁴⁵“In contrast to the obvious distinction between recitative and aria in Italian opera, there is no clearly perceptible difference between the two forms in French tragedy in music. One passes imperceptibly from one to the other, and the smaller-scale air, which is developed from the air de cour, never contains the type of lyrical expansion of which the Italians were so fond.” Catherin Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, trans. E. Thomas Glasow (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1995), 345.

²⁴⁶The term *tragédie lyrique* became prevalent in the eighteenth-century. See Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 239.

²⁴⁷The following general description of *tragédie en musique* comes from Graham Sadler, “Tragédie en Musique,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy [accessed 16 August 2013] <<http://grovemusic.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu>>

The *tragédie en musique* was a veiled allegory of life at court. Louis XIV is overtly praised only in the prologues (where, however, he is never explicitly named), yet nearly every hero can be understood as a symbol for the king. In dedicating *Persée* to Louis XIV, Lully referred to the hero as “the image of Your Majesty.”²⁴⁸

Lully and Quinault were not the first to use the musical stage as a platform for panegyric. Indeed, court operas all over Europe praised the ruling class, monarchs, princes, and aristocrats, from the start. The prologue to Jacopo Peri’s 1600 production *L’Euridice*, to a libretto by Ottavio Rinuccini, the oldest opera to survive in full, is a panegyric to Maria de’ Medici which was written for performance at her wedding to none other than a French king, Henry IV.²⁴⁹ Throughout its history, opera was the genre through which aristocratic patrons displayed their own magnificence.²⁵⁰ In France, even before the development of *tragédie lyrique*, opera praised the king; Italian opera with laudatory prologues to praise the French king had been performed in Paris as early as 1645.²⁵¹ *Tragédie lyrique*, however, operating directly under the auspices of the monarch, elevated

²⁴⁸Lois Rosow, “Lully, Jean-Baptiste,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1992), 84.

²⁴⁹Downing Thomas, *Aesthetics of Opera in the Ancien Régime, 1647–1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 74.

²⁵⁰Lorenzo Bianconi has written about the inherent benefits reaped by a noble patron of opera. He describes court opera as “a demonstration of the munificence of the sovereign and the unrivalled skill of the artists in his service; costs are high (and are seen to be high), but the result is admiration, stupefied envy and consensus of opinion.” See Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, 163.

²⁵¹Several Italian operas and semi-operas had been imported to France by the Cardinal-Regent Mazarin during the 1640s and 1650s. In general, these did not appeal to French taste, and met with little success. Bianconi, 238. See also Margaret Murata, “Why the First Opera Given in Paris Wasn’t Roman,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 7 (July 1995): 87–105; and Neil Zaslaw, “The First Opera in Paris: a Study in the Politics of Art,” in *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the Music of the French Baroque: Essays in Honor of James R. Anthony*, ed. J. H. Heyer et alii (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 1–23.

the art of royal flattery to new heights. By way of example, the text of the first scene of the prologue of Lully and Quinault's 1687 production *Isis* illustrates the idealistic praise for the king inherent in the nature of the operatic imagery. Set in the palace of the goddess Fame, the text alternates between declamations of the goddess and responses of her chorus of followers:

Chorus: Publiions en tous lieux
Du plus grand des héros la valeur triomphante
Que la terre et les cieux retentissent
De bruit de sa gloire éclatante.

Fame: C'est luy dont les Dieux ont fait choix
Pour combler le bonheur de l'Empire François
En vain pour le troubler, tout s'unit, tout conspire
C'est en vain que l'Envie a ligue tant de roys.
Heureux l'empire qui suit ses lois

Chorus: Heureux l'empire qui suit ses lois!

Fame: Il faut que partout on l'admire
Parlons de ses vertus, racontons ses exploits
A peine y pourrons nous suffire
Avec toutes nos voix.

Chorus: Heureux l'Empire qui suit ses lois!
Il faut le dire cent-et-cent fois.
Heureux l'empire qui suit ses lois!

Translation:

Chorus: Let us proclaim everywhere
The triumphant valor of the greatest of heroes
Let the earth and sky ring with the sound of his brilliant glory.

Fame: It is he whom the gods have chosen
To complete the happiness of the French Empire.
In vain do they all unite and conspire to upset him.
In vain has Envy brought together so many kings.
Happy is the empire that obeys his laws!

Chorus: Happy is the empire that obeys his laws!

Fame: He must be admired everywhere.²⁵²
Let us speak of his virtues, let us recount his exploits.
We can barely do him justice even with all our voices together.

Chorus: Happy is the empire that obeys his laws!
This should be said hundreds of times.
Happy is the empire that obeys his laws!²⁵³

The entire prologue is based on current events in 1677; this section refers to the coalition (so many kings brought together by Envy) that had so far unsuccessfully opposed the French invasion of Holland.²⁵⁴ The contribution of this text to the image of the king as absolute ruler is obvious: the gods themselves recommend obeying the laws of this, the greatest of kings.

Tragédie lyrique, operating directly under the auspices of the monarch who funded and involved himself in the creation of the entire genre, elevated the art of royal flattery to new heights. Most importantly, it was a genre built upon musical traditions that were held to embody “French” sensibilities and presented by the French court as evidence of its independence from, and superiority to, Italian opera and music. In this respect, the French court’s approach to musical patronage was diametrically opposite from that of the English: the Stuart court in London claimed sophistication through association with the latest Italian trends, while the French court made the same claim

²⁵²It is notable that this line seems to be taken directly from the above-quoted advice from Paul Pellison-Fontanier to Colbert about constructing the king’s image.

²⁵³Text by Jean-Phillipe Quinault, published in Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Isis*, ed. Théodore de Lajarte (New York: Broude Bros. Ltd., 1971), 4–21. Translation is mine.

²⁵⁴For a history of the Dutch wars (1672–1679), see Goubert, *Louis XIV*, 128–149.

through its ability to hold to its own musical fashions in the face of the prevalence and popularity of Italian music.

After the death of Lully in 1687, however, and only a few years after the introduction of the Stuart court to the environs of Paris new trends developed among French composers that were centered on Italian genres and the potential for their improvement by tempering them with French musical sensibilities. This cultivation of French-Italian hybrid genres began in the 1690s and became so pervasive in the first decade of the eighteenth century that by 1716 Francois Couperin was able to write, in reference to Italian sonatas: “the French willingly devour anything new, a consequence of their belief that they have more sense than other nations.”²⁵⁵ Couperin’s declaration that it was by then a point of French pride to be exceptionally appreciative of new influences represents a drastic shift from attitudes that had prevailed just a few years earlier. It is also remarkably similar to the idea of self-styled sophistication through overt receptivity to foreign influences that so characterized the English court, now in exile just a few miles from Paris. I argue that contact with the musical perspectives of the Stuart court in exile was an important factor in the changing attitudes toward foreign music in Parisian musical circles.

The notion among French composers that music could be improved through a judicious blending of the French and Italian styles, which began tentatively in the early 1690s but gained momentum over the next several decades, has come to be known as “*les*

²⁵⁵“Les François dévorent volontiers Les nouveautés, aux dépens du vrai qu’ils croyent saisir mieux que les autres nations.” Francois Couperin, *L’Art de toucher le clavecin*, edited by Margery Halford, (Van Nuys, CA: Alfred Publishing Co. Inc., 1995, originally published Paris: 1716), 46–47. Translation is mine.

goûts-réunis,” or “reconciled tastes,” a term retrospectively coined by François Couperin in a publication by that name in 1724. Some French music lovers abhorred the growing Italian influence; the early eighteenth-century music critic Le Cerf de la Viéville argued that the controlled elegance of the Lullian musical tradition reflected a refinement of French culture, and was best suited to the restrained manners required by polite society.²⁵⁶ Le Cerf pointed to Italian music as the embodiment of uninhibited passions, which violated and exceeded the standards of social decency.²⁵⁷

Le Cerf was not alone in his critical defense of French musical virtue. Saint-Evremond proclaimed the superiority of French singers to those of every other nation in Europe.²⁵⁸ Music historian Titon du Tillet emphasized the distance between French and Italian musical identities in his 1727 biographical dictionary *Description du Parnasse Françoise*, claiming that the Italian born Lully had rejected Italian influence, calling him the “father of our beautiful French music, which he carried to its perfection, abandoning completely any taste for Italian music.”²⁵⁹ In an effort to reinforce the primacy and purity

²⁵⁶Jean Laurent Le Cerf de la Viéville, *Comparaison de la Musique Italienne et de la Musique Française* (Geneva: Minkoff, 1972). Reprinted from the Brussels edition, 1705–1706. A discussion and list of Le Cerf’s characteristic distinctions is found in James R. Anthony, 108.

²⁵⁷On French objections to perceived excesses in the Italian style, see Georgia Cowart, *The Origins of Modern Musical Criticism: French and Italian Music, 1600–1750* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), and Don Fader, “The Honnête homme as Music Critic: Taste, Rhetoric, and Politesse in the 17th-Century French Reception of Italian Music,” *The Journal of Musicology* 20, (Winter 2003): 3–44.

²⁵⁸Westrup describes Saint-Evremond’s view as “merely Gallic chauvinism”. J. A. Westrup, “Musicians in Stuart England,” 77.

²⁵⁹Titon du Tillet, quoted in Anthony, 145.

of the “French” Lullian style, the blending of other national styles was discouraged by some as distasteful.²⁶⁰

While certain French critics objected to Italian musical influence, others, such as François Ragueneau, admired and welcomed what they saw as sophisticated Italian taste.²⁶¹ French composers also developed an affinity for Italian musical styles and genres in the final decade of the seventeenth century. In the wake of Lully’s death in 1687, François Couperin and Elizabeth Jacquet de la Guerre composed trio and solo sonatas in overt imitation of Corelli.²⁶² The 1690s also witnessed the emergence of the first French cantatas, by composers Morin and Campra, whose efforts were a conscious attempt to blend French and Italian musical styles.²⁶³

The French Adoption of Cantata

At the turn of the eighteenth century, the Italian cantata seized the attention of a generation of French composers. This was not so much a gradual evolution of a French genre into something similar to Italian cantata but a near wholesale adoption by French composers of the foreign genre. 1706 was the first great year for the publication of French cantatas. That year saw the publication of collections by Jean-Baptiste Morin,

²⁶⁰Lecerf disparaged Charpentier, Collasse, Campra and Destouches as “imitators of the Italian manner” who had been “reduced” to the use of “bizarre effects.” Quoted in James R. Anthony, 108.

²⁶¹François Ragueneau, “A Comparison Between French and Italian Music,” an essay first published in 1702, modern edition in *The Musical Quarterly* 32 (July 1946): 411–436.

²⁶²Anthony, *French Baroque*, 311. Anthony accepts that Couperin composed his first sonata *en trio* as early as 1692

²⁶³Morin and Campra both wrote about combining French and Italian styles twenty years before Couperin discussed it in *Apotheose de Lully*. See Tunley, *The Perfection of Music*, 47; David Tunley, *The Eighteenth-Century French Cantata* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

Jean-Baptiste Stuck, and Nicolas Bernier.²⁶⁴ There is, however, no reason to doubt that the works of these French cantata composers had circulated in manuscript form for several years. Jean-Baptiste Morin, in his preface to his first volume of cantatas in 1706, declares that he had decided to publish his work in part because he felt the need to correct the errors that had crept into the circulating manuscripts and to establish once and for all his compositional intent. This strongly implies that the manuscripts in question had been around long enough for repeated copying, thereby allowing errors to creep in. It is then fair to assume that the earliest French cantatas originated at or very near the turn of the eighteenth century.

Jean-Baptiste Morin was among the first French composers to experiment with the Italian genre of cantata. More importantly, his contemporaries uniformly recognized him as the progenitor of the movement.²⁶⁵ Morin was part of a circle of musicians and composers around the future regent of France, the Duke Philippe II d'Orleans that included Campra, Bernier, and Stuck. This group was characterized by a desire to embrace the Italian cantata while re-imagining the genre according to the Lullian traditions of the French musical idiom.

Such blending produced a hybrid musical offspring containing features of both national parents and was ultimately championed by François Couperin in his 1724 publication “Les Gouts Reunis.” Couperin’s proposal, that the national styles of Italy and France could be joined to the detriment of neither, is one of the most important aspects of

²⁶⁴Don Fader, "Philippe II d'Orleans's 'chanteurs italiens,' the Italian cantata and the *gouts-réunis* under Louis XIV," *Early Music* 35 (May 2007): 237; David Tunley, ed., *The Eighteenth-Century French Cantata: A Seventeen-Volume Facsimile Set of the Most Widely Cultivated and Performed Music in Early Eighteenth-Century France*, (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), vii.

²⁶⁵Tunley, *Eighteenth-Century French Cantata*, xxvii.

François Couperin's musical legacy.²⁶⁶ In the introduction to "Les Gouts Reunis," Couperin argues for the legitimacy of his project on the grounds that it renders French that which had been foreign:

In France, the Italian and French styles have for a long time shared the republic of music. For my part I have always esteemed works that seemed to merit admiration without regard for either author or country of origin; and the first Italian sonatas which appeared in Paris more than 30 years ago, and which encouraged me to compose some myself, to my mind wronged neither the works of M. de Lully nor those of my ancestors, who will always be more admirable than imitable.²⁶⁷

Where did the inspiration for "Les Gout Reunis" come from? James R. Anthony accepted Serré de Rieux's assertion that the musicians who inhabited the social circle of Nicolas Matthieu, priest of *Saint-André-des-Arts* (including Charpentier, Delalande, Nicaise, and Ouvrard—all of whom, but Delalande, had studied in Italy) were collectively responsible for promoting the works of Rossi, Cavalli, Carissimi, Stradella, and other Italian composers.²⁶⁸ In accepting the claim, made by a French music historian concerned with demonstrating the control of French musicians over their own musical history, Anthony reinforced a line of thinking that has subsequently been followed by generations of musicologists: that the introduction of Italian music to France was the exclusive result of transalpine enterprises of avant-garde French composers.

²⁶⁶Edward Higginbottom writes, "In a period of acute partisanship, he rose above the national prejudices which made a love of the works of Lully preclude a love of those of Corelli, and he actively sought to unite the distinctive qualities of each style in his own music." See François Couperin, *L'Apotheose de Corelli*, ed. Edward Higginbottom (London: Musica Rara, 1976), from the editorial introduction.

²⁶⁷François Couperin, in *L'Apotheose de Corelli*, ed. Edward Higginbottom, from the 1724 preface of "Les Gouts-Reunis."

²⁶⁸Anthony, 142.

More recent studies have demonstrated that patrons at the highest levels of French aristocratic culture supported the importation of new musical ideas from Italy. Donald Fader has convincingly argued that the “satellite courts” that surrounded some of the powerful courtiers under Louis XIV (including the Dauphin and Philippe II, Duc D’Orleans), were miniature intellectual societies—artistic cultures constructed by the subversive sponsorship of Italian and Italianate musical activity.²⁶⁹ In his article “The ‘Cabale du Dauphin,’ Campra, and Italian Comedy,”²⁷⁰ Fader offers a thorough and thought-provoking investigation of the phenomenon of interest in Italian music among composers and patrons of French music at the turn of the eighteenth century. He describes the existence of a “cabal” surrounding the son and heir of Louis XIV that used its efforts to fill the void left by the king’s increasing detachment from the musical activities at court to advocate and promote Italian-influenced composers such as Campra. Fader argues that the activities of these subordinate patrons “played a significant role in the French fad for Italian music and comedy of the late 1690s, and demonstrate the influence of courtly politics in the musical life of the era.”²⁷¹

Fader identifies the period “before 1695” as the time of greatest burgeoning interest in Italian music among the patrons and composers of the cabal, asserting that they “influenced the musical culture of this era through their cultivation of aspects of French artistic life that had been rejected by Louis XIV: the *Comédie-Italienne* and the *Opéra* in

²⁶⁹Donald Fader, “Musical Thought and Patronage of the Italian style at the Court of Philippe II, Duc D’Orléans (1674–1723)” (Ph. D. diss., Stanford University, 2000).

²⁷⁰Donald Fader, “The ‘Cabale Du Dauphin,’ Campra, and Italian Comedy: The Courtly Politics of French Musical Patronage around 1700,” *Music and Letters* 86.3 (2005): 380–413.

²⁷¹*Ibid.*, 380, from the abstract.

general, and André Campra and Italian music in particular.”²⁷² Fader identifies François Couperin as a leading French experimenter in Italian music, and attributes Couperin’s Italian inclinations to his training with Charpentier sometime before 1698.²⁷³

The Stuart court was itself a satellite court of the sort the Fader describes, and in a sense more important than any other as it was ostensibly a sovereign entity, representing a foreign head of state. Furthermore, the Stuart court had direct connections to some of the leading French composers in Paris and Versailles—Delalande’s parents were the caretakers of the estate at Saint-Germain-en-Laye²⁷⁴ so it is almost inconceivable that he did not make connections to the Stuarts who inhabited that estate from the time he was thirty-two years old. François Couperin and Delalande worked together first at St. Gervais some time before 1686, when Couperin worked as substitute organist for the post officially held by Delalande.²⁷⁵ Couperin worked more closely with Delalande at the Royal Chapel at Versailles after being personally appointed to the post by the king.²⁷⁶ David Tunley asserts that Delalande and Couperin “cannot have failed” to have been involved in a musical rapport between Versailles and St. Germain.²⁷⁷

Couperin wrote three pieces with titles that refer to the Stuart court: the trio sonata *La Steinquerque*, refers to the Battle of 1692 where the Duke of Berwick and Duc D’Orleans defeated William of Orange and was claimed by Couperin to be the first French-composed trio sonata; *La Milordine*, a short character piece for harpsichord that

²⁷²Ibid., 382.

²⁷³Ibid.

²⁷⁴David Tunley, *François Couperin and ‘the Perfection of Music,’* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2004), 42.

²⁷⁵Tunley, *Perfection of Music*, 2.

²⁷⁶Tunley, *Perfection of Music*, 2.

²⁷⁷Tunley, *Perfection of Music*, 42.

served as a musical tribute to the Dutchess of Berwick, and *Les Plaisirs de Saint-Germain-en-Laye*, whose title confirms beyond any doubt Couperin's involvement with the Stuart court.²⁷⁸

Stuart Musical Patronage in Exile

The Stuart kings were heirs to long traditions of expropriating continental music as a signal of sophisticated receptivity to the finest music available as well as the practice of the English court holding up its admiration of foreign music as emblematic of its own musical modernity. The exile of the Stuart court to France in 1688 thrust these systems of musical patronage into a new cultural light, as a court accustomed to appropriating the power of foreign music to augment its own artistic prestige suddenly found itself a foreign presence in a foreign land. How did the musical self-presentation of the Stuart court respond to its new position as cultural outsiders in France?

I argue that the realities of exile affected the musical culture at the Stuart court in three major ways, all of which pushed the court towards nearly exclusive patronage of Italian music: first, the traditions of musical patronage at the French court were dramatically different from those of the English court: royal patronage at the French court aimed to establish a national style to be brandished as superior to the Italian style that elsewhere dominated the European musical landscape. In this environment, the Stuart court could not signal its cultural independence by patronizing French music—that was the domain of Louis XIV, who promoted the style of Lully as the standard of taste that characterized his court. The Stuarts therefore found that the patronage of Italian music paradoxically provided the best way to maintain a strong English identity in France, since

²⁷⁸Tunley, *Perfection of Music*, 42.

to embrace a Lullian style would have been to be submerged in a culture virtually personified by their host, Louis XIV. Second, Mary of Modena gained in power and influence, reflecting a pronounced shift in the intersection of gendered power and cultural patronage at the Stuart court—an English court now headed by an Italian Queen who, as we will see, sought financial and political support from the Papacy and had every reason to emphasize her Italian connections and Catholic identity. Third, Innocenzo Fede came to the fore as the sole music director of the displaced court. As an Italian music director working for an Italian Queen at a court that used the patronage of Italian music to construct its cultural identity, Fede was suddenly in a much more powerful position than he had been in London. Furthermore, in the absence of an Anglican chapel, Fede had a confessional monopoly on religious music in exile. Hence it was a mix of religious, gendered, and aesthetic factors that pushed the Stuarts towards presenting Italian styles in a French context.

Mary of Modena as Musical Patron

Even before she had become Queen of England, indeed, from the moment of her 1673 arrival in London as the Duchess of York, there were some who hoped to discredit her and the entire Stuart court by claiming that Mary of Modena was the real power behind the throne. Much of the anti-Catholic rhetoric that led to the ouster of James II involved rumors that Mary was a Catholic fanatic who controlled her husband and was subverting the kingdom by means of an illegitimate prince.²⁷⁹ Atto Melani, as Tuscan envoy to Paris, expressed a commonly held view when he reported home that the English

²⁷⁹Mary's household servants Isabella Wentworth, Mrs. Dawson, and the Countess of Arran all remained firm that Mary had been virtuous and that her son was legitimate. See Strickland, vol. 9, 222.

exiles had come to their fate because Mary had ruined James by her excessive control over him and by her inflexible piety.²⁸⁰

Historians have largely been divided on the degree of Mary's influence over her husband's political policies; Bishop Gilbert Burnet, Lord Thomas Macaulay, and John Callow are representative of those who perpetuate the image of Mary as a fanatic blindly driving James II to his destruction.²⁸¹ Others, such as Agnes Strickland, Martin Haile, Mary Hopkirk, and Carola Oman, have tried to rehabilitate Mary's image by "denying that she played any significant part in the politics of her age."²⁸²

While in his homeland, James II knew the intricacies of English government, was older, and had more experience than Mary—there was little need for him to consult her on matters of state.²⁸³ She was not, however, incapable—as early as 1675 Marshal Montecucoli, agent to London from Modena wrote of her position at court:

[Mary] speaks the language like a native of the country... The Duke her husband loves her tenderly, and does nothing without informing her. The king recognizes her great spirit, and esteems it highly... There can be no doubt that she will be able to take a great part in affairs when she so chooses.²⁸⁴

As it happened, the choice would be made of necessity; during the wars and depression that followed the exile it fell to her to govern the Stuart court.

²⁸⁰Oman, 151. Atto Melani was a noted singer and composer. His work is included in Jacobite manuscript collections.

²⁸¹Gilbert Burnet, *A History of his own Times* (New York: Ulan Press, 2012); Lord Thomas Babington Macaulay, *The History of England*, (New York: Penguin Books Ltd. 1983); John Callow, *James II*, 35.

²⁸²Andrew Barclay, 78. It is perhaps significant that many of Mary's detractors have been male historians, while her defenders have for the most part been female.

²⁸³Barclay, 79.

²⁸⁴Montecucoli quoted in Haile, 54. Mary's linguistic ability was noteworthy—she was observed to speak alternately in fluent Italian, Latin, French and English "without mixing them or making the slightest mistake." See Strickland, , vol. 10, 61.

Queen Mary held considerably more authority after the exile than she had before. In London, Mary's position was in some ways ornamental; like Fede, she had served as a part of her husband's Italian cultural collection. As a foreigner, she remained outside of the established circles of political power. In France, Mary was a natural leader. Not only did she speak French beautifully and conduct herself with a grace that earned the approval of the French court, she was already known and admired by many of the French courtiers whom she had met while travelling to London in 1673. On that visit she had made a very positive impression, especially on Louis XIV, who treated her as "an adopted daughter," and manipulated protocol to allow her to enjoy honors and avoid embarrassment.²⁸⁵ He also gave her gifts, and was thought by some to have fallen in love with her.²⁸⁶ When she returned to the French court as a exile, the king and courtiers found her no less charming—after she had been presented at his court, Louis XIV remarked, "see what a queen ought to be."²⁸⁷

Mary assumed a leadership role early in the exile by addressing the financial needs of the court at war. By early March 1689, just over two months after losing his kingdom, James left France for Ireland in an ill-fated attempt to lead a Catholic army against William of Orange.²⁸⁸ Mary raised what money she could for the war effort by

²⁸⁵Strickland, vol. 9, 240; Walking, 130–131.

²⁸⁶Antonia Fraser, *Love and Louis XIV: The Women in the Life of the Sun King* (New York: Doubleday, 2006), 139; 223–227.

²⁸⁷Madame de Sévigné quoted in Strickland, vol. 10, 130. The Duc de St. Simon in his memoirs appraised Mary's character in glowing terms. See Duc de Saint-Simon, Louis de Rouvroy, *Mémoires*, vol. 15 (Paris: Editions Ramsay, 1977), 46–47.

²⁸⁸Louis XIV, having provided arms, ships, and men for the invasion, said to James II, "I wish, Sir, I may never see you again; should fortune, however decree otherwise, you will again find me, such as you have done." Dangeau, vol. I, 157–158.

selling her properties in Italy.²⁸⁹ Mary sold some of her personal jewels, adding the revenue to her husband's war chest.²⁹⁰ It was a solution that she would turn to repeatedly in time of need.

With James away fighting in Ireland, Queen Mary was left in charge of establishing the court in exile on what were hoped to be temporary foundations. The first task was accepting and arranging the services of servants and courtiers as they continued to arrive to join the exiled court. On their arrival in France, the Stuarts had only a dozen employees—the rest of the staff was French servants provided by Louis XIV—as more and more English loyalists arrived, however, the Stuarts soon had over one hundred English servants at court.²⁹¹

As it became clear that the war in Ireland was going badly, Mary faced the task of holding the court together in the face of growing certainty that there would be no immediate Jacobite Restoration. Furthermore, it was of critical importance for Mary to solidify continued support from Louis XIV whatever the outcome of the Irish campaign. Her success in this endeavor won the praise of Lord Melfort, who wrote to the King in Ireland:

I confess I never saw any one understand affairs better than the Queen, and she has really gained so much esteem from [Louis XIV] here and his ministers, that I am truly of the opinion, that if it had not been for her, the wicked reports spread here had made your affairs go entirely wrong at the court.²⁹²

As the court filled with servants, courtiers, and war veterans, Mary faced the problem of arranging salaries and support for these new dependants; her solution was the gradual

²⁸⁹Oman, 125.

²⁹⁰Strickland, vol. 9, 234.

²⁹¹Oman, 166.

²⁹²Lord Melfort quoted in Haile, 271–272.

liquidation of the Crown Jewels as well as her own personal jewelry.²⁹³ This source of funding allowed the Stuarts to maintain the officers and duties necessary for the structure of their court.²⁹⁴

After the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, James returned to Saint-Germain-en-Laye and began a gradual withdrawal into a life of religious penance and austerity.²⁹⁵ He became deeply attached to the spiritual retreat at the monastery of La Trappe, known for a penitential regime considered strict even by the standards of Benedictine discipline.²⁹⁶ In 1698 he wrote down a prayer in which he thanked God for the loss of his throne:

[I] do give thee most humble and hearty thanks, that thou were pleased to have taken from me my three Kingdoms, by which means thou did awake me out of lethargy of sin, in which I had continued, I should have been forever lost, and out of thy goodness were pleased to banish me into a foreign country, where I learnt to know what was the duties, of Christianity, and endeavoured to perform them, after I had been some time in this Kingdom [France], and at La Trappe, to inspire me with such a portion of thy grace, as to endeavor to live as became a good Catholic, and as thou knowest have endeavoured to perform it ever since my having been at that holy place, though not with that perfection as became me, and

²⁹³Strickland, vol. 9, 252

²⁹⁴By 1690 the primary court appointments at St. Germain were established: the Duke of Powis as Lord Chamberlain; the Earl of Dumbarton as Lord of the Bedchamber; Robert Strickland and Colonel Porter as Vice-Chamberlains; Sir John Sparrow as Board of the Green Cloth; Fergus Grahm as Privy Treasurer; Colonel Skelton (later J. Stafford) as Comptroller, Sir William Waldegrave as Physician-in-ordinary. See Haile, 274.

²⁹⁵The Battle of the Boyne, at which James II's forces were crushed by those of William of Orange commanded by Marshall Meinhard Schomberg, is analyzed in great detail by Michael McNally in *Battle of the Boyne 1690: The Irish Campaign for the English Crown* (New York: Osprey Publishing, 2005). Also see Haile, 307–308. Jacobite attempts to regain the throne for the Stuarts would continue until 1745, when James II's grandson, "Bonnie Prince Charlie" led a failed invasion of Scotland. See Michael Barthorp and G. A. Embleton, *The Jacobite Rebellions, 1689–1745* (London: Reed International Books, Ltd., 1982).

²⁹⁶Oman, 172. A contemporary description of La Trappe is offered by Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon, *Memoirs of Louis XIV and the Regency*, trans. Bayle St. John (Paris: Walter Dunne Publisher, 1901), vol. 1, 59.

now most humbly beg of thy divine goodness, to give me the grace to perform it.²⁹⁷

Mary formed a similar spiritual attachment with the convent of Chaillot, but also assumed a position of responsibility at that institution even as she continued to manage affairs at the court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye—in 1690 she agreed to serve as the convent’s official patroness (*protectrice*), writing that since God had not granted her the happiness of being a nun, he might grant her the power “of being able to procure the good of the whole institute.”²⁹⁸ As a gift to the sisters of Chaillot, Mary commissioned devotional paintings by Gennari; she also commissioned paintings by Gennari and de Largillière for Louis XIV, for Catherine of Braganza who had returned to Portugal, and for her own chapel at Saint-Germain-en-Laye.²⁹⁹

Mary had more worldly concerns as the Stuart court in exile took shape in the early 1690s. One result of her husband’s new piety was that he was now faithful to her and would remain so for the rest of his life.³⁰⁰ The court also had become filled with dependents and it was not clear how the Stuarts could support them all. This financial responsibility would materially dampen efforts to retake the British throne; in 1694 the Abbé Rendaudot observed that the Stuarts could not afford to maintain their agents in

²⁹⁷Trinity College, Dublin, MS 3529, ff. 62–63. Cited and reproduced in Callow, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 98–99

²⁹⁸Hale, 273–274. Mary’s correspondence with the leading nuns at Chaillot accounts for the largest body of her extant letters. See Falconer Madan, *Stuart Papers Relating Chiefly to Mary of Modena*.

²⁹⁹“[I]t was Mary of Modena rather than James—who had never taken a particular interest in commissioning art of any kind—who took the lead in ordering new devotional canvases.” Callow, *King in Exile*, 238. For more about painting and portraiture of the exiled court see Edward Corp, chapter seven, “The Portraits of the Stuarts and their Courtiers” in *A Court in Exile*, 180–201; Also see Edward Corp, *The King Over the Water: Portraits of the Stuarts in Exile after 1689* (Edinburgh: Trustees of the National Galleries of Scotland, 2001).

³⁰⁰“Henceforward, James’s virtue was to be equal to her own.” Haile, 229.

London: “they have no longer the means of sending to England, to those who have the wish to render them service.” While the Stuarts struggled to pay their spies, they were themselves beset by agents working for William of Orange—the court at St. Germain was so notoriously riddled with espionage that it was necessary for the Jacobites to write all political correspondence in cipher.³⁰¹ The situation was so well known that in 1693 Ambassador Rizzini wrote, “Their British Majesties lie under the fatality of having had in their service the greatest number of open or secret traitors, unknown persons, or reputed unworthy of their favor.”³⁰²

Considerable financial help came from the French court: Louis XIV allowed the Stuarts fifty thousand francs per month for household expenses.³⁰³ At first this amount seemed almost excessive, but it would prove insufficient as the Stuart court grew.

Apart from French help, the Stuarts hoped that the Catholic powers of Europe would provide financial, military, and political assistance.³⁰⁴ Mary wrote to the newly elected Pope Alexander VIII for help in 1689:

Your Holiness can give [James II] this help in two ways. The first is a sum of money to supply his pressing needs... [the other] is to obtain peace among the Catholic princes, which would make it impossible for the usurper to retain the King’s dominions, for not only would the Most

³⁰¹Principal Jacobite figures went by various code names, e.g. Mary of Modena was Mr. Wisely, or Mrs. Whitely, or Artley’s spouse, etc. See Strickland, vol. 9, 242. For information on Jacobite espionage and counter-espionage, see Hugh Douglas, *Jacobite Spy Wars: Moles, Rogues and Treachery* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 1999); Eveline Cruickshanks, ed., *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1889–1759* (Edinburgh: 1982); Mary Hopkirk, chapter 10, “Cloak and Dagger” in *The Queen Over the Water*, 222–241; John Callow, *King in Exile*, 228;

³⁰²Rizzini to the Duke of Modena, letter of 11 February 1693, quoted in Haile, 272.

³⁰³James II had requested from Louis XIV only half that amount. See Dangeau, vol. I, 146; Strickland, vol. 9, 222.

³⁰⁴Oman, 155.

Christian King have his hands set free, but the other princes... would give [James] their aid.³⁰⁵

Contrary to Mary's expectations, the Catholic powers of Europe would not put aside their differences in the interest of the beleaguered Stuarts—by aligning themselves with Louis XIV, the Stuarts had placed themselves against the Hapsburg Emperor and all those who opposed the power of France.³⁰⁶ Years later Mary still held out hopes for a Papal intervention:

[N]o order has arrived from Rome regarding our poor Jacobites; on the contrary the Pope [Innocent XII] is very ill, and I think he will die without having given any, so we resolved yesterday to sell a few jewels to pay the pensions for September, and then we shall do the same each month unless help comes from elsewhere, of which I see no likelihood.³⁰⁷

Political opposition to French interests even prevented Mary from receiving assistance from her family in Modena; her brother Francesco II left money and properties to her in his will but his successor, Mary's uncle Rinaldo, refused to honor this because of his political alliance with the Holy Roman Emperor against France.³⁰⁸ Rinaldo, like the Pope, would not take action that could be seen to bolster a Stuart claim to succession at Modena.³⁰⁹

Mary also looked for income from an unlikely source—the British parliament. By rights she could still claim payment of her dowry annuity that had been promised to her

³⁰⁵Letter from the Vatican Archives, quoted in Haile, 259.

³⁰⁶Hopkirk, 220; 230.

³⁰⁷Letter of 29 August 1700 from Mary of Modena at St. -Germain-en-Laye to the Mère Déposée of Chaillot Convent, quoted in Haile, 344.

³⁰⁸When Louis XIV learned that Francesco II had died, he put the French court into mourning in honor of Queen Mary's grief: "This evening there was neither a drawing room nor a play: the death of the duke of Modena has suspended all diversions, on the Queen of England's account." Dangeau, 27 September 1694, vol, I, 269. Also see Oman, 184; Callow, *King in Exile*, 225.

³⁰⁹Oman, 184; Hopkirk, 220.

for life under the terms of her marriage contract. William of Orange, however, had no intention of allowing his government to send financial support to his enemies; ambassador Rizzini wrote to the Duke of Modena that there was no chance of his sister receiving funds from England: “Orange has declared that he will not give money which he suspects will be used against him.”³¹⁰ This position may have been understandable, but it was clearly illegal and Mathew Prior, secretary to the British embassy in Paris, was forced to write home for advice on how he was to respond when challenged on the subject:

Do we intend, my dear master, to give her fifty thousand pounds per annum, or not? If we do not, I (or rather my Lord Jersey) should now be furnished with some chicaning answers when we are pressed on that point, for it was fairly promised—that is certain.³¹¹

In the end, William of Orange produced the solution that seemed best to him: he saw that the money was provided by the British parliament, but kept it from his enemies by putting it in his own pocket.³¹²

³¹⁰Letter from Rizzini to Duke of Modena, 25, January 1699. Quoted in Haile, 337.

³¹¹Letter from Mathew Prior to Lord Halifax, quoted in Strickland, vol. 9, 279. Also see Oman, 187–188.

³¹²Haile, 337. The British government refused to deliver dowry payments to Mary of Modena until 1714, when she was given 11, 750 of the 47,000 pounds she was owed. See Strickland, vol. 10, 139; Dangeau, 25 June 1714, vol. II, 325–326. In 1702 some of the women of Mary’s court received payments from the British Parliament: “King William has lately ordered the payment of the dower of those widows who are attached to the person of the Queen of England at Saint Germain; the parliament has forced him to this measure. The duchess of Tyrconnel, who has dower of 18,000 francs, has already received it.” Dangeau, 20 March 1702, vol. II, 47.

Innocenzo Fede and the Musicians of the Exiled Court

Musicians from the several musical departments of the Whitehall court followed the king into exile: “They included several members of the king’s Catholic chapel, the entire establishment of the Queen’s chapel and some of the ceremonial musicians.”³¹³ That the entire ensemble of the Queen’s chapel chose to follow the court into exile suggests that Mary of Modena was a figure of great influence among the court musicians. The Anglican Chapel Royal, unsurprisingly because of its institutional connection to English Protestantism, contributed not a single musician to the exiled court.³¹⁴ The queen took it upon herself to rally the loyal musicians (the majority of whom had served in her personal chapel in London) and to organize the court musical programs while her husband was fighting in Ireland.

After the Battle of the Boyne it was clear that there would be no immediate Stuart Restoration. James retired to France all but resolved to live out his life as a pious martyr. He returned to Saint-Germain-en-Laye in the summer of 1689, and made permanent arrangements for his royal household in exile. A complete list of all the musicians employed at Saint-Germain-en-Laye is difficult to construct, due to the partial nature of the pay records and other lists, as well as the tendency of the court to recruit musicians at need without records of permanent employment. Still, a number of musicians, including Fede, Gian-Battista Casale, Johann Abel, and Jacques Paisible were assigned permanent

³¹³Corp, *A Court in Exile*, 203.

³¹⁴Corp, *A Court in Exile*, 203.

salaries.³¹⁵ In addition, several members of the court are known to have been amateur musicians who contributed significantly to the concerts at court. These include Sir William Waldegrave, John Caryll (the king's physician, former ambassador to Rome, and secretary of state), and David Nairne, the under-secretary of state.³¹⁶

James Paisible resided at St. Germain until 1693, when he returned to London to pursue a career in chamber performance and musical theater.³¹⁷ His reasons for leaving the exiled court are unknown, but given the glamour traditionally assigned by the Stuart court to foreign musicians, his status must have shifted upon arriving in his native land—as a Frenchman in London he symbolized imported sophistication; he could hardly represent the same thing in France. To signal a progressive patronage of music from abroad, the Stuart court in France had more reason than ever to emphasize its taste in Italian music and give primacy of place to the Italian music director, Innocenzo Fede.

In London Fede had been Master of Music at the Catholic Chapel, in which capacity he oversaw music for royal Catholic worship, but he was excluded from the Anglican services that were led by such luminaries as Henry Purcell and John Blow. His position was therefore considerably augmented when the court took up residence at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, because he suddenly became sole Master of Music for the entire court. Performative aspects of Fede's musical administration are impossible to reconstruct; contemporary accounts do not record

³¹⁵Corp, "The Exiled Court," 221.

³¹⁶Corp, "The Exiled Court," 221–222.

³¹⁷Born Jacques Paisible in France c. 1656, his wife Mary "Moll" Davis was an amateur singer at court, and a former mistress of Charles II.

specific musical events at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, only that there were recitals at court and accompaniment to religious services.³¹⁸ Instead, evidence for Fede's musical activities is embodied in surviving musical manuscripts, including seven volumes now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. These were compiled as Fede's musical library and therefore offer a perspective on the repertoire at Saint-Germain-en-Laye.³¹⁹ For the most part, these volumes contain works by leading Italian (predominantly Roman) composers, but also pieces by Stuart composers who had worked in the Catholic chapel—James Paisible, Gottfried Finger, and Fede himself. The arias, cantatas, sonatas by Fede that are found in these volumes, as well as in manuscripts now in Versailles and Berkeley, California, are to be treated later in chapters three and four.

Fede's duties not only included directing all the musical activities, but also instructing the royal children in both music and Italian.³²⁰ Given that there were many noble children at the chateau in the early years of the exile, it seems probable that it fell to Fede to educate many of them as well.³²¹ Fede was a devoted servant of the Stuart family, and remained at Saint-Germain-en-Laye

³¹⁸Edward T. Corp, "The Exiled Court," 216–231; Callow, *King in Exile*, 232.

³¹⁹See the endnote by Jean Lionnet in Graham Dixon, "Purcell's Italianate Circle," *The Purcell Companion*, ed. Michael Burden (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1995), 38–51; Corp, *A Court in Exile*, 206–209.

³²⁰Lionnet, "Innocenzo Fede et la musique," 14–18. The upbringing of the young prince James was formally entrusted to the guardianship of James Earl of Perth, whose correspondence is published by William Jerdan, ed., *Letters from James Earl of Perth* (London: Nichols and Son, for the Camden Society, 1845).

³²¹James and Mary also provided for the education of the children in exile by sending them to the English Colleges at St. Omer and Rome. George Collingwood and Christopher Piggot, two of the boys of the Queen's chapel were educated in Latin at her expense. See Callow, *King in Exile*, 223.

until 1719, when the death of Mary of Modena brought an end to the Stuart inhabitation of that château (although Jacobite supporters continued on there until the French revolution).³²²

Even more important to the Stuarts' Italian musical collection than the manuscript library was their Italian court music director, Innocenzo Fede. Just as collecting and supporting Italian music at court bolstered their claim to cultural relevancy, the Stuarts could point to Fede as evidence of musical sophistication. Fede functioned at court not only as a cultural feather in the royal cap, but also as the catalyst to bring the music of the manuscript collection to life through performance under his direction. By his presence and participation he transformed the Stuart music collection from an intangible hoard into a present and usable asset. Furthermore, Fede's background as a Roman chapel musician lent him valuable association with the musical heart of Roman Catholicism. His mere presence at the Stuart court emphasized the confessional identity so important to both Mary and James.

Fede was not only a director of music, but also the court composer and was expected to contribute his own works to the court manuscript collections. An important distinction must therefore be drawn between Italian music that was collected abroad for inclusion in the Stuart musical archives, and musical pieces composed at the court by its resident Italian composer; copies of known works by famous composers added a certain inherent worth to the collection immediately

³²²Edwin and Marion Sharpe Grew, *The English Court in Exile* (London: Mills & Boon, Limited, 1911).

upon their acquisition, whereas Fede's pieces would not automatically accrue any value outside of their context of having been locally composed by a trained Italian musician. Fede therefore had to compose his pieces with the expectation that they would be immediately evaluated through practice and performance. It would not have benefitted him or his reputation to compose pieces that were beyond the abilities of the courtiers to perform, since only through positive reception would his works be assured a place in the court repertoire.

Interaction between the French and Stuart Courts

When the exile began, Louis XIV was most fond of his palace at Marly, which then rivaled Versailles and was very close to Saint-Germain-en-Laye.³²³ The Stuarts had to observe the rigorous formality of French court culture, where as reigning monarchs they were given the highest level of honor beginning with the earliest visits in December 1688.³²⁴ As the de jure king and queen of England, James and Mary were always given the best places at French royal ceremonies.³²⁵ In January 1689, Louis tried to entertain the Stuarts by taking them to see Racine's *Esther* as well as Ballet, where Mary was always seated between the two kings.³²⁶

In 1691, the English court visited Versailles, Marli, and Fontainebleau regularly, but rarely went to Paris except to visit churches.³²⁷ That summer Louis XIV entertained his English guests relentlessly at Marli and Versailles, where

³²³Oman, 153.

³²⁴Strickland, vol. 9, 223.

³²⁵Oman, 183.

³²⁶Strickland, vol. 9, 228.

³²⁷Strickland, vol. 9, 242.

musical performances were given nightly.³²⁸ The marriage of the duke du Maine and mademoiselle de Charolais on 19 March, 1692, to which Louis XIV invited James II as well as all the princes and princesses of the blood, offered music, cards before dinner for the enjoyment of the guests.³²⁹

By 1697 Louis XIV, having been reduced to insolvency by nine years of the War of the League of Augsburg,³³⁰ acquiesced to the treaty of Ryswick in which he recognized William III but refused to expel the Stuarts.³³¹ Nevertheless, Louis continued to treat James and Mary as though they had retained their titles in that they continued to receive sovereign honors at his court.³³² Records from the Sainte-Chapelle give details of the honors accorded to the Stuarts during their visit for the feast of St. Louis on 25 August 1699:

Monsieur the Treasurer assembled the [Society of Jesus] in the sacristy immediately after the procession, since the king and the queen of England had informed him they would be leaving Saint-Germain-en-Laye before two o'clock to arrive at the Sainte-Chapelle at around four o'clock....that the *tapissier* would be instructed to bring a carpet to be laid between the high altar and the door to the choir; that at the foot of the high altar a prie-dieu covered in crimson velvet embellished all around with gold fringe would be set in place...with two armchairs of the same pattern for the king and queen and several stools to be behind the ladies in

³²⁸Dangeau describes “admirable” musical performances as commonplace at Versailles. See Dangeau, 13 January 1715, vol. II, 341. Oman, 167.

³²⁹Dangeau, vol. I, 228.

³³⁰The War of the League of Augsburg (also known as the War of the Grand Alliance, or the Second Coalition, 1689–1697) saw the kingdom of France standing alone against the Holy Roman Empire, Sweden, Spain, England, and the United Netherlands. The disastrous effects of this war on the economy of France are analyzed in Goubert, *Louis XIV and Twenty Million Frenchmen*, especially in Chapter Eleven, “The Second Coalition (1689–1697),” 193–222. Also see Frances Mossiker, *Madame de Sévigné, A Life and Letters* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 433.

³³¹Strickland, vol. 9, 242.

³³²Strickland, vol. 9, 242.

their retinue; that the little organ in the middle of the choir would be moved toward the left-side stalls of Messieurs the Canons where the musical ensemble will be placed; that since Saint Louis's crown of thorns is displayed on the altar from the procession until the end of vespers, the true cross given to kings for worship would [also] be displayed there.³³³

Additionally, the presence of the Stuarts required that Mar-Antoine Charpentier, newly installed as music master at the Sainte-Chapelle, prepare a musical program in their honor:

Monsieur the Treasurer told the [society of Jesus] that the king of England had sent one of his chaplains to inform him that he and the queen had vowed to visit the Sainte-Chapelle on the Feast of Saint Louis between four and five o'clock to attend *Salut* [evening service] there, whereupon it was announced that the vespers bells be rung at one-thirty for [vespers] to begin at two o'clock sharp. Inasmuch as there is [normally] no *Salut* on that day, the music master [should] be alerted to prepare a motet and a few other prayers with a *Domine Salvum fac Regem* set to music.³³⁴

The Stuart children were treated with sovereign dignity, whatever the terms of the treaty of Ryswick; the pomp surrounding the movements of the young prince James was observed with surprise by a visiting English noble in 1700:

Last Thursday was a great day here. The Prince of Wales, as they call him, went in state to Nostre Dame and was received by the Archbishop of Paris with the same honours as if the French king had been himself there...all the English that are here ran to see him... I must confess I am surprised to see things of this nature so often³³⁵

³³³Archives nationales de France, Registres de la Sainte-Chapelle, LL 609, fol. 66v–67. Quoted in Catherine Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, trans. E. Thomas Glasow (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1995), 371.

³³⁴Archives nationales de France, Registres de la Sainte-Chapelle, LL 609, fol. 66. Quoted in Cessac, 371.

³³⁵The Earl of Manchester to the Earl of Jersey, letter of 22 May 1700. Quoted in Haile, 342.

Like his host Louis XIV, James II became increasingly devout in his later years, and less interested in participating in the secular aspects of life. In his personal “Papers of Devotion” he describes music for dance and theater as “dangerous, and not very proper for such as have a mind to live well.”³³⁶ Nevertheless, Queen Mary related that he continued to enjoy watching the dancing at the French court even late at night when he was ill:

The king had some fever a week ago, which did not prevent him hunting at Marly, where he went the day before yesterday, and stayed until one o’clock in the morning watching the young people and the old ones dance. I take very little pleasure in that, and when it is over I feel very tired.³³⁷

Nevertheless, music and dance were central to courtly entertainment at both the French and the English court; James and Mary were both present at a masked ball given by the French court at Marli on 4 January 1700, where prominent courtiers participated in choreography with professional dancers from the Opera.³³⁸

A sudden stroke on Friday, 4 march 1701, caused James II to fall forward into a faint while kneeling at mass at St. Germain;³³⁹ he received the highest

³³⁶Godfrey Davies, ed. *The Papers of Devotion of James II* (London, 1925). The date of this writing is uncertain, as the Papers of Devotion were posthumously assembled from loose-leaf musings that James II wrote over several decades.

³³⁷Mary of Modena to Mère Déposée of Chaillot, February 1699, quoted in Haile, 337.

³³⁸Dangeau described the event in a diary entry for 4 January, 1700, vol. I, 409–410.

³³⁹Upon hearing that James II had been stricken, Louis XIV sent a physician who reported that “the King of England’s disorder appeared to him very serious, and that one side of his body was entirely paralyzed,” Dangeau, 11 March 1701, vol. II, 8.

honors until the very end, as Louis XIV sent him to take the waters at Bourbon and ordered that he and Mary be received everywhere as ruling sovereigns.³⁴⁰

After the death of James II in 1702, Louis XIV recognized James III as the legitimate British monarch and continued to give him the honors which had been due his father;³⁴¹ Mary was thereafter always seated between the two kings, but one was now her son rather than her husband.³⁴² Louis XIV continued regularly to visit St. Germain in state, and even more frequently in private with Mme de Maintenon; he always invited the Stuart court to fêtes whenever they occurred at Marly, Versailles, and Trianon, giving Stuart courtiers high honors and giving Mary precedence over every lady at the French court.³⁴³

From the beginning of his reign James III enjoyed the arts and entertainments available at the French court, some of which he had never encountered before; the French courtier Dangeau recorded “This evening there

³⁴⁰Dangeau recorded: “The King has appointed the marquis d’Urfé to accompany the King of England in the journey he is about to take to Bourbon; he has it in charge, to see that the honours, due to his dignity of King, be paid him in all the towns he passes through.” He also noted that Louis XIV “gives the King of England a hundred thousand livres a-month during his journey; it is believed he will not return till the month of June; moreover, [Louis] maintains a hundred and twenty horses for his equipage, and furnishes him every accommodation for his journey.” Dangeau, 21 March and 4 April 170, vol. II, 10. Also see Oman, 190.

³⁴¹As James II lay dying in mid-September 1701, Louis XIV approached his bedside and swore to James and Mary that he would recognize their son as James III, king of Ireland, Scotland, and England. Dangeau presents a narrative of this conversation and the surrounding events in diary entries of 3–29 September 1701, vol. II, 22–29.

³⁴²Strickland, volume 10, 37. The protocol of a visit by Queen Mary and James III to the French court on the occasion of a fireworks display is described by Dangeau in a diary entry for 12 August, 1704, vol. II, 95–96.

³⁴³Strickland, volume 10, 41–42. Dangeau reported that Louis always had Mary seated at his right hand “even in the carriage, though this is not usually the etiquette in France.” Dangeau, 10 August 1707, vol. II, 146.

was a play; the King of England was highly diverted. He had not only never seen, but had never even read one.”³⁴⁴ Three days later he wrote, “the King of England, who was much diverted here; he is a very handsome prince, and makes himself much beloved.”³⁴⁵ The younger Stuarts were keenly interested in the music and dance of the French court; the young James III and his sister the princess Louise Marie danced the first minuet at a ball at Marly in February 1704.³⁴⁶ At this as at all other occasions, Louis XIV refused to sit while James III was dancing.³⁴⁷

The French courtiers found princess Louise Marie particularly charming at court musical events; at the age of fourteen she debuted at a ball on 8 January 1705, where she “danced very well” with the young Duc de Berri, “winning the greatest applause, which has given rise to the report that there is a project of marriage between them.”³⁴⁸ On 23 July of the same year she and the Duc de Berri, together with her brother the King and several young French and English ladies, gathered at Trianon for merriment that included dancing to vocal music.³⁴⁹ Louise was passionately fond of music and attended the opera frequently enough that she gained a reputation for singing along with the performances and afterwards

³⁴⁴Dangeau, 12 October 1703, vol. II, 81–82.

³⁴⁵Dangeau, 15 October 1703, vol. II, 82.

³⁴⁶Oman, 392; Strickland, volume 10, 37; St. Simon. Vol. iv, 395–396.

³⁴⁷“[Louis XIV] always stood while the King of England was dancing, an honour which he would have hesitated to confer on more fortunate monarchs.” Louis would dispense with some formalities when the younger Stuarts would visit his court without their mother: “When the Queen of England does not come, [Louis] does not go to meet them.” Dangeau, 23 February 1705, vol. II, 100–101. Oman, 392; Strickland, volume 10, 37; St. Simon. Vol. iv, 395–396.

³⁴⁸Haile, 391–392.

³⁴⁹Dangeau, 23 July 1705, vol. II, 107.

singing the airs that she particularly enjoyed.³⁵⁰ Louise also enjoyed country-dances and would keep a violinist at hand for this purpose when other young nobles gathered at St. Germain.³⁵¹

Mary was proud of Louise's cultured taste—she wrote, “[Louise] was passionately fond of music, songs, and poetry, and took the delight in those amusements which was natural to her time in life, although she was far from being carried away by pleasures of that kind.”³⁵² Mary evidently agreed with Castiglione that passion for music is best suited to young people, becoming less appropriate in proportion to the age and enthusiasm of the practitioner.³⁵³ Mary's approval of music may have been qualified by its context, but she was completely in favor of musical worship—in 1713 she walked from Chaillot convent to the convent at Longchamps to hear the famously skilled choir; she was so delighted in the beautiful singing that she and her ladies stayed for vesper services, and were so late getting back to Chaillot that they were locked out.³⁵⁴ Mary was also

³⁵⁰Oman, 173; the Duchess de Lauzun described Louisa at the opera as “transported.” Strickland, volume 10, 98.

³⁵¹Strickland, volume 10, 64.

³⁵²From a letter from Mary of Modena to Chaillot convent c. 1712, cited in Strickland, volume 10, 98.

³⁵³Castiglione advised generally that “things that are praiseworthy in themselves often become very inappropriate when practiced out of season,” and that music specifically was better pursued by the young than the old. See Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2003), 64; 87. Also see Donald Fader, “The Honnête homme as Music Critic,” 8–11.

³⁵⁴Strickland, vol. 10, 123. For an early history of the convent at Longchamp, see Sean L. Field, *Isabelle of France: Capetian Sanctity and Franciscan identity in the Thirteenth Century* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006).

reconciled to her daughter's enjoyment of opera when Louise told her that some of the operatic choruses reminded her of the music she heard in church.³⁵⁵

Mary's Patronage of Cantata

Secular vocal music, in the form of cantatas and arias, held an important place at the Stuart court in exile—a fact made clear by the preponderance of Italian vocal pieces within the surviving manuscript repertoire. Why did a British court, especially one with an obvious political need to emphasize a native legitimacy, adopt this Italian vocal genre for so much of its own musical culture? While we have seen in chapter one that a significant and traditional motive for Stuart musical patronage was the court's need to express capability and sophistication through musical expropriation, there are other cultural factors that account for the prevalence of Italian cantata at the exiled court than its value as a marker of respectability.

The most obvious reason for the prolific cultivation of Italian music at the exiled court was the powerful influence of the Italian queen, Mary of Modena. At the time of exile the power center of Stuart patronage shifted dramatically as James was overwhelmed by his political overthrow and failed military campaign. Mary became the primary figure of Stuart cultural authority. In addition while patronage of the French style of Lullian airs and dances had helped to generate an image of sophistication for the Stuarts in London, it could hardly gain them any credit in France. More importantly, it might have made the Stuarts seem to be

³⁵⁵The Princess may have observed a similarity between opera and motet, rather than, as Strickland supposed, between opera and chant. See Strickland, vol. 10, 99.

competing with Louis XIV at his own game and in his own realm, which would not have been at all desirable. Italian music was therefore more valuable even than it had been in London for the purposes of the Stuart's paradigm of constructing an image of itself through musical patronage. Furthermore, Innocenzo Fede had been one of many royal composers in London, while in exile he became the sole music director and primary composer. With an Italian *maestro di capella* working for an Italian patroness in an environment that all but precluded the patronage of French music, it not surprising that Italian musical styles and genres formed the bulk of the repertoire of the Stuart court in exile.

Furthermore, the circumstances of the court in exile, together with Mary's personal sense of dignity and propriety, made cantata the genre of Italian music best suited to the court's needs and resources. Opera was unquestionably the most popular and most impressive genre of Italian music, the obvious choice for a court trying to generate an image of musical worthiness. Indeed, the Stuarts in exile were living at the palace of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, which housed the theater where several of Lully's operas had been premièred. It would seem that they were almost uniquely situated to enjoy the production of Italian opera and the cultural glory associated with it. This course was prohibited, however, by three factors: first, the expense associated with operatic performance was beyond the means of the court. Second, French patent laws at the time made it very difficult to gain permission to perform an opera, essentially reserving operatic performance rights to the heirs of Lully. Third and most importantly, the public and voyeuristic aspect of operatic performance were contrary to Mary's personal and religious

sense of morality. Cantata on the other hand, could be performed at practically no expense, required no legal permission, and was an avenue for the poetry, passion, and musical forms of opera to be performed for the courtiers behind closed doors where there could be no hint of social impropriety.

The Stuart court in exile was markedly different in terms of character, society, and political hierarchy than it had been in London—since James had all but abdicated his leadership role, it had fallen to Mary of Modena to preside over a musical culture affordable under the strained circumstances of exile, as well as acceptable to her modesty and deeply religious principles. Cantata was a small-scale musical form capable of reflecting the powerful passions of opera, but remained intimately private. In the face of financial uncertainty, cantata was affordable. Given the limited human resources available in exile, cantata was practical and performable. These attractions were particularly suited to Mary's taste, needs, and sense of propriety.

The Stuarts sought to enhance the prestige of their court as a recognizable center of progressive culture by eagerly consuming the musical exports of Italy “like highly-prized merchandise.”³⁵⁶ The exile of 1688 by no means ended this trend of artistic patronage. Now that James II had been ignominiously thrust from his palace and country, he had every political need to reclaim his authority by projecting an image of royal majesty. The Stuarts needed to generate a court culture befitting their continued claim to state sovereignty; the cultivation of Italian music, especially the genres of aria and cantata that were so widely

³⁵⁶Patrick Barbier, *The World of the Castrati*, 174.

respected throughout Europe, offered a means for the Stuarts to surround themselves with high culture while simultaneously supporting that culture through patronage.

The remarkable flourishing of Italian secular vocal music at the exiled Stuart court is primarily attributable to the central importance of Queen Mary of Modena. Her correspondence makes clear that throughout the court's time in France, James became increasingly withdrawn from the government of courtly affairs—Mary was the real source of social leadership and cohesion, as well as political authority and financial revenue.³⁵⁷ While in London she had been an ornament to James and a symbol of his championing of Italian culture and Roman Catholicism. Her nationality and confessional alignment had been symbolic not only for James and his pro-Roman faction, but also for his fervently anti-Catholic enemies. To them, she represented something that was unacceptable in an English court and ultimately became a rallying point for the political opposition. By contrast, after the loyal remnants of the Stuart court regrouped in France, she became the stalwart leader of the exiled courtiers, the idol of her shattered husband, and perhaps most importantly, the respected friend and ally of their French hosts. As the *arbiter elegantiae* of the Stuart court, her musical preferences were adopted as the common standard. It can hardly be surprising that her personal tastes were focused on the music of her native Italy, which she had loved since her childhood. Having left Modena as a teenager, never to return,

³⁵⁷Much of Mary's correspondence during the exile is collected in Falconer Madan, *Stuart Papers Relating Chiefly to Mary of Modena and the Exiled Court of King James II* (London: Published for the Roxburghe Club by J.D. Nichols & Sons, 1889).

Mary naturally favored the musical arts that she had loved and learned as a girl, if only to maintain a psychological connection with her family and homeland.

In addition to its practical economic and social appeal, Italian vocal chamber music was very well suited to the strongly religious and moral views of the court, especially those of the queen. French operatic libretti devoted to the dramatic exploration of romantic longing and sexual passion would have offended the sensibilities to those who professed an adherence to the ideals of piety and chastity; even Louis XIV had stopped attending the theater as his religious devotion increased during the 1680s. But the subject matter itself was not the real point of objection to Mary's sense of moral decorum. Rather, it was the public nature of operatic performance: actors and actresses displaying themselves as they portrayed characters in the throes of the most intimate passions, the voyeuristic gaze of the audience, and the scandalous behavior associated with the theater which included well-known sexual liaisons between actresses and prominent members of the nobility. To be sure, the subject matter of Italian cantata was every bit as concerned with romance and sexuality as was French opera, and in fact was given to considerably freer poetic expression of the torments of love and pleasures of sex, but it was not designed to be displayed before a general audience. The private nature of cantata performance³⁵⁸ precluded any danger of

³⁵⁸Norbert Dubowy has called the seventeenth-century cantata "the most intimate and private genre one could imagine at that time." See Dubowy, "'*Al tavolino medesimo del Compositore della Musica*': Notes on Text and Context in Alessandro Scarlatti's *cantate da camera*," *Aspects of the Secular Cantata in Late Baroque Italy*, ed., Michael Talbot (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009), 116.

public indecency, and the dramatic dialogues produced less of any immodest behavior that might have offended the devout Queen.

The small-scale nature of cantata production, beyond making it an acceptably private expression of sensuality, had a more obvious appeal to Mary's needs: the economic and social conditions of the exiled court made this genre an especially appropriate choice for musical performance. There was a continually severe shortage of funds at St. Germain, as well as a limited supply of skilled instrumentalists. Italian cantata, requiring only one or two vocalists and continuo, was a genre perfectly suited for a musically sophisticated court with such limited means. Moreover, cantata allowed the courtiers themselves to perform as singers or continuo instrumentalists; otherwise underemployed courtiers in exile could participate in the generation of a sophisticated musical culture at virtually no expense to the Queen. Many of the courtiers were capable singers or had some form of instrumental training, and cantata performance allowed them to participate directly in a musical culture necessary for maintaining the dignity of the exiled court.

Conclusions

The Stuart court in exile found itself forced to address conditions that made its customary way of presenting itself obsolete. Accustomed to a mode of self-fashioning that relied on the sponsorship of foreign music to signal its own sophistication, the Stuarts in exile were suddenly foreigners themselves, surrounded by a French musical culture that they had been accustomed to appropriate in London. In this new environment, the patronage choices available to exiled English court were limited by the

French court's cultural claim to the Lullian musical tradition; since the Stuarts could not hope to achieve musical distinction in that medium, the patronage of Italian music became the most productive means of signaling an independent and relevant musical culture.

Patronage of Italian music at Saint-Germain-en-Laye had different resonance than in London because, James II having renounced his interest in managing the worldly affairs of the court, Mary of Modena was now in charge of raising money, managing daily affairs, and overseeing the patronage of music and other arts. Similarly, the musical establishment of the court, which in London had been organized into several fairly distinct forces such as the Anglican and Catholic chapels and the King's Private Music, in exile was under the exclusive control of Innocenzo Fede. The Stuart court, accustomed to demonstrating cultural virtue through conspicuous appreciation of Italian and other foreign musical traditions, was now living in France and led by an Italian patroness with an Italian musical director.

This Stuart approach towards patronage contrasted sharply with that of the French court, which sought cultural legitimacy not through the sponsorship of foreign music, but through the construction of an image of French music as culturally superior. State sponsorship and academic oversight gave official sanction to the dance-oriented style championed by Lully; legal guidelines minimized competition to the Lullian style and helped to establish it an almost sacrosanct national treasure. Foreign music, especially Italian music, was a potential threat to the primacy of French musical culture and received no favor at the royal court. The death of Lully in 1687, which immediately preceded the arrival of the English exiles, was a watershed moment for the French

musical tradition that provided an opportunity for French musicians to explore new ways of shaping the French musical identity.

I argue that the Stuart court's self-constructive tradition of patronizing foreign music provided a model of hybridity that was appropriated by French composers. The final decade of the seventeenth century saw a sudden spike of interest in the Italian style among French composers, at the same time that cosmopolitan and pro-Italian musical fashions arrived from across the channel by the displaced Stuart court. In the wake of the death of Lully in 1687, French composers began to experiment with the newly imported genres of sonata and cantata. The political, cultural, and economic realities at the cosmopolitan court at St. -Germain served to mingle musical cultures and demonstrate to visiting French musicians that such blending was desirable. While the Stuart library of Italian musical manuscripts was an important resource for Parisian musicians, the most important Stuart contribution to France was the English enthusiasm for musical hybridity. Couperin and other French composers drew from the English court an understanding that receptivity to foreign influence in music could signal a worldly sophistication rather than simply a betrayal of the native tradition

CHAPTER THREE

THE ARIAS AND CANTATAS OF INNOCENZO FEDE

Among the musical genres that Innocenzo Fedè (c.1660–c.1732) chose to engage, cantata provides the richest field of his remaining compositional artifacts. Fedè's efforts in the area of secular vocal music form the bulk of his surviving compositional output and as such are a manifestation of his highest musical priority; they help to define the composer himself, since they reveal his idiomatic tendencies and compositional characteristics. In short, Fedè put more of himself into his cantatas and arias than into any other genre. Perhaps even more importantly, Fedè's extant cantatas and arias grant to posterity a privileged view into the cultural lives of the exiled Stuarts by giving implicit information about the context of their performance, the expectations and proclivities of the courtly audience, and available musical forces. In addition, poetry that Fedè chose to set as musical text provides a wealth of information about the standards of literary artistry at the Stuart court; the subject matter alone speaks tellingly of the intellectual and cultural mores of the Stuart audience, and most especially about the court's primary patron, Mary of Modena. Somewhat surprisingly, in light of the image often presented of her as an inflexible religious reactionary preoccupied with the salvation of the world through Catholic conversion, the poems of Fedè's cantata repertoire reveal Mary to have been the sponsor of music that celebrated of the carnal and emotional passions central to mankind's earthly experience.

Cantatas and arias make up by far the largest part of Fede’s extant chamber music—his surviving vocal pieces outnumber his instrumental sonatas by a rate of three to one. If we count each of the separate arias within his cantatas as distinct musical compositions, the ratio grows even larger. This is ironic, as Fede has primarily been known, when he has been known at all, as a composer of flute sonatas, a set of which were published in Amsterdam by Etienne Roger in 1703. And though his sonata repertoire is not large, consisting of only five short pieces of music, it is at least marginally known among performers today insofar as a modern edition of his “Suite in C major” has been published for recorder.³⁵⁹ Fede’s cantatas and arias remain largely unknown, despite being considerably more substantial in terms of scope and complexity, as well as in number. His comparatively prolific output in this area is proof enough that Fede thought of himself primarily as an aria composer. And since no evidence has yet come to light that he composed any operas, the body of his extant secular vocal music must be considered a contribution to the chamber cantata genre significant enough to demand scholarly attention.

Figure 3.1: Titles and Lengths of Fede’s Cantatas and Arias

Cantatas:

1. *Ardo, sospiro* (soprano solo; 48 bars)
2. *Se ci potesse l’oro* (soprano solo; 44 bars)
3. *Amor fiori un di* (soprano solo; 59 bars)
4. *Bell’onde tranquille* (bass solo; 119 bars)
5. *La mia vita* (duet for two sopranos; 130 bars)
6. *Numeri amorosi* (soprano solo, final aria is a tenor and soprano duet; 130 bars)

³⁵⁹Edition by Pierre Boragno (Paris: Delrieu, 2004). For a review of this edition, see Anthony Rowland Jones, “Advocating Innocenzo” in *Recorder Magazine* 29 (Winter 2008):116–117. A detailed examination of Fede’s instrumental sonatas is found in chapter four of this dissertation.

Arias:

1. “Bellezze voi siete tiranne” (soprano solo; 57 bars)
2. “Morirò poi che volete” (soprano solo; 16 bars)
3. “Langue geme sospira” (soprano solo; 106 bars)
4. “Vieni o Caro” (soprano solo; 26 bars)
5. “Annodami, abbracciami” (bass solo; 28 bars)
6. “A torto bella bocca” (duet for soprano & soprano; 95 bars)
7. “Sei pur dolce o libertà” (duet for soprano & soprano; 37 bars)
8. “Mio contento” (duet for soprano & soprano; 17 bars)
9. “Ardo sospiro e peno” (duet for soprano & bass; 51 bars)

Fede was able comfortably to claim expertise in the field of cantata writing since he was a trained tenor himself and came from a family that could boast of several notably successful singing careers in Rome—his father Antonio Maria was evidently a talented amateur, and his two castrato uncles (Giuseppe and Francesco Maria) became professional singers after moving to Rome in the 1650s to study with composer and music director Antonio Maria Abbatini. Giuseppe Fede in particular was hailed as an opera star and one of the finest sopranos in Rome.³⁶⁰ Furthermore, Innocenzo Fede had worked as an organist, singer, and music director in Rome for at least seven years and held the position of *maestro di cappella* at San Giacomo degli Spagnuoli from 1684 to 1686. Steeped as he was in the culture of Roman vocal music, Fede is likely to have been deeply familiar with cantata as a genre. Given his personal background and considering that he directed a substantial amount of compositional energy towards this musical medium, Fede’s potential influence upon French composers of Italian aria and cantata is undoubtedly greater than any other musical type. Whether or not he may be fairly

³⁶⁰Jean Lionnet, "Fede, Innocenzo," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed January 24, 2013), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/09400>.

considered its progenitor, Fede was present during the explosion of interest in Italian cantata that swept the Parisian musical scene at the turn of the eighteenth century.

In the early 1700s, as the court of the aging Louis XIV began to wane as the cultural center of French society, a tide of interest in Italian musical styles was rising in Paris. Italian music was promoted in publications of arias by the Ballard Publishing Company in the middle 1690s and in performances at the court of the Phillippe II Duc d'Orleans (1674–1723) at the Palais Royale, as well as those presented by the abbé Nicolas Mathieu (died 1706) at the presbytery of St André-des-Arts.³⁶¹ Cantata as a genre swept furiously into Paris with the publication in 1706 of French cantata collections by Jean-Baptiste Morin (1677–1745), Nicolas Bernier (1664–1734), and Jean-Baptiste Stuck (also known as Battistin, 1680–1755). These compositions made use of French poetry and paid homage to the Lullian musical virtues of restraint, elegance, and grace, but were otherwise overt attempts by French composers to adopt the musical style of their Italian counterparts—they were multi-partite compositions for voice and continuo comprising recitative and aria structured by motive, sequence, and imitation. Even the poetic subject matter, most often the heartbreak of abandonment and unrequited love, was borrowed directly from Italian tradition. Coincidentally or otherwise, the flourishing of the French cantata began only a few years after Fede arrived in the Parisian area, and lasted roughly until his final departure for Italy in 1719.³⁶² What role could Fede have

³⁶¹“The form known as the *cantate française* attracted almost every French composer during the first half of the 18th century.” Colin Timms, et al, “Cantata,” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed January 24, 2013), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/04748pg3>.

³⁶²Tunley, *Eighteenth-Century French Cantata*, 145–167

played in this surge of interest among French composers in the genre over which he himself had the highest degree of mastery?

In the preface to his first book of cantatas (1706), Jean-Baptiste Morin stated that his aim was “to retain the sweetness of the French melodic style, accompanying it with rhythms and harmony characteristic of the Italian cantata.”³⁶³ David Tunley has observed that, despite Morin’s stated intentions, “none of his works (or those by [other French composers]) can match the ingenuity found in, say, the cantatas of Scarlatti that were written about the same time.”³⁶⁴ The intense chromaticism and the centrality of dissonance Alessandro Scarlatti’s aria “Lascia più di tormentarmi,” (figure 3.2) is an example of the kind of harmonic adventurism that French cantata composers avoided:

³⁶³Tunley, *Eighteenth-Century French Cantata*, vii.

³⁶⁴Tunley, *Eighteenth-Century French Cantata*, viii

Figure 3.2: Scarlatti, “Lascia piu di tormentarmi”³⁶⁵

The image displays a musical score for a vocal piece by Alessandro Scarlatti. The score is written in G major and 3/2 time, featuring a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "Las - cia pi - ù di tor - men - tar - mi ri - mem - bran - za del mio ben ri - mem - bran - za del mio ben Tu sei trop - po per - ti - na - ce nel con - ten - der - mi la pa - ce". The score is divided into six systems, with measure numbers 6, 12, 18, 24, and 30 indicated at the beginning of each system. The piano accompaniment consists of a simple harmonic support for the vocal line, with a bass line that often moves in parallel motion with the vocal line. The vocal line is written in a soprano or alto clef, and the piano accompaniment is in a grand staff.

³⁶⁵Carolyn Gianturco, ed., *The Italian Cantata in the Seventeenth Century*, Volume 15 “Cantatas by Alessandro Scarlatti, 1660–1725,” selected and introduced by Malcolm Boyd (New York: Garland Publishing, 1986), from the general introduction.

36

E un momento di con ten to mai non do - ni a questo a questo sen.

45

mai non do - ni a questo sen E un mo men-to di con ten - to

54

mai non do - ni à que - sto sen. Las - cia pi - ù di

61

tor - men - tar - mi Las - cia pi - ù di tor - men tar -

67

- mi ri - mem - bran - za del mio ben

#

73

ri - mem - bran - za del mio ben ri - mem -

77

bra nza del mio ben

By contrast, the air “Sévère Sagesse” from the 1708 cantata *Hébé* by French composer Andre Campra features a graciously tuneful melody, avoiding jarring intervals in a clear preference for pleasingly consonant harmony:

Figure 3.3: Campra, “Sévère Sagesse”³⁶⁶

The image displays a musical score for the air "Sévère Sagesse" by Campra. It consists of six systems of music, each with a vocal line and a figured bass line. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are written below the vocal line, and the figured bass is written below the bass line. The lyrics are: Sé - vè - re sa - ges - se; Sé - vè - re sa - ges - se, Fais à la Vieil - les - se Re - spec - ter tes droits; Sé - vè - re sa - ges - se, souf - fre à la Jeun - es - se de plus dou - ce loix. Pour quoy tes ma - xim - es font - el - les des crim - es des ten - dres plai - sirs? Ne te fai plus crain - dre, ces - se de con - train - dre Ses ar - dents de - sirs. Loin de les def - fen - dre, lais se - nous ent - en - dre, dans nô - tre prin - tems, que c'est êt - re sa - ge de met - tre en

6 6# # 6 6 b # 6 6 # #

10 5

6 6# # 6 6 # 6 6# 4 6# # 6 # 6 6#

19

6 # 6 4 # 6 # 6

28

6 6 4 3 6 4 3 6 6

37

6 6 6 # 6 # 6 4 #

46

6 76 # 6

³⁶⁶David Tunley, ed., *Eighteenth-Century French Cantata*, vol. 2 (New York: Garland, 1990), 8–10.

us - age ces heur - eux ins - tants.

6 6 # 6 6 b # 6 6 # 5

What might be the reason – one must ask– for the apparent lack of interest in the harmonic and rhythmic ingenuity of Italian music on the part of French composers around 1700? Were they unable or unwilling to pursue those stylistic options? More likely, as I wish to suggest, they had different musical goals and based their efforts on models of Italian cantata representative of the more moderate or conservative authors of the genre—someone like Innocenzo Fede.

If Tunley is correct that French cantata composers were not following the musically audacious example of Scarlatti, it is worth considering that they were instead observing the more temperate model set by Innocenzo Fede. As we will see in the analysis below, Fede’s musical style was elegantly conservative compared with some of Scarlatti’s more daring harmonies and was not at all incompatible with what French musical critics considered tasteful. Don Fader observes that French cantata composers tended to create in the Roman style and were probably influenced by the model of Giovanni Bononcini, whose music was well known in Paris and was held by the French to be acceptably *gracieux*, unlike so many Italian composers.³⁶⁷ While Bononcini’s

³⁶⁷Fader, “Philippe II d’Orléans’s ‘chanteurs italiens,’” 242; Francois Ragueneau, *Défense du Parallèle des Italiens et des Francois* (Paris, 1705), pp. 43–44. Lawrence E. Bennett and Lowell Lindgren, “Bononcini,” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, accessed January 24, 2013), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/40140pg2>.

music was undoubtedly influential both in Rome and in Paris,³⁶⁸ he was trained in Bologna and did not move to Rome until 1691, his twenty-first year. By contrast, Fede was a Roman native and lived within the heart of that city's musical circles for a quarter of a century—from his birth around 1660 until his departure for England in 1686. Fede's inherent knowledge of the Roman cantata was surely not lost on his Parisian contemporaries; his proximity to French composers interested in adopting Roman musical styles invites investigation. Fede's music might very well have provided a model for adoption for French cantata composers.

Fader acknowledges that the Stuart court was important from around 1703 for its “importation of cantatas in the modern style of Alessandro Scarlatti.”³⁶⁹ At the same time, he downplays Fede's potential as a figure of influence among the newly cantata-smitten French composers, writing that Innocenzo Fede himself “reflected mid-17th-century currents rather than the new style of Bononcini.”³⁷⁰ But if French composers were failing or refusing to write in the style of Scarlatti, as pointed out by Tunley, and considered it stylistically virtuous to emulate a conservatively gracious approach to cantata writing, as related by Raguenet,³⁷¹ then not only Bononcini's temperate modernism, but also Innocenzo Fede's older and less harmonically aggressive style, far from seeming boring to French contemporaries, may have seemed to them very appealing indeed.

³⁶⁸Lawrence E. Bennett and Lowell Lindgren, "Bononcini," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, (Oxford University Press, accessed March 14, 2013), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/40140pg2>.

³⁶⁹Fader, “Philippe II d’Orléans’s ‘chanteurs italiens’,” 237.

³⁷⁰Fader, “Philippe II d’Orléans’s ‘chanteurs italiens’,” 247

³⁷¹François Raguenet, *Défense du Parallèle des Italiens et des François* (Paris, 1705): 43–44. Fader, “Philippe II d’Orléans’s ‘chanteurs italiens’,” 242.

Surviving Fede Cantata Repertoire

Historian Edward Corp and musicologist Jean Lionnet list only three cantatas by Fede: *Ardo sospiro e peno*; *Presso un fiume tranquillo* [titled *Numeri amorosi*], and *Se ci potesse l'oro*.³⁷² They consider the remaining secular vocal works by Fede to be individual arias. I hold that six of Fede's vocal pieces, including *Amor fiori un dì cogliea* for solo soprano or tenor, *Bell'onde tranquille* for solo bass voice, and *La mia vita* (a duet for soprano or tenor voices), feature such clearly contrasting movements that they are best considered cantatas, while the remaining nine pieces do not comprise distinct sections and are therefore single arias. While this disagreement may be analytically significant, it remains no more than a matter of interpretation, as the identity of a "cantata" remains somewhat subjective. Given the nebulous nature of a musical term so central to this discussion, it seems appropriate to take a moment to examine and define the term "cantata" in order to clarify some of my interpretive decisions.

Apart from general agreement that it is a sectional chamber piece for one or more accompanied voices, no singular paradigm of characteristics exists to define the seventeenth-century Italian cantata. Carolyn Gianturco has observed that musicologists continue to disagree over whether a seventeenth-century Italian cantata must necessarily have contained recitative or contrasting sections.³⁷³ The editors of each of the sixteen volumes of the Garland *Italian Cantata* series faced the task of deciding what the term "cantata" meant to the individual composers in the study. Gianturco claims that Alessandro Stradella (1639–1682) expected a cantata to contain both recitative and aria,

³⁷²Jean Lionnet, "Innocenzo Fede et la Musique," 14–18; Edward Corp, "The Exiled Court," 216–231.

³⁷³Carolyn Gianturco, editor, *The Italian Cantata in the Seventeenth Century*, Volumes 1–16 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1986), from the general introduction.

pointing out, “the cantata came into existence only after the creation of a reciting style in music.” She also cites a letter he wrote on 11 June 1678 to his patron Paolo Michiel, asking for clarification on whether he should compose “ariette o cantate da camera,” indicating that “for [Stradella] the cantata was not simply an aria for one or more soloists.”³⁷⁴ Stephen Bonta saw a similar delineation in the vocal pieces of Giovanni Legrenzi (1626–1690): “[w]hat sets Legrenzi’s cantatas apart from his other vocal secular works—*canzonette*, *ariette*, and *canzoni*—is their use of recitative to establish some sort of narrative.”³⁷⁵ Ellen Rosand shows that for Barbara Strozzi (1619–1677), “‘cantata’ seems to have designated a lengthy, varied work containing several sections and a mixture of vocal styles: recitative, arioso, and aria, responding to the textual distinctions between open narration and formal lyricism.”³⁷⁶ These examples demonstrate that some seventeenth-century composers believed that a vocal piece must offer contrasting styles of aria and recitative to be considered a cantata.

But Rosand also observes, “it would be a mistake to scrutinize Strozzi’s music too closely for rigid definitions,” pointing out that “during [Strozzi’s] lifetime the term ‘cantata’ was just beginning to assume its full generic identity as a succession of movements alternating between recitative and aria style.”³⁷⁷ It would similarly be a mistake to assume that every seventeenth-century cantata must contain an example of

³⁷⁴Carolyn Gianturco, “Alessandro Stradella” *The Italian Cantata in the Seventeenth Century*, Gianturco, ed., from the introduction to the ninth volume.

³⁷⁵Stephan Bonta, “Giovanni Legrenzi,” *The Italian Cantata in the Seventeenth Century*, Gianturco, ed., from the introduction to the sixth volume.

³⁷⁶Ellen Rosand, “Barbara Strozzi,” *The Italian Cantata in the Seventeenth Century*, Carolyn Gianturco, ed., from the introduction to the fifth volume.

³⁷⁷Ibid.

recitative texture. It was not until the end of that century that the alternation between recitative and aria within a cantata became an established expectation.³⁷⁸

Since the early eighteenth century, lexicographers and musicologists have offered a widely inclusive interpretation of this most popular and variable of baroque genres—generally accepting that a cantata must feature contrasting sections, but not universally suggesting that it must contain examples of both recitative and aria. As early as 1703, “cantata” was defined by Brossard in his *Dictionnaire de musique* as a “large composition, the words of which are in Italian; varied by recitatives, arias in different tempos; usually for a solo voice with a basso continuo, frequently with two violins or several instruments.”³⁷⁹ But in the same work, Broussard defines the term “recitative,” describing the term as “often found in the cantatas of Italians.”³⁸⁰ The fact that it was often—but not always—present indicates that Broussard did not consider it to be an indispensable element of the genre. Writing in 1973, Gloria Rose observed that a seventeenth-century cantata may include any number of arias or recitatives, provided that the piece offered sectional contrast: “Clearly, by the seventh decade of the 17th century, the cantata was understood to mean a more or less extended composition, built of contrasting sections. The recitatives and arias in any one cantata might vary in number and in arrangement; but they were now quite separate components within the whole

³⁷⁸Arnold Denis, “Cantata,” *The New Oxford Companion to Music*, ed., Denis Arnold (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 307

³⁷⁹Sébastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de Musique* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1703), 15.

³⁸⁰Brossard, *Dictionnaire*, 110.

work.”³⁸¹ Claude Palisca agreed that the genre was defined by its contrasting sections rather than the presence of recitative:

By cantata we mean a piece for one or two voices, occasionally three, composed of several discrete sections exploiting diverse styles, usually accompanied by no instruments other than the basso continuo group. In the most common type, portions of an extended poem are sung in recitative, while other portions are set in a flowing line that can best be termed aria style. Sometimes there is a sequence of several such aria movements without recitative intervening.³⁸²

An even more inclusive definition is found in the second edition of *The New Grove Dictionary*: “at its most typical [a cantata] consists (notably in Italy in the later 17th century) of a succession of contrasting sections which by the early 18th century became independent movements.”³⁸³

A reasonable definition of a cantata, therefore, is a chamber piece for voice and accompaniment that is divided into sections offering contrast in terms of tempo, meter, texture, affect, or dramatic narration. A vocal piece not composed of contrasting sections is better described as an aria than a cantata. According to this model, I consider that Innocenzo Fede wrote the following cantatas.³⁸⁴

³⁸¹Gloria Rose, “The Italian Cantata of the Baroque Period,” *Gattungen Der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen* (Munich: Francke Verlag, 1973), 670.

³⁸²Claude V. Palisca, “Italian Cantata, oratorio, and Opera in Mid-century,” *Baroque Music* (Third edition, Englewood Cliff, NJ: 1991), 114–115. The Oxford Dictionary of Music concurs with Palisca, stating that some cantatas contained recit but others were a series of arias. See “Cantata,” *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 2nd ed. rev., *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed February 5, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e1772>.

³⁸³Sandra Mangsen, “Sonata,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed., Stanley Sadie and John Tyrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), 671–88.

³⁸⁴The following table of Fede’s cantatas, as well as the list of his independent aria found below, lists first those pieces for soprano solo, then solos for other voice ranges, then duets for two sopranos, finally duets for other or mixed voice ranges.

Figure 3.4: Fede Cantatas with Movements

1. *Ardo, sospiro* (soprano solo)
Recit: “Ardo, sospiro”
Aria: “Per voi lumi adorati”
2. *Se ci potesse l’oro* (soprano solo)
Aria: “Seci potesse l’oro”
Recit: “Ma poscia che con lei”
Aria: “Su dunque voglio bere”
3. *Amor fiori un dì cogliea* (soprano solo)
Aria: “Amor fiori un cogliea”
Aria: “Lacrimando e quasi in forse”
Aria: “Deh, diss’ella, o figlio vago”
4. *Bell on de tranquille* (bass solo)
Aria: “Bell’onde tranquille”
Aria: “Voi zeffiri erranti”
Aria: “O Filli adorata”
5. *La mia vita* (duet for two sopranos)
Aria: “La mia vita”
Aria: “Mai non cangiero Desio”
Recit: “Onde in sì dolce temper”
Aria: “Fin che spirto havrò in sen”
6. *Numeri amorosi* (soprano solo, final aria is a tenor and soprano duet)
Recit: “Presso un Fiume tranquillo”
Aria: “Quante son queste arene”
Recit: “Ripose d’Amor”
Aria: “Quante la Terra ha Foglie”
Recit: “Dunque con lieto”
Aria: “Quanti ha l’Aria Augelletti”
Recit: “Sì sì con voglie accese”
Aria: “Facciam concordi amanti”

While some might consider *La mia vita*, *Amor fiori un dì cogliea*, and *Bell’onde tranquille* to be extended multi-partite arias, I argue that they are better classified as cantatas because of their structure of contrasting sections. The four movements that make up *La mia vita*, for example, are not only set apart by double bar lines, but are also

distinct in meter, motive, tempo, texture, and musical character. The first movement, “*Lamia vita*,” prominently features an energetic skipping dance rhythm and frequent points of imitation, while the final movement, “*Fin che spirito havrò in sen*,” cultivates a more sensual homophony between the two vocal lines. The two inner movements, “*Mai non cangierò Desio*” and “*Onde in sì dolce temper*” are both in common time unlike the triple-meter outer movements. “*Mai non cangierò Desio*” is a ten-bar *arietta* over a free ostinato, while “*Onde in sì dolce temper*” is a four-bar arioso. I contend that the contrast between the essential musical characteristics of these four movements provides sectional diversity sufficient to justify the cantata designation.

Similarly, I maintain that *Amor fiori un dì cogliea*, while interpretable as a multi-partite aria, is better approached as a cantata comprising three arias. The first and third of these (“*Amor fiori un dì cogliea*” and “*Deh diss’ella o Figlio vago*”) begin with identical musical material, although they do not share text. This characteristic, combined with the fact that the final note of the “*Amor fiori un dì cogliea*” is the first note of “*Lacrimando e quasi in forse*,” provides the effect of a musical recapitulation after the second aria. It so strongly implies an ABA form that, if the text were identical, the listener would momentarily assume the piece to be a single aria in da capo form. My view that it is better analyzed as a cantata comprising three arias is based primarily on the observation that the three movements are dramatically distinct; the text of “*Amor fiori un dì cogliea*” is presented in a narrator’s voice while “*Lacrimando e quasi in forse*” and “*Deh, diss’ella ‘o figlio vago*” represent dialogue spoken by different characters—Venus and Cupid, respectively. Furthermore, the middle aria (“*Lacrimando e quasi in forse*”) has its own separate time signature (triple meter against the duple meter of the other two arias)

and tempo marking (adagio). While first and third arias are musically (though not textually) similar in their beginnings, from measure 8 onward “Deh diss’ella o Figlio vago” is composed of completely new material and even concludes in its own key (G minor). While traits such as these might well be viewed as elements of a contrasting B section within a single aria, the dramatic distinction between the sections of dialogue warrants an interpretation of this piece as a cantata.

For similar reasons, I also consider *Bell’onde tranquille* to be a cantata comprising three arias rather than a single aria with three sections. At first glance, the absence of double bar lines, titles, or tempo markings as well as the elision of the end of the first aria with the beginning of the second (as was also the case with *Amor fiori un di cogliea*) suggest a single aria. And while the piece is clearly sectional in construction, the key relationships of the three sections (D minor, A minor, D minor) could suggest a single aria in ABA form, but of course this key relationship also makes sense for three sequential but separate arias. I argue that it is best analyzed as a cantata with three separate arias primarily because each aria is composed of two stanzas of poetry and each expresses a dramatically distinct sentiment within the context of the cantata as a whole. Furthermore, the second movement is not only in a contrasting key but also a contrasting meter (it is in cut time while the other two are in triple meter), and while the first and third arias share a tonal center, they are distinct in terms of motivic construction and melodic character. Both the second and third arias (“*Zeffiri erranti*” and “*O fili adorata*”) also begin with ritornello introductions and motto openings, a trait that serves to emphasize their distinct structural identity.

In addition to the six cantatas listed above, there are nine more extant pieces of secular vocal music by Innocenzo Fede:

Figure 3.5: Fede Independent Arias

1. “Bellezze voi siete tiranne” (soprano solo)
2. “Morirò poi che volete” (soprano solo)
3. “Langue, geme, sospira” (soprano solo)
4. “Vieni o caro” (soprano solo)
5. “Annodami abbracciami” (bass solo)
6. “A torto bella bocca” (duet for soprano & soprano)
7. “Sei pur dolce o Libertà” (duet for soprano & soprano)
8. “Mio contento” (Duet for Soprano & Soprano)
9. “Ardo, sospiro e peno” (Duet for Soprano & Bass)

I classify these compositions as independent arias, since they do not seem to exhibit sufficient sectional contrast to warrant the label of cantata. While these “independent” arias may have been written for performance *per se*, it remains possible that they may also have been originally comprised within some other larger work. The second stanza of the poetry set in the aria “Annodami abbracciami,” for example, makes reference to missing dramatic information about which the poet assumes knowledge on the part of the listener: “*Stringimi pur al seno, e ried’a quel sereno, ch’oggi da noi spari*” (“Entangle me, embrace me, my beloved, stay close to me and return to that happiness that today we lost”). The passage referring to the “happiness that today we lost” seems curiously enigmatic unless it was originally contained within a larger narrative context. That these “independent” arias may be extracts from as yet unknown cantatas or even operatic works written by Innocenzo Fede presents an intriguing possibility.

Poetic Texts set by Fede

The cantata is first and foremost a poetic genre. It is essentially a poem enhanced by music. Any discussion of cantata as a musical form must be predicated on the understanding that it is the poet who is responsible for creating the dramatic narration, scenic imagery, emotional affect, and metrical presentation. The main structural and dramatic decisions are therefore made before the musical composer ever becomes involved.³⁸⁵ The composer's task is to accentuate as much as possible a close reading of the poem through judicious application of melody, harmony, and to some extent, phrasing. In this sense, the cantatas of Innocenzo Fede, just as those of any other composer, must be understood to be musically enhanced poems and Fede should be seen as the co-creator, rather than the sole progenitor. Regrettably, the poet or poets who created the texts that Fede was to set to music remain unidentified except in the case of three arias that will be discussed below.

The poetic texts set by Fede generally observe the conventions of poetry written for cantata setting, and make use of several kinds of versification: sections of poetry designed to be set as arias are often written in rhyming, metered stanzas of six, seven, or eight syllable lines. Lines of ten, eleven, and even five syllables are also frequently used in aria poetry. Poetry written to be set a recitative is nearly always appears in *versi sciolti*, a form of free verse that generally contains only lines of either seven or eleven syllables. These sections of poetry provide the setting, describe the circumstances, or introduce the context of an aria.

³⁸⁵See Carolyn Gianturco, "The Italian Seventeenth-Century Cantata: A textual Approach," *The Well Enchanting Skill, Music, Poetry, and Drama in the Culture of the Renaissance*, ed., John Caldwell, Edward Olleson, and Susan Wollenberg (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 41–51.

Fede's cantatas contain seven examples of recitative, one in *Ardo sospiro*, one in *Se ci potesse l'oro*, one in *La mia vita*, and four in *Numeri amorosi*. All occur in cantatas for soprano(s), and all are settings of *versi sciolti* designed to express dramatic conditions under which the associated arias are to be understood. They may form the words of a narrator, as do the four brief recitative sections in *Numeri amorosi*, or provide an interjected reflection, as does the six-line recitative in *Se ci potesse l'oro*, in which the first-person protagonist reflects on the implications of mortality. In *Ardo sospiro*, the recitative poetry reflects the terrible passions of unrequited love, while in *La mia vita* it expresses the joy of blissful union. In all cases, since none of Fede's cantatas are concluded by recitative, the poetic text of the recitative sections sets up the dramatic conditions that will be exploited by the subsequent aria.

That few examples of recitative among Fede's works survive does not necessarily mean that he did not compose more; while it is possible that the musical taste at the Stuart court inclined more towards aria, it must be remembered that the extant manuscript copy is above all an aria collection—recitative sections that Fede originally paired with arias may have been later omitted by a copyist to create uniformity. This would not be surprising given the growing demand for arias in the late seventeenth century that generated manuscript collections of arias, from both operas and cantatas, stripped of their dramatic context and accompanying recitative.³⁸⁶ In any case, the decision of a copyist

³⁸⁶Rose, 675. "The substitution of opera arias for cantatas is well documented in the musical sources. A certain number of pieces from operas had always been sung as chamber music: the *Lamento d'Arianna* was a favorite piece, and arias from various other operas are found in cantata manuscripts of the 17th century. But from the 1670s an increasing number of manuscripts were compiled of operatic arias, alone or together with cantatas. And by the middle of the 18th century, operatic arias had usurped the position of cantatas."

not to include recitative would reflect a performative culture at the Stuart court that prioritized aria performance over dramatic context. Conjecturally, as arias became standard within court repertoire, demand for the songs themselves may have come to outweigh the need for contextual recitative, prompting copyists to exclude the latter from their manuscripts.

Poetic stanzas designed to be set as arias use predominately *ottonari*, eight-syllable lines, or seven-syllable *settenari*. In some instances (such as *Ardo sospiro*, *Langue, geme, sospira*, and *Mio contento*) Fede's lyrical stanzas include occasional hendecasyllabic (eleven-syllable) or decasyllabic (ten-syllable) lines interspersed in texts that consist otherwise of *ottonari* or *senari* (composed of lines made up of eight or six syllables).³⁸⁷ Most arias make use of *senari*, and *settenari*. The *senari* verses are generally eight lines long, while the *ottonari* and the *settenari* are eight or six lines in length. Regardless of meter, all of the eight-line verses display rhyme schemes that imply a division into two stanzas of four lines each.

Love, either flourishing in joyful satisfaction or languishing in tormented deprivation, is central to the drama of many of Fede's arias. This is typical of the genre as a whole, since it is also true of the majority of seventeenth-century Italian cantatas. Not all of Fede's arias, however, are about love and of those that are, not all approach the subject in the same way. The multi-movement structure of cantatas allows a larger range of dramatic content than is generally available to independent arias, and some of Fede's cantatas (such as *Numeri amorosi*) contain both arias expressing misery and those

³⁸⁷Claude V. Palisca, "Italian Cantata, Oratorio, and Opera in Mid-century," *Baroque Music* (Third edition, Englewood Cliff, NJ: 1991), 115. Palisca describes *versi sciolti*, as predominately for narrative passages; *ottonario* for both narrative and reflective passages; and *senario* for lyrical stanzas.

declaring joy. Still, the cantatas tend to conform to a narrative unity that allows them to be categorized according to dramatic type. I have grouped Fede's arias into four categories: type-1 lover's monologues expressing sadness or distress; type-2 lover's monologues expressing happiness or satisfaction; type-3 lovers' dialogues; and type-4 arias that express a philosophical viewpoint, not unlike the contemporary "maxim arias" of Lully and his followers.

The sorrowful lover's lament, or type one, is the most common dramatic type among Fede's arias and includes three arias ("A torto, bella bocca," "Ardo sospiro e peno," and "Moriro poi che volete"), and two cantatas (*Ardo, sospiro* and *Bell'onde tranquille*). The aria "Ardo, sospiro" and the cantata of the same name, as well as the aria "Moriro poi che volete" express the bittersweet sentiment of suffering or dying from a surfeit of passion. "A torto, bella bocca" protests cruel treatment of a faithful heart, while the three arias in the cantata *Bell'onde tranquille* plead in vain for the affection of a distant lover.

Several of Fede's love arias present the happier side of amatory relationships making up type-2. The three arias "Vieni o caro," "Langue geme sospira," and "Annodami, abbracciami" all express either romantic satisfaction or the expectation of it. "Vieni o caro" would seem to be a demand for Cupid to inspire a lover to action, while "Langue geme sospira" speaks metaphorically about the ecstasy of a reunited couple after a painful separation.

Poems with more than one speaking character allow the possibility of presenting love arias in dialogue. "Mio contento," while not the only duet by Fede, is the only independent aria to contain a duet written in the form of a dialogue. In all others the two

vocal lines accompany each other sharing the same text; they do not represent separate characters engaged in dramatic interaction. In “Mio contento” the two characters, each represented in one of the vocal lines, share four of the five lines of text. This first line, however, is tailored to the characters as they address each other in terms of endearment—one sings “*mio contento, mio bel nume*” [my happiness, my beautiful god], while the other sings “*mio tesoro, mio ristoro*” [my darling, my nourishment]. The cantatas *La mia vita* and *numeri amorosi* also make use of this approach. In the title aria of the cantata *La mia vita*, the two speakers share identical text except in the first line, where each character offers slightly different wording and addresses the other by name: “*La mia vita la mia speme mio Tirsi*” [you will always be my heart and my hope, my Clori] and “*Il mio cor la mia speme mia Clori*” [you will always by my life, my hope, my Tirsi]. The text of the second aria in that cantata “*Mai pensier non cangierò,*” contains more disparity in dialogue between the two speakers—the first of the three lines is pronounced “*Mai pensier non cangiero*” by Tirsi and “*Mai non cangierò desio*” by Clori. While the characters share the text of the second line, the third and final line is again individually tailored as Tirsi sings “*tu l’idol mio*” [you my idol] and Clori sings “*tu sarai la mia dea*” [you will be my goddess].

The cantata *Numeri amorosi* approaches the type-3 love dialogue in a different way; the two characters (Eurillo and Filena) sing arias to each other. Each aria is preceded by a short recitative in which a narrator describes who is speaking to whom. The omniscient narrator relates that Eurillo is addressing Filena beside a tranquil river. Eurillo then describes his heartache in the aria “*Quante son questa arene*” [as many as these grains of sand]. The narrator then reveals that Filena is smitten as well, and she

replies with “Quante la terra ha foglie” [as many as the leaves on the ground]. The narrator describes Eurillo’s delight at finding his love returned, and he responds to Filena with hortatory enthusiasm, singing “Quanti ha l’aria augelletti” [as many as the birds in the sky]. The narrator appears in a final recitative to announce that the happy couple will now sing together, and their voices join in the only duet aria in the cantata, “Facciam, concordi amanti” [let us make, as harmonious lovers].

One of Fede’s cantatas and one independent aria are concerned with the subject of love, but use it to present a philosophical point rather than express the lover’s experience. “Bellezze, voi siete tiranne” [beauties, you are tyrants] is a direct admonishment to beautiful women that their charms can be dangerously destructive. Referring to them as “*tiranne di cori*” [tyrants of hearts), the speaker says “*col crine legate, col sguardo ferite*” [you ensare with your hair, you hurt with your glance]. No specific wounded lover is identified in this text, and while love’s agony is central to the meaning of this poem, the primary goal is to suggest something about the human condition rather than to depict any particular love story.

The cantata *Amor fiori un dì cogliea* is similarly designed to expose an abstract point about love without presenting a specific romance. In this case, a humorous story about Cupid being traumatized by the comparatively mild pain of a bee sting is used to emphasize the potentially devastating agony of heartbreak. In the first aria, “Amor fiori un dì cogliea,” a narrator describes Cupid picking flowers and being stung on the finger. In “Lacrimando e quasi in forse,” Cupid, shocked and believing himself slain, runs to his mother and announces that he is dying. Venus, in the concluding aria “Deh diss’ella o figlio vago,” wryly answers that Cupid’s pain is nothing compared with the torment that

his own arrows inflict. This final aria has the effect of a punch line, revealing at the last minute that the cantata has been about love all along. There are, however, no lovers among the characters in this drama; instead the poem makes its point rather wistfully by offering Love a taste of its own medicine.

One of Fede's cantatas and one independent aria make up type-4—they are not about love at all, but instead present idealized moral lessons or philosophical platitudes. *Se ci potesse l'oro* ["if gold had the power"], a cantata comprising two arias separated by a six-line recitative, expresses the wish that wealth could delay death and concludes that modest hedonism is the best solution to mortality. In the title aria, the speaker muses that if gold could extend life he would gather it all up and take it with him when he died. The recitative "Ma poscia che," [but since it is the case] acknowledges the inevitability of death and derogates the value of lifelong toil. The final aria, "Su dunque voglio bere" [so then I want to drink], offers the Epicurean conclusion that momentary pleasure is all we can hope for. Recommending himself to the solace of wine, women, and song, the speaker makes plans: "voglio ebbro di contento, sfogarmi a mio talento." [drunk with happiness, to give free reign to all my instincts]. While love is perhaps implied as an element of the sensual solution to the problem of mortality, the unmistakable point of this poem is that one should gather rosebuds while one may.

The aria "Sei pur dolce o libertà," set by Fede as a duet for two sopranos or tenors, is a single four-line stanza of *ottonari* (eight-syllable) text. The point of the poem is that liberty is precious. No speaker is identified and no dialogue or narrative is implied. The directly stated message is threefold: liberty is sweet, no one is sorry to have it, those who lack it long for it. There is nothing inherently romantic about this declaration; it

primarily suggests a philosophical or possibly political meaning. Another interpretation is possible, however, if this hedonistic liberty is taken as a reference to romantic liberty—an availability to new suitors. Such a reading presents the poetry in a markedly more sensual light. The poet gives no indication about which sort of liberty we are to imagine, but the decision to address vocatively the concept of liberty has the effect of apotheosis: “*sei pur dolce, o libertà*” [you are truly sweet, O Liberty]. This phrasing transforms liberty from a preferred condition into an abstract ideal.

It is worth questioning whether the texts of Fede’s cantatas and arias are somehow reflective of the prevailing moral standards at the Stuart court: of the six cantatas and nine independent arias by Innocenzo Fede, only two are unambiguously about something other than romantic love. Of those, one advocates sensual indulgence in earthly pleasures, and the other enshrines the value of personal freedom. These are hardly the topics one would expect at the court of fiercely religious absolute monarchists, as James and Mary are often alleged to have been. The text of “*Su dunque voglio bere*” in particular, celebrating earthly pleasures rather than looking ahead to devotion’s eternal reward, seems incompatible with the notion of the Stuarts as constrained by rigid Catholic observance. These cantata texts point instead to a culture deeply appreciative of the pleasures and passions of human life. Nothing about any of these poems can be construed to promote immorality or challenge the teachings of the Catholic Church; if they seem unexpectedly profane it is only because they do not actively promote, or even mention, Church teaching. That fact can hardly be surprising given that these cantatas were never intended for performance in sacred space. This is music composed for the dining hall, the drawing room, or the bedchamber. It appeals to the human experience of this world, it is

not concerned with the next. To find it strange that the texts are not more morally instructive, especially on the grounds that Mary of Modena as a patroness would not have allowed such frivolity, would be to denigrate her to the role of a one-dimensional zealot.

Mary's patronage of the composer of cantatas and arias implies that she approved of their lyrical content, or at least did not object enough to suppress them. Furthermore, the musical poetry that Mary sponsored argues against the stereotypical image of her as an inflexibly religious caricature. These poems offer a celebration of human relationships replete with all their earthly imperfection. None of them reject the spiritual realm; they are simply more concerned with the temporal. In fact these texts give us insight into a rarely seen side of Mary—she was both a devout Catholic, and a living human being. She was capable of appreciating the sensual value of human experience even as she hoped for a better world to come. Her artistic patronage reveals her not as an inflexible religious ideologue, but as a woman of flesh and blood who understood that there is a time for every purpose under heaven.

Texts from *Ariberto e Flavio*

Curiously, given the importance of the literary aspect of this genre, the identity of Fede's cantata poets remains unknown in an astonishingly large number of cases. Three of his arias, however, have an identifiable author: "Annodami, abbracciami," "Bellezze voi siete tiranne," and "A torto bella bocca" use texts borrowed from arias in Carlo Ambrogio Lonati's opera *Ariberto e Flavio, regi de Longobardo* and are therefore identifiable as the work of librettist Rinaldo Cialli. The texts of Fede's arias by these titles are identical, with one exception discussed below, to those of the operatic arias. Fede's musical settings, however, are original. *Ariberto e Flavio* premiered at the Teatro

san Salvatore in Venice on 26 December 1684.³⁸⁸ Lonati is believed to have travelled to London early in 1687, shortly after Fede himself arrived in December 1686.³⁸⁹ There can be little doubt that the two recently arrived Italian expatriate composers encountered one another—quite possibly before or after mass in the catholic Chapel Royal, where Fede was music director. Lonati must have shown Fede the libretto of his recent opera, and Fede thereafter composed his own settings of at least three of the aria texts. Based on this conjecture, it is reasonable to conclude that these three Fede arias were composed in the late 1680s, during or soon after Lonati’s trip to London, and it seems almost certain that they could not have been composed any earlier.

Since sources for Italian poetry were not as abundant in London as in his native Rome, Fede must have considered as a windfall every potential cantata text that came his way.³⁹⁰ Furthermore, not all of such Italian poetry as may have been available to Fede in London would have been suitable for setting to music; poems for arias were designed as such in the late seventeenth century—musical texts were valuable not for their virtues as purely poetic forms, but for what Norbert Dubowy has called “functionality in the service of music, that allows the application of word painting or specific musical figures.”³⁹¹ Fede therefore probably borrowed Rinaldo Cialli’s poems not only because of their

³⁸⁸Arias from this opera are in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena, listed as Galvani SSal 40; Bonlini 220; Gropo 223; Alm 3089. See Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *A New Chronology of Venetian Opera and Related Genres, 1660–1760* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, reprinted 2007), 166.

³⁸⁹Norbert Dubowy, "Lonati, Carlo Ambrogio," In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/16900> (accessed August 11, 2010).

³⁹⁰The borrowing of text, or indeed even of entire musical excerpts, was not unusual of among composers of arias and cantatas. See Norbert Dubowy, “‘Al tavolino medesimo del Compositor della Musica’,” 129.

³⁹¹Norbert Dubowy, “‘Al tavolino medesimo del Compositor della Musica’,” 121–122.

fortuitous arrival with Lonati in 1686, but also because of the scarcity in London of textual material designed by a poet educated in the formulaic needs of aria composers.

Figure 3.6: Texts by Rinaldo Cialli set by Fedè

**Innocenzo Fedè, *Bellezze voi siete tiranne de cori*³⁹²
Text by Rinaldo Cialli**

<i>Bellezze voi siete tiranne de cori</i>	Beauties, you are the tyrants of hearts
<i>Col crine legate, col sguardo ferite e troppo spietate vibrate gl'ardori</i>	you ensnare with your hair you hurt with your glance and too harshly you move the passions.

**Innocenzo Fedè, *A torto, bella bocca*
Text by Rinaldo Cialli**

<i>A torto, bella bocca, mi chiami infido cor amante più costante se il ciel di me non ha.</i>	Beautiful lips, you wrongly call me unfaithful since there is no more faithful lover than I under heaven.
<i>Perchè mia fe' condanni in braccio al rio dolor?</i>	Why do you put my faith in the arms of pain?

**Innocenzo Fedè, *Annodami, abbracciami*
Text by Rinaldo Cialli**

<i>Annodami, abbracciami, caro mio ben sì sì</i>	Entangle me, embrace me, my beloved, yes yes.
<i>Stringimi pur al seno e ried 'a quel sereno ch'oggi da noi sparì</i>	Stay close to me and return to that happiness that today we lost.

³⁹²This aria was edited by Jean Lionnet and recorded in a transcription for tenor on the album *Kings Over the Water: In the Steps of the Exiled Stuarts* (London: Janiculum Recordings, JAN D205, 2001).

All three texts use as a dramatic subject the archetypical unrequited lover's monologue that provides the basis for the majority of seventeenth-century cantata texts.³⁹³ All three are also monologues addressed to a beloved other; "Annodami abbracciami" and "A torto bella bocca" both speak directly to an estranged lover, while "Bellezze voi siete tiranne" addresses beautiful women as a class, rather than a specific individual.

Each of the texts is of approximately the same length: "Bellezze voi siete tiranne" and "A torto bella bocca" contain six lines, while "Annodami, abbracciami" has only five. All three are composed of two semi-stanzas. Despite the similarity in length of the texts, the lengths of the musical settings are substantially disparate: "Annodami" is twenty-eight measures long, "Bellezze voi siete tiranne" is twice that length with fifty-seven measures. "A torto bella bocca," at ninety-five measures, is over three times the musical length of "Annodami, abbracciami." The length of Fede's musical settings was evidently not constrained by the length of the poetic text.

Clearly, however, there was a relationship between poetic form and choices for musical setting. "Bellezze voi siete tiranne" alone is set in *senario* (six syllable lines), while the other two poems are composed in seven-syllable *settenario* verse. Only "Bellezze voi tiranne" contains a rhyme between the final syllables of the two semi-strophes, a feature that often signals an ABA setting,³⁹⁴ and indeed this is the only one of the three arias that is clearly in *da capo* form. "A torto bella bocca" is set in a modified

³⁹³Norbert Dubowy, "'Al tavolino medesimo del Compositor della Musica,'" 119.

³⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 130. Dubowy argues here that the musical forms of seventeenth-century arias and cantatas were not arbitrary, but guided by the form of the text, e.g. rhyme between ends of two semi-strophes signals an ABA setting, or choice of meter causes recitative vs. aria setting.

ABA form with a textual recapitulation of the first semi-stanza but without a musical *da capo*—the returning text is set to newly-composed music. The piece therefore contains two musical settings of the same borrowed poetic stanza, indicating that Fede found this stanza particularly fruitful for musical expression. “Annodami abbracciami” is in a semi-rondo form (ABAC), but the absence of a final refrain suggests other possible readings, such as a *da capo* aria with an elaborate coda. “Annodami abbracciami” is also the only aria of the three set to duple meter (common time), rather than more frequently encountered triple meter.

Some of the musical choices made by Fede in setting these texts provide a point of contrast to the original context used by Lonati in *Ariberto e Flavio*. These choices show that Fede’s musical goals were different, if not entirely divorced from the original dramatic context of the opera:

“Bellezze voi siete tiranne de cori” appears in act I, scene VI of *Ariberto e Flavio* and is sung by the character Aroaldo who is onstage in dialogue with Rotario.³⁹⁵ Since the lyrics of this aria clearly suggest a male perspective, it seems striking that Fede chose to set the vocal line in soprano clef unless he envisioned performance by a castrato, a scarce resource at the exiled Stuart court. Could he have intended the piece to be performed by a woman? It seems more likely that he intended the part for a tenor singing an octave lower than written. Indeed, “A torto, bella bocca,” another of Rinaldo Cialli’s poems set by Fede, is written in soprano clef but designated “a 2 soprani, o tenori.” This is a clear indication that the presence of soprano clef in Fede’s music does not necessarily indicate a soprano performer; tenors were expected to read soprano clef at need.

³⁹⁵Libretto, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena, 15–16.

“Annodami, abbracciami” provides a much stronger example of gender ambiguity in Fede’s vocal writing. In its original context—in act II, scene VII of *Ariberto e Flavio*—this aria is sung by the female character Teodorata. But since Fede recomposed the text for a voice in bass clef, there can be little doubt that he envisioned performance by a man. This is not only a striking departure from the dramatic context of Lonati’s opera, but it also creates an intriguing element of sexual ambiguity by assigning the words “*caro mio*” to a bass voice; the effect is that of a man addressing a love song to another man.

A torto, bella bocca is an aria for solo soprano that appears in the finale of act I of *Ariberto e Flavio*, sung by the male character Ferone. In resetting this text, Fede stepped away from Lonati’s dramatic context by writing the aria as a duet for two sopranos. In this case Fede altered more than the musical approach, for this is also the only aria of the three in which Fede’s lyrics differ slightly from the original Cialli text:

Figure 3.7: Text of “A torto, bella bocca”

Text of *Ariberto e Flavio*

*A torto, o bella bocca
mi chiami traditor*

(O beautiful lips, you wrongly
call me a traitor)

Text of Fede Aria

*A torto, bella bocca
mi chiami infido cor*

(Beautiful lips, you wrongly
call me an unfaithful heart)

Apart from the vocative syllable “O”, the main difference is Fede’s use of the phrase “*infido cor*” to replace the term “*traditor*.” Since this change affects neither the rhyme scheme nor the poetic meter, Fede’s only reason for the change must have had to do with the meaning of the text. Most likely, the term “traitor” was too sensitive a word at the Stuart court, which was notoriously riddled with spies and enemy agents—forces that

brought about the overthrow of the Stuart dynasty and for decades prevented its return to power. Fede might have felt that the word “*tradtitor*” would strike harshly upon the ears of the Stuart courtiers, among whom suspicions of treason were commonplace. This would have been especially true in an independent aria and not part of a longer work where such wording might have been rendered harmless by an encapsulating dramatic context.

Music of the Recitative

Recitative is essentially a musical representation of the spoken word characterized by a syllabic texture, a lack of melodic regularity, and a musical phrasing subject to the metrical demands of poetic line.³⁹⁶ The recitative found in Fede’s cantatas reveals a strong tendency toward arioso—“Onde in si dolce,” for example is so lyrical that it can hardly be described as syllabic. “Ma poscia che” and “Ardo sospiro” are both strongly driven by motivic and sequential construction, suggesting a level of melodic regularity unusual in late seventeenth-century Italian recitative. In the context of their dramatic settings however, Fede’s tendency toward melodically driven recitative becomes understandable; the protagonists singing “Onde in si dolce,” “Ma poscia che,” and “Ardo sospiro” all express great emotional passion. In each case, the incorporation of strongly melodic elements is required by the dramatic action.

There are three dramatic types among the seven surviving examples of Fede’s recitative: soliloquy, dialogue, and narrative. The recitative soliloquy, according to

³⁹⁶Margaret Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court, 1631–1668* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 101; Nicholas Temperley, “Recitative,” *The Oxford Companion to Music. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed February 19, 2013, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e5531>.

musicologist Margaret Murata, makes use of the “freedom and flexibility of recitative” to present “the conflicting and changing inner arguments of a character.”³⁹⁷ This is precisely the case with “Ardo sospiro” and “Ma poscia che.” In both arias the speaker expresses deep discomfort as well as uncertainty and an unfulfillable longing, be it for romantic satisfaction or an escape from mortality.

“Onde in sì dolce” is unique among Fede’s recitative settings in two ways. First, it is a duet of two characters engaged in dialogue, and as such is the only example of recitative by Fede for multiple voices singing simultaneously. Second, both vocal lines are highly florid and feature melismatic passages far outside of the expected parameters of syllabic recitative. This latter aspect is such a prominent feature that this section could properly be considered an arioso movement rather than recitative, but for the purposes of this study it is best categorized as an exceptionally florid recitative.

The four recitative movements that make up the cantata *Numeri amorosi*, “Presso un fiume tranquillo,” “Rispose d’amor piena,” “Dunque con lieto core,” and “Sì sì con voglie accese,” are unlike the other examples of Fede’s recitative because they take the form of narration introducing and facilitating the characters’ dialogue. Since these do not represent the first-person expression of intensely emotional sentiment, their musical setting is much more reflective of normal speech patterns than any of the other examples.

At eighteen measures, “Ardo, sospiro e peno” is the longest example of a recitative setting by Fede.

³⁹⁷ Margaret Murata, *Operas for the Papal Court*, 161–162. Murata emphasizes the distinction between the word “arioso” as an adjective describing a type of musical style, and the same word used as a noun, meaning “a bit of music [...] that is melodic and regular, but not a complete closed piece.”

Figure 3.8: Text of “Ardo, sospiro e peno.”

*Ardo, sospiro e peno
e tra catene involto
d'un adorato volto
fra tormenti mi struggo e vengo meno*

*Ai rai di due pupille.
d'amorose faville
l'anima mia si pasce
e finisce e l'ardor more, e rinasce*

I burn, I sigh, and I suffer, wrapped in chains because of a beloved face, in torments I languish and swoon because of two loving eyes. My soul both feeds and perishes on sparks of love, and my ardor is extinguished and rekindled again.³⁹⁸

The recitative is set in common time, as expected, exploring a range from e1–g2 and leading to a cadence on E minor in dominant preparation for the following aria in A minor. The syllabic tends strongly towards melodic arioso, including sequential motives and phrase relationships revealing the composer's Roman roots.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁸Thanks to Professor Stefano Mengozzi for his invaluable assistance with translating all texts from Italian to English.

³⁹⁹Francesco Luisi, “Rossi,” *The Italian Cantata in the Seventeenth Century*, Carolyn Gianturco, ed., from the introduction to the first volume. “Rossi's membership in the Roman School is apparent both in the treatment of recitatives and in the articulation of arias: the former often tend toward arioso and thus encourage a purely musical interest suggested by the expressivity of the text.”

Figure 3.9: Fede, “Ardo, sospiro e peno,” mm. 1–19

Ar - do sos - pi - ro e - pe - no e tra ca - te'ne in vol - to d'un ad - o - ra - to vol - to

7
fra tor - men - ti mi str - ug - go e ven go m - e - no ai - rai di due pu - pil - le d' amo - ro - se fa

13
vil - le l'a - ni - ma mia si pas - ce e fen - isce e l'ard - or mo - re mo - re e ri - na - sce

Fede makes use of rhythmic regularity and melodically balanced phrasing in this piece, creating a highly arioso style of recitative. In the second and third measures, the voice expresses a dotted rhythmic figure in a sequential rising pattern. In measures 5–6 a rhythmic pattern is introduced that becomes a motivic building block, even being quoted exactly in measure 14–15. The bass moves very slowly in large note values, allowing the vocal declamation to be easily heard and understood. The sustained bass also establishes A minor as a tonal center by holding an unchanging A minor chord for the first four bars of the piece, and in ultimately moving away towards E minor provides the expectation of return to A minor which will be fulfilled by the following aria. The voice initially delineates A minor by first entering on the dominant (E), then establishing the minor mode by an upwards leap of a minor sixth to C–natural, before falling by step in the second measure through a dotted rhythmic figure to the leading tone (G sharp). In measure 3 the dotted figure is elaborated into a sequential motive that falls by step to end

the four–bar phrase on a1, having clearly established the tonic home. The effect is accentuated with word painting on the downbeat of the tenth bar—the words *e vengo meno* (and I swoon) are set to a repeated three–note descending pattern with a chromatically-lowered B-flat not only painting the “swoon” of the text, but also strengthening the centrality of A minor through appoggiatura and repetition. A preparation for an expected return to this center is made, again through word painting in final three bars of the recitative when the vocal line descends from e2 to e1, falling through a series of suspensions on the words *more, more*—ending in an E minor cadence in measure 19.

“Ma poscia che con lei,” a recitative separating the two arias in the cantata *Se ci potessa l’oro*, consists of six poetic lines reflecting on the injustice of mortality. It follows an aria lamenting the inability of material wealth to affect longevity, and introduces an aria that expresses the Epicurean conclusion that momentary pleasure is all we can hope for:

Figure 3.10: Text of “Ma poscia che con lei”

*Ma poscia che con lei
non si può pattuire
ed è forza muorire,
che val far tanti omei
ed in cure in affanni
che vale spender gl’anni?*

But, since I cannot bargain with her, and death cannot be avoided, what is the point of toiling so much, and wasting the years in labor?

The text is a single stanza featuring the rhyme scheme ABBACC. The absence of hendecasyllabic lines creates what is in effect a *settenari* meter, while remaining within the bounds of *versi sciolti* recitative.

Figure 3.11: Fede, “Ma poscia che,” mm. 1–7

Ma pos - cia che con lei non si può pat - tu - i - re ed e for - za muo

4

ri - re che val far tan - ti oh - mei ed in cu - re in af - fan - ni che va - le spen - der gl'an - ni

6 6 76

This recitative, unlike those in other Fede cantatas, is not marked as recitative in the score, and not set apart from the previous aria by a double bar line. Nevertheless, it follows what is clearly the conclusion of the previous aria. The bass line abruptly moves in large note values while the vocal line, which is strictly syllabic in texture, takes on a speech-like patten of eighth and sixteenth notes characteristic of recitative. The musical setting extends for only seven measures in common time, exploring a range from g1–g2 and leading to a cadence on A minor, the minor dominant of the following aria in D minor. The texture is strictly syllabic, but like that of *Ardo, sospiro* is melodically structured by sequential arioso motives and phrases. The harmonic setting leads to a cadence on A minor, the minor dominant of the following aria in D minor.

Numeri amorosi is the only Fede cantata containing multiple recitative sections; each recitative is paired with, and provides a narrative introduction for, the aria that it precedes. All four recitative movements are three bars in length, and represent the solo soprano voice of a narrator.

The first movement, “Presso un fiume tranquillo,” serves to situate the action in a pastoral setting, as well as identify the two dramatic characters, Eurillo and Fillena:

Figure 3.12: Fede, “Presso un fiume tranquillo,” mm. 1–3.

Presso un fiume tranquillo
disse a Filena Eurillo

NARRATOR: Near a tranquil river Eurillo says to Filena:

The musical score consists of two staves: a vocal line (treble clef) and a bass line (bass clef). The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The vocal line begins with a quarter rest in the first measure, followed by a quarter note, two eighth notes, and a quarter note in the second measure. In the third measure, it starts with a quarter note, followed by a quarter note, an eighth note, and a sixteenth note. The bass line starts with a half note in the first measure, a quarter note in the second measure, and a half note in the third measure. The lyrics are: "Pres so'un Fiu - me tran - quil - lo dis - se'à Fi - le - na — Eu - ril - lo".

A rhythmic motive characterized by a quarter note followed by two eighths occurs in each of the three measures; from the very beginning it is implied by the first quarter rest in the vocal line, and in bar 3 it is embellished as the second motivic eighth note becomes two sixteenths. This rhythmic motive drives a melodically structured semi-arch form that rises steadily until the penultimate pitch in the second beat of measure 3. The bass line moves considerably less quickly than the voice, consisting of large note values and provides a harmonic platform as well as punctuation. In measure two the bass line evokes an augmented and dotted version of the vocal line’s rhythmic motive.

The third movement, “Rispose d’Amor piena,” in contrast, forms a descending line that structurally completes the arch begun in the previous recitative. The rhythmic motive appears again in beats 3 and 4 of the second bar, but this time in diminution. This reflects the evolving dramatic mood as hopeful characters reveal their feeling to each other; the painful hesitation expressed in quarter and eighth notes in the earlier movement become breathlessly excited eighths and sixteenths as the scene becomes romantically charged.

Figure 3.13: Fede, “Rispose d’Amor piena,” mm. 1–3.

*Rispose d’amor piena
ad Eurillo Filena*

NARRATOR: Then Filena, full of love, responds to Eurilla:

The image shows a musical score for a recitative section. It consists of two staves: a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The vocal line begins with a quarter rest, followed by a series of eighth notes: G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4. The piano accompaniment starts with a whole note G3, followed by a half note Bb3, and then a quarter note D4. The lyrics are: "Ris - po - se d'A-mor pie - na ad Eu-ril - lo Fi - le - na:".

As in “Presso un fiume tranquillo,” the rapidly moving voice is paired with a comparatively slow bass line that provides a harmonic framework, moving from the tonic of G minor into the dominant key of D minor in preparation for a return on the downbeat of the following aria. Here is an example of Fede joining the end of a recitative section to the beginning of the successive aria; there is no harmonic resolution of the first section until the next begins.

The fifth movement, “Dunque con lieto core,” reflects a dramatic attainment of a desired goal. Now that the characters are sure of each other’s love, the recitative is musically content; it is no longer directional in its melody, instead hovering near the opening pitch (g1). The insistent rhythmic motive appears no more except as a cadential cliché approaching the final bar. Instead, the lyrics are set in a run of successive eighth notes to evoke the emotional quickening of the happy couple.

Figure 3.14: Fede, “Dunque con lieto core,” mm. 1–3.

*Dunque (con lieto core
soggiunse indi il pastore):*

NARRATOR: Then, with a happy heart, the shepherd said:

Music of the Aria

It is clear from the prevalence of vocal chamber pieces among the surviving repertoire manuscripts that arias were important to the musical culture at the Stuart court; including those that appear in manuscripts as independent songs as well as those found within a cantata, there are twenty–five surviving arias by Innocenzo Fede. The fact that independent arias, as opposed to those arias that form a movement of a cantata, make up more than half of Fede’s surviving vocal chamber compositions reflects the increasing acceptance in the later decades of the seventeenth century of the aria as a free standing composition. Manuscript collections from the 1670s and later are often heavily populated by arias either extracted from operas, or composed as independent vocal pieces;⁴⁰¹ This phenomenon tracks the tendency in contemporary Italian opera towards the “triumph of the aria,” in which song numbers became valued beyond recitative and outside of their original dramatic context.⁴⁰²

All of Fede’s arias are scored for one or two voices and basso continuo. Fede avoided the inclusion of *obbligato* instruments such as violins, flutes, or trumpets—despite the growing presence of these instruments in Italian cantatas during the final decades of the seventeenth century.⁴⁰³ The absence of this practice in Fede’s work is

⁴⁰¹See Gloria Rose, “The substitution of opera arias for cantatas is well documented in the musical sources. A certain number of pieces from operas had always been sung as chamber music: the *Lamento d’Arianna* was a favorite piece, and arias from various other operas are found in cantata manuscripts of the 17th century. But from the 1670s an increasing number of manuscripts were compiled of opera arias, alone or together with cantatas. And by the middle of the 18th century, opera arias had usurped the position of cantatas,” in “The Italian Cantata of the Baroque Period,” 675.

⁴⁰²Margaret Murata, “The Recitative Soliloquy,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32 (1979): 45–73 (45).

⁴⁰³Rose, 671. For the sake of comparison, about ten percent of Alessandro Scarlatti’s cantatas included parts for obbligato instruments. See Cecilia Kathryn Van de Kamp Freund, “A. Scarlatti’s Duet Cantatas and Solo Cantatas with Obbligato

notable because it was especially favored among French composers who were his contemporaries, and who adopted the genre at the turn of the eighteenth century. Fede's sonatas for violin and flute reveal his willingness to compose for these instruments.

Fede's cantatas do not contain *obbligato* instrumental ritornellos, as the manuscript collections contain only the bass parts, but several examples of short continuo ritornellos are present. This does not preclude the possibility that Fede composed or intended more substantial instrumental ritornellos; late seventeenth-century aria collections, like those that contain Fede's work, in many cases either omitted or shortened ritornellos that have been found intact in other manuscript sources.⁴⁰⁴ *Ardo, sospiro e peno* contains a single aria ("Per voi lumi adorati," in ABA1 form) that begins with two measures of quarter notes in the bass line (see example 3). "Walking bass" quarter notes continue throughout the piece and serve to fill later pauses between vocal statements. These are not identically quoted but their motivic similarities are sufficient to provide a ritornello function:

Instruments" (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1979), 1; Norbert Dubowy, "'Al tavolino medesimo del Compositor della Musica,'" 113.

⁴⁰⁴ Jack Westrup, "Aria," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/16900>, (accessed May 14, 2010). "Most 17th-century opera arias have continuo accompaniment to the vocal line and ritornellos for three to five parts between the strophes. In this respect they differ from those of printed songbooks, which mainly have no ritornello at all, a prescription for one (e.g. the 'riprese di ciaccona' of Crivellati's *Cantate diverse*) or a ritornello for continuo only. This difference is probably more apparent than real, since many manuscript collections of opera arias from late in the century give only the bass part or leave out altogether the ritornellos found in the full scores."

Figure 3.17: Fede, “Per voi lumi adorati,” mm. 1–29.

The musical score is presented in five systems, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The key signature is A minor (three flats) and the time signature is common time (C). The score includes the following lyrics:

Aria
 Per voi lumi ad-or a - ti son dol - ci son ca - re le pene al mio cor
 son dol - ci son ca - re son dol - ci son ca - re le pe - ne' al mio cor nel - lo splen - dor di
 vi - n - o di voi begl'occhi a - man - ti ri - lu - ce il mio de - st - i - no ha' la sua fe - ra a - mor
 Per voi Lumi - a - do - ra - ti son dol - ci son Ca - re - le pe - ne' al mio cor son dol - ci son
 ca - re son dol - ce son ca - re le pene al mio cor son dol - ci son ca - re le pene al mio cor

This A minor aria, which follows the recitative “Ardo, sospiro,” discussed above, is in common time and is a *da capo* aria, but the returning A section (mm.18–29), which is completely written out, features a rhythmic displacement in that it begins with anacrusis to the third beat rather than to the downbeat, as it did in its first instance—the musical material remains the same apart from everything being offset by half a bar. There is also a short coda *Aria* consisting of repetition of the final line of the A section forming a tag ending. Curiously, the final bar of the bass line is left blank although the vocal line is

intact.⁴⁰⁵ The texture is almost exclusively syllabic, and the range exceeds an octave, and rises to a₂, a perfect fifth above the expected limit of the full voice, or *Voce di petto*.⁴⁰⁶ There is a short (two bar) continuo introduction, but it does not introduce the melody of the vocal line, and does not form a motto opening. The bass line is exclusively in quarter notes, and is an example of “walking bass” throughout the aria.

The seven-line text of this aria is largely in *settenario* verse in two stanzas. The presence of two five-syllable lines is odd and may reflect a corruption of the text, perhaps through the error of a copyist. Similarly, the ambiguous rhyme scheme—in which the first stanza does not appear to have any rhyme except that its final syllable anticipates the ultimate ending of the second stanza—further suggests corruption and the possible absence of an original line. It is also likely that the final line of the second stanza contains some error, since the word *fera* seems out of place here and renders the meaning unclear. As a possible solution to this textual problem, “*fera*” can be read as a poetic abbreviation of “*fiera*,” meaning a public display, rendering “love is made manifest” as a likely translation. The text speaks of both romantic suffering and fulfillment, and taken together with the text of the preceding recitative it seems to appeal to the inherently mixed feelings of an active love affair, rather than unfulfilled longing. There is no text repetition in the B section, and the repletion of “*son dolce, son care*” in the A sections does not confuse the grammar or the meaning unnecessarily.

⁴⁰⁵That this copyist’s omission was not corrected suggests that this copy was never used for performance. I propose that the following notes might be supplied in the bass line to fill the blank measure: F (quarter note on beat one)—G (quarter note on beat two)—A (half note on beats three and four).

⁴⁰⁶The vocal range of the soprano is discussed in Pietro Francesco Tosi, *Observations on the Florid Song*, trans. by Mr. Galliard (Originally printed at Bologna, 1723. Translation published in London: J. Wilcox, 1743. Reprinted New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968), 22–24.

The cantata *Seci potesse l'oro* begins with a vocal statement on the first beat and so contains no initial ritornello statement. There is, however, a three-beat cadential motive that re-occurs to punctuate each of the poetic lines where the vocal line has a short rest:

Figure 3.18: Fede, “Seci potesse l’oro,” mm. 1–16

The musical score for "Seci potesse l'oro" by Fede, measures 1-16, is presented in a single system with four staves. The top staff is the vocal line, and the bottom three staves are the piano accompaniment. The score is in 3/4 time and consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "Se-ci po-tes-se l'o-ro La vi-ta pro-lon-ga-re, lo vor-rei per cam-par-re ac-cum-ul-ar te-so-ro Se-ce po-tes-se l'o-ro la vi-ta pro-long-ga-re, lo vor-rei per cam-par-re ac-cum-ul-ar te-so-ro ac-cio quan-do per-sor-te ve-nisse a me la-mor-te l'o-ro da me pi-gli-ase ed el-la se n'and-as-se ed el-la se n'and as-se". The score shows a key signature change from F major to D major at measure 14.

The eight-line text is comprised of two *settenario* stanzas, the first using an ABBA rhyme scheme, and the second CCCC. The text expresses a futile hope against the inevitability of death. The musical setting reflects this wishful ambivalence by alternating between F major and D. The form of this aria is curious; the opening section (mm. 1–5) is immediately repeated (mm.6–10). The first new material occurs in mm. 11–13. A variation of the opening melody reappears in measure 14, but with new lyrics, some of the notes in diminution, and a completely new accompaniment. The single-measure coda in

measure 16 is similar to the cadential figure that concludes the first iteration of the melody, but this time the figure is inverted, although it serves the same function of closing the phrase in D minor. I analyze the aria with the form designation of AABA1.

Several of Fede's arias make use of "motto" or "devise" openings, in which an instrumental ritornello precedes the initial vocal entrance and then returns to create musical space between the first and second vocal statements. *Voi zeffiri erranti*, begins with a motto opening—a wind-like ritornello of a rising scale in eighth-notes appears before and after the first vocal statement, but does not re-occur until the last measure of the piece, where it appears in semi-inverted form to provide cadential closure. *O Filli adorata*, also makes use of a similar opening gesture—the piece begins with two statements of the ritornello surrounding the first vocal entry, but the ritornello does not appear again; instead new material is presented during the two-measure break in the vocal line before the B-section. *Su dunque voglio bere* is an example of a Fede motto aria that makes significant use of ritornello. It begins with a "devise" opening— a two-measure ritornello followed by the first vocal statement, followed again by the ritornello:

Figure 3.19: “Su dunque voglio bere,” mm. 1–21

The musical score consists of five systems, each with a vocal line and a continuo line. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/8. The vocal line is written in a soprano clef, and the continuo line is in a bass clef. The lyrics are: "Su dunque voglio bere", "dun-que vog-lio be... re vog-lio, fra lie-te schi-e - re far vi - ta spen-sie-ra - ta vgg-lio, fra lie - te schi - e - re far vi - ta spen-sie - ra - ta e con bel-lez-za ama-ta vo-glio eb-ro di con-ten-to sfor-ar-mi amio tal-ento a mio ta-le... n - to e con bel-lez-za ama-ta vgg-lio eb-ro di con-ten-to sfo-gar-mi amio tal-ento a mio ta-le... n - to".

In this case, the continuo anticipates the vocal line exactly; the initial vocal entry is identical to the first eight notes of the opening bass line. The two opening vocal statements contain an entire line of text (“*su dunque voglio bere*”). Nor is the musical interruption terribly abrupt since it is melodically balanced (comprising exactly four beats) and harmonically complete (it begins on the fifth note of the scale and resolves on the tonic). After the first two vocal statements, each of which may be considered the pronouncement of an antecedent element of a larger period, the consequent phrase is presented twice in succession (mm.7–11). This creates a very pleasing melodic symmetry

for the aria—the opening phrase begins twice, and concludes twice. After the conclusion of the second consequent phrase (m. 10), the ritornello reappears briefly to contrive a cadence in a new key area, that of the relative (F) major (m. 11). The cadence in a foreign key area at this point eliminates the possibility that this aria will be in da capo form, but a new (B) section does begin at this point (m. 12–15) with new textual and melodic material. While initially in the new key of F major, the first phrase of this new section concludes in the home key (D minor) by m. 15 before being repeated exactly in mm. 16–19. The final vocal cadence in m. 19, followed by two measures of ritornello coda in the continuo in which the shape of the cadential figure is inverted when compared to its appearance at the beginning of the piece.

The Arias of *Numeri amorosi*

The first aria in Fede's longest cantata, *Numeri amorosi*, uses a motto, or “devise,” opening. Continuo ritornello (3 bars long) anticipates the vocal entry at the octave, the only difference in that the bass gesture ends with a falling octave (c1–C) whereas the vocal line falls only a fourth (c1–G), landing on the dominant. The ritornello returns exactly between vocal statements, and the second vocal entry is identical to the first. The initial vocal entry “quante son queste arene” is an entire phrase, rather than a nonsensical particle, which would have appealed to French poetic sensibilities.⁴⁰⁷ After the first two vocal entries, the voice takes new melodic material (m. 10), but the bass repeats the ritornello exactly one more time (mm. 9–11), making three complete continuo statements of the ritornello to begin the aria. The new material lacks motivic or sequential

⁴⁰⁷Tunley, *French Cantata*, intro, viii “Where textual repetition is concerned in the French air it is more likely to be the repetition of complete lines, resulting in a musical style in which balanced phrases, like those of the dance, take precedence.”

figures, but uses suspensions in the vocal line (mm 12–13). The first strong cadence occurs on the relative major (E-flat Major) in m. 14. The next section offers eighth notes in the vocal line for the first time in m. 16 (both parts having used only quarters and halves until this point), and modulates to the minor dominant (G minor) beginning with an F-sharp in the vocal line M. 20. The only use of motive sequence in this aria appears during a melisma in mm. 21–23, which features a rising sequential line of a dotted quarter and three eighth notes in mm. 21–22. The sequence is a conjunct line rising a fourth repeated once a step higher. It does not any great virtuoso display or difficulty. The section ends in measure m. 26 on a minor dominant chord (g minor) followed by a break in the vocal line of one measure and one beat during which the continuo makes no reference to the initial ritornello but introduces a B-natural on the downbeat of m. 27 returning to the tonic key (C minor) for the vocal entrance in the following measure (m. 28).

Figure 3.20: Fede, “Quante son queste arene,” mm. 1–40

The musical score is presented in five systems, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The key signature is C minor (three flats) and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are written below the vocal line.

System 1 (mm. 1-8):
 Vocal: Quan-te son queste a-re-ne, Quan-te son queste a-re-ne
 Piano: Accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes.

System 2 (mm. 9-16):
 Vocal: Tan-te son le mie pe-ne: e quan-te son- quell'on-de, tante ho per
 Piano: Accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes.

System 3 (mm. 17-24):
 Vocal: te nel cor pia-ghe pro-fon-de
 Piano: Accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes.

System 4 (mm. 25-32):
 Vocal: tante ho per te nel cor Pia-ghe pro-fon-de
 Piano: Accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes.

System 5 (mm. 33-40):
 Vocal: ghe pro-fon-de.
 Piano: Accompaniment with eighth and sixteenth notes, ending with a double bar line.

The final section (mm. 27–40) features again the sequential melisma from mm. 21–22, this time presented in the tonic (mm. 31–33). The text of this section is a repetition of the final line of the poetic stanza, but again it is a repeat of a complete line rather than a nonsensical fragment. The final vocal cadence occurs in C minor in m. 36, and is followed by a four measures continuo coda in which no reference is made to the opening ritornello.

The second air of this cantata, “Quante la terra ha foglie,” is perhaps better considered an arioso than a proper aria on the grounds that 1) at ten measures it is very

brief, containing only two statements of an antecedent–consequent phrases (quante–tante; quante–tante), and 2) Short though it is, it is through–composed, and intensely sequential—each “quante” statement (each lasts only one bar) develops from a motive comprising an eighth note and two sixteenths; each “tante” statement (considerably longer, each contains text repetition—the first one partial the second one complete), is constructed as a sensuously falling sequential figure. Still, this is not a recitative in a strict sense either, since the melody is joined rhythmically to the bass and there is a regular pulse.

Figure 3.21: Fede, “Quante la terra ha foglie,” mm. 1–10

The first cadence in this aria is in D minor, functionally the minor dominant of the concluding G minor chord in measure 10. As the air progresses from beginning to end, it moves harmonically from the dominant through the relative major (B–flat major, m. 7), finally coming to rest (for the first time) at the tonic (G minor) in the final bar.

In the first measure, the voice introduces a rhythmic motive consisting of an eighth followed by two sixteenth–notes. At the end of the first measure, the same motive is expanded to an eighth note and two sixteenth notes followed by a quarter note, forming the basis of a falling sequence in three steps: the first begins on the last beat of the first measure, the second on the second beat of the next measure, and the third is presented in

ornamented augmentation beginning on the third beat of the second measure. The ornamentation serves to elongate the figure and create added dissonance through a suspension that occurs as the augmented falling pattern is stretched above the moving bass line (m. 3). This gradually lengthening elaboration of a melodically descending motive, combined with the descending and circular harmonic progression, makes an effective musical depiction of the poetic imagery of falling leaves.

The third aria, “Quanti ha l’aria,” is in triple meter, but the time signature is 3/8 rather than 3/4 as it was in “Quante son queste arene,” which may indicate a faster tempo reflecting the happier mood at this point in the poetry. There is no introduction, and no ritornello as such, but the repetitive bass line suggests an ostinato. This repeated bass figure, what we might best call “free ostinato” is the only structural element to give this short piece form, since cadences are scarce. The aria opens with an opening vocal statement over two repetitions of the bass figure, clearly delineating an opening section (mm. 1–11). Although there is no discernable cadence point here, new material in the bass and voice in mm. 12–23 introduces a new key area (B-flat major), and can clearly be identified as a B section:

Figure 3.22: “Quante l’aria augelletti,” mm. 1–32

Quanti ha l'ar-ia augel-let-ti sieno i nos-tri dil-et-ti E quan-te hai

tu bel-lez-ze tante in noi ver-si amor ca-re dol-cez-ze

ca-re dol-cez-ze.s

The end of this second section occurs through the use of a “feigned” or “double cadence” figure that is typical of Fede; a perfect authentic cadence in the key of B–flat major (m. 21) seems solidly to conclude a section in that key area, but instead of coming to a resting point, both the melody and bass line continue to carry onward for another two measures, reaching another cadence just three bars later (m. 24)—this time in the tonic key (G minor). Besides the final cadence in the ultimate measure, these are the only two cadences in the piece. The vocal line comes to an end with the cadence in m. 24, but the bass line continues with the repeated bass figure that formed the initial ostinato of the aria, this time serving as a coda and providing a sufficient reference to the opening material that this piece might be considered to have an ABA structure, although clearly a very unusual example of that form.

The most strikingly obvious distinction of the final aria, “Facciam, concordi amanti,” is that it is written for two voices, when the rest of the cantata was for solo

soprano. Moreover, it is written for soprano and tenor, when all preceding arias, for both the male (Eurilo) and female (Filena) characters, had been written for soprano:

Figure 3.23: Fede, “Facciam concordi amanti,” mm. 1–36

Fac-ciam con-cordia - ma - n-ti pa - ri le gio - rie ai pian - ti pa - ri le gio -
 Fac ciam con-cor di aman-ti par - ri le gioie ai pian ti par - i le

5 5 43 98 4 #3 5b6 76

- ie ai pian-ti al-le guer - re le pa - ci al-le guer - re le pa - ci al-le
 gioie ai pian-ti al-le guer - re le pa - ci al-le guer-re le pa-ci al-le guer-re al-le

76 # 43 565

10 guer - - - re le pa - ci al-le guer-re le pa - ci le pa - ci;
 guer - - - re le pa - ci al-le guer-re le pa - ci;

4 4 43 4 4 b

15 se fur mil - le i martir sien mil - le i ba - ci sien mil - le i ba - ci sien mil - le sien
 se fur mil - le i martir sien mil - le i ba - ci sien mil - le i ba - ci sien mil - le sien

b 4 3 98 43

20 mil - le i ba - ci si fur mil - le i martir sien mil - le i ba - ci sien mil - le i
 mil - le i ba - ci se fur mil - le i martir sien mil - le i ba - -

98 4 #3 b 6 b 4 6 6 # 4 3

5

25

ba - ci sien mil - le i ba - ci se fur mil - le i martir sien mil - le i ba - ci sien mil - le i ba - ci

ci sien mil - le i ba - ci sien mil - le i ba - ci sien mil - le i ba - ci

6 56 b b 4 3 5 65 b

31

sien mil - le i ba - ci

sien mi - le i ba - ci sien mil - le i ba - ci sien

b b3 b 7 b

34

sien mil - le i ba - ci

mil - le i ba - ci sien mil - le i ba - ci

b b b

As the grand finale of the cantata, this aria is longer and more chromatic. The duet texture provides opportunities for imitation (mm. 1–2; 8–9) and the exchange of melodic material between the voices (the tenor material in mm. 15–20 is taken by the soprano in mm. 21–26). The aria is through-composed, but divided roughly into three sections. The piece begins with no ritornello introduction but with an immediate point of imitation between the soprano entering at the tonic on the second half of beat two followed by the tenor entering at the dominant on the second half of beat four. Fede again chooses to move harmonically further afield immediately rather than lingering to establish the home key; a half cadence occurs on the downbeat of m. 4, but the first phrase concludes ambiguously on the final beat of measure seven on the subdominant chord (F major). The second section begins in measure 8 with another point of imitation, this time led by the

tenor voice. This section leads to the parallel major key (E-flat major), which is achieved by the cadence in measure 14. The third and longest section of the aria begins, again with tenor-led imitation, in measure 15. This section emphasizes a secondary dominant (five of the relative major) in cadences on B-flat major in mm. 19 and 25. The latter of these becomes another example of a double cadence as the B-flat cadence on the downbeat of m. 25 is immediately followed by a cadence in the relative major (E-flat) in m. 26. A Corellian “cadential echo” effect is presented in the final bars of the piece as the concluding part of the final phrase (mm. 31–33) is repeated to bring closure to the aria (mm. 33–36). There is considerably more text repetition in this aria than in the others of this cantata, as the phrase “let there be a thousand kisses” is repeated over and over (an illustration of the text) during the second half of the piece. As usual, the texture is mostly syllabic with brief melismas in both voices consisting of a rising sixteenth-note figure on the word “guerre.”

General observations

Fede’s arias are not typically very long. Only two exceed sixty bars: “Langue, geme, sospira” contains one hundred six bars, and “A torto, bella bocca” has ninety-five. Three are very short indeed—“Amor fiori un di cogliea,” “Mai pensier non cangierò,” and “Quante la terra ha foglie”—each comprise only ten bars. There are twice as many—fourteen—between fifteen and forty bars than there are between forty and sixty bars in length. Each of the ten-bar arias, the shortest written by Fede, are contained within cantatas while the two longest arias are both independent compositions. It is not always the case, however, that arias contained in Fede’s cantatas are short or that his independent arias are long: The final aria in the cantata *Bell’onde tranquille*, “O Filli adorata,” has

fifty-nine bars, while the title aria of the cantata *La mia vita* contains fifty-six bars, and the same cantata's closing aria, "Fin che spirito," comprises sixty bars. Conversely, several of Fede's independent arias are quite short: "Mio contento" has only seventeen bars, and "Morirò poichè volete" only sixteen. On the whole, however, Fede's independent arias, at an average of forty-eight bars, tend to be substantially longer than his cantata arias, which have an average length of thirty-one bars.

The vast majority of Fede's arias are in a minor mode; only five (or twenty percent) are in a major key: "Lacrimando e quasi in forse" and "La mia vita la mia speme" in B-flat major; "Bellezze voi siete tiranne de cori" and "Ardo, sospiro" (the independent aria) in G major; and "Languè, geme, sospira" in D major. These major key arias, however, are all of greater than average length; Fede composes in the major modes comparatively rarely but he tends to use them for his more substantial pieces. Six of Fede's arias are in D minor and an equal number are in G minor, making these two keys the commonest among Fede's works. A minor is closely in second place with five arias, and C minor, with three arias, is the least common minor key. Generally speaking, Fede tends to make use of the major mode when setting text that describes satisfied love (as in "La mia vita, la mia speme" and "Languè, geme, sospira"), declaims a philosophical maxim (as in "Bellezze voi siete tiranne de cori" and "Ardo, sospiro"), or presents a humorous situation (as in "Lacrimando e quasi in forse").

Fede uses duple meter in fourteen of his arias, with all but one of these marked in common time and one exception marked in "cut" time. Of the eleven arias in triple meter, eight make use of a three-four time signature, and one each of three, three-eight, and three-two respectively. Tempo markings are rarely indicated in the manuscripts of Fede's

music; the most common tempo notation is *adagio*, often written in cadential areas presumably to indicate a relaxation of tempo.

Fede's arias tend to avoid the use of standard forms; twelve are through composed. Eight of his arias make use of some type of ternary structure, none of them bear the inscribed instruction *da capo*, although several of them, such as "Bellezze voi siete tiranne de cori" are in fact *da capo* arias featuring a written-out literal return of the opening section. Others, such as "Annodami, abbracciami," are *da capo* arias with a written-out return of the opening section that includes some variation and a coda. Apart from the through-composed arias and those in some version of ternary form, there are four of other types: Fede's longest aria, "Langue, geme, sospira," is a strophic aria composed of two musically identical verses that are each repeated. "Sei pur dolce, o libert " is a binary aria with two repeated strains. "Su dunque voglio" begins with a motto opening that leads to a cadence in F major followed by a contrasting section that resolves into D minor and is repeated, giving the piece a form of ABB. "La mia vita" contains a repetition of the opening section and a single occurrence of a contrasting conclusion, resulting in a form of AAB. Fede prefers through-composed arias to those based on formal architecture; even those that can be described as ternary are widely varied among themselves. It is clear that Fede did not feel obliged to conform to a paradigmatic approach to aria writing, leaving instead a repertoire characterized overall by structural unpredictability.

Most of Fede's arias do not have any ritornello introduction, and in those eleven arias that do, such an introduction is usually very short—"Per voi lumi adorati," for example, has a two-bar walking bass introduction. The ritornello introduction of

“Languè, gème, sospira,” at eleven bars, is unusually long for a Fede aria. In six arias the introductory material in the continuo anticipates the melody of the first vocal entry, and eight arias make use of a motto opening in which a short re-appearance of the opening ritornello is interposed between two identical vocal statements.

Fede is very restrained in his use of chromaticism. For the most part his arias are strictly diatonic and make use only of those accidentals that are common to the key area, such as leading tones when in a minor mode. His melodies are frequently constructed of repeated and elaborated rhythmic motives, but a significant number do not appear to make any significant use of this technique; Fede’s motivic development rarely results in sequential melodies, but approximately half of his arias do feature at least some elements of melodic sequence. Fede uses imitation, either between the two voices in duet arias or between the continuo and vocal line in solo arias, in at least ten of his arias; in “Facciam concordi amanti,” measures thirty-one and thirty-two (figure 5.23), the continuo participates in three-voice contrapuntal with both of the vocal lines. Fede’s vocal writing is mostly syllabic with occasional examples of melismatic writing that nearly always form conjunct sequential passages (see figure 5.23, m. 10). His use of vocal range never exceeds the interval of a thirteenth, and the majority of his arias explore a range between a ninth and a twelfth. Fede rarely makes use of continuo ostinato: in the second aria of the cantata *Bell’onde tranquille*, “Voi zeffiri erranti,” a one-measure continuo ritornello forms an introduction, but briefly becomes an ostinato when it is repeated under a vocal motto opening. In “Quante ha l’aria,” Fede uses a repeated bass figure that forms a free ostinato that serves to give structure to this short aria. The aria opens with an opening vocal statement over two repetitions of the bass figure. The bass figure appears once in

variation, but when the vocal line comes to an end in measure 24, but the bass line repeats the initial ostinato as a coda. “Vieni ò caro” is Fede’s only surviving ground bass aria, in that the entire bass line consists of a repeated one–bar ostinato. This ostinato is unvaried except that it shifts upwards by a fourth during the aria’s B section, returning to its original key when the A section of this ternary aria returns.

Conclusions

Fede’s family background positioned him well for a career in the service of the Stuarts, particularly in exile. With Mary as the *de facto* head of the court, and in cultural and financial circumstances that virtually precluded large-scale stage productions or musical works requiring large and expensive forces, Italian cantata became one of the primary means of secular musical expression at the Stuart court. Fede had extensive personal experience and ability in the genre and as sole music director was central to the flourishing of this musical style at St. Germain–en–laye. Forming the bulk of his surviving work, his cantata output forms Fede’s greatest musical legacy.

Mary of Modena played an important role as the primary patron of this musical culture, and that the poetic texts of Fede’s cantatas offer an unusual perspective on the humanist side of her character. I argue that her sponsorship of these musical settings of amorous and secular texts suggests that her personality was more complex and nuanced than has been generally recognized. I would like to suggest that Fede’s cantatas are worthy of attention and, seem likely to have inspired French composers to develop the genre within their own national idiom.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER THREE

CANTATA AND ARIA LYRICS

CANTATA #1: *Ardo, sospiro*

Paris, BnF, H. 659

Soprano clef

Two movements: recit; aria

Range: e1–a2

***Ardo, sospiro* 1. Recit: “Ardo, sospiro”**

*Ardo, sospiro e peno
e tra catene involto
d'un adorato volto
fra tormenti mi struggo e vengo meno
Ai rai di due pupille.
d'amorose faville
l'anima mia si pasce
e finisce e l'ardor more, e rinasce*

I burn, I sigh, and I suffer, wrapped in chains because of a beloved face, in torments I languish and swoon because of two loving eyes. My soul both feeds and perishes on sparks of love, and my ardor is extinguished and rekindled again.

***Ardo, sospiro* 2. Aria: “Per voi lumi adorati”**

*Per voi lumi adorati
son dolci son care
le pene al mio cor*

*Nello splendor divino
di voi begl'occhi amanti
riluce il mio destino
ha la sua fera amor*

Because of you, beloved eyes, the suffering of my heart is sweet and dear. My fate is reflected in the divine splendor of your loving eyes, and love finds its primal passion.

Cantata #2 *Se ci potesse l'oro*

Paris, BnF, H. 659 (6)

Soprano clef

Three movements: aria; recitative; aria

Range: c1–a2

***Se ci potesse l'oro* 1. Aria: “Se ci potesse l'oro”**

*Se ci potesse l'oro
la vita prolungare,
io vorrei per campare
accumular tesoro
accio' quando per sorte
venisse a me la morte
l'oro da me pigliasse
e quella se n'andasse.*

If gold could make our lives longer I would accumulate money, so that when destiny calls me to die, it would take the money from me and depart.

***Se ci potesse l'oro* 2. Recit: “Ma poscia che”**

*Ma poscia che con lei
non si può pattuire
ed è forza muorire,
che val far tanti omei
ed in cure in affanni
che vale spender gl'anni?*

But, since I cannot bargain with her, and death cannot be avoided, what is the point of toiling so much, and wasting the years in labor?

***Se ci potesse l'oro* 3. Aria: “Su dunque voglio”**

*Su, dunque, voglio bere,
voglio fra liete schiere
far vita spensierata
e con bellezza amata
voglio ebbro di contento
sfogarmi a mio talento.*

So then I want to drink, and have a carefree life among happy friends, and with my beloved beauty I wish, drunk with happiness, to give free reign to all my instincts.

**Cantata #3. Innocenzo Fedè, *Amor fiori un dì cogliea*
Berkeley, University Library, MS 118**

Soprano clef

Three movements: aria; aria; aria

Range: d1–g2

***Amor fiori undì cogliea* 1. Aria: “Amor fiori un dì cogliea”**

*Amor fiori un dì cogliea
né s'avvide che nascosa
tra le foglie d'una rosa
piccol ape si giacea
onde a caso fu in un dito
con dolor grave ferito*

Cupid one day was picking flowers, he didn't realize that hidden between the petals of the rose was a small bee, and he was accidentally stung on the finger very painfully.

***Amor fiori undì cogliea* 2. Aria: “Lacrimando e quasi in forse”**

*Lacrimando e quasi in forse
di sua vita a Vener corse
ed in mesto e flebil suono
'ohimè' disse 'madre mia
ohmè perso e morto sono
che m'ha fatto piaga ria
serpentello d'ali armato
che qua viene Ape chiamato.'*

Crying, almost in danger of dying, he ran to Venus and in a sad feeble voice said, “Alas my mother, I'm lost and dead because of an evil wound given by a little snake armed with wings, which now here is called a bee.”

***Amor fiori undì cogliea* 3. Aria: “‘Deh,’ diss’ella, ‘o figlio vago’”**

*'Deh,' diss'ella, 'o figlio vago,
se d'un ape il picciol ago
t'è cagion di tal dolore,
qual dolor e qual martoro
credi tu provar coloro
a cui tu trafiggi il core.'*

“Alas, my dear son, if the little sting of a bee is the cause of so much pain, how much pain and suffering do you think those whose hearts you pierce with your arrows will experience?”

Cantata #4. Innocenzo Fede, *Bell'onde tranquille*

Paris, BnF, H. 659

Bass cantata

Three movements: aria; aria; aria

Range: A – e1

***Bell'onde tranquille* 1. “Bell'onde tranquille”**

*Bell'onde tranquille
ch'in calma posate
deh uer la mia Fille
correte volate
fermate al suo pié*

*Ai gemiti vostri
chi sa che non mostri
pietà di mia fe'*

Beautiful and tranquil waves in placid calm, run to Phyllis and stop at her feet. Hearing your laments, may she have pity for my love.

***Bell'onde tranquille* 2. “Voi zeffiri erranti”**

*Voi zeffiri erranti
su lubriche arene
ridite i miei pianti
narrate le pene*

*spietate del cor
del cor che lontano
per fato inhumano
da Filli si muor*

You errant winds, carry word of my laments over the sea, bring the news of the desperate pains of my heart, which, far away from Phyllis because of an inhuman fate, is dying.

***Bell'onde tranquille* 3. “O Filli adorata”**

*O Filli adorata,
ascolta i tormenti
d'un'alma agitata*

*Nell'onde, nei venti
s'asconde il mio fin.
Vedrai se ben miri*

*ch'in pianti e sospiri
mi scioglie il destin*

Beloved Phyllis, take heed of the torments of a restless soul. My demise is hidden in the winds and the waves. You will see, if you look closely, that my fate is melting me to cries and sighs.

**Cantata #5. Innocenzo Fedè, *La mia vita*
Berkeley, University Library, MS 118**

Duet cantata, two soprano clefs

Four movements: aria; aria; arioso; aria

First voice range: e1–g2

Second voice range: d1–f2

***La Mia Vita* 1. Aria: “La mia vita la mia speme”**

Voice 1:

*La mia vita la mia speme mio Tirsi
sarai sempre tu
amerò bacierò le catene
che mi strinsero in sì dolce servitu*

Voice 2:

*Il mio cor la mia speme mia Clori
sarai sempre tu
amerò bacierò le catene
che mi cinsero in sì cara servitù*

Tirsi (Voice 1): You will always be my heart and my hope, my Clori.

Clori (Voice 2): You will always be my life, my hope, my Tirsi.

BOTH: I will love and kiss the chains that bound me in such sweet slavery.

***La Mia Vita* 2. Aria: “Mai pensier non cangierò”**

*Mai pensier non cangierò
fin che spirto in seno havrò
tu l'idol mio*

*Mai non cangierò desio
fin che spirto in sen' havrò
tu sarai la mia dea*

Tirsi: My feelings will never change, as long as I have life in my heart you will be my idol

Clori: My desire will never change, as long as I have life in my heart you will be my goddess.

***La Mia Vita* 3. Recit: “Onde in sì dolci tempore”**

Onde in sì dolci tempore

Onde in sì dolci tempore

BOTH: Thus in such sweet passions....

La Mia Vita 4. Aria: “Fin che spirto”

*Fin che spirto havrò in sen
t'amerò sempre*

*Fin che spirto havrò in sen
t'amerò sempre*

BOTH: As long as I have life in my heart I will love you forever.

Canata #6 Numeri Amorosi

Berkeley, University Library, MS 118

Duet cantata, soprano and tenor clefs

Eight movements: recit; aria; recit; aria; recit; aria; recit; aria

Soprano clef range: c1–g2

Tenor clef range: C–f1

Numeri Amorosi 1. Recit: “Presso un fiume tranquillo”

*Presso un fiume tranquillo
disse a Filena Eurillo*

NARRATOR: Near a tranquil river Eurillo says to Filena:

Numeri Amorosi 2. Aria: “Quante son queste arene”

*Quante son queste arene,
tante son le mie pene:
e quante son quell'onde,
tante ho per te nel cor piaghe profonde* 1

EURILLO: As many as these grains of sand are my heartaches, and the deep wounds in my heart are as many as the waves in the water.

Numeri Amorosi 3. Recit: “Rispose d' amor piena”

*Rispose d'amor piena
ad Eurillo Filena*

NARRATOR: Then Filena, full of love, responds to Eurilla:

Numeri Amorosi 4. Aria [arioso] “Quante la terra ha foglie”

*Quante la terra ha foglie,
tante son le mie doglie:*

*e quante il cielo ha stelle
tante ho per te nel cor vive fiammelle*

FILENA: My pains on earth are as many as the leaves on the ground, the flames in my heart are as many as the stars in the sky.

Numeri Amorosì 5. Recit: “Dunque con lieto core”

*Dunque (con lieto core
soggiunse indi il pastore):*

NARRATOR: Then, with a happy heart, the shepherd said:

Numeri Amorosì 6. Aria: “Quanti ha l’aria”

*Quanti ha l’aria augelletti
sieno i nostri diletti
e quante hai tu bellezze
tante in noi versi amor care dolcezze*

EURILLO: Let our delights be as many as birds in the sky, and let love pour on us sweet delights that are as many as your beauties.

Numeri Amorosì 7. Recit: “Sì sì con voglie accese”

*Sì sì (con voglie accese
la ninfa allor riprese) :*

NARRATOR: The nymph, with her instincts awakened, joined in:

***Numeri Amorosì 8. Aria: “Facciam, concordi amanti”
(Duet for Soprano and Tenor)***

*Facciam, concordi amanti,
pari le gioie ai pianti:
alle guerre le paci,
se fur mille i martir sien mille i baci.*

EURILLO & FILENA: Let us make, as harmonious lovers, the joys as numerous as the tears, the agreements as frequent as the struggles—if the pains are one thousand, let also the kisses be one thousand.

**Independent aria #1. “Bellezze voi siete tiranne de cori”
Paris, BnF, H. 659**

Soprano clef
Range: d1- f2

*Bellezze voi siete
tiranne de cori*

*Col crine legate,
col sguardo ferite
e troppo spietate
vibrate gl'ardori*

Beauties, you are the tyrants of hearts
You ensnare with your hair, you hurt with your glance, you move the passions too harshly.

Independent aria #2. “Morirò poichè volete”

Paris, BnF, H. 659 (4)

Soprano clef
Range: e1-a2

*Morirò, poichè volete,
luci belle, io morirò
Almen voi che m'uccidete
che contento io spirerò*

Since you want me to, pretty eyes, I will die.
Since it is you who are killing me, I will die happily.

Independent aria #3. “Langue, geme, sospira”

Paris, BnF, H. 659 (4)

Soprano clef
Range: d1-a2

*Langue, geme, sospira e si lagna
colomba che chiama
l'errante compagna.
Ma quando si vede
che in braccio le riede
quel ben che tant' ama
cangia i gemiti in baci e piu non brama*

*Così lungi dal tuo bel sembiante
non troua mai pace
quest'anima amante.
Ma quando poi mira
del sol che sospira
la splendida face
per dolcezza si strugge, adora e tace.*

The dove that calls for his wandering she-dove, pines, suffers, languishes, and laments. But when that dove sees that the one he loves so much returns to his arms, he turns the wailing into kisses and does not pine for her anymore, for his desire is sated.

Likewise, away from the beautiful presence, my soul in love does not find peace. But when my soul can finally admire the splendid countenance of the only person that it loves, overcome by sweetness it melts away speechless, in adoration.

Independent aria #4. “Vieni, o caro”

London, BL MS Add. 31502, H-H vol. 11, 513-Reel 22

Soprano clef

Range: f#1–f2

*Vieni, o caro, non tardar
con la vind[....] saetta,
di tue furie il passo affretta
questo seno a sprigionar*

Come, my dear, do not hesitate with your [...] arrow,
Rush quickly to fill up [my lover's?] heart with your fury.

Independent aria #5. “Annodami, abbracciami”

Paris, BnF, H. 659

Bass clef

Range: A–d1

*Annodami, abbracciami,
caro mio ben si si*

*Stringimi pur al seno
e ried'a quel sereno
ch'oggi da noi spari*

Entangle me, embrace me, my beloved,

Stay close to me and return to that happiness that today we lost.

Independent aria #6. “A torto, bella bocca”

Paris, BnF, H. 659 (3)

Duet, two soprano clefs

Voice one range: e1–f#2

Voice two range: d#1–e2

*A torto, bella bocca,
mi chiami infido cor
amante più costante
se il ciel di me non ha*

*Perchè mia fe' condanni
in braccio al rio dolor*

Beautiful lips, you wrongly call me unfaithful, since there is no more faithful lover than I under the sun. Why do you put my faith in the arms of pain?

Independent aria #7. “Sei pur dolce, o libertà”

Paris, BnF H. 659 (6)

Duet, two soprano clefs

Voice one range: f#1–s2

Voice two range: d–f2

*Sei pur dolce, o libertà
Ma di te la gran dolcezza
chi la prova non la sprezza,
la sospira chi non l'ha*

Freedom, you truly are sweet, but your great sweetness is such that those who experience it do not disparage it, and those who do not, pine for it.

Independent aria #8. “Mio contento”

Paris, BnF, H.659 & Berkeley, University Library, MS 118

Duet, two soprano clefs

Voice one range: e1–g2

Voice two range: d#1–e2

Mio contento, mio bel nume

(Mio tesoro mio ristoro)
Per te o cara(o) gode l'alma il tuo seren
a te vivo per te moro
per te spira l'alma in sen

My happiness, my love, (my blessed one, my nourishment), for you my dear, my soul enjoys the happiness that you cause. I long for you, I die for you, my soul dies for you in my heart.

Independent aria #9. "Ardo, sospiro"

Paris, BnF, H. 659

Duet, soprano and bass clefs

Soprano range: d1–g2

Bass range: G–d1

Ardo, sospiro e peno
Gelo languisco avvampo
fra tormentosi ardori
Ma chi penar non vuol non s'innamori

I burn, I sigh, frozen languishing in pain, flushed with torments of passion
But whoever doesn't want pain should not fall in love.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SONATAS OF INNOCENZO FEDE

French composers began consciously to imitate the Italian genres of sonata and cantata in the late seventeenth century. That the first attempts by French composers to adopt these Italian genres, in the early 1690s for sonata and around 1700 for cantata, occurred in such obvious proximity in both time and space to the Italian-dominated musical court of the Stuarts at Saint-Germain-en-laye offers the possibility that more than a coincidence lies at its root.

Historian Edward Corp originally advanced the theory that the Stuart court, exiled in the greater Parisian environment from 1689, provided French composers a first-hand view of Italian musical trends both through its treasury of Italian manuscripts and regular performances of these works. Recent writings by musicologists David Ponsford, David Tunley, Jane Clark, and Don Fader have acknowledged Corp's claim regarding the significance of the Stuart court in exile—insofar as it was the home of an important musical library.⁴⁰⁸ Corp has suggested that the Stuart collection was probably assembled

⁴⁰⁸David Ponsford, *Organ Music in the Reign of Louis XIV* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 120; David Tunley, *François Couperin and 'The Perfection of Music'* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 41–42; Jane Clark, "Aspects of the social and cultural background," in Jane Clark and Derek Connon, *The mirror of human life': Reflections on François Couperin's Pièces de Clavecin* (Redcroft: King's Music, 2002), 10–11; Don Fader, "Philippe II d'Orléans's 'chanteurs italiens', the Italian cantata and the gouts-réunis under Louis XIV," *Early Music* 35 (May 2007): 237–

from musical manuscripts sent from Rome to Innocenzo Fede in Paris by his uncles in the Papal choir, or copied by Lord Melfort and David Nairne during a visit to Rome in 1691.⁴⁰⁹

The argument advanced by Corp is that the Stuart manuscript collection provided examples of Italian sonatas and cantatas to French composers who might not have had the opportunity to travel for such study to Italy, but who wished to experiment with these specifically Italian genres. Corp claims that “St. -Germain court music was both known to and performed by the French musicians working at Versailles under the direction of Michel-Richard Delalande,”⁴¹⁰ and he cites a report in the *Mercure galant* from 7 October 1707 that “Delalande and his daughters organized a special concert of Italian music for Louis XIV” as evidence that the Stuart manuscripts were used in performance by musicians at the French court, although it is not clear that the Italian music performed was from Fede’s collection.⁴¹¹ Corp has never claimed that Innocenzo Fede himself, or his personal compositions, constituted a model for imitation by these French composers, but rather that Fede provided the model through his collection of manuscripts and

248; Mary Cyr, ed., *Elisabeth-Claude Jacquet de La Guerre, The Collected Works*, vol. 2 (New York: The Broude Trust, 2008), xvi–vii.

⁴⁰⁹Edward T. Corp, “The Exiled Court,” 225.

⁴¹⁰Edward T. Corp, “The Exiled Court,” 226. Corp cites a report in the *Mercure galant* from 7 October 1707 that “Delalande and his daughters organized a special concert of Italian music for Louis XIV” as evidence that the Stuart manuscripts were used in performance by musicians at the French court, but it is not clear that the Italian music performed was from Fede’s collection.

⁴¹¹*Mercure galant*, 7 October 1707, reproduced in *Notes et références pour servir à une histoire de Michel–Richard Delalande*, ed. Norbert Dufourcq (Paris, 1957), 163, cited in Corp, “A Centre of Italian Music,” 226. Corp acknowledges the uncertainty of the repertoire actually performed: “We are not told what the music was, but given that James III actually left Fontainebleau the same day, it may well be that Delalande was performing some of the Stuart court music, recently copied by Philidor and thus available at the French court.”

through the performances of that Italian repertoire that it was his responsibility to direct.⁴¹² Corp has further suggested that Couperin actually lived at St. Germain and worked there periodically for years.⁴¹³

My interest in this matter, however, has to do not only with the extent to which the Stuart court in exile influenced the music of their Parisian neighbors, but to what extent Innocenzo Fede himself may have been a pedagogical force for the advancement of Italian styles in Paris while residing at Saint-Germain-en-Laye from 1689–1719. Taking for granted that the manuscript collection of Italian music at the Stuart court was a treasure trove for French composers who sought to master the forms of sonata and cantata at the turn of the eighteenth century, what musical influence did Fede himself exert? Did his personal compositions serve as models for French composers? I argue that there is no compelling reason to exclude Fede as the most likely model for French composers during their initial experimentation with Italian styles, and that his proximity, his background, his courtly position, and above all his musical style make him as likely a candidate as not for emulation by French composers of both sonata and cantata during the last decade of the seventeenth century and the first decade of the eighteenth.

There are several factors that support the idea that French composers might have found Fede himself, and his compositions, a model of Italian music. First, there was vigorous and continuous contact between the French court and the English court, and thus French courtiers, including the Duc D'Orleans and others known for their advocacy of

⁴¹²See Edward Corp, “The Musical Manuscripts of ‘Copiste Z’,” 47.

⁴¹³Edward Corp, “François Couperin and the Stuart court at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 1691–1712: a new interpretation,” *Early Music* 28 (Aug., 2000): 445–453.

Italian musical styles, would have actually been required to be regularly in the presence of the Stuarts and subject to the musical entertainments at the exiled English court.

Second, Fede's own national identity would have given him a privileged status in any aesthetic discussions of Italian music; he was an actual Italian. He therefore had an inherent cultural authority that could never be held by a French or English composer no matter how well trained in Italianate music. This is not to suggest that his nationality entitled him to automatic emulation, but that his perceived authenticity and insight as an authority on Italian music would carry additional weight and influence.

Third, Fede was the only Italian near Paris who held the position of *maestro di cappella*, or "Surintendant de la Musique du roi d'Angleterre."⁴¹⁴ In a social world where title was of the utmost importance and where courtiers would routinely argue about who got to sit on what kind of stool in each other's presence, holding the position of a high-ranking officer at court gave Fede a kind of prestige that was unavailable to other composers, be they French or Italian. Furthermore, as music director Fede had the power to present his own compositions during the musical programs at the Stuart court, and it seems scarcely credible that he would not choose to do so when French musicians and musical patrons were in attendance.

Fourth, Fede had an advantage over all other Italian composers in France in that he was present and active in the musical scene near Paris. The music of other Italian composers, such as Giovanni Battista Bononcini (1670–1747)—who has been advanced by Don Fader as the most likely model for imitation by French composers of Italian

⁴¹⁴Fede's French courtly title is from a reference in the local parish register preserved at the Hotel de Ville at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, published in Charles E. Lart, *Jacobite Extracts of Births, Marriages and Deaths, 1689–1720*, 2 vols. (London, 1910–12), cited in Corp, "a Centre of Italian Music," 217.

cantata⁴¹⁵— was known and studied by contemporary musicians in Paris, but Fede’s was the more likely to serve as a model for imitation, since only Fede was in a position personally to demonstrate, explain, direct, and advocate for his own music. In that respect he held an enormous advantage over other Italian composers whose music was known in France either in manuscript or published form.

It is clear that the Stuart court in the 1690s was not the only cultural force advocating Italian music in Paris. Marc-Anoine Charpentier had studied in Italy (ca. 1666–ca. 1770) and subsequently met with great success as a composer of arguably Italianate style in Paris, producing sacred music at the royal chapel, as well as the opera, and acquiring the patronage of such prominent nobles as the Duchess De Guise and the future regent the Duc d’Orleans, whose own court at the Palais Royale is often cited as the catalyst for the explosion of interest in Italian music that took place at this time among French composers.⁴¹⁶

Indeed, musicologist Catherine Cessac has claimed that Marc-Antoine Charpentier may actually be the original pioneer of the Italian sonata in France, since he may have composed his “sonate for two flutes, two violins, bass viol, five-string bass violin, harpsichord and theorbo” around 1685.⁴¹⁷ The scoring for this piece is essentially for two melodic voices and continuo band, but since it is not actually written for continuo it would hardly seem to be essentially Italian even if entitled “sonate.” Charpentier’s

⁴¹⁵Giovanni Battista Bononcini has been suggested as the most likely model for imitation by French composers. See Don Fader, “Philippe II d’Orléans’s ‘chanteurs italiens’,” 242–245.

⁴¹⁶Don Fader, “Philippe II d’Orléans’s ‘chanteurs italiens’.” 237–248. David Tunley, *François Couperin and ‘The Perfection of Music’*,” 42

⁴¹⁷Catherin Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 333–334. The dating of the piece is based on a similarity of the paper with that of a copy known to be from 1685, so it may be more conjecture than certainty since the music could have been entered at a later date.

piece is further distinct from contemporary Italian models in that it comprises nine movements, including dances (as in a sonata da camera), an opening “grave” movement (as in a sonata da chiesa), and a notably unusual second movement—a solo recitative for unaccompanied viol. Given the unorthodoxy of the orchestration together with the eclectic assortment of form types, this piece should perhaps be regarded not so much as an example of a French-composed Italian sonata, but as a fore-runner of the blending of styles that François Couperin would later call *les goûts réunis*.⁴¹⁸

It is François Couperin who is generally credited with being the first Frenchman to compose an Italianate sonata, and indeed, such is his own claim:

The first sonata in [“Les Nations”] was also the first that I composed, and the first composed in France . . . Charmed by the sonatas of Signor Corelli . . . I ventured to compose a sonata myself which I had played in the same place where I had heard Corelli’s . . . I pretended that a relative of mine . . . had sent me a sonata by a new Italian composer. I arranged the letters of my name so as to form an Italian name which I gave instead. The sonata was received with much acclaim . . . I wrote others and my Italianized name brought me, wearing this mask, great applause.”⁴¹⁹

Couperin here is describing his composition between 1692 and 1695 of six sonatas—*Le Steinquerque*, *La Pucelle*, *La Visionnaire*, *L’Astrée*, *La Superbe*, and *La Sultane*⁴²⁰—and

⁴¹⁸Cessac, Charpentier, 334.

⁴¹⁹Couperin makes this claim in the introduction to his 1706 publication “Les Nations,” see François Couperin, *Oeuvres Complètes de François Couperin*, edited by Maurice Cauchie, vol. 9 (Paris: Éditions de L’Oiseau Lyre, 1933), preface pp. 7–8. Also see François Couperin, *Musique de Chambre* vol. 3: *Les nations*, ed. Kenneth Gilber and Davitt Moroney (Monaco: L’Oiseau–Lyre, 1987), 6. Couperin reiterates the claim in his 1724 publication “Les Gouts Réunis,” referring to “the first Italian sonatas which appeared in Paris more than 30 years ago.” François Couperin, *Oeuvres Complètes de François Couperin*, edited by Maurice Cauchie, vol. 8 (Paris: Éditions de L’Oiseau Lyre, 1933), preface pp. 5–6.

⁴²⁰David Fuller, et al., “Couperin,” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed May 7, 2013,

how he passed them off to the public as genuine Italian compositions under an Italian pseudonym.⁴²¹

Couperin's approach to sonata composition during the early 1690s was defined in part by his exclusive use of the trio-sonata medium: the use of two treble voices and continuo. In this he can be seen to have been following the lead of Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713), whose first four staggeringly successful publications were all for written in trio sonata texture and who did not publish any sonatas for solo instrument and continuo until his opus 5 in 1700. Fede, on the other hand, wrote only for solo treble voice and continuo except for his Sonata no. 5 in C major which is written for three treble voices with no continuo accompaniment at all.

Couperin, like many late seventeenth-century European composers, may have been inspired by the model of Corelli. His compositional style, however, is not nearly as imitative or contrapuntally oriented as his Italian counterpart. His trio sonata texture is often characterized by a homophonic relationship between the two treble voices which generally move in parallel imperfect consonance, as can be seen in the first movement of *La Steinquerque*, one of his earliest sonatas:

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/40182pg4>.

⁴²¹Anthony, 322.

Figure 4.1: Couperin, *La Steinquerque*, mvmt. 1, mm. 1–34.

The image displays a musical score for the first movement of Couperin's *La Steinquerque*. The score is written in G minor (one flat) and 3/4 time. It consists of five systems of three staves each (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The first system (measures 1-4) features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes in the upper parts and a bass line with a half note and eighth notes. A measure rest is present in the first measure of the first two staves. The second system (measures 5-8) continues the rhythmic pattern, with a measure rest in the first measure of the first two staves. A measure rest is also present in the first measure of the bass staff. The third system (measures 9-12) shows a similar rhythmic pattern, with a measure rest in the first measure of the first two staves. The fourth system (measures 13-16) features a more complex rhythmic pattern, with a measure rest in the first measure of the first two staves. The fifth system (measures 17-20) continues the complex rhythmic pattern, with a measure rest in the first measure of the first two staves. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings. A measure rest is present in the first measure of the first two staves in each system. The score ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

22

26

30

7 7 76 6

4 7 5 4 3 6 7 7

5 5 2 2 6 7 6

Most of the imitative interest in this example occurs in the relationship between the upper voices and the continuo. The treble parts behave effectively as a single instrument; with the exception of two very slight diversions (mm. 7 and 25), and two instances when the voices separate in order to approach cadencial points in contrary motion (mm. 29 and 33), they are always in rhythmic unison and nearly always melodically parallel.

In other instances, however, Couperin shows a strong Italian influence; the third movement of *La Steinquerque* is characterized by suspensions and staggered motivic entrances between all three voices, much more reminiscent of the contrapuntally oriented Corellian model:

The independence of the voices in this example is made clear immediately; using a motive comprising a dotted quarter note followed by two descending sixteenths and another quarter note, Couperin creates a texture of imitative stretto by introducing staggered statements of the motive among all three voices in the first measure. The independence of the voices, as well as their contrapuntal relationship, continues throughout this movement and permeates the texture of the following movement (*Legerement*) as well, providing a contrapuntal center to a sonata largely dominated by the predominance of homophony in the outer movements.

Couperin himself identified Corelli as his model, and there seems no reason to doubt him. At least there is no compelling reason to he was specifically imitating Innocenzo Fede. After all, Couperin was at that time writing not solo, but trio sonatas, and if any sonatas of this type were ever written by Fede, none survive. All we have of sonatas from Fede are for solo instrument and continuo (*à 2*), and one piece for three treble voices without continuo, a scoring which is quite remarkable in itself. There were other French composers besides Couperin forming the first wave of sonata composition in Paris during the 1690s. Sébastien de Brossard, Jean-Féry Rebel, and Elisabeth-Claude Jacquet de la Guerre also composed sonatas in or around 1695, each of whom composed not only trio but solo sonatas.⁴²² While their connections to the court at Saint Germain-

⁴²² Around 1695 Sébastien de Brossard made copies of Corelli's op. 3 trio sonatas (published in Rome in 1689), as well as of sonatas by Couperin and Elisabeth Jacquet de La Guerre, in addition to composing sonatas himself. He wrote, "at that time, all the composers in Paris, especially the organists, had, you might say, a passion for composing sonatas in the Italian style." See *La Collection Sebastien de Brossard, 1655–1730: catalogue édité et Présenté par Yolande de Brossard* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1994), 507–512. Cited in *Sébastien de Brossard: Musique Instrumentale*, edited by Catherin Cessac (Versailles: Éditions du Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles,

en-Laye remain even less certain than Couperin's, the possibility that their solo sonatas may have been at least partly inspired by those of Innocenzo Fede should not be dismissed. It may be that Fede wrote his solo sonatas after 1700, when Corelli's Opus V generated a firestorm of interest in the solo violin sonata in Paris and indeed all of Europe.⁴²³ It could also mean that Fede, quite independently of Corelli, preferred to write for solo flute or violin for some practical reason; perhaps there was only one instrumentalist upon whom he could rely, or perhaps a single instrumentalist at court requested solo sonatas for his instrument. Still, we should bear in mind that even if the primary model of Italian Sonata composition in Paris was not so much Fede as it was Corelli, Fede would remain an attractive advisor to other musicians, since Fede's father Antonio Maria had been a colleague of Corelli at *San Luigi dei Francesi* in Rome, and Innocenzo Fede himself had worked with Corelli in Rome at the court of the exiled Queen Christiana of Sweden.⁴²⁴ Fede's connection to Corelli through his father's position would have been especially powerful in Paris, since it was by his appointment to that prominent and influential church job 1675 that Corelli became best known to the French faction at Rome.⁴²⁵ In other words, Fede could claim professional connections with the man regarded in Paris as the greatest contemporary master of the Italian sonata. Even if he was not himself a prolific author of trio sonatas, Fede would have had the honor of his association with Corelli and would have been respected for his first-hand familiarity with

2005), 515; Mary Cyr, editor, *Elisabeth-Claude Jacquet de La Guerre, The Collected Works*, vol. 2 (New York: The Broude Trust, 2008), xvi–vii.

⁴²³Peter Walls, “‘Sonade, que me veux tu?’: Reconstructing French identity in the wake of Corelli's op. 5,” *Early Music* 32 (February, 2004): 27–47.

⁴²⁴See Peter Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli: The New Orpheus of Our Times* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 33–34, and Andrew Barclay, 84–85.

⁴²⁵Jean Lionnet, “Une ‘mode Française’ à Rome au XVIIe siècle,” *Revue de Musicologie* 77 (1991): 279–290; Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli: The New Orpheus*, 27.

Corelli's performative style and his membership in Corelli's Roman musical circles. Even should Fede not be considered a primary model of Italian sonata composition for French composers, his status as a Roman composer who had been a colleague of Corelli's must have made him notable if only by association, at a time when Corelli's sonatas were so much in demand.

Fede's sonatas were probably played at informal musical settings and used by Fede for the musical instruction of the two Stuart princes.⁴²⁶ In composing these pieces, Fede seem consciously to have avoided virtuoso ostentation, suggesting a context that is at least partially instructional in intent. His sonatas are probably designed for students of flute and violin, as well as proficient amateurs attracted to recreational performance, as a social pastime or game of skill, rather than the merits of virtuoso display.

Fede wrote the following sonatas:

Figure 4.3: List of Fede sonatas

1. Sonata in G minor "per il flauto solo"⁴²⁷
Grave
Allegro
AdagioAllegro
2. Sonata in D minor "per il flauto"⁴²⁸
Unmarked
Grave/Allemanda
Adagio
Allegro
3. Sonata in F minor⁴²⁹ (F Minor—H. 659 vol. 5)
Unmarked
Allegro/Allemanda
Gigue/allegro

⁴²⁶ Jean Lionnet, "Innocenzo Fede et la musique," 15–16.

⁴²⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter BnF), ms. H. 659.

⁴²⁸ BnF, ms. H. 659.

⁴²⁹ BnF, ms. H. 659.

4. Sonata in D minor “di Camera”⁴³⁰

Unmarked
Rondeau
Sarabande
Menuet

5. Sonata in C major “Seguita a 3 flauti”⁴³¹

Overture
Sarabande
Gavotte

Sonata #1—G minor “Sonata per Il Flauto solo”⁴³²

This is a free sonata, in so far as the movements are identified by tempo markings in Italian rather than by dance forms. This indicates that the piece was suitable for performance in a sacred context, and the term “sonata da chiesa” could validly be applied here, although the term is not used in the manuscript. This sonata uses an Italian treble clef, designating as G the second line of the staff. Which may suggest a non-French musical context, or imply that the sonata was part of a repertoire intended for non-French musicians.

The first movement, in duple meter marked in common time, contains twenty-seven measures forming five large phrases. The piece opens with melodic movement from the dominant (D) to the tonic (G) leading through a four and one half measure phrase to a cadence on the third beat of measure five in the relative major (B-flat). Motivic material is primarily formed by dotted quarter notes in the first measure and upper-neighbor note sixteenth note figures in measures three and four, which also

⁴³⁰Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles ms. 161.

⁴³¹Found in both BnF ms. H. 659 and Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles (hereafter BM de Versailles), ms. 161.

⁴³²BnF ms. H. 659

harmonically delineate a circle progression. This initial phrase is followed by a two-measure cadential phrase—extension designed to introduce an arrival in the home key (G minor). This is accomplished by a motion to the dominant on the down beat of measure seven and a falling melodic line leading to the tonic on the downbeat of measure eight accompanied by contrary motion of upward-leaping eighth notes in the bass.

Figure 4.4: Fede, Sonata No. 1 in G minor, mvt. 1

4

8

11

14

18

23

6 b 6 b6 #4 6 6 2 5

b 6 b6 65

#

Bars 8–15 contain a reprise of the initial phrase this time moving to a cadence on the subdominant (on the third beat of measure 15). This is followed by a six-bar phrase favoring eighth notes that leads to cadence in the relative major (B-flat) on the downbeat of measure twenty-one. This dotted eighth-note motive continues in a new phrase that begins in measure twenty-one, moves through an emphasis of the dominant of the tonic key (G minor) in measure twenty-two, and arrives in a closing cadence in the home key on the down beat of measure twenty-five. The four-bar phrase that reaffirms the tonic and concludes the movement is a repetition of the material found in measures twenty-two–twenty-five, the tonic-affirming “cadential echo” technique favored by Fede.

The second movement is an imitative *allegro* in duple-meter comprising twenty-nine measures that form five large phrases. The initial four-bar phrase exposes a sixteenth-note dominated subject in the treble with a slower moving counter melody in the bass. The second phrase, also four bars, begins with an imitative solo answer in the bass on the subdominant, but the fugal material is taken by the treble voice as it rejoins in the sixth measure and the bass voice resumes its counter melody. The phrase ends with a cadence in the subdominant (C minor) in measure 10. Beginning in the same measure, a six-bar phrase reprises the imitative subject for three bars, but dotted quarter notes introduce new material in measure 13. This new motive is presented in eighth-notes diminution in measures 14–16. An E-flat bass suspension on the downbeat of measure 22 functions as the seventh in a minor dominant 4/2 chord and provides a strong point of dissonance before resolving downward by step on the following (second) beat. One measure later a strong cadence in the supertonic (B-flat major), implies another “feigned cadence.”

Figure 4.5: Fede, Sonata No. 1 in G minor, mvt. 2

Allegro

The image displays a musical score for the second movement of Fede's Sonata No. 1 in G minor. The score is written for piano and consists of seven systems of music, each with a treble and bass clef staff. The tempo is marked 'Allegro'. The key signature is G minor (two flats). The score begins with a treble clef staff containing a whole rest, followed by a bass clef staff with a whole note chord (G2, Bb2, D3). The first system (measures 1-4) features a treble staff with a series of eighth-note chords and a bass staff with a simple harmonic accompaniment. The second system (measures 5-8) continues this pattern, with a treble staff featuring a melodic line and a bass staff with a steady accompaniment. The third system (measures 9-12) shows a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a steady accompaniment. The fourth system (measures 13-17) features a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a steady accompaniment. The fifth system (measures 18-21) features a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a steady accompaniment. The sixth system (measures 22-24) features a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a steady accompaniment. The seventh system (measures 25) features a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a steady accompaniment. The score includes various musical notations such as rests, notes, and accidentals. The word 'piano' is written in the bass staff of the fourth and seventh systems. Measure numbers 5, 9, 13, 18, 22, and 25 are indicated at the beginning of their respective systems. Measure numbers 76 and 76 are also present in the score.

The movement is concluded by a sequential phrase that prepares the return to tonic by moving through a repeated rising motive to the dominant (D major) in measure 25 before arriving at the tonic (G minor) on the downbeat of measure 28. This arrival is reinforced in measures 28 and 29 by a cadential echo, in the piano dynamic, of measures 26 and 27.

The form of the third movement, a forty-eight bar *adagio* movement is composed of two binary sections, each comprised of an open strain leading to the dominant (D minor in the first section, D major in the second) followed by a closed one leading to the tonic key (G minor). The second binary section is a variation of the first, with the bass line nearly intact, but the entire section is distinct in terms of motive and musical character. In terms of compositional genre, this piece may be classified as a theme and variation,⁴³³ but the resulting musical architecture strongly suggests bipartite dance form, such as a Minuet and Trio. This interpretation is strengthened by the presence of a complex and persistent rhythmic motive consisting of a continually displaced dotted quarter note within the triple meter: first the dotted note is on the second beat, and the following measure it is on the downbeat.

⁴³³ See discussion of variation as a genre in William Apel, *Italian Violin Music of the Seventeenth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 7. The genre of theme and variation in instrumental music was more common in the early 17th century (often based on aria melodies) than later, and was predominantly (Apel says exclusively) used for the violin. By the later seventeenth century this genre is most frequently based on ostinati (e.g. ciaccona and passacaglia).

Figure 4.6: Fede, Sonata No. 1 in G minor, mvt. 3

Adagio

6 6 #4 6

7

6 6 #4 6 #

7

The first binary section comprises a shorter first strain containing two phrases that form a contrasting period, and a longer second strain containing four phrases that form

two periods, one contrasting and one parallel. The contrasting period in the first strain consists of two four-bar phrases moving through a weak cadence on the relative major (B-flat) in measure 4, and arriving at a strong dominant cadence (D major) in measure 8. The harmonic motion through the relative major to the dominant serves at once to establish a tonal center, by outlining the home key, and to create a sense of musical direction by moving immediately away from the tonic. The two periods in the second strain maintain the dotted rhythmic motive and move harmonically to the minor subdominant before returning home. The first phrase (mm. 9–12) re-emphasizes the dominant harmony established by the open ending of the first strain by moving to a cadence in D major in measure 12. The consequent phrase slips abruptly into the minor subdominant (C minor) with the appearance of both an A-flat and a B-natural (appearing as a sharp in the manuscript) in measure 13. A strong C minor cadence confirms the arrival in a foreign key in measure 16. The final period of the strain begins in measure 17 with a four-bar phrase that moves from a diminished A chord (vii/III), to an F major chord (V/III) suggesting an imminent arrival in the relative major (B-flat). This ambiguity is not dispelled in the following measure, where the presence of a B-flat among a D major chord allows the possibility of either the relative major or the dominant, but the subsequent bars of sub-médiant and dominant harmony confirm the preparation for a return to tonic. The now expected cadence in G minor arrives in measure 24.

The second binary section is a variation of the first in which the motive is arranged as a series of very short (two bar) eighth-note driven phrases. The eighth-note motive presented in the first strain is a series of five conjunct couplets followed by a quarter note. The harmonic motion is essentially identical to that of the first binary

section, but here it is more pronounced due to the shortened phrase structure. Measures 25 and 26 move from the tonic to the dominant and back to the tonic. Measures 27 and 28 move from the tonic to the relative major, but are too brief to achieve any finality of modulation. Measures 29 and 30 pass through the dominant and back to the tonic in first inversion, and the strain ends with a cadence on the dominant (D major) in measure 32. The second strain expands the eighth-note motive into four-bar phrases, resulting in two periods, one contrasting and one parallel, just as in the original theme (measures 9–24). The expanded motive is now comprised of three measures of conjunct eighth-notes followed by a dotted half note. Like the phrasing, the harmonic motion is identical to that of the original theme.

The fourth movement is an *allegro* in rondo form with two modulatory episodes in addition to the refrain in G minor. This form, together with the triple meter, disjunct motion, and the weak-beat placement of sixteenth-notes and dotted eight-notes within the rhythmic motive, suggests a dance movement, although this is not reflected in the free title (*allegro*). Both episodes feature secondary harmonies, borrowed chords, placing this movement among the more harmonically adventurous of Fede's compositions.

The movement is introduced by a 14 bar refrain that comprises the first repeated strain. The refrain is of two phrases, forming a contrasting period of an eight-bar antecedent and a six bar consequent phrase. This asymmetrical framework presents a cadential unpredictability that will come to characterize the entire movement, and like the feigned cadence, is another example of Fede's favored principle of cadential surprise. The opening phrase immediately suggests a lively dance by outlining melodic leaps of a fifth and an octave in the first bar. The chord progression proceeds from the opening

minor tonic to the mediant (B-flat major) by the fourth bar and reaches the submediant (E-flat minor) on the downbeat of measure six. In measure seven the sense of symmetry created by the initial two groups of three bar measures in triple meter is abruptly dispelled by a six-note cadential motive. This figure introduces the first sixteenth notes of the movement, creates emphasis on two consecutive downbeats (breaking up the former pattern of alternated strong and weak measures), and serves to extend the phrase to eight bars, arriving at a half cadence (on D major) on the downbeat of measure 8. The second phrase constitutes a harmonic reaffirmation, as alternating measure outline the tonic–dominant relationship in the home key. The dance rhythm of the preceding movement is recalled in measure 10, as the first of the three eighth notes in that measure is dotted. This rhythm, and its reference to the former movement’s alternating dotted note placement will be elaborated in both of the rondeau episodes to come. In measure 12 a potential cadence is avoided by the reappearance of the six–note cadential motive that concluded the first phrase. The phrase thereby becomes six measures in length and is brought into rhythmic relationship with its antecedent, is closed by cadence in the tonic (G minor) in measure 14.

Figure 4.7: Fede, Sonata No. 1 in G minor, mvmt. 4

Allegro

The image displays a musical score for the fourth movement of Fede's Sonata No. 1 in G minor. The score is written for piano in 3/8 time and consists of six systems of two staves each (treble and bass clef). The tempo is marked 'Allegro'. Measure numbers 6, 13, 25, 38, 51, and 62 are indicated at the beginning of their respective systems. Chord symbols are placed below the bass staff: '6 6 b6 76 #' under measures 6-10, '7' under measure 17, '6 6 b6 76 #' under measures 25-29, 'b6' under measure 38, and '#' under measure 51. The score concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots at measure 62.

The first rondo episode begins the second strain on the seventh chord (F major). The new harmonic area is emphasized melodically by four-note and three-note repetitions of F in measures 15 and 17. The consequent phrase of the refrain provides episode with subject material in the form of the dotted eighth-note rhythm, which reappears as a regular motive in measures 16 and 18, and the six-bar phrasing, which leads to a cadence

in B-flat major (IV/VII) on the downbeat of 20. The new phrase begins with an anacrusis in measure 20 and consists of two bars, featuring the dotted rhythmic motive in measure 22, followed by the now-familiar six-note cadential motive leading to a half cadence on F major, the tonic of the episodic key area. The following four bars (mm. 24–28) prepare the refrain by moving from the new key (F major) to its relative minor (D minor) which is also the minor dominant of the original tonic (G minor). This phrase also recalls the alternating dotted note placement of the previous movement, as the dotted eighth note arrives on the downbeat in measure 25, and on the second beat in measure 26. At four bars this phrase and the one that precedes it are the shortest yet to appear in this movement, and together increase the frequency and unexpectedness of the cadential rhythm—another instance of Fede’s penchant for cadential surprises. The episode is punctuated by the return of the rondeau theme, identical to its first appearance, from measures 29–42.

The second episode begins in measure 42 by reintroducing the tonic in a new function as the dominant of a C major chord, which arrives in measure 44. The following measure moves in a circle progression through the mediant (B-flat major) to the supertonic (F minor) of the sixth chord (E-flat major). E-flat major is confirmed as the phrasal target key by the interjection of the cadential sixteenth-note motive that ends the first phrase of the episode in measure 48. E-flat major is reconfigured immediately in the next phrase as the subdominant of B-flat major, which is the relative major of the home key (G minor) and the tonal center of the entire consequent phrase in this episode. The phrase also makes continuous melodic use of the dotted eighth-note motive, with the dotted eighth-note placed on the downbeat in measures 50–54, and on the second beat in

measure 55. The episode ends with a B-flat major cadence in measure 56, and is followed by the second return of the rondo theme and the close of the movement.

Sonata #4—D minor “Sonata di Camera”⁴³⁴

The manuscript copy of this sonata bears the unusually specific designation “*sonata di camera*,” indicating that the copyist felt the piece more appropriate for chamber entertainment than for chapel performance. Evidently this sonata was intended for use at courtly social gatherings, at which the Stuarts’ French counterparts would likely be present; it displays some musical traits that could be characterized as more French than Italian: the piece comprises a suite of four dance movements, all but the first of which are not only popular French dances, but bear titles in French spelling (*Rondeau*, *Sarabande*, and *Menuet*). Furthermore, the treble clefs used in the manuscript are of the French sort: they designate the lowest line of the staff as g1 rather than the second line from the bottom as in the Italian style.

The first movement of this sonata bears no title or tempo designation, but it is a duple meter dance structured by an ostinato bass with both a substantial continuo introduction and coda. It may have served as a kind of promenade to allow dancers position themselves and acknowledge their partners. The bass ostinato that serves as the foundation of this nineteen-bar movement is three bars long. The first statement, mm. 1–3, occurs in the tonic key as a continuo solo and contains a feigned cadence on the downbeat of the third bar; the listener hears a two-bar phrase concluding with a cadence in F major. Fede, however, creates a surprise by adding to the phrase an additional bar that slips directly to a cadence in the relative minor on the downbeat of measure four.

⁴³⁴BM de Versailles, ms. 161

This “double cadence” structure surrounding a single bar results in a short phrase comprising an odd number of measures that momentarily misleads the listener about the tonal center of the piece. As this musical misdirection occurs in each repetition of the ostinato, it establishes a light-hearted character for the entire movement. After its initial statement, the ostinato re-appears five times: in measures 4–6 it is repeated exactly as it was first presented. In measures 7–9 it is harmonically identical, but melodically varied; sixteenth notes are added to increase the energetic impulse of the first four beats of the structure, while the next four beats are dropped an octave lower than they had been the first two times. The fourth iteration of the ostinato is the only one to provide harmonic contrast—its essential form remains intact but is transposed to the minor dominant, so that the false cadence at the downbeat of the third bar now feigns toward C major, while the actual conclusion of the phrase occurs in A minor on the downbeat of measure 13. In measures 13–15, the ostinato returns to its original form, and in measure 16 through the downbeat of measure 17 it is repeated without melodic accompaniment, just as at the beginning of the piece. This movement can therefore be seen to have the shape of a palindrome: the ostinato appears once alone, once in original form with melodic accompaniment, twice in variation with melodic accompaniment, once in original form with melodic accompaniment, and once more alone.

Figure 4.8: Fede, Sonata No. 4 in D minor, mvmt. 1

The image displays five systems of musical notation for the first movement of Fede's Sonata No. 4 in D minor. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The time signature is common time (C). The first system shows the beginning of the piece, with the bass line starting a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and the treble line remaining mostly silent. The second system, starting at measure 6, shows the treble line beginning to play a melodic line. The third system, starting at measure 10, continues the melodic development in the treble. The fourth system, starting at measure 14, shows further melodic and harmonic progression. The fifth system, starting at measure 17, concludes the excerpt with a final cadence in the bass line and a whole rest in the treble line.

The treble “solo” instrument in this movement initially plays an accompanimental role, more an ornament to the bass line rather than the main musical interest. Absent entirely

from the first and final statements of the ostinato, in measures 4–5 the treble line offers sustained notes that serve only to emphasize the cadences on the downbeats of the sixth and seventh measures. In measures 7–9, the treble line responds to the motive of rhythmic variation presented in the bass, creating a point of contrapuntal imitation in measures 7 and 8. As the bass line moves into the dominant key in measures 10–12, the treble line develops the rhythmic motive from the previous measures and for the first time establishes melodic independence from the bass line; it is now has its own melodic character for which the bass ostinato becomes an accompaniment. By measures 13–15, treble line is much more florid and inventive than its bass counterpart which is entirely accompanimental—during the course of four iterations of the bass ostinato, the treble line has been transformed from a passive observer into the melodic leader.

The second movement of the D minor sonata appears at first glance to in binary form—it is made up of two strains of music separated by repeat signs. *Segno* inscriptions over the first note and behind the final measure indicate a *da capo* repeat—the first strain should be played again at the conclusion of the second strain in order to fulfill a return from the dominant key to the tonic. The musical material of the first strain is embedded as a complete quotation within the second strain (mm. 27–39), so the *da capo* return not only allows the piece to conclude in the tonic key, but completes the five-part rondo construction and alluded to by the title *Rondeau* in the manuscript. The thirteen-bar initial strain of this movement is a rondo refrain that appears a total of three times. Despite its length and odd number of measures, this refrain comprises a single closed musical phrase. Cadential fulfillment is avoided in measures four and five by the introduction of an F-sharp on the downbeat of measure five, which in the context of the

conjunct melodic line, creates a sense of chromatic instability, rather than a Picardy-style major-mode cadential resolution within an otherwise minor-mode context. A sense of cadential rest is also avoided by a point of imitation between the treble voice and the continuo in measures four and five. Similarly, an upward leap of a perfect fourth to the downbeat of measure 9 suggests an arrival in the relative key of F major, but the effect is counteracted by the continuity of ascending sixteenth-note scalar figures in the melody that precludes a sense of cadential achievement. The result of Fede's harmonic evasion in this passage is that the first genuine cadence of the piece is at the final bar of the first strain, measure 13. Following the previous movement, in which a three-bar cadential unit formed the basis of the ostinato, Fede seems to be developing a theme of basing movement structure on the repetition of phrase units that comprise an odd number of measures. The first episode of this rondo (mm. 14–26) like the refrain, is thirteen bars in length, and avoids cadences until its final measure. In measures fourteen and fifteen the treble voice introduces a new rhythmic motive consisting of a conjunct descending figure of an eighth note followed by two quarters. In measures 18–22 this motive occurs three times sequentially, and in measures 19–21 the bass picks up the motive in imitative answer to the treble line. As if in fulfillment of the unsatisfied cadential movement towards the relative major in measure nine, this episode terminates with an F major cadence in measure 26.

Figure 4.9: Fede, Sonata No. 4 in D minor, mvt. 2 “Rondeau.”

The image displays a musical score for the second movement of Fede's Sonata No. 4 in D minor, titled "Rondeau." The score is written in 3/8 time and consists of five systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The first system begins with a repeat sign and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The second system starts at measure 12 and includes a repeat sign. The third system starts at measure 24. The fourth system starts at measure 36. The fifth system starts at measure 46 and ends with a repeat sign. The bass staff contains several figured bass notations: 7#6, #, #, b, #, #, 6, b, #, #, 6, #, 6, 76, 56, and 6. The treble staff contains various melodic lines, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

At fifteen bars, the second episode (mm. 40–55) breaks the pattern of thirteen-bar sections. Like the first episode, it begins by immediately introducing new motivic

material in the treble voice, in this case an eighth note followed by six sixteenths. This pattern is repeated in measures 44–45 but in measures 46–48 the motive is abandoned in favor of a three-bar hemiola emphasizing the first and third beats of measure 46, the second of measure 47, and the downbeat of measure 48. An extended version of the episodes original motive reappears in measures 51–52, leading to a secondary dominant chord (E major) in preparation for the final cadence on the minor dominant in measure 55. Although no such specific instructions appear in the manuscript, there can be no doubt that a *da capo* return is necessary to bring completion to the rondo form and provide harmonic resolution in the tonic.

The third movements of this sonata exemplifies what has come to be considered the standard binary form: two strains, both repeated, the first concluding in an open cadence, the second returning to the tonic. In this case each strain is only eight bars long, virtually necessitating the repeat of each if the performance of the movement is to last for more than just a few seconds.

Figure 4.10: Fede, Sonata No. 4 in D minor, mvt. 3 “Sarabande.”



The texture is entirely homophonic, and the principal interest resides in slight variations of the dotted “sarabande” rhythm introduced in the first measure: in triple meter, the first quarter note is followed by a dotted quarter in order to emphasize the second beat of the

measure. This occurs in measures one, five, nine, thirteen, and fifteen. Each time it appears it is followed by a contrasting pattern in the next measure: a dotted quarter note on the first beat followed by an eighth note and a single quarter. Fede toys with the expectation of homophony by bringing the two voices slightly out of synchronicity in measures five and nine, giving the bass line straight quarter notes while the treble line observes the dotted rhythm. Harmonically, the movement is structured by a move to the minor dominant at the end of the first strain, followed by a return to the tonic at the end of the second.

The fourth and final movement of the D minor sonata is, like the third, a short movement in ternary form.

Figure 4.11: Fede, Sonata No. 4 in D minor, mvt. 4 “Menuet.”



Labeled “*menuet*” in the manuscript, it is similar to the previous movement in that it is composed of two repeated strains, but its form differs from that of the *sarabande* in that the first strain concludes in the tonic, while the second ends in the minor dominant. A final repeat of the initial strain is therefore harmonically necessary in order to return to the tonic key. This da capo is indicated, as in the second movement, by the presence of *segno* inscriptions both above the first note and after the final bar. Since each strain is

only eight bars long, the repetition of each strain at least once before the final da capo repeat would seem to be required to maximize the duration of this dance movement.

Sonata #5—C major “Seguita a 3 flauti”⁴³⁵

This sonata is unique among Fede’s instrumental works for at least three reasons: first, it is the only one not to include continuo accompaniment and is instead written in three-voice counterpoint for three obligato treble instruments. Second, it is the only instrumental piece given the title “*seguita*” (suite) in a manuscript copy; all other instrumental pieces by Fede either bear the title “*sonata*” or no such designation at all. Third, it is the only one of Fede’s sonatas to appear in two separate manuscripts—H. 659 in the Bibliothèque national in Paris, and ms. 161 in the Municipal Library of Versailles.

The manuscript concordance in Paris and Versailles presents some interesting discrepancies between the two copies: the manuscript from the Paris collection bears a title in Italian (“*seguita a 3 flauti*”), performance designations and movement titles in French (“*premier dessus, second dessus, troisieme dessus;*” “*sarabande, gavotte*”) and tempo markings in what could either be French or English (“*gay*”). One could hardly ask for a musical artifact that more clearly illustrates the cultural *mélange* that flourished at the Stuart court in exile. The manuscript from the Versailles collection bears no title at all, and apart from the first movement (“*overture*”), all tempos and dance titles are in Italian (“*allegro,*” “*sarabanda,*” “*gavotta*”). It is impossible to know exactly why the discrepancies occurred, but the monolingual notations in the Versailles manuscript probably reflect a more standardized and perhaps more musically orthodox sensibility,

⁴³⁵BnF ms. H. 659, concordance in BM de Versailles, ms. 161. This sonata has recently been published in an edition for three recorders by Pierre Boragno, *Fede—Suite en Ut majeur pour trios flutes à bec* (Paris: Édition Delrieu, 2004).

and the absence of English notation suggests that this copy may have been provided for use at the French court while the Paris copy remained in use at the English.

The fifty-five bar first movement of Fede's C major sonata is in the form of a French Overture, comprising two contrasting sections. The first, in duple meter and only fourteen bars long, bears no tempo marking, but it is undoubtedly intended to provide a slow and stately contrast to the allegro that follows. It is formed from two phrases (mm. 1–4; 5–14), both of which terminate on an extended dominant (G major) chord.

Harmonically, the function of this section is emphasizing a move from the tonic to the dominant in preparation for an expected resolution in the following section. Fede creates the feeling of a dotted rhythm by establishing in the first measure a motive based on a quarter note tied to a sixteenth. The remaining three sixteenth notes in the second beat then serve as an anacrusis to the third beat. The development of this motive, together with a series of elaborate suspensions, serves as the primary melodic interest of this section.

The second section, marked "gay" in the Paris manuscript and "*allegro*" in the Versailles manuscript, is forty bars in length and is composed primarily of points of imitation within a homophonic context. It begins as a fugue with the voices entering in descending sequence, each completing a full statement of the subject until the end of the exposition in measure 26 where an episode of homophony begins. The lower voice makes a false entry in measures 37–38, and the middle voice makes a complete entry beginning

Figure 4.12: Fede, Sonata No. 5 in C major, mvt. 1

Overture

6

Allegro

12

19

27

35

43

49

in measure 40, but apart from imitative exchanges such as the one between the lower to voices in measures 31–32 and between the upper two voices in measures 444–47, the texture remains largely homophonic until the final cadence in measure 55.

The second movement, marked “sarabande” in the Paris manuscript and “sarabanda” in the Versailles manuscript, is in binary form. It comprises two strains, both repeated, with the first moving harmonically from tonic (C major) to dominant (G major) and the second doing the reverse. The first strain seems to be a contest between two dotted rhythms; the first, introduced in the initial bar, features a dotted quarter note on the second beat of the measure. In the fourth bar, Fede presents the alternative rhythm—the quarter note placed on the downbeat. The fifth bar presents the first dotted rhythm again, but this time it is overshadowed by a voice exchange of a descending eighth-note pattern

that begins in the highest voice on the first beat and is taken over by the middle voice on the second beat. The second dotted rhythm reappears in the seventh measure, seeming more firmly established.

Figure 4.13: Fede, Sonata No. 5 in C major, mvt. 2

The image displays three systems of musical notation for a three-voice setting. Each system consists of three staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The first system (measures 1-8) shows a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and dotted rhythms. The second system (measures 9-16) features a more complex rhythmic structure with dotted rhythms and eighth notes. The third system (measures 17-24) shows a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes and dotted rhythms, similar to the first system. The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals, with repeat signs at the end of each system.

In the second strain the original rhythmic pattern makes no appearance at all. Instead, the second pattern is nearly omnipresent; the two upper voices perform it in rhythmic unison in measures nine, thirteen, and fifteen, while the highest voice states it alone in measure twelve. In measures 17–22 it provides the subject for a point of imitation between all three voices, leading to the final cadential material in measures 23–24.

The third and final movement of the sonata is marked “gavotte” with a tempo marking of “gay” in the Paris manuscript and “gavotta” with a tempo marking of “allegro” in the Versailles manuscript. It is a lively movement also in binary form with a very short (four bar) first strain harmonically leading to the dominant (G major) and a much longer (16 bar) second strain moving from the dominant back to the tonic (C major). The entire movement is homophonic, with motives constructed primarily of eighth notes organized into two-measure units. These units are combined to form larger phrases—twice into four measure phrases (mm. 1–4; 11–14) and twice into six measure phrases (mm. 5–10; 15–20). The primary motive, a group of four eighth notes comprising two sets of ascending couplets, is presented by the highest voice in the second measure. It reappears in the two higher voices in the following measure, modified into four ascending conjunct eighth notes, in this case in parallel thirds. These two variations of the primary motive form the basis of the first phrase of the second strain (mm. 6–10): in measures 6–7 the rising couplet motive appears in parallel thirds between the outer voices, becoming a four-bar sequence when the two-bar pattern is repeated one scale degree higher in measures 7–8. Two sequential statements of the modified motive of four ascending conjunct eighth notes lead to a perfect authentic cadence in the subdominant key (F major) in measure 10. Measures 11–14 form a four-bar phrase constructed from a variation of the sequential motive from the preceding phrase, culminating in a cadence in the relative minor key (A minor) in measure 14. The final phrase begins with the same motive in the middle voice and ultimately concludes in the tonic key (C major) with a perfect authentic cadence in measure 20.

Figure 4.14: Fede, Sonata No. 5 in C major, mvt. 3

Allegro Gavotta

7

13

17

General Observations

A majority of Fede's sonatas (nos. 3–5) are suites of dance movements, and could therefore be classified as *sonate da camera*. Sonata no. 1 contains only movements titled with Italian tempo indications, while only the second movement of Sonata no. 2 bears a dance title (*allemanda*) in addition to its Italian tempo mark (*grave*). Fede's sonata movements do not tend to be very long, but often include sections that can be repeated at need if an extension of performance time is required. Only five sonata movements exceed fifty bars and only three contain seventy or more; the final movement of Sonata no. 1 has seventy, and the third and fifth movements of Sonata No. 2 comprise seventy and seventy-eight respectively.

Of Fede's five extant sonatas, four are in a minor mode: two are in D minor (Sonatas nos. 2 and 4), one is in G minor (Sonata no. 1) and one is in F minor (Sonata no. 3). D minor and G minor are Fede's preferred keys; they are the most commonly used keys among his cantatas as well, but Fede's use of F minor in Sonata no. 3 is unique among his surviving secular compositions. His only major-mode sonata, Sonata no. 5, is also his only piece for three treble voices without continuo accompaniment.

Fede uses triple meter in the majority of his sonata movements, reflecting the frequency of triple-meter dance movements among these compositions. Fede most frequently marks his triple meter time signatures with a large numeral 3, but in four instances writes $3/8$, and much less frequently $3/2$ (one instance) and $3/4$ (one instance). When writing in duple meter Fede most often marks his instrumental movements in common time, but three movements bear a sign for "cut" time or $2/2$.

Fede's sonata movements are more likely than his arias to be structured by a recognizable form; only four (movements one and two of Sonata no. 1 and movements

one and four of Sonata no. 2) are through composed. Binary is the most common form among his instrumental movements, with seven examples of typical two-strain binary form. He also has two examples of binary form with variation: in the third movements of both Sonatas nos. 1 and 2, Fede writes a binary movement marked *adagio* immediately followed by a variation of the same movement creating a total of four strains.

Only two of Fede's sonata movements have any continuo introduction at all, but his melodies are frequently constructed through the development of small-scale musical motives. Sequence and imitation do not frequently form the basis of Fede's melodic unfolding, occurring in only a small handful of his sonata movements, but motivic development naturally forms the basis of these musical events when they occur. Fede's sonata movements are almost uniformly diatonic, making use only of accidentals that are common to the key area. He does not make use of continuo ostinato except in one case, the unmarked opening movement of Sonata no. 4, which is structured by a ground bass throughout. The treble line in Fede's sonata movements is typically characterized by a rather narrow range; as in his arias, the range never exceeds a thirteenth and the most common range intervals lie between a ninth and a twelfth.

Conclusions

Fede's instrumental sonatas are well suited not only to the needs of courtly entertainment, but also the pedagogical needs of a court music instructor. Sonatas number one and two, as sonatas *da chiesa* that avoided musical reference to popular dance forms, might have been used at need in chapel worship service, while the dance movements of Sonatas numbers three, four, and five were quite appropriate for courtly social gatherings. Furthermore, all five sonatas are fitting for incidental music at the table or in private

apartments. The narrow voice range together with uncomplicated and largely diatonic melodies in Fede's sonatas lends itself equally well to recorders, flutes, and violins, allowing for great flexibility in performance possibilities. The uncomplicated elegance that Fede achieves in these compositions while exercising what would seem to be a studied aversion to excessively challenging virtuoso passages would seem to suggest an original didactic intent, and also to recommend these pieces for use in modern pedagogical contexts.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

The research that forms the core of this dissertation arose from a desire to investigate further Edward Corp's proposal that the Stuart court contributed significantly to the course of French musical history by helping to drive the surge of interest in Italian musical trends in Paris beginning in the 1690s. I have argued that the contemporary trend among French composers to embrace Italian genres while maintaining their own cultural sensibilities had roots in the English court traditions of demonstrating an enlightened cultural receptivity by privileging music from abroad. I suggest that the Stuart courts had long cultivated a tradition of musical patronage that privileged foreign music for its own sake—assigning value to the “otherness” of foreign musical traditions—and that the Stuarts carried this tradition with them into exile where it subsequently influenced French musicians in the years that followed the death of Lully. I argue that the exiled Stuart court did indeed exercise significant musical influence in France, but that its influential power was rooted in traditions of English musical patronage by which the post-Restoration Stuart kings, Charles II and James II, used their control of court musical culture to project an image of continentally oriented cosmopolitan sophistication by embracing foreign musicians.

The Stuart approach to musical patronage was remarkably different from that prevailing in France at the time of their arrival. King Louis XIV actively patronized the arts, and like the

Stuarts intended his efforts to project an image of sophistication at his court. The French king, however, was primarily concerned with generating and elevating a “French” musical identity. In accordance with his model, foreign music was denigrated as inferior and threatening to the native cultural ideal. Italian music was attacked as distastefully uninhibited while the music of Lully and his followers was held up as a model of tasteful and dignified *bon goût*. Louis advocated music that closely and modestly obeyed rules and observed social decorum.

Soon after the Stuart court settled near Paris, however, many French composers engaged Italian genres with an eye to improving them according to French musical sensibilities. French-Italian hybrid musical genres, in the years following Lully’s death in 1687, became pervasive in Parisian musical circles by the first decade of the eighteenth century, leading to what François Couperin called “*les goûts-réunis*,” by which he meant a desirable blending of national styles. I argue that contact with the musical perspectives of the Stuart court in exile contributed to the changing attitudes toward foreign music in Parisian musical circles.

The Stuart court in exile encountered social conditions that necessitated changes in its own traditions of musical patronage; the Stuarts in exile were suddenly foreigners themselves, surrounded by a French musical culture that they had formerly been accustomed to appropriate. In the French environment, the Lullian musical tradition, which was essentially the provenance of the French court, became less desirable for the Stuarts as an object of imitation. Italian music therefore became for the Stuarts the most effective indicator of musical independence and relevance.

I argue that the Stuart court’s self-constructive tradition of patronizing foreign music provided a model of hybridity that was appropriated by French composers. The final decade of the seventeenth century saw a sudden spike of interest in the Italian style among French

composers, at the same time that cosmopolitan and pro-Italian musical fashions arrived from across the channel by the displaced Stuart court. In the wake of the death of Lully in 1687, French composers began to experiment with the newly imported genres of sonata and cantata. The political, cultural, and economic realities at the cosmopolitan court at St. Germain served to mingle musical cultures and demonstrate to visiting French musicians that such blending was desirable. While the Stuart library of Italian musical manuscripts has been correctly recognized as an important resource for Parisian musicians, I suggest that the English penchant for musical hybridity was just as valuable an inspiration for French composers.

I also argue that Mary of Modena, known primarily for her supposed role in the political misfortunes that befell her husband, played an important role as a musical patron, and that the poetic texts of Fede's cantatas offer an unusual perspective on the humanist side of her character. Her sponsorship of amorous and secular musical poetry indicates that her personality was more complex and nuanced than has been generally recognized. I maintain that from the arrival of the Stuart court in France, Mary of Modena took over as the leader of the court in exile both politically and culturally. My findings reveal her to have been a remarkably strong and capable leader notable for her tolerance and determination.

In overseeing the Stuart musical culture, Mary relied on the managerial expertise of her fellow Italian Innocenzo Fede. In London Fede had been Master of Music only at the Catholic Chapel, but in exile he was Master of Music for the entire court. Mary also employed Fede as a pedagogue instructing the royal children in Italian language and culture, which of course included Italian music.

The music that Fede composed for the court was made under the auspices of Mary's patronage, and reflects a humanist side of her that has been too often overlooked by historians. A deeply religious woman, her musical sponsorship reveals that she appreciated artistic engagement with mankind's worldly experience as well.

Finally, I have analytically investigated the secular chamber works of Innocenzo Fede, a composer whose music has not received close study even as his name has come to be better known in recent years. My analysis forms the basis of my argument that, while the number of his surviving pieces is comparatively small, Fede's artistry and influence, especially as a cantata composer, have not been sufficiently appreciated. Fede's music is charmingly expressive in its use of elegant and uncomplicated melodies and conservative harmonies that would have appealed to post-Lullian French musical ideals. Moreover, we know that Fede's central and unusually elevated musical office at the Stuart court placed him within the ken of French musicians and musical patrons.

Fede's courtly title, "Surintendant de la Musique du roi d'Angleterre," gave him a high-ranking position at a *de lege* sovereign monarchical court, a meaningful position in a world where courtly prestige was valued as highly as it was France under Louis XIV. French courtiers, required to attend the English court as a matter of *politesse*, would hardly have been able to avoid a familiarity with Fede and his music. As an Italian, Fede's own national identity privileged him as an authority on Italian music. As sole court music director Fede also bore the responsibility of organizing and presenting musical performances for the Stuarts and their guests, and it is hard to imagine that he would not have taken the opportunity to offer his own compositions on such occasions.

Moreover, Fede's long-term presence near Paris during the time that Italian music enjoyed the enthusiastic interest of French music lovers should not be discounted.

Fede was on hand for the crucial decades at the turn of the eighteenth century when Italian styles held the greatest interest for French composers; unlike the Italian composers whose fame was transferred through the exchange of manuscripts, Fede was positioned within the area of that interest's explosion.

Fede's family background provided him with a firm foundation in cantata writing; his father and his two uncles enjoyed varying degrees of success in the Roman music scene, and Innocenzo himself could boast of a successful career in Rome alongside the likes of such famous musicians as Arcangelo Corelli and Alessandro Scarlatti. These two connections alone provided him with substantial claims to expertise in the genres of sonata and cantata.

I argue that Fede's cantata writing shows him to his best advantage; Fede's secular vocal music provides a substantial repertoire of high-quality musical compositions rich with a nuanced musical language. I also maintain that his cantatas and arias reveal his highest musical priority and demonstrate his idiomatic tendencies and compositional characteristics. The comparative abundance of his remaining arias and cantatas make his efforts in this area particularly important as they provide an unusually broad view into his musical approach. As the genre in which he was evidently most prolific, cantata may be considered Fede's signature compositional vehicle and his work in this field is clearly worthy of further scholarly examination. Fede's cantatas and arias, as musical settings of poetry, are particularly valuable as windows into the cultural identity of Stuart musical patronage in exile.

Innocenzo Fede's music, whether in the context of pedagogy, performance, or cultural research, is a potential catalyst for a greater understanding of an exciting musical world that awaits further exploration.

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