In search of a politesse du chant: Rediscovering salon vocal performance practice through the lens of the airs sérieux in the Recueils d'airs serieux et à boire de differents autheurs, 1695-1699

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background and motivation for the study

At the end of the seventeenth century, the Ballard music printing house in Paris embarked on a new publishing venture: the *Recueils d'airs serieux et a boire de differents autheurs.*[1] From 1695 to 1724, Christophe Ballard and, later, his son, Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard, created what was to become a vast collection of vocal works which would bear witness to musical tastes at the turn of the seventeenth century and develop and thrive for thirty years.[2]

The monthly frequency of the *Recueils* made it a reactive publication which was able to be responsive to the musical tastes and fashions of its market audience. Ballard's editorial task in producing the *Recueils* was a cyclical and co-dependent one, in which he identified musical trends and fed these trends back to his clientele by selecting and publishing those airs which best gave voice to them. Given the longevity and success of the *Recueils,* the airs in the series can be said to represent musical taste of the time. As witnesses to evolving music practice and documents on performance practice, the songs in the collection warrant detailed investigation.

The desire to unveil and, quite simply, to sing the *airs sérieux* in the *Recueils,* a neglected repertoire which had nevertheless shaped the musical and cultural *Zeitgeist* of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Paris, was the impetus for this study. While French baroque vocal forms such as opera (to use a loose term) have become somewhat mainstream in modern lyric programming, the *air sérieux* as a genre, to which some of the finest composers of the day turned their hand, remains relatively unknown territory. What of the hundreds of *airs sérieux*, often anonymous, which were considered by Ballard to be worthy of publication in a collection for which there was a compelling appetite month after month over the course of several decades?

Realising that the long publication span of the *Recueils* would inevitably imply an evolution in the air and its performance contexts that was too expansive for an in-depth piece of artistic research, I chose to concentrate on the early years of the *Recueils,* that is, those published between 1695 and 1699 inclusive, and to focus exclusively on the *airs sérieux* in the collection, rather than the *airs à boire.*[3]

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[1] *Recueils d'airs serieux et a boire de differents autheurs* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1695-1715; Paris: Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard, 1716-1724). These are conserved in the *Bibliothèque nationale de France*, and the volumes published in the years 1695-1699 which are the subject of the present study are found at F-Pn VM^{7} 528-532. These will hereafter be referred to as the *Recueil* or *Recueils* as context dictates. When referring to a specific *air sérieux*, I will use the catalogue number (usually accompanied by the *incipit* of the air) which I assigned to each piece when I made an inventory of the collection. The catalogue number consists of the abbreviation "RASB" in combination with the year of publication, the month of publication, and the page number. For example, "RASB 1695/5/86" refers to an air on page 86 of the *Recueil* published in May 1695.

[2] On the death of Christophe Ballard in 1715, Jean-Baptiste-Christophe Ballard assumed editorial responsibility. Hereafter, "Ballard" refers to the former pre-1715, the latter post-1715, or the publishing house generally, according to context.

[3] Hereafter, "airs" will refer to *airs sérieux* unless otherwise specified.

In my concert practice prior to commencing this study, I regularly included in my programmes *airs sérieux* such as those found in the early *Recueils,* singing in small ensemble settings with harpsichord, viola da gamba, and theorbo in large churches or mid-size concert halls throughout the Low Countries, the United Kingdom, Austria, Switzerland, and Japan. Typically, my colleagues and I would programme *airs sérieux* amongst short instrumental works with a complementary tonality, forming mini, hybrid "suites" of music. Alternatively, we would fashion a sort of instrumental "introduction" for the airs – either an improvisation in the same key and style from the harpsichordist, or an instrumental rendition of one of the sung verses. These airs would often be programmed in concerts featuring Italian music. Sung alongside cantatas by Luigi Rossi and Carissimi, the brief French airs would feel like mini-*divertissements,* and never managed to provoke the same emotional response from the audience as their Italian foils.

This practice of strategic positioning was present in my mind when making recordings, too, and is reflected in the choice and ordering of repertoire in two of my discs which feature this repertoire; in *Musique pour Mazarin* (recorded with *Le Jardin Secret* for CORO in 2008), the French airs are purposefully nested within a strategically-arranged musical framework such that they are either made into "suites" as described above, or they act as "light relief" to the heftier Italian cantatas on the recording, which seemed better able to stand alone musically. Equally, in the disc featuring the *airs sérieux* of Jean-Baptiste Drouard de Bousset (recorded with *Le Jardin Secret* for Fuga Libera in 2015), the vocal pieces are artfully arranged by tonality, and, in a spirit of musical *bricolage,* surrounded by improvised introductions and postludes in order to "fill them out".

Unlike singing a more substantial work such as a French cantata, *airs sérieux* have no surrounding narrative or immediate back-story to frame them. In contrast to singing a programme of operatic airs, too, the *airs sérieux* in the repertoire studied are brief, with no sure way for the singer or audience to be able to anchor the piece into a larger dramatic vector. The airs are built around a standard poetic vocabulary, yet this homogeneity of expression produces a vast variety of styles, implicating a large cast of pastoral characters who do not necessarily bear any relationship to one another's emotional situation. Looking back at the rationale for programming airs in an almost apologetic way by "hiding" them within larger musical concoctions, the strong impression that remains in my mind is that the short and fragmentary expressions of emotions in the airs needed some sort of larger framework to "prop them up". Even now in contemplating alternative programming choices, I feel that a further framework in which to place the airs is necessary.

Thus, alongside my musical curiosity about the *airs sérieux* of the *Recueils*, this study was equally motivated by my search for a performative context that would make sense of these brief pieces. As I will demonstrate in chapter 2, *airs sérieux* such as those published in the early *Recueils* were sung in a diverse range of musical fora, and the composing and singing of these airs was an activity which was integral to the Parisian salon at the end of the seventeenth century, and to the polite conversation practised there. Having read about the development of the *air sérieux* and music-making in Paris at this time, I formed the contention that the sociable interaction of these worldly gatherings held the clues to this meaningful context. I hypothesised that by modulating my performance habits to accord with the standards of *bienséance* and decorum demanded in polite society, I would be able to access the performance practice surrounding the airs in this refined context. Although

studies have been done by musicologists and historians both on the salon and on conversation, no work had previously documented the performance practice of the air within salon interaction from the practical, vocal perspective of the artist.

Thus it was my aim not only to uncover and present this forgotten repertoire, but to explore and document from a very practical and personal vocal point of view, how an *air sérieux* when sung in the salon context would sound, and the paths which I feel the theorists are instructing us to take in order to reach this new sonic landscape.

1.2 Scope of the study and research questions

As part of my quest to reconstruct the vocal practices of a Parisian salon, I looked at writings dealing with singing, aesthetics, and music. As I delved further into the literature and continued to sing the airs in the *Recueils*, it quickly became evident that despite my interest in and experience with French baroque vocal music, my approach did not share the same focus as that espoused by the theorists who wrote about the art of singing at a time close to the publication dates of the *Recueils* investigated.

It became clear that salon vocal practice was in effect a decorous, modified version of the vocal and gestural practices of the professional stage singer, and I therefore found it necessary to re-assess my understanding of the instructions handed down by the theorists to that particular musical demographic. I felt sure, as a result of my reading and the findings presented in this study, that performances of late seventeenth-century French baroque repertoire which claim to be historically-informed (my own included) did not fully reflect the instructions of the theorists. Cherry-picking of information from the treatises had led to a brand of performance practice which was not in fact correct. I felt that in order to build a salon version of song, I first had to destroy then rebuild my conceptions of the vocal practices of the stage from which salon singing was derived. I felt I had to seek out a version of the airs which would have accorded with the ideals espoused by the theorists before I could see how this ideal would have been tempered by salon factors.

Therefore, I undertook a review of the primary theoretical sources as they relate to vocal performance which are as close to the repertoire studied as possible. To the non-French-speaking singer of today, the full arsenal of primary sources remains inaccessible. This is particularly the case for the material on tones of voice and the writings of Mersenne, for which there is no English translation. Indications of general performance conventions are potentially obscured by secondary sources and modern commentators. In an effort to "stand in the shoes" of the seventeenth-century singer, I attempted to equip myself with the knowledge available to them at the time, confining myself first and foremost, therefore, to the primary sources.

Such a theoretical and academic approach is highly appropriate to the field of period performance. Without recourse to the sound-world of contemporaneous seventeenth-century renditions, the modern-day performer is categorically obliged to consult written theoretical traces as the major, and sometimes the only, source of information as to musical practice.

As I will demonstrate in chapter 5, in order to achieve the art of singing well according to the standards of the theorists whose writings are examined in that chapter, the singer was obliged to give voice to the affects encoded within the music and text and, in their *actio,* to create a physical and vocal incarnation of the passions. My quest therefore focused heavily on declamation and the spoken voice, the theory of the passions and their portrayal in the voice and body of the singer. Although this quest no doubt made this dissertation a longer one to read, it was an important one and I consider the practical results and observations which are drawn from applying the findings in chapter 5 which touch on this facet of the study to be as much a part of the research output as those dealing with the salon.

In order to develop an understanding of the historical soundscape of the *air sérieux* within salon culture and polite conversation, I was steered by the research questions listed below, which were significant signposts in the practical part of my study.

Firstly, the quest to revise what I thought of as historically-informed vocal practice was encapsulated within the first research question, formulated as follows:

Research question 1

Using only the clues found within the scores and the instructions set out in treatises dealing with singing, music, aesthetics, and rhetoric, what would the airs sérieux in the early years of the Recueils have sounded like if performed in accordance with those instructions?

This research question is made up of two distinct inquiries:

(i) What affects are encoded within the words and music of a piece; and

(ii) How does the singer give voice to these affects?

My second research question involved a close review of the specific circumstances of the late seventeenth-century salon, its prevailing norms of behaviour, and how these circumstances influenced the art of singing. My hypothesis had been that the rules governing social comportment and factors peculiar to the small-scale setting of the salon would have moderated the way an *air sérieux* sounded in performance in that context. In the hands of the polite member of cultured society, what influence would these "moderating factors" have had on musical practice and vocality? As we shall see, a number of the airs in the *Recueils* were drawn from dramatic stage works. Moreover, brief solo airs with continuo accompaniment similar to those found in the *Recueils* make frequent appearances in spoken and sung theatrical works.

The repertoire in the *Recueils* thus leaves the stage and crosses over into the realm of the polite society member who takes singing seriously but is nevertheless regulated and governed by other values both in comportment and music-making. This issue of cross-over of performance practice is critical to this study, and the concept operates on several levels. Firstly, the airs in the *Recueils* which are drawn from the stage cross over to polite society via the medium of their publication by the Ballards each month. The airs thereby cross over from the professional world of the then-current standards and expectations of stage singers (or *acteurs qui chantent*) to the consumers of the *Recueils,* the cultured amateur music-

maker. The professional singer, too, who makes appearances to sing in the intimate salon gatherings crosses over from the large dimensions of the theatrical or lyric stage to the reduced dimensions of the world of the amateur, which represents not only a physical cross-over in architectural space, but potentially also a cross-over in expectation and a modification of vocal delivery. The salon amateur who sings these airs drawn from dramatic works also crosses over, engaging, however briefly, with the world of the stage professional. The question which will be further explored in chapter 6 and to which substantial attention will be paid in the performance observations in chapter 7 is how a salon rendition of an *air sérieux* by a salon participant would have sounded when contextualised in the performance space of such a gathering, transformed and modified by the rules of social comportment and strictures on modesty and decorum.

Throughout the study, these various strands of inquiry were framed by the following research question:

Research question 2

How might the moderating factors which were inherent to salon practice transform the sound of the air sérieux from the version espoused by the theorists ?

1.3 Previous studies in the field and contribution of this research to existing knowledge

The work carried out by Théodore Gérold[4] on the art of singing in seventeenth-century France can be considered the starting point for study of the development of the air. Scholars who have explored the *air de cour* are in ready supply. Notable among them are André Verchaly,[5] Georgie Durosoir,[6] and Jeanice Brooks.[7]

The *air sérieux* has been the subject of several studies, such as those by Louis Auld[8] and Lisa Perella.[9] Some scholars have indeed studied the *Recueils,* but these studies have been approached from a slightly different angle from the present one; Don Fader[10] used the *Recueils* as a lens through which to examine the *goûts réunis* in vocal music, and Catherine Massip[11] has explored the volumes to test the penetration of the Italian musical idiom into French publications.

On the *Recueils* themselves, Jean-Philippe Goujon's article[12] presents the most significant contribution, examining the history and contents of the publication and composer attributions. The only other French language study of the *Recueils,* which dates from 1958, is not available for study as it has not been deposited with a library.[13] Anne-Madeleine Goulet's examination of the song texts of the *Livre d'airs de différents auteurs* between

[4] Gérold, *L'art du chant*.
[5] Verchaly, *Anthologie d'airs de Cour Pour Voix et Luth (1603-1643)*.
[6] Durosoir, *L'Air de cour*.
[7] Brooks, *Courtly Song*.
[8] Auld, *The Lyric Art of Pierre Perrin*.
[9] Perella, 'French Song'.
[10] Fader, 'French Vocal Music'.
[11] Massip, 'Airs français et italiens'.
[12] Goujon, 'Les "Recueils d'airs sérieux"', 2010.
[13] Robert, 'Airs sérieux et airs à boire: à 2 et 3 voix'.

1658 and 1694 represents a major contribution to the study of the literary and social contexts of the *air sérieux* presented in that earlier collection.[14] Included in her study is an invaluable discussion of the place of the *air sérieux* within literary genres, polite society, and conversation, which has been critical in forming a backdrop to the present research.

Several authors have considered the *airs sérieux* found in composer-specific collections, including those by Jean-Baptiste Drouard de Bousset[15] and Michel Lambert.[16] Catherine Gordon-Seifert's work[17] concentrates on the *air sérieux*, focusing on works by Lambert, Bacilly, La Barre, and Le Camus, and analysing their style based on rhetorical devices. In chapter 6 of that work, she offers the reader performance advice for interpreting the airs. In her related article, she groups various airs by Sébastien de Brossard together into musical dialogues, creating conversations in songs, to show the close correlation between airs by that composer and gallant discourse.[18]

Other interpretation guides offered to the performer by musicologists are to be found in part 5 of James R. Anthony's book,[19] and in chapter 11 of David Tunley's book on the eighteenth-century French cantata.[20] Patricia Ranum's *Harmonic Orator*[21] represents an extensive investigation of elements relating to the French language, poetry, and musical settings of French dance airs, and the way rhetoric was woven into their phrasing and music. Sally Sanford's article[22] comparing French and Italian singing styles in the seventeenth century presents many of the concepts discussed by Bacilly and later French theorists who discuss expressive pronunciation and consonant doubling. It does not, however, address the pivotal influence of declamation on the development of singing, nor the plurality of vocal styles that I will argue existed at the time the airs under investigation were published and sung.

With a different focus to the above studies, this dissertation investigates and unveils the airs contained within the early years of a collection which has not previously attracted significant academic attention, and which has not been the subject of applied, artistic research. The *airs sérieux* are given their first in-depth "forensic" examination in a chapter in which I analyse the *Recueils* as physical objects. By looking at musical parameters such as voice setting, ornamentation markings, and accompaniment indications, I am able to present clues as to who sang these airs, the technical demands required of them, and the context in which they were sung.

Towards the latter part of this study, two dissertations came to my attention. Mallika Lecœur's work[23] investigates conversation as performance in the salon, adding to the

[14] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*. Hereafter, the earlier publication of airs will be referred to as the *'Livres d'airs'*.
[15] Garden, 'The Airs of Jean-Baptiste de Bousset'.
[16] Massip, *L'art de bien chanter*.
[17] Gordon-Seifert, *Music and the Language of Love*.
[18] Gordon-Seifert, 'La réplique'.
[19] Anthony, *French Baroque Music*.
[20] Tunley, *The Eighteenth-Century French Cantata*.
[21] Ranum, *Harmonic Orator*.
[22] Sanford, 'Comparison of French and Italian Singing'.
[23] Lecœur, 'Conversation and Performance'.

significant body of academic material on the salon, its nature and transformation.[24] Michael Bane's dissertation[25] looks at both singing and guitar practice, and explores the concept of *honnêteté* and how this modified performance practices amongst amateur music-making in seventeenth-century France. His material on singing primarily addresses, from a musicological point of view, the clash between ideals of physiognomy, noble bearing and good pronunciation. Although reflecting on vocal possibilities in the salon, his approach, in common with Gordon-Seifert's, does not fully situate salon singing on a vocal continuum, and does not give due weight to the significant stylistic influence that dramatic renditions sung by stage professionals must have had on their diluted salon versions. Nor does it consider in depth and from a practical point of view the areas of collision and coalescence between salon values and the type of singing espoused by the seventeenth-century French theorists. Such an approach only tells half the story, in my view. Salon practice was not a modification of what is currently presented to us as historically-informed vocal practice. Relying principally on primary sources, I hope to demonstrate in chapter 6 that the theorists' conception of ideal singing (of which the salon version was a polite dilution) was much richer in affective expression than we know today. The documentation of the steps involved in re-creating what I have termed a "fully-affective" performance that accorded with this vision became a major part of my inquiry and distinguishes this study from all of the above musicological incursions into the field.

This study differs significantly from the above works on the practical front, too. It represents the first examination focused on the *air sérieux* in which new knowledge is generated by a re-reading of the historical sources in conjunction with the practical application of these sources to singing. From the unique position of the artist-researcher, I build up a picture of the declamatory approach to singing espoused by the historical theorists, and then experiment with applying these instructions methodically and systematically to my own voice. By exploring the interwoven theoretical values of decorum, modesty, and *politesse* and applying these to song, the reactions of my voice and body generate a practical, singer's perspective on how this all-important code of behaviour modified the instructions of the theorists who wrote about singing. In doing so, I seek to re-create an undocumented sound-world and a nuanced style of vocality which was unique to the salon - a veritable *politesse du chant*.[26]

1.4 Dissertation road-map

Chapter 1 serves as a brief overview of the scope of the study, introducing the reader to the publication context of the collection and its contents, documenting previous studies in this area, and providing a summary of the essential characteristics of the *air sérieux.*

In chapter 2, I explore the contexts and venues in which these pieces were performed, the status of music-making and singing, and I present a profile of the protagonists who reportedly sang and cultivated this miniature genre. This contextual picture is built up not only by recourse to existing historiographical studies, but also by examining the provenance of several of the airs in the early *Recueils*, notably those drawn from stage works. The salon

[24] See for example Harth, *Cartesian Women*; Goldsmith, 'Excess and Euphoria'; Denis, *La muse galante*; Goldsmith, 'Excess and Euphoria'; Lilti, *Le monde des salons*; Timmermans, *L'accès des femmes*.
[25] Bane, 'Honnêtes Gens'.
[26] This term is borrowed from Bacilly. See 'Réponse', 9.

as a performance locus will be described. I will introduce the way in which stage repertoire was transmitted to the salon, and the intermingling and cross-pollination of performance modes and personnel. Thereafter, the first step of the reconstruction process will begin.

In chapter 3, I examine the *airs sérieux* and the *Recueils* as forensic objects. By investigating the physical format of the collection and the musical parameters, technical demands, and editorial practices associated with the airs, I show the collection to be one which both dictated and reflected musical and vocal practice. The information in this chapter allows me to start to situate the volumes within their sociable circles.

As a prelude to the information presented in chapter 5, chapter 4 investigates the compositional and textual mechanisms by which seventeenth-century French composers and lyric poets conveyed the passions, providing the reader with a set of rules to decipher the passions conveyed in the *airs sérieux* of the *Recueils*.

Chapter 5 will concentrate on the fundamental question of vocal performance practice at the end of the seventeenth century in France; I seek to demonstrate from the sources that it was the role of the singer to portray in his or her voice and gesture the passions encoded in the text and music. Largely confining myself to the writings of French theorists at a period in time which was close to the publication dates of the *Recueils* studied, I re-create from their first principles a conception of *l'art de bien chanter*. Not only will this information be used as a point of departure from which salon singing will later be examined, but by applying this knowledge, I will raise several issues which may expand current thinking on the thorny issue of "authenticity" and historically-informed performance practice.

Drawing on literary accounts and seventeenth-century conversation and etiquette manuals, I describe in chapter 6 the many and various occasions which prompted salon participants to break into song. Castiglione's conception of the ideal courtier, which translated itself into a very Gallic format in the guise of *politesse, honnêteté* and *bienséance,* enters the picture, and I use this chapter to demonstrate how these prevailing values would have transformed the vocal practice presented in the previous chapter.

In chapter 7, the musicological elements and the practical elements of this study meet. The case-study air drawn from the *Recueils* will be submitted to an affective analysis, testing its musical and textual parameters against the rules covered in chapter 4. Synthesising all of the information uncovered in preceding chapters, I examine the case-study air in the various guises elaborated in this dissertation, reflecting on the challenges which the singer meets when confronting the musicological evidence. My notes on the preparation of these renditions and the practical observations which make up chapter 7 form, along with some final thoughts, the responses to the research questions and the conclusion to this study.

1.5 Notes on translations and spellings

I have attempted to avoid large tracts of French texts in this dissertation but have sometimes felt that their inclusion was necessary. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated. Translations of longer texts appear in the footnotes. Small phrases or words have only been translated where the context does not suffice to indicate their meaning. Original spelling and punctuation have been retained throughout.

Three airs from the *Recueils* investigated were not available for access and copying from the Bibliothèque Nationale. Using my catalogue numbers, these were RASB 1697/3/46, RASB 1697/3/54, and RASB 1699/10/194. The data extracted for the forensic investigation in chapter 3 is reflective of this.

In chapters 4 and 5, there are many references to Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle,* which consists of three volumes made up of five treatises. To clarify my references to this vast work, I have adopted the policy of avoiding the name of Mersenne's titles (as these sometimes overlap and are ambiguous). Instead, I refer to the treatise by large Roman numeral, the book or *livre* by small Roman numeral, followed by the page number in Hindu-Arabic format. The two parts of *livre vi* of treatise IV are simply referred to either as "part 1" or "part 2". Thus, for example, page 340 of "*Ordres des sons*" would be cited thus: IV, vi, part 1, 340. Additionally, it should be noted that there are a number of pagination errors in Mersenne's work. Where relevant, I have indicated the sequentially-correct number in square brackets and have noted the incorrect page number in parentheses following that. Treatises III and IV are the principal ones relevant to this study and are expanded below to show the *livres* of which they are made up.

I. Traitez de la nature des sons, et des mouvemens de toutes sortes de corps.
II. Traitez de mechanique.
III. Traitez de la voix et des chants:
    Livre i: De la voix
    Livre ii: Des chants
IV. Traitez des consonances, des dissonances, des genres, & de la composition
    Livre i: Des consonances
    Livre ii: Des dissonances
    Livre iii: Des genres, des espèces des systems & des modes de la musique
    Livre iv: De la composition
    Livre v: De la composition de musique
    Livre vi: L'art de bien chanter
    Part 1. Ordre des sons
    Part 2. L'Art d'embellir la voix, les recits, les airs et les chants
V. Traitez des instruments à chords

Chapter 2

Performance contexts

2.1 Introduction

The famed opulence and grandeur of the large-scale spectacles mounted at Louis XIV's court are well known and need little introduction. Less well known are those moments of music-making at court that took place in reduced architectural spaces, performances for more intimate gatherings in the royal households of the king's extended family, in educational institutions, at academies in the provinces, and in sociable gatherings (collectively, but loosely) referred to as the salon.[27] The development of many of these alternative fora was prompted by a mixture of historical and economic circumstances which saw the glittering court entertainments of an increasingly-pious Louis XIV gradually diminish and the once-dynamic and mobile royal court permanently retire to Versailles in 1682.[28] Catalysed by the "*crise de la tragédie en musique lullyste",*[29] we see the development not only of new performance contexts which privileged the small over the grand, but a flourishing of new vocal genres to fill the position once occupied by the *tragédie lyrique.*[30] The music-making that flourished in smaller, alternative performance contexts was not necessarily seeking to imitate royal entertainment;[31] rather, such activities formed a sort of counter court system, presenting an alternate form of exclusivity to that surrounding the king at Versailles.

While other sections of this study focus on situating the *Recueils* in their publishing context, describing the hybrid contents of the *Recueils* and the place and status of the *airs sérieux* within the music presented in these volumes, this chapter similarly focuses on situation and context, yet the subject matter is more ephemeral.

The *airs sérieux* which are the subject of this study are, as we will see in the next chapter, very brief. Capable of being performed in a matter of minutes, once sung, the sonic trace vanishes. The only performance footprints are by definition *ex post facto* and anecdotal; fragmentary traces documenting the performance of *airs sérieux* are found in contemporaneous written accounts from diarists, accounts by the hand of the chronicler of the *Mercure galant,* and fictional accounts in literature. Recently-presented archival and musicological work, while not always shedding light on specificities of repertoire sung on particular occasions, has nevertheless amply attested to the fact that vocal airs were performed within small gatherings of the royal or princely households, in a variety of aristocratic, bourgeois, and educational circles, and also on the dramatic and lyric stage.

Music-making in the salon represented an integral part of the finely-tuned social interaction which took place in those gatherings.[32] As the principal focus of my study, this chapter places particular emphasis on building up a picture of the development of the Parisian salon from around 1610 to the end of the century, coinciding with the publication of the early *Recueils*. References to salon activities in primary sources have already been examined by

[27] As discussed below, the word "salon" has been extensively integrated into English-language descriptions of such socialised gatherings and as such will not be italicised.
[28] Goulet, *Les foyers artistiques*, 7–11.
[29] This phrase is borrowed from Manuel Couvreur. See further Couvreur, 'Marie de Louvencourt'.
[30] Couvreur, 25.
[31] Goulet and Campos, 'Les foyers artistiques', 12.
[32] See further Gordon-Seifert, *Music and the Language of Love*, 230–43 from which much of this information is drawn.

several modern writers,[33] and this chapter is intended not necessarily as a discovery of new evidence, but as a synthesis of their findings. Using these findings, I will describe the demography of the salon, providing an overview of typical salon participants. I will create a practical scenography of the salon, describing spatial elements relating to venue, placement of singers and listeners, all of which had a material impact on the way *airs sérieux* were performed and received.

These concrete, historiographical elements will be used as a physical framework and a backdrop to the information presented in chapter 6 which also focuses on situating the *air sérieux* – this time within its most significant but intangible context, that of social interaction and gallant conversation.

2.2 Who sang? The status of music-making and singing

In a letter dated 24 March 1695, Princess Palatine wrote that "*rien n'est tant à la mode présentement que la musique…M. le Dauphin, mon fils et la princesse de Conti en parlent durant des heures entières*".[34] She further writes that fashionable society's engagement with learning music had replaced its mania for dance.[35] In these short statements, the second wife of the *duc d'Orléans* captures the status of music as the leisurely pre-occupation *par excellence* of the royal, aristocratic, and the fashionable, moneyed classes in late seventeenth-century France. Music-making was particularly cherished by the wealthy bourgeoisie, who sought to access the culture which had previously been reserved for the aristocracy. The practice of music and musical pleasure became the mark of a bourgeoisie which was harmonious and ordered.[36] Consumption of music and the pursuit of music-making as a leisure activity were significant on a domestic level.[37] In step with the rapid increase in literacy numbers in the seventeenth century, the number of music lovers also grew in the second half of that century.[38]

Singing formed a significant part of this mania for music-making. Singing was considered a fitting pastime to combat the scourge of idleness of the wealthy classes, who, deprived of political power under Louis XIV's regime, were afforded the time and space to cultivate artistic activities to a high level.[39] Seventeenth-century literature is peppered with references to characters singing, and Goulet notes numerous examples.[40] In the preface to the *Recueil des plus beaux vers qui ont esté mis en chant,* it is noted that the number of people who engaged in singing is "*infiny".*[41] With a similarly hyperbolic turn of phrase, in the preface to the 1706 *Nouveaux Cantiques Spirituels,* it is noted that "*Tout le monde aime le Chant…*".[42] That the *Recueils* were published monthly for thirty years without interruption

[33] Gordon-Seifert, *Music and the Language of Love*; Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*.
[34] As cited in Cessac, 'La musique et la danse', 61–62. 'Nothing is as fashionable at the moment as music. M. le Dauphin, my son and the princess of Conti speak about it for hours on end'.
[35] As cited in the introduction to Gillier, *Livre d'airs et de simphonies*, ix.
[36] Piéjus, 'La leçon de musique', 145.
[37] Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, 69.
[38] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 131.
[39] Note that Goulet insists that relatively well-off people who had the means to access cultural luxuries such as music represented only a narrow proportion of society. Goulet, 429.
[40] Goulet, 427–28.
[41] Bacilly, *Recueil des plus beaux vers*, n.p.
[42] As cited in Favier, 'Plaisir musical', 117.

attested to the fact that this publication met a need, and that there was a clientele with a regular appetite for the music contained within it.[43] In short, the *Recueils* themselves are the best testament to this voracious appetite for song.

The taking of private music lessons burgeoned amongst the wealthy bourgeoisie and nobility in response,[44] creating a rich world of amateur music-making inhabited by men and women who dedicated themselves seriously to the art of singing and instrumental practice.[45] The *Livre commode des adresses de Paris pour l'année 1692* attests that there was a ready supply of singing teachers to support the acquisition and perfection of the relevant skills. That publication, a sort of early telephone book, lists by profession the principal masters in various fields of activity, along with an indication of the street in the capital in which they live. In what is clearly a non-exhaustive list (see the use of the word "*etc.*"), eleven singing teachers are specified, amongst whom are several contributors to the *Recueils* studied here.[46] Goulet's description of *maîtres de chant* positions singing teachers as influential celebrities in seventeenth-century Parisian society, who not only taught vocal technique, but also performed (such performances effectively acting as advertisements for their teaching) and composed. Interestingly, however, singing was viewed as an activity suited to women in their pre-marriage state, before being absorbed by the "*distraction continuelle*" of their husbands.[47] Singing well was highly-prized. Goulet has noted examples from poetry and literature of the late seventeenth century which illustrate that in cataloguing a woman's charms, the beauty of the subject's singing voice and her physical charms were criteria celebrated in like measure.[48]

Louis XIV was a keen singer and evidence abounds of the extent to which members of his family and extended family participated in vocal music-making.[49] What follows constitutes a handful of representative examples. The vocal capabilities of the music-loving Dauphine, the king's daughter-in-law and a student of Jean-Baptiste Matho and Michel Lambert,[50] were held in high esteem. As demonstrated below in section 2.3, musical activities at court abounded, and ladies at court were, by all accounts enthusiastic singers. For example, at a royal soirée of 1699 which is evoked below, the Marquis de Dangeau reports that several of the ladies of the palace sang with the king.[51] Dangeau later describes two performances of Lully's *Alceste* staged for a small group of spectators at the *hôtel de Conti* in January 1700, in which the following figures are listed as performing: Monseigneur le Duc de Bourgogne, Monsieur le Duc de Chartres, Monsieur le Comte de Toulouse, the Duc de Montfort, Biron,

[43] Goulet demonstrates this commercial aspect in relation to the Livres d'airs in *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 119–35; In his article, Goujon suggests that publishing the collection monthly represented a significant financial advantage. Goujon, 'Les "Recueils d'airs sérieux"', 2010, 38.
[44] Piéjus, 'La leçon de musique', 107.
[45] Goulet cites the praise found in the dedications of various collections of airs from the second half of the seventeenth century as further evidence of the serious place occupied by amateur musicians. See *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 460–61.
[46] de Blégny, *Livre commode*, 1:214-5. Singing teachers listed in the *Livre commode* who were also composers of *airs sérieux* in the *Recueils* are Honoré d'Ambruis, Jean-Baptiste Drouard de Bousset, Du Parc, Monsieur de Saint Germain, and Chevalier.
[47] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 437.
[48] Goulet, 438–39.
[49] On the place of music in the education of members of the royal family, see further Cessac, 'La musique et la danse'.
[50] Massip, *L'art de bien chanter*, 88.
[51] As cited in Berrada, 'La musique dans les appartements', 59.

les deux La Vallière, the comte d'Ayen, Madame la Princesse de Conti, Mesdames de Villequier et de Châtillon et Mademoiselle de Sanzay (lady-in-waiting to the Princesse de Conti).[52] It has been suggested that members of this same entourage were likely participants in André Campra's *Vénus, feste galante,* too, which had been mounted in 1698 at the residence of Mme la Duchesse de la Ferté, with the duchess singing a role.[53] Around 1700, this circle of music-loving nobility turned their hand to motets, effectively trying out repertoire which was then scheduled for later liturgical performance.[54]

References to distinguished ladies and music lovers who excelled in singing are common throughout M. de Vertron's *La Nouvelle Pandore*. In her prolific correspondence, Mme de Sévigné, too, makes frequent reference to fashionable airs and operas, admits to the pleasure she takes in singing, and lays claim to being told by Le Camus that she was a good singer.[55]

Music education potentially started from a young age, with both Bacilly and Mersenne advocating an early start to vocal tuition.[56] Catherine Cessac notes that the musical instruction of Louis XIV's son, the Dauphin, started at the age of ten with instruction on the lute.[57] The future Louis XV took guitar lessons with Robert de Visée from the age of nine and singing lessons with Matho from the age of ten.[58] In a description in the *Mercure galant*, a young girl is described as having been educated in all of the things which enhance a person destined for worldly society: dance, guitar, and music lessons.[59] In another issue of that journal, a young girl is said to have had the best masters to teach her to sing and play, such that she was extremely accomplished by the age of ten.[60]

Although the curriculum at the *Maison Royale de Saint-Louis* at Saint-Cyr did not encompass individual music lessons for its boarders,[61] singing and music was nevertheless a significant element of the girls' education. Set up by Louis XIV's second wife, Mme de Maintenon, with the aim of educating the daughters of the impoverished nobility, the school had affiliations with composers of the caliber of Nivers, Clérambault, and Moreau. Mme de Maintenon championed the spiritual air. She encouraged the singing of spiritual parodies of popular airs by her pupils, producing generations of female pupils who were exposed to song and the pleasure of singing throughout their formative years.[62] For young men educated in the Jesuit colleges such as the *collège Louis-le-Grand*, music also played an important role. Music, as a science of proportions, was part of the *quadrivium* and thus a formal part of the theoretical learning in the curriculum. On a practical level, the twice-yearly performances in which the male students sung and danced alongside external professionals who were hired

[52] As cited in Vernet, 'Musique et théâtre', 70–71.
[53] Duron, 'Nouveaux foyers', 123. The duchess was a singing pupil of Bacilly's.
[54] Vernet, 'Musique et théâtre', 71.
[55] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 464–65.
[56] See further chapter 5, section 5.3.2.
[57] Cessac, 'La musique et la danse', 51.
[58] Cessac, 55.
[59] 'Mercure galant', June 1698, 180.
[60] 'Mercure galant', March 1698, 224.
[61] Piéjus, 'La leçon de musique', 107.
[62] See further Gordon-Seifert, 'From Impurity to Piety'.

to perform exposed the young students there to music-making at a high level from a young age.[63]

2.3 *Airs sérieux* at court and in the royal households

Particularly after the death of Lully in 1687, small-scale concerts and music-making were frequent events in royal inner circles. The king's private chambers in his various royal residences welcomed a diverse group of instrumentalists and singers for this purpose.[64] Music-making was organised by, amongst others, the royal mistress, Mme de Montespan, and later by Mme de Maintenon. A witness account by Mlle d'Aumale indicates that three or four times per week, the latter organised musicians to come to her quarters to sing in an attempt to solace the king after the bereavement of the former queen and the Dauphine.[65] Similar reports are noted by the Marquis de Dangeau in his journal, who describes, for example, a royal soirée which took place on 13 November 1699 in the *cabinet* of Mme de Maintenon, in which singing took place.[66]

The singing of *airs sérieux* was not a privilege confined to the king's inner coterie, however. Airs were more universally present at court. Goulet cites, for example, composer Mathieu Quinot, who refers to his 1662 book of *Airs à 4 parties* as being sung before the whole court.[67] One step removed from the king's inner circle but nevertheless within the royal orbit, at the residence of the Duc and Duchesse de Bourgogne at Marly, Dangeau's journal notes another music-making occasion which took place in 1702. On this occasion, the Duchesse de Bourgogne[68] was said to have organised the singing of *les plus beaux airs*.[69] The duchess was a music-lover and harpsichordist with a particular appreciation for secular vocal music. As the dedicatee of one of the airs in the *Recueils* by singing teacher M. de Saint Germain,[70] it is likely that the air in question had been performed for her in 1697 or before.

There is also evidence that *airs sérieux* of the type examined in this study were sung in the household of the king's daughter-in-law, the Dauphine. For example, the May 1688 edition of the *Mercure galant* praises the Dauphine's singing master, Jean-Baptiste Matho, whose success was evidenced by his pupil's skilful singing of "*Airs & Scenes d'Opéra, Airs de Lambert, du Camus, du vieux Boisset & autres avec les doubles*".[71] Mlle Laurent, a contributor to the previous Ballard collection of *Livre d'airs,* is recorded by the *Mercure galant* as singing some of her own compositions for the Dauphine in 1686 or 1687.[72] Goulet suggests, too, that the presence of an air entitled "*Courante de Madame la Dauphine"*[73] in this earlier collection, evidences the Dauphine's affection for this piece, attesting further to the place occupied by the *air sérieux* in the music-making of royal circles.

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[63] See further Demeilliez, 'Les collèges'.
[64] Berrada, 'La musique dans les appartements', 56.
[65] Garros, *Madame de Maintenon*, 5; as cited by Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 477.
[66] As cited in Berrada, 'La musique dans les appartements', 59.
[67] As cited in Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 477.
[68] See Cessac, 'La duchesse du Maine et la duchesse de Bourgogne: d'une cour à l'autre'.
[69] As cited in Berrada, 'La musique dans les appartements', 60.
[70] RASB 1697/6/112: "*Aimable objet d'une flâme innocente*".
[71] 'Mercure galant', May 1688, 205–6 as cited in Cessac, 'La musique et la danse', 53.
[72] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 463.
[73] See *'Je sers un object rigoureux'* from the 1689 edition of Ballard, *Livres d'airs*.

The hôtel de Guise in Paris was another notable site of musical activity, which was presided over by Mlle de Guise, the sovereign princess of the house of Lorraine. Mlle de Guise maintained an orchestra of about fifteen musicians. The orchestra reportedly played nearly every day and its quality was said to surpass the music of the grandest sovereigns.[74] Étienne Loulié and Marc-Antoine Charpentier were in her service, with Charpentier residing in an apartment in the *hôtel*. Although the princess was a fan of Italian music, arrangements by Loulié of the music of Jean-Baptiste Lully were regularly played. The princess' private quarters included a "*Cabinet appelé de la Musique",* and the inventory taken after her death in 1688 notes the presence of a harpsichord in the *cabinet,* suggesting that musical activities took place there, rather than the grand reception rooms of the *hôtel*.[75]

The hive of musical, intellectual, and artistic activity at the residence of the *frère cadet*, Philippe I d'Orléans and his son, Philippe II, in Saint-Cloud, constituted yet another alternative artistic space to that of the royal court. Famed for their magnificence, the more than one thousand entertainments which took place there between 1680 and 1698 alone involving theatre and music rivalled the king's offering in Versailles.[76]

The musical activities sponsored by Mlle de Guise and the Orléans constituted a type of counter-institution to the lavish spectacles that had once dominated royal court life. The public, formal spectacles that took place at these two counter-institutions have been explored by several writers, yet forms and modes of smaller-scale music-making at their residences are less well documented. In my view, the airs in the *Recueils* already provide some clues, however. Several airs in the repertoire studied are stated to have been composed by "M. Gillier", and have therefore been attributed by some to *haute-contre,* violinist, and composer in the house of Orléans, Pierre Gillier.[77] One air in the collection is by Marc-Antoine Charpentier,[78] who resided in the hôtel de Guise. Given the connection between performance locus and composers, it is likely that those airs by Gillier and Charpentier may have resounded in these royal households where they worked and resided, either in private spheres of music-making or as part of more public spectacles.

In another royal household, that of the princesse de Conti*,* the inventory (dated 1739) of the owner's music library records the presence of a book of airs by Lambert. One writer has noted that it is not unreasonable to imagine that the music contained in the princess' library is music that was actually sung at her residence in one of the many music-making occasions at the *hôtel* which she had inherited around 1683.[79] Although Lambert's volume is of course not one of the Ballard *Recueils* the subject of the present study, its presence in the princess' music library enhances our picture of the status of the vocal air as a genre within royal circles.

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[74] Berrada, 'La musique dans les appartements', 53.
[75] Berrada, 54.
[76] See further Fader, 'Monsieur and Philippe II d'Orléans'.
[77] RASB 1695/4/74: "*Charmant repos heureuse liberté*", RASB 1695/10/185: "*J'ai quitté mes Moutons, mon Chien & ma Houlette*", RASB 1696/3/46: "*Le Printemps vient déja recommencer son cours*", RASB 1696/5/88: "*Rossignols, si les soins de l'amoureuse ardeur*". The attribution in the Recueils contains no forename, and it has been suggested that these airs may in fact be by Pierre Gillier's better-known younger brother, Jean-Claude. See further Gillier, *Livre d'airs et de simphonies*, ix, xiv.
[78] RASB 1695/8/156: "*Celle qui fait tout mon tourment*".
[79] Vernet, 'Musique et théâtre', 74–75.

2.4 The *air sérieux* in the provinces

The provinces abounded with small societies which were also fora for music-making. Learned academies and concert societies also sprang up, uniting professional and amateur members by the shared pleasure of making music together. The inclusion of airs in the *Mercure galant* establishes that monthly periodical as an important mode of diffusing vocal music beyond Paris.[80] The publication enjoyed a wide circulation, with the foreword to the February 1678 edition alerting provincial composers to the fact that the publication circulated "*par tout",* allowing their potential contributions to be viewed throughout the whole of Europe within one month.[81] Laurent Guillo describes the possible sources of evidence for the diffusion of Ballard publications such as the *Recueils* in the provinces, yet it remains difficult to form a clear view on this subject without further study.[82]

2.5 Spiritual parodies and the *air sérieux*

François Berthod's three books of *airs de dévotion* offered readers newly-written sacred texts adapted to pre-existing airs by prominent French composers.[83] According to Berthod, these parodies were written for women such that they could sing passionate airs while maintaining their modesty, piety, and virtue.[84] Berthod's second book of *airs de dévotion* of 1658 is dedicated to the abbess of Notre-Dame la Royale de Maubuisson, to whom he offers the book of airs for the "*cheres & Religieuse Filles*" for them to sing in their recreation time, to exercise their voice in private in order to make their voices more flexible in singing divine praises.

Scudéry's description of Saint-Cyr in *Nouvelle conversations de morale*[85] provides a contemporaneous source of information as to the practice of singing such airs. Scudéry notes in that work that in their recreation time, pupils at that school were permitted to sing religious songs for three-quarters of an hour each day while embroidering. They often performed concerts for each other, too, it is noted, which helped them to improve their memory, and which refined their morals.[86]

The spiritual airs of Berthod were neither the first nor last contrafacta of popular song.[87] Bacilly, too, published his own books of spiritual airs in 1672 and 1679, but with newly composed works. Such was the success of Bacilly's publications that they were republished five times between 1672 and 1703. The popularity of Bacilly's spiritual airs mirrored the growing popularity of the genre, particularly after 1670,[88] which was attributed to the influence of Mme de Maintenon and to the desire of Catholic leaders to lead the laity to a

[80] See further Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 478–80; Duron, 'Nouveaux foyers', 114–18.
[81] As cited in Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 127.
[82] See further Guillo, 'La diffusion des éditions musicales'.
[83] Composers whose airs were parodied by Berthod include Michel Lambert, Étienne Moulinié, and Antoine Boësset.
[84] See further Gordon-Seifert, 'From Impurity to Piety'.
[85] Scudéry, *Nouvelles conversations*, 1688.
[86] Scudéry, 1:263–65.
[87] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 481–82.
[88] Favier, 'Les Cantiques spirituels savants'.

life of piety.[89] The texts of profane airs were feared as lascivious and held in suspicion of corrupting the moral rectitude of women,[90] with one writer warning that those who love profane airs and sing them run the risk of easily being led into disorder and impiety.[91]

An examination of possible spiritual contrafacta of the *airs sérieux* in the early years of the *Recueils* is beyond the scope of this study. However, the existence and proliferation of such spiritual parodies at the end of the seventeenth century is significant in two respects. Firstly, it represents, as noted by Goulet,[92] the point of entry of the profane genre into the sacred world of the convent. Secondly, regarded as a safe alternative to their profane counterparts, the blossoming of the spiritual genre points to the morally dangerous effect which the passionate musical performance of these perceivedly-risqué profane lyrical texts would have been regarded to have had; the corruptible effect which the texts of the *airs sérieux* in performances were considered to have on a listener's moral well-being must have been great indeed.

2.6 *Airs sérieux* on the stage

Details are often sparse as to specific repertoire performed, yet the singing on stage of monodic airs is amply in evidence in the second half of the seventeenth century. The October 1678 edition of the *Mercure galant*, for example, describes a performance of Molière's *Les Fâcheux* outside of Paris, in which the various dramatic acts are demarcated by musical interludes. It is noted in that publication that after the third act, music was sung by one voice with theorbo.[93] In the same year, popular airs were inserted into the *Opéra de Frontignan,* performed for the archbishop of Toulouse.[94] Likewise, in the transcription of the *Ballet impromptu* in the *Mercure galant* of May 1678,[95] an air (described as a "*chanson*") is sung by the character, Amour. Although the music is no longer in existence, the words of the air immediately evoke the lighter poetry which characterizes the dance-meter airs in the early years of the *Recueils.*[96]

Solo continuo airs of the type contained in the *Recueils* were a regular presence in spoken and sung theatrical works. Throughout the seventeenth century, music, words, and dance mingled on the French stage, co-habiting in forms such as the court ballet, the *comédie-ballet,* the *tragédie en musique,* culminating in the *tragédie lyrique*. Although not necessarily published in the *Recueils*, one has only to look at the poetry and subject matter, the simple syllabic settings and the musical brevity of airs such as "*Je languis nuit et jour*" from Act 1, scene ii of Molière and Lully's collaborative work, *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme,* to see how closely many airs written for the stage evoke the musical and poetic spirit of the *airs sérieux* in the *Recueils.* Without pretending to be an exhaustive review, other short solo airs with continuo accompaniment from the stage works of, for example, Jean-Baptiste Lully bearing a strong resemblance to the repertoire studied readily spring to mind: "*Amour, vois quels*

[89] Gordon-Seifert, 'From Impurity to Piety', 290.
[90] See further Gordon-Seifert, 268; Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 481–82.
[91] Lalouette, *Histoire de la Comedie*, 71.
[92] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 480.
[93] As noted in Duron, 'Nouveaux foyers', 115.
[94] Duron, 116.
[95] Duron, 117.
[96] 'Mercure galant', May 1678, 177.

maux" from Act II of *Cadmus et Hermione, "Laissons au tendre amour la Jeunesse en partage"* from Act II of *Armide, "L'Art d'accord avec la nature"* from the Prologue of *Alceste,* and *"Sans Alceste"* from Act III of that same work.[97] Sung dance-meter airs from stage works also find a resounding echo in the *Recueils,* with more than fourteen *airs sérieux* in the early years of the collection expressed to be based on dance rhythms such as *menuets, bourrées, gavottes,* and *rigaudons.*

In her investigation, Goulet cites numerous examples of the presence of airs in the *Livres d'airs* which are "recycled" from dramatic works from the latter part of the seventeenth century.[98] In the case of the *airs sérieux* from the *Recueils,* a review of the table of contents pages indicates that more than twenty are from works for the stage.[99] The entire *Recueil* of October 1698, for example, is devoted to works from the *Comédie des Curieux de Compiègne* and, unusually, contains no drinking songs. The *Recueil* of the subsequent month follows this same publishing spirit, containing six separate entries from the *Comédie de Mary Retrouvé.* In his examination of the complete collection of the *Recueils,* Jean-Philippe Goujon attributes the music to both of these *comédies* to André Campra.[100] The February 1699 volume also presents music from the stage, drawing material from the *Comédie de Mirtile et Melicerte, Pastoralle Heroique* and presenting a series of *intermèdes* from that work. These musical *intermèdes* are attributed to Michel Richard de Lalande.[101] Both *airs sérieux* and songs with drinking texts form part of the *intermèdes* presented.

Later in that year, the September *Recueil* presents a string of airs with both serious and drinking texts which are collected together from the one-act comedy, *La Nopce Interrompue,* the music and text of which were written by Charles Dufresny.[102] This comedy was first staged on 19 August 1699,[103] with the music published by Ballard one month after its stage premiere, demonstrating the responsiveness of the *Recueils* and the Ballard's speedy uptake of popular works. Interestingly, in re-producing the music from the comedy in the September 1699 *Recueil,* Ballard did not retain the scene references from the source work. Instead, he makes three new groupings in the *Recueil,* which he styled as *Scène Première*, *Scène Deuxième,* and *Scène Troisième.* Instrumental interludes and dances are published alongside the vocal airs in these new groupings, generating the distinct impression that Ballard has created a new, miniature dramatic piece which functions independently and in isolation of the original source. This re-grouping and re-shaping is reminiscent of other such editorial acts of curatorship; for example, Pierre Gillier's grouping by tonal centre of his instrumental and vocal works in his 1697 *Livre d'airs et de simphonies,* creates the possibility for these works to be performed as small chamber concerts.[104]

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[97] Gordon-Seifert also notes this similarity, commenting that the influence of the Lully/Quinault *tragédies lyriques* on song texts and music is especially evident during the 1680s and the 1690s. See Gordon-Seifert, *Music and the Language of Love*, 299.
[98] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 618–34.
[99] The possible editorial interventions on the part of Ballard in potentially nuancing stage airs for the consumers of the *Recueils* have not been studied.
[100] Goujon, 'Les "Recueils d'airs sérieux"', 2010, 49.
[101] Goujon, 49.
[102] Goujon, 49.
[103] Hawkins, *The French Stage*, 2:423.
[104] See further Gillier, *Livre d'airs et de simphonies*, xi.

The Ballards bestowed an important place in the *Recueils* to vocal works drawn from the dramatic stage until at least 1704.[105] The presence of such airs accords with the publishing esprit of the Ballards; an idea that the printing of a monthly volume constituted a sort of quasi public-service by making accessible the newest and best compositions to the moneyed, singing-public. The publishing of those dramatic musical fragments also represents an act of musical democratisation whereby non-professional musicians could access and perform the music of a world that they did not inhabit, bringing the entertainment enjoyed by them in the theatre as spectators into the "living room" of the moneyed everyman.

Alongside the presence in the *Recueils* of these musical interludes from dramatic works, a small handful of airs from the lyric stage and from dance genres are also included in the Ballard publications, some in parody form.[106] For example, the Italian air from André Campra's *L'Europe Galante,* "*Ad un cuore",* has been adapted to a French text and is found in the *Recueil* of February 1698.[107] Goujon attributes a further air to Campra from the *Recueil* of the next month; *"Soupirons, tous suivons l'Amour sans nous contraindre"* from *L'Europe Galante* is printed in that volume with a new text, "*Un indiscret découvrirait croyant vous plaire*".[108] The May 1695 *Recueil* contains a solo air with traverso or violin obliggato and continuo from a *ballet* entitled *Saisons,* which was performed at the Académie royale de musique*,* the music for which Goujon identifies as being by Pascal Collasse.[109] Airs from the lyric stage, notably works by Campra, also entered the *Recueils* in the form of bacchanalian parodies. Although not examined in this study, these adaptations constitute a significant percentage of the *airs à boire* in the collection.[110]

The above are instances in which specific airs published in the *Recueils* which are extracted from dramatic or lyric works have crossed a certain threshold, leaving the stage and the sphere of the professional *acteur* or *comédien* to enter into a realm inhabited by a broader musical audience. As we shall see in chapter 3, the Ballard enterprise explicitly cast a broad net when publishing the *Recueils*, seeking to appeal to "*amateurs de la musique*" (music-lovers) and including songs which appeal to a spectrum of vocal abilities, from the amateur beginner through to the singer skilled enough to tackle the florid *doubles.*[111]

2.7 *Airs sérieux*, *réunions mondaines* and the salon

2.7.1 The evolution of the salon throughout the seventeenth century

In their studies, Catherine Gordon-Seifert and Anne-Madeleine Goulet in particular have painted detailed pictures of music-making and sociability, providing ample evidence of the presence of singing in worldly gatherings in the second-half of the seventeenth century in

[105] Goujon, 'Les "Recueils d'airs sérieux"', 2010, 49–50.
[106] Airs from the lyric stage also entered the *Recueils* in the form of bacchanalian parodies. Instrumental music added to lyric works was also occasionally printed in the *Recueils*. See further Goujon, 46–50.
[107] RASB 1698/2/26: "*Je vous aime"*.
[108] RASB 1698/3/56.
[109] Goujon, 'Les "Recueils d'airs sérieux"', 2010, 55.
[110] See further Goujon, 66–72.
[111] The embellished melody which results from the insertion of *passages* in the second or subsequent strophe of an air is known as the *double* (with the unadorned melody known as the *simple*).

Paris and the French provinces. Amongst the sociable meetings evoked are the famous salons presided over by the Marquise de Rambouillet in the *chambre bleue* in her residence near the Louvre between 1610 and 1650, and the subsequent continuation of the early incarnations of such gatherings by sponsors such as Gédéon Tallemant and his wife.

Numerous further examples of such activity sprang up in what Goulet terms the second phase (between 1650 and 1665), which witnessed gatherings hosted by Madeleine de Scudéry, Mademoiselle (the eldest daughter of Gaston d'Orléans) in the palais du Luxembourg, and Mme de La Calprenède in faubourg Saint-Germain. At the height of salon activity around 1660, Paris boasted forty salons with around 800 participants, of which 200 were writers. In the provinces, salon activity counted around 3000 participants. Evoking the popularity and indeed crowdedness of one such gathering, Goulet cites the writer Tallemant des Réaux, who commented that at one gathering of Mme de La Suze, there were so many people that it was chaos.

Many salons continued their activities in the second half of the seventeenth century and prospered. The gatherings of Mme de La Sablière, Ninon de Lenclos, and Mme Lambert, who was active from 1690, are several examples noted by Goulet.[112] In a letter to Madeleine de Scudéry dated 1699,[113] a member of the inner circle of the Duchesse de Maine evokes gallant recreations. Catherine Cessac describes these recreations as reminiscent of the salons of Mme de Rambouillet and Mlle de Scudéry, making references to conversation, games, songs, and poetry amongst other things,[114] providing further evidence that these worldly gatherings remained buoyant at the time of the publication of the early *Recueils.*[115]

2.7.2 Terminology – defining the salon

The starting point for any discussion of the salon and the role of vocal music in it must be one of terminology. Famously, although the word "salon" appears already in the seventeenth century, it referred simply to a large living room.[116] It was only in 1783 that it came to describe the polite gatherings of cultured, wealthy and select society-members.[117]

The word "salon" is misleading on other counts, too, as it anchors these gatherings to an architectural space. What emerges from the writings on the salon is the contrary view. These fashionable gatherings were not necessarily venue-specific and were not bound to a physical context. Context was flexible, ranging from a large room down to the smaller proportions of the *ruelle* (the reduced area between the wall and the hostess' bed on which she would typically recline, surrounded by her guests).[118] In short, salons took place wherever refined, worldly company gathered to exchange ideas and engage in polite

[112] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 588–90.
[113] Malezieu, *Les divertissemens de Seaux*, 28–55.
[114] Cessac, 'Les nuits de Sceaux', 81.
[115] Not only Paris witnessed the fashion for such sociable gatherings. Provincial cities also played host to these gatherings. See Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 589.
[116] See further Francalanza, 'Une occurrence du mot salon', 699.
[117] For a history of the usage of the word 'salon', see Francalanza, 'Une occurrence du mot salon'.
[118] Note Goulet's comment, that towards the end of the seventeenth century, the space occupied by such gatherings enlarged, moving from the *ruelle* more often to the space of a room. See *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 672.

conversation, and this could be a room, a *ruelle,* a *cabinet,* an alcove, or even an outdoors setting.

One commentator states that in the seventeenth century, the regularity of the meetings and keeping to a fixed day was an important defining feature of the salon.[119] Many such gatherings were indeed formalised and planned occasions, taking place on a regular basis. The gathering known as the "*samedi"* of Madeleine de Scudéry, for example, took place every Saturday in her home in the Marais district from 1653 onwards.[120] Another regular weekly gathering of people for the purposes of conversation is evoked in an account from 1674 in the *Mercure galant*.[121] On the other hand, a salon could equally unfold during an impromptu moment of rest or diversion during a walk with friends, as happens in Scudéry's *Conversation de l'esperance.*[122] Henceforth, the word "salon" will be used to describe this spectrum of sociable gatherings in which conversation, recitation of poetry, story-telling, dramatic declamation, reading aloud, the sociable composition of airs, and music-making took place, and "*salonnier*" or "*salonnière*" will refer to a salon hostess and participants, as the context dictates.

2.7.3 Admission to the salon and salon participants

Adhesion to certain shared aesthetic and moral values and conventions were the critical defining criteria of admission to these sociable gatherings[123] and were in fact the defining characteristics of nobility. Although these values habitually manifested themselves within people of aristocratic birth, it has been shown that nobility was a personal quality and a social grace which was not contingent on birth or economic status. Rather, nobility was a quality attributed to those whose comportment, decorum, manners, and ability to engage in gallant conversation evidenced their acceptance of certain rules and norms of behaviour. These qualities won a person entry into the refined world of the seventeenth-century salon, and once there, personal merit, as made manifest by one's ability to navigate gallant conversation, determined hierarchy.[124] One writer cites the example of the poet Vincent Voiture, the son of a wine merchant, who exemplified aristocratic refinement and was admitted to the exclusive gatherings of the hôtel de Rambouillet.[125] In her study of the seventeenth-century French salon, Carolyn Lougee concludes that salons were in fact a cultural melting pot of diverse social elites.[126] Members of the nobility willing to submit to its social codes were admitted to this world, and they could be newly endowed or of older stock. The perimeters of the salon were porous, moreover, permitting the bourgeoisie and newly-endowed nobility access to the culture of the elites, as well as accommodating free circulation between salons.[127]

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[119] Lilti, *Le monde des salons*, 65–66.
[120] Dejean, 'The Marais', 28.
[121] 'Mercure galant', June 1674, 24–26.
[122] Scudéry, *Conversations morales*, 1686; See also de Pure, *La Prétieuse*, 426–27 in which a conversation takes place in shaded public space next to a fountain.
[123] Fumaroli, 'Otium, convivium, sermo', 45.
[124] Fumaroli, *Trois institutions de la vie littéraire*, 128.
[125] Lecœur, 'Conversation and Performance', 1.
[126] Lougee, *Le Paradis Des Femmes*, 125.
[127] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 591.

Writers and poets were one important group of participants and their entry into these worldly gatherings allowed them access to a small percentage of their readers, permitting them to judge and observe taste and worldliness.[128] Talented composers also attended salons, and they played a crucial role in setting texts to music on demand during such gatherings and diverting the company by playing the lute or singing airs.[129] Distinct from the latter group, who were involved in the act of creation and more closely melded with the social status of *salonnières*, another group of musicians also frequented salon gatherings. These were professional performers, instrumentalists and singers who were engaged and remunerated to perform for salon guests. The relationship between salon hostess and professional musician was that of client and professional. Contemporary reports of the professional musicians involved provide few names, however, and Goulet suggests that a certain distance was maintained between paid performers and guests.[130]

An ambiguous relationship existed between singing and vocal training for the wealthy, leisured classes on the one hand, and singing as a professional on the other. As demonstrated above, musical training was entrenched in the education of the nobility and wealthy classes. While it was acceptable for a duchess to take singing lessons from Bacilly,[131] the social status of the professional singer was far from enviable, by contrast.[132] Bacilly himself talks of the disdain which meets people who hold themselves out to be singers.[133] One writer, François Raguenet, describes musicians as belonging to a lowly profession, or "*profession basse*".[134] As figures of ridicule and raillery in literature and drama, even the prospect of mingling with musicians on a social level was considered tiresome.[135] In her essay on music, pleasure, and education at Saint-Cyr, Anne Piéjus notes that the girls singing the chorus roles in the famous production of *Esther* of 1689 were instructed that their "*air modeste"* should be their distinguishing feature, demarcating themselves thereby from the professional singers from the *Chambre du roi* who were lending their professional expertise to the production.[136] At least in the case of the girls at Saint-Cyr, rather than the activity of singing for pleasure being perceived as an evil in itself, it was the behavior that this pleasure was thought to induce (such as frivolity and vanity) which was feared.[137]

2.7.4 Spatial aspects and the iconography of the salon

As part of this overview of the salon at the end of the seventeenth century, it is also important to build up a picture of the spatial aspects of these gatherings. Although typically associated with indoor gatherings in the rooms of *hôtels particuliers* of society hostesses in Paris, as discussed above, the concept of a salon was not venue-specific and could even occur outdoors, or wherever worldly people engaged in gallant exchange. In their informal

[128] Viala, *Naissance de l'écrivain*, 137.
[129] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 599.
[130] Goulet, 593.
[131] Duron, 'Nouveaux foyers', 123.
[132] The negative social image of "rank and file" professional singers and musicians as vain, crude, and lacking in distinction should be contrasted with the apparent respect shown to composers in court service and to star singers.
[133] Bacilly, 'Réponse', 5.
[134] Raguenet, *Paralele des Italiens et des François*, 112.
[135] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 593–94.
[136] Piéjus, 'Musique, plaisir et récréation enfantine', 110.
[137] Piéjus, 109.

incarnations in gardens, woods, and on walks, the natural possibilities are potentially boundless and only limited by the landscapes (both formal and informal) and natural phenomena of France at the end of the seventeenth century.

The formal, indoor salon settings are, of course, more restrained and quantifiable. Goulet has drawn a detailed sketch of the interior architectural spaces that recur as sites of music-making and conversation, allowing us to note the following facts.[138] The *chambre* was the place where one slept and where one received company. The *alcôve,* very much in vogue throughout the seventeenth century and sometimes used interchangeably with *ruelle,* is a sub-part of a *chambre*, which is separated from the rest of that room by a raised platform and several columns or architectural ornaments. The bed is usually placed in the *alcôve* and it is in the *alcôve* where chairs are placed for receiving company. The *ruelle* is the space between the bed and the wall. At the hôtel de Rambouillet*,* the hostess received salon invitees in the famous *chambre bleue,* sitting or reclined on a stately bed surrounded by her seated guests.[139] Research undertaken by Jean-Pierre Babelon reveals that this was a square room, each side measuring 7.8 metres. The *cabinet* is the most private space of the aforementioned, a retreat only found in the most beautiful apartments in palaces and large houses. It is situated beyond the *chambre*, allowing a degree of retirement and privacy, shielded from those more public spaces of *ruelle* and *alcôve*. Spaces were extensively and lavishly upholstered in multi-layers, not only for decorative reasons but as insulation from the cold. The screens, shutters, leather and fabric curtains, and heavy carpets created what Goulet describes as a "*univers capitonné*", reinforcing the intimacy of these spaces by isolating them against the exterior cold, noise, and crowds.[140]

Goulet further notes that the seventeenth century witnessed a considerable surge in interior decoration.[141] In rich Parisian residences, barely a surface was left empty. Every wall was covered in paintings, sculptures, or tapestry. Representations of a fertile and varied natural world in such decorative art presented a rich physical reminder of the pastoral scenes and natural features which are repeatedly evoked in the texts of the *airs sérieux* of both the *Livres d'airs* of Goulet's study[142] and the *Recueils.*

2.8 Conclusion

Alongside the formal, large-scale spectacles that dominated the first half of Louis XIV's reign, a flurry of alternative music-making activities existed, an overview of which has been presented in this chapter. These alternative musical fora included educational and religious institutions, provincial academies, satellite courts of the extended royal family, and the worldly gatherings that consituted the salon. Making their first appearance on the Parisian scene around 1610, the salon presented an alternative form of exclusivity to that surrounding the king, offering those members of the nobility and bourgeoisie who submitted to its rules the opportunity to mix and converse with their peers, artists, and writers, and, more problematically, professional musicians. Amongst the bourgeoisie and nobility, there sprang up a veritable mania for music, music lessons, and singing. Singing,

[138] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 672–76.
[139] Babelon, *Demeures parisiennes*, 196, note 17; as cited in Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 677.
[140] Mérot, *Retraites mondaines*, 68; as cited in Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 676.
[141] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 677.
[142] Goulet, 681.

along with conversation, poetic recitation, and reading aloud became a principal activity in the social, convivial atmosphere of the salon. Just as the *tragédie lyrique* had developed to "fit" the grandeur of its surroundings, so the reduced architectural space of the salon which is described in this chapter germinated, in part, its own genre – the *air sérieux.* Such was the influence and appeal of these brief airs, often themselves the product of creative salon collaborations, that singers from a wide social and vocal demographic turned their hands to performing them.

The *airs sérieux* in the early *Recueils* commanded the creative attention of composers of the likes of Charpentier and Campra, and several airs from the *Recueils* studied have been demonstrated to have been drawn from stage works. Although somewhat under the radar of academic attention, airs of the type found in the *Recueils* made appearances on the lyric and theatrical stage, forming part of larger dramatic works, too.

The placing of airs drawn from stage works at the ready disposal of the broad demographic envisaged by the Ballard publication prompts one of the major lines of inquiry underpinning this study; namely, how did these dramatic airs sound when performed by those from the moneyed, leisured classes, who, as demonstrated in this chapter, sought not to emulate but to distinguish themselves from stage professionals and stage renditions of this same music?

Chapter 3

The *airs sérieux* and the *Recueils* as indicators of musical practice – a forensic investigation

3.1 Introduction

The way in which a score is notated musically and its physical format can both influence and reflect the performance practice associated with it. In this chapter, I firstly situate the *Recueils* in their publishing context, then examine the *airs sérieux* and the *Recueils* as forensic objects, looking at parameters such as vocal tessitura, voice combinations and setting, ornamentation markings, and accompaniment indications. I look at the printing format of the *Recueils* themselves, examining page layout and editorial choices in order to build up a picture of the type of singer who might have sung these airs, their technical abilities, and the context in which they were sung.

3.2 The Ballard publishing house and publication context of the *Recueils*

Well before the publication of the first *Recueil,* the Ballard publishing house had long enjoyed success. Formed in 1551, the family enterprise held the exclusive royal privilege for printing music in France.[143] Although the public face of Ballard is best known for the printing of the operas of Jean-Baptiste Lully, the firm also pioneered the idea of an anthology of works, producing the highly successful seven-volume *Airs de cour et de différents auteurs* and numerous other collections.[144] As well, the firm published composer-specific collections by the brightest stars of the day.[145]

By the time it launched the *Recueils* in 1695, the Ballards could boast of a pedigree of almost one hundred and fifty years of royal association and of solid commercial success in the printing of editions of vocal airs.

In 1692, three years before the launch of the *Recueils*, Christophe Ballard foreshadowed the advent of the new collection:

> *Mais comme les habiles Maistres de ce bel Art font toûjours des Airs nouveaux, & que le Public les desire avec empressement, s'ils vouloient me les envoyer dés qu'ils les ont faits, je pourrois peut-estre en avoir assez pour en faire un petit Recueil tous les mois*.[146]

Ballard's new endeavour was not realised immediately, however. The end of 1694 saw the launch of the transitionary *Airs sérieux et à boire de différents autheurs pour les mois d'octobre, novembre et décembre 1694,* which Ballard expressed to be a trial for the *Recueils*.[147]

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[143] See the introduction of Guillo, *Pierre I Ballard et Robert III Ballard* from which much of this information is drawn.

[144] See Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité,* 38.

[145] See for example the collections printed by Ballard of the works of Michel Lambert, Bertrand 'Bénigne' de Bacilly, Sébastien Le Camus, Joseph Chabanceau de La Barre and Jean-Baptiste Drouard de Bousset.

[146] Foreword to Ballard, *XXXV. Livre d'airs*. 'But as the skilful masters of this beautiful art are always creating new airs, and as the public desires them with such eagerness, if they would like to send them to me as soon as they are finished, I could perhaps have enough to make a small collection of them each month'.

[147] Note further that Goulet identifies a Ballard publication precursing this one, the *Premier recueil d'airs sérieux et à boire de differents autheurs à deux & trois parties* of 1679. See *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 38.

In the foreword to the *Recueil* of January 1695, Ballard elaborates on his conception:

> *La proposition que j'ay faite dans le dernier Livre d'Airs de differents Autheurs de donner tous les mois au Public un pareil Livre de tout ce qu'il y auroit de plus beau & de plus nouveau des meilleurs Autheurs, à commencer au premier jour de la presente année 1695, a esté receuë avec tant d'applaudissement de tous ceux qui aiment la Musique, que je me vois necessairement obligé d'executer ma parole, en commençant de leur donner par ce premier Livre la satisfaction qu'ils ont esperé de mon service & de mon travail, qui leur doit estre d'autant plus agreable que j'ay tâché de le rendre considerable, & digne de leur approbation, tant par le choix des belles paroles, que par celuy des Airs que les plus habiles & celebres Autheurs en ce bel Art y ont fait.*[148]

The first *Recueil* in 1695 appeared at a significant moment in the affairs of the Ballards. The year before witnessed the final publication of two of its long-running, prestigious collections: the *Livres d'airs* (published annually from 1658 and consisting almost entirely of *airs sérieux*) and the *Recueils de chansonnettes de différents autheurs à deux et trois parties* (published from 1675). The *Recueils* represented a new approach for Ballard - a monthly rather than an annual publication and an eclectic collection in which *airs sérieux* were printed along with *airs à boire* and other categories of song.[149]

The forewords of 1695 and 1692 cited above reveal several noteworthy features of the *Recueils*. Firstly, the *Recueils* were intended to take up the baton from the discontinued *Livres d'airs*, providing to the public a "*pareil Livre*" (similar book). Secondly, the *Recueils* were a responsive publication, the idea of which Ballard had proposed to the public and which had been greeted enthusiastically with "*tant d'applaudissement*" (great applause).[150] Further, the foreword of 1692 is revelatory of the public who bought the *Recueils,* which, according to Ballard was an avid public, waiting on the latest airs by the most skilful masters with eagerness ("*avec empressement*").

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[148] 'The proposition which I made in the last *Livre d'Airs de differents Autheurs* to give to the public each month a similar book containing all that is the most beautiful and new by the best composers, to be started on the first day of this present year, 1695, has been received with so much approval by all those who like music, that I find myself necessarily obliged to execute my promise, by starting to give them by way of this first book the satisfaction of my service and work, which they had hoped for, and which should be especially pleasing since I have tried to make it worthy of consideration and of their approval, as much by the choice of beautiful texts as by the choice of airs by the most skilful and renowned authors of this beautiful art'.

[149] *Airs à boire* had, until that time, been printed in composer-specific collections. Ballard had also published several collections of *airs à boire*, namely *II. Livre des meslanges de chansons, airs sérieux et à boire, à 2 & 3 parties* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1674) and *Premier recueil d'airs sérieux et à boire de différents autheurs à deux & trois parties* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1679). For an overview of the genres included in the *Recueils*, see Goujon, 'Les "Recueils d'airs sérieux"', 45-52 and section 3.5 below.

[150] Further evidence of interaction between Ballard and the public is evidenced in the forewords to the *Recueils* of January 1696, September 1698 and particularly in the *Avertissement* which appears in the *Recueil* of June 1698, where Ballard specifies that his printing of several airs from the past that month was at the request of and for the satisfaction of several people who had demanded them. Similarly, in the postscript to the *Recueil* of April 1699, Ballard states that his decision to print repertoire from former times which had not yet been printed was to satisfy several people who were still looking for them.

Of the *airs sérieux* themselves within the repertoire studied, a number of sub-genres can be noted: airs based on dance rhythms, canons, airs which are classified as "*chansonnettes",* "*printemps",* and "*petits airs sérieux".* The dominant characteristics of those pieces which Ballard classifies as "*airs sérieux"* in his tables of contents are their brevity (they are usually based on a two-stanza, eight-line poem in French), their binary format, their syllabic writing which typically deals with love, and their habitual setting for solo voice and continuo. The *air sérieux* was the progeny of the *air de cour*, the four or five part air dating from at least as early as the start of that century, which then evolved into the solo courtly air intabulated for lute.

The longevity of the *Recueils* was evidence of its commercial success. The prosperity of the publishing house was dependent on the firm's reading of the desires of its clientele and the meeting of those demands, a task at which the Ballards apparently excelled.

3.2 Size and publication format

Whereas its predecessor, the *Livres d'airs*, had been presented *in-octavo*, for the monthly *Recueil*, Ballard adopted the larger, *in-quarto* format. This new, larger format was in fact instituted in 1694 for the transitional publication, the *Airs sérieux et à boire, de différents autheurs, pour le mois d'octobre, novembre et décembre,* which acted as a trial for Ballard to test consumer appetite for a more frequent publication rhythm for vocal music. In the preface to that transitionary publication, Ballard stated that the new, larger format was produced "*pour la commodité de ceux qui joüent des Instruments*".[151] With user convenience at its centre, the larger format was evidently deemed successful by Ballard as it was retained throughout the thirty year life-span of the *Recueils*.

In practical terms, whether or not just benefiting the accompanying instrumentalist (as the paratext to the transitionary publication suggests), performing from an oblong, *in-quarto* edition represents a significant "readability" advantage for all performers, providing a larger score with a longer line of musical material to read with fewer system changes for the eye to negotiate and fewer page turns. There is no doubt that for those performing from the *in-quarto Recueils*, the experience was indeed more commodious. Firstly, the *in-quarto* format measures approximately 190 millimetres high and 242 millimetres across.[152] This amounts to an increase in size from the smaller dimensions of the upright, *in-octavo Livres d'airs*, which measure approximately 210 millimetres high and 148 millimetres across. With its larger page size, the size of the characters in the *Recueils* was also larger and therefore easier to read. As has been previously noted, the *in-quarto* format sits more easily on the music-stand of a harpsichord.[153]

For various other vocal collections which were published concurrently with the *in-quarto Recueils*, Ballard continued to persist with an *in-octavo* format.[154] The fact that the change to *in-quarto* format for the *Recueils* was not a format change which was adopted by the publishing house across the board for all its vocal music reveals that printing size was

[151] *Avis au lecteur* to the 1694 *Recueil*. 'For the ease of instrumentalists'.
[152] These measurements were taken from the leather covers of the *Recueils* when bound in their annual format.
[153] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 41.
[154] See for example the *in-octavo* collections of airs listed in Ballard, *Catalogue des livres de musique*, 2.

evidently decided on a publication-by-publication basis, and that in the case of the *Recueils,* Ballard consciously chose for a larger format which lent itself to practical usage.

In his article on text and image, Alain-Marie Bassy comments that the format of a book is one of the most pertinent indicators of the way it functions;[155] in the context of literature rather than music printing specifically, Bassy states that small, *in-octavo* formats, on the one hand, create objects which are intimate to the owner, are easily carried around on the person, and lend themselves to private reading, whereas large formats such as *in-folio* and *in-quarto* were traditionally used for publications which became objects of society, aspiring to continuity and monumentality, with longevity in mind. The *Recueils* was certainly a collection which achieved this latter characteristic of continuity and longevity; the sheer publication span of the collection as well as the fact that in the Ballard catalogues until at least 1731, the collection of *Recueils* in its entirety (at that stage dating back thirty-six years to 1695) was still offered for sale, is a firm attestation of this.

In his description of the various publication trends in book sizes, one of the drivers identified by Bassy as at play for publishers in choosing to print in a certain book size is the economics of production cost; larger formats such as the *Recueils* were more expensive to produce, while small formats (*in-octavo* and smaller) were often favoured by publishers because of the reduced cost involved.[156] For the Ballard publishing house, the decision to produce the *Recueils* in a large and expensive format, replete with decorative, non-essential printed adornments, must have satisfied a commercial logic, attesting to the popularity and public support for this publication.

3.3 Moveable type

The *Recueils* which form the subject of this study are all printed in moveable type. This technique had been used by Ballard since the middle of the sixteenth century and consisted of assembling a line of music by juxtaposing individual metal musical characters, each of which contained the note or other character on a staff of lines.[157] These characters, which had been in use by the Ballard firm since the days when it was trading under the name "Le Roy & Ballard", were fiercely guarded by the publishing house[158] as a practical means of enforcing its monopoly over the printing of music.

In the 1660s in France, *in taglio* engraving came to be used for reproducing music. This technique was already well developed in the publishing of written texts thanks to the strong presence of Flemish engravers in Paris at the start of that century. Music engraving offered many practical advantages over moveable type. Engraving allowed publishers to be more economical: the engraving process involved creating copper or tin plates which could be preserved and corrected, and this would allow publishers to re-print from the plates rather than having to go to the expense of speculatively printing larger than necessary numbers of a publication and potentially having to store stockpiles of unsold music, as was the case with moveable type.[159] Engravers had great skill in reproducing ornaments, phrase marks, large

[155] Bassy, 'Le texte et l'image', 148.
[156] Bassy, 148.
[157] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 42–43.
[158] Guillo, *Pierre I Ballard et Robert III Ballard*, 1:208.
[159] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 44.

numbers of fast notes, and dots, and the printing of complex music such as *doubles* was well suited to this technique. Engraving produced a result which has been described by Guillo as a sort of "*manuscrit édité*".[160]

The Ballard's loyalty to moveable type printing persisted, however. While the Ballard *privilège* accorded to them a comfortable position which was, in principle, sheltered from competition, this comfort was at the expense of moving with trends and evolutions in printing techniques, and the Ballard's continued use of moveable type has been cited as one reason for the eventual decline in dominance of the publishing house. Viewed alongside engraved music, with its growing competitive presence on the French publishing landscape, the presentation of the music of the pages of the *Recueils* must have seemed somewhat outmoded, even in its own time.

3.4 Page layout

3.4.1 Score format

The airs of the *Recueils* are presented in score format rather than parts, with the bass part printed immediately underneath the melody and, in the case of multi-voiced airs, with all vocal parts vertically aligning. Bar lines are present in all airs.[161] The added clarity offered by the size and score format of the *Recueils* is immediately discernible when comparing the air for three voices in figure 3.1 from the *Livres d'airs*, with an air for the same setting from the *Recueils* in figure 3.2.[162]

[160] Guillo, *Pierre I Ballard et Robert III Ballard*, 1:3.

[161] Score format and bar lines had been introduced into the *Livres d'airs* in 1685. Both features were retained in the *Recueils*.

[162] Note that in the *Livres d'airs*, the parts were printed on facing pages with the higher voice on the left page and the lower voice and/or accompaniment on the right. In the case of airs for three voices, this practice was observed and the third voice was printed at the foot of the left and right pages.

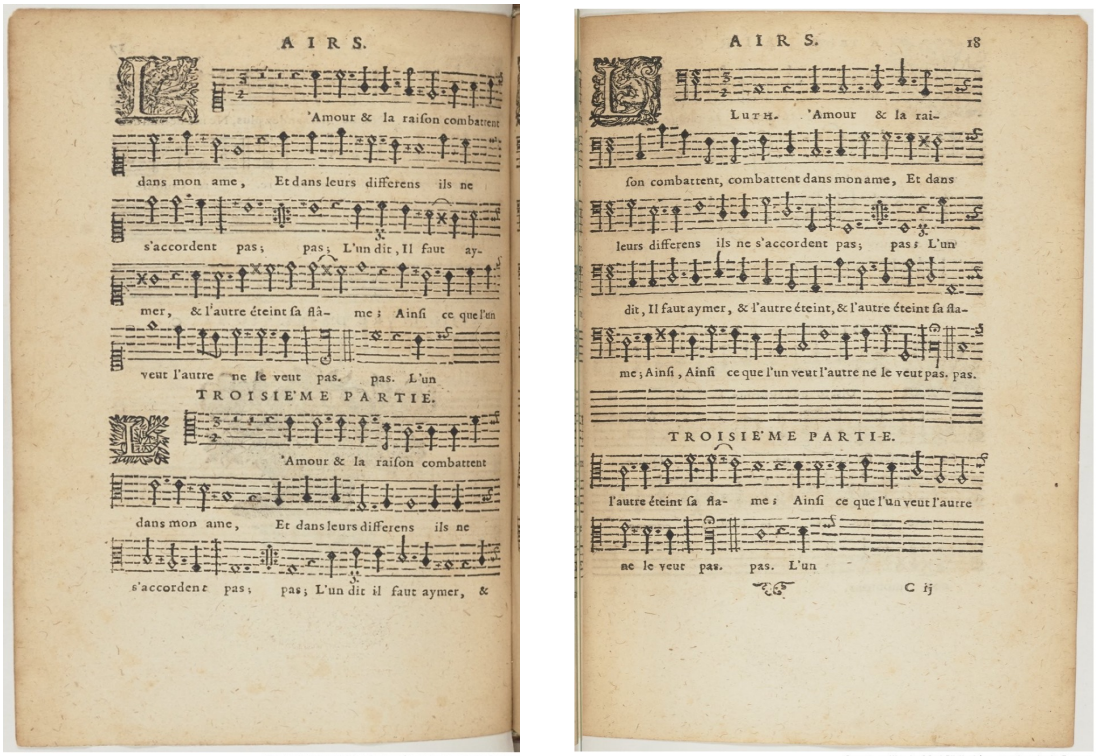
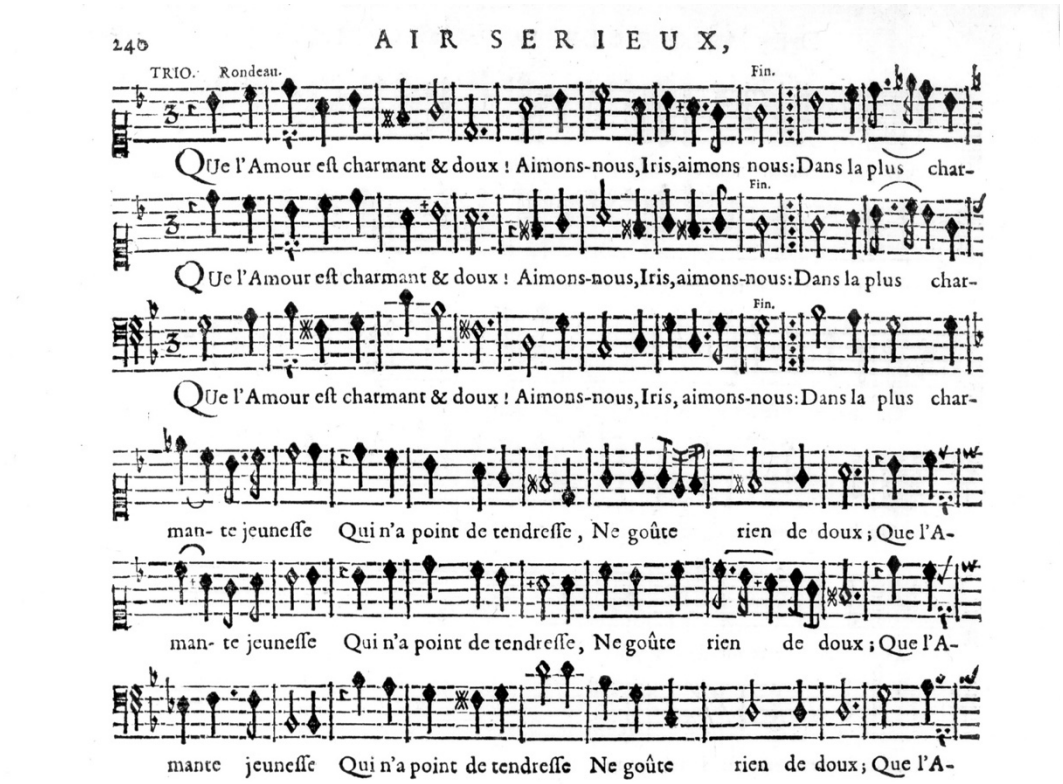


Figure 3.1: "*Amour & la raison combattent dans mon ame*" from *XXVIII. Livre d'airs de différents autheurs à deux et trois parties* (1675), 17-18.



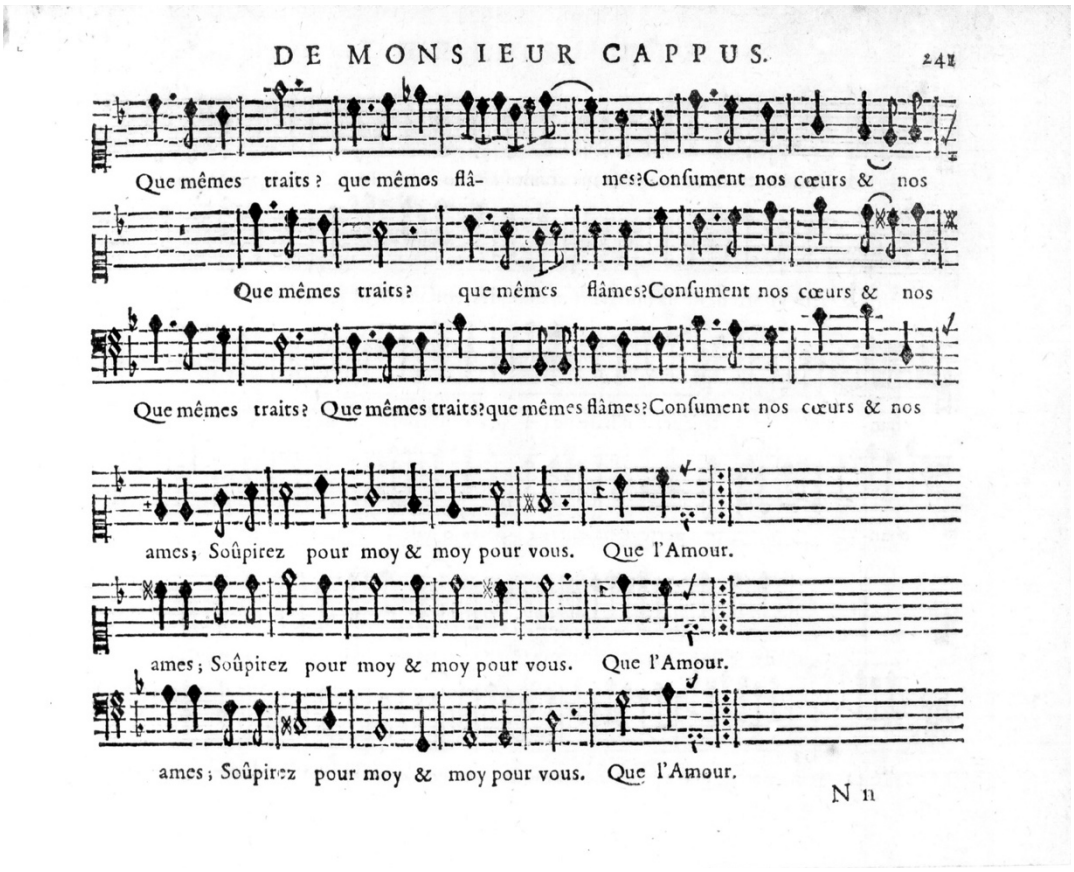


Figure 3.2: RASB 1699/12/240: *"Que l'Amour est charmant & doux"* by Monsieur Cappus.

Ensemble members no longer had to rely on the assiduous counting of rests required with part-book singing. Score format greatly facilitates the process of sight-reading a piece, since it allows performers to follow the other parts to find their entries. This feature undoubtedly also makes a piece ready to be performed sooner. Ballard's decision to retain score format for the *Recueils* suggests that his clientele wanted to be able to make music with others readily and sing through or perform the latest repertoire with ease. Whether the introduction of score format meant that the publication definitively moved its ambit towards the musical "everyman" is not clear, but it is consistent with such a trend.

3.4.2 Typographical ornaments

The *Recueils* abound in decorative flourishes which are non-essential to the musical reading of the collection. Lavish letters (*lettres grises*) ornament the initial letter in the title of the first air listed in the table of contents each month. They also regularly appear at the start of other sections of text, such as the *Privilège*, although in contrast to the *Livres d'airs*, no such ornaments appear at the start of each air in the *Recueils*.

Each page of the *Recueils* can accommodate three two-line systems of music and where the placement of music on the page would otherwise leave a void at the end of an air, Ballard habitually fills this space with ornamental motifs of varying sizes (floral arrangements with grotesques, lavish arrangements of fruits and flowers in urns supported by cherubs, baskets of flowers flanked by insects, diamond-shaped floral ornaments, and triangular vignettes or *culs-de-lampe*[163]).

Decorative elements are present elsewhere, too. In airs printed with multiple verses where the existing spacing between each verse (and in some cases, the verse numbering) would be sufficient to delineate one verse from another, Ballard has often chosen to insert small floral motifs between verses.[164] The table of contents for each month's *Recueil* is adorned with a decorative banner, and the first air printed in each volume is adorned with an elaborate, illustrative banner at the top of the page, often featuring cherubs, scrolled patterns, and floral curvilinear motifs.[165]

In the case of the January instalments of the collection, the elaborate border of the title page typically features cherubs on plinths, heraldic angels sounding straight trumpets, agricultural produce, and military and combat motifs. The title pages for the remaining months of the year are less elaborate, with the borders being smaller and consisting of a repeated floral pattern.

3.4.3 Placement of text

In the *Recueils,* the words of the song texts are generally printed under their corresponding notes, affording the singer a certain facility and ease when reading and performing. For longer words or where space would otherwise not allow words to be placed under their corresponding notes, Ballard has adopted an abbreviation policy (both abbreviating words

[163] For representative examples, see RASB 1695/1/7 (grotesques), RASB 1695/1/11 (urn supported by cherubs), RASB 1695/2/61, RASB 1695/1/15 (diamond), and RASB 1695/1/21 (triangular vignettes).
[164] See for example RASB 1696/1/21.
[165] See for example RASB 1698/10/191.

and using an ampersand to replace the word *"et*") which gives precedence to maintaining this facility for the singer.

Verses subsequent to the first which are not set to *doubles* are generally printed in a block at the end of the first verse immediately below the score, although occasionally where space allows, the second verse has been printed underneath the text of the first verse within the score itself.[166]

3.4.4 Page layout and commercial considerations

In their article on initial letters and typographical ornaments in printed music from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Guillo and Noailly demonstrate that when typesetting music, space constraints can influence the choice of size of initial letters and the development of codas and diminutions.[167] In particular, they describe the practical strategies which were open to type-setters when they had a small, final part of a composition run over to a subsequent page. These strategies included filling the void space on the subsequent page with ornamental motifs, using smaller than usual initial letters which covered less surface of the page in order to fit the music onto one page, simply setting the music closer together, or even editing the compositions to make them shorter.[168] The authors examine, in particular, a lute publication emanating from the Le Roy and Ballard house in the sixteenth century,[169] and identify the following space-saving strategies as at play in that publication: compacting the type to allow it to fit onto one page which forces an elimination of the final repeat sign, use of a smaller initial letter, use of a final struck chord rather than a short coda, and possibly less development of diminutions.

In the case of the *Recueils,* the same pondering over page layout as described by Guillo and Noailly must surely have taken place as an inevitable step in the process of assembling the monthly collection. As we have seen above, the *Recueils* are rich in non-musical motifs which are used to fill voids at the end of airs. In contrast to the publication considered by Guillo and Noailly, the airs in the *Recueils* do not bear ornamental initial letters, so adjusting the size of these was not open to Ballard as a space-saving option.

Without identifying and systematically comparing the *airs sérieux* of the *Recueils* with concordances in other sources, it is not possible to state definitively the extent to which Ballard has edited or abbreviated the airs in the *Recueils.* It is possible to speculate, however, that owing to the frequent occurrence of a piece's final bars on a second or subsequent page with the remaining void being filled with an ornamental figure, Ballard did not engage in the practice of shortening the brief compositions which were submitted to him. In fact, spacing appears ample rather than compacted and space-saving did not seem to be Ballard's governing imperative. As was found to be the case in the publication examined by Guillo and Noailly, typographical considerations also influenced the appearance and the make-up of the collection under study. In the case of the *Recueils,* however, the direction in which these considerations were brought to bear is a direction of

[166] See for example RASB 1696/3/62 and 1696/8/162.
[167] Guillo and Noailly, 'Typographical Ornaments in Music Prints'.
[168] Guillo and Noailly, 116.
[169] Guillo and Noailly, 117.

generous enhancement, in which the aesthetics and readability of the composition are promoted rather than economised on.

3.5 Classification of the airs

Ballard shows great care in indicating sub-categories of the *airs sérieux* in the collection. Each air receives a sub-classification (such as *Chansonnette, Chansonnette Sérieuse, Rondeau, Sarabande, Printemps, Petit Air,* or *Récit de Basse)* which is printed at the top of each page, above the music.

3.6 Table of contents and the role of the incipits

All but one of the monthly *Recueils* reviewed for this study includes a table of contents page.[170] The contents pages are found at the start of each book, usually on the first *recto* page after the title page. The exception to this rule is the January *Recueil* for each year, where the table of contents page is printed at the end of the volume, after the last air.

The table of contents categorizes and lists the airs in the *Recueils* according to three principal genres: *airs sérieux, airs à boire,* and *airs italiens.*[171] In the *Recueils* studied, one air is written in dialect and listed as an *air provençal*.[172] The categorization of songs is seemingly determined by semantic and linguistic considerations. For example, songs with drinking references (either explicit: *vin, liqueur* etc. or metaphorical: *Bacchus* etc.) are listed under the sub-heading, *airs à boire.* Sometimes, however, drinking texts are printed as additional verses to airs with otherwise serious texts and in these instances, categorization is varied; the drinking verses are sometimes accorded their own individual title and are listed under *airs à boire* in addition to their non-drinking verses appearing under the heading, *airs sérieux.*[173] On other occasions, songs with hybrid texts are simply treated as *airs sérieux* and listed as such[174] or listed as *airs à boire.*[175] Airs in Italian are without exception listed in the table of contents under *airs italiens.* Further specifications intermittently appear in the table of contents as to an air being "*pour dancer*", for example, but these are not recorded with any regularity.

The *Recueils* also sometimes contain pieces which are purely instrumental, and these also receive unsystematic treatment when it comes to their positioning within the table of contents; some are listed under *airs sérieux*[176] and others, which are a component of a larger, multi-part work appear under *airs à boire*.[177] In other instances, instrumental pieces

[170] The exception is the *Recueil* of June 1695.
[171] An exception to this rule is found in the *Recueil* of February 1698 where there is no apparent categorization of airs and all genres are listed together with no sub-heading indicating their nature. Another exception is found in the *Recueil* of October 1698, which consists in its entirety of works from *La Comédie des Curieux* and does not include a contents page.
[172] See RASB 1699/7/128.
[173] See for example RASB 1699/7/125.
[174] See for example RASB 1699/4/78, 1697/12/1, and RASB 1697/12/225.
[175] See for example RASB 1698/4/2.
[176] See for example the *Rigaudons* and *Air Espagnol* which are expressed to have been omitted from the printing of the opera, *Amadis de Grèce*. See RASB 1699/4/74 and RASB 1699/4/76.
[177] This is the case with the *simphonies du divertissement* from the *Comédie du Mary retrouvé* found in RASB 1698/11/224, which makes up the majority of the *Recueil* for November 1698.

which precede and share the same musical material as sung airs and thereby effectively form an introduction to them are ignored by the table of contents completely and are not referenced there, with the page on which the vocal portion of the air begins being referenced in the table of contents as the start of the air.[178]

With only one exception[179] in the *Recueils* under investigation, the entries listed in the table of contents constitute the textual incipits of the airs. This same policy of using only the textual incipits in the contents pages is at play where airs are drawn from larger works such as *Comédies*, *Pastorales*, and operas; rather than listing the name of the larger work from which the airs in question are drawn, the larger work is referenced only within the body of the volume itself.[180]

Incipits of the *airs sérieux* are listed alphabetically with a corresponding page number. Some errors inevitably occurred.[181] *Doubles* and subsequent verses are generally marked as such in the table of contents.[182] In the earlier volumes of the publication, *doubles* and subsequent verses are also listed alphabetically by incipit in the table of contents, often therefore appearing non-adjacent to and separate from their corresponding *simple* or first verse within the alphabetical list.[183] This practice changed in October 1696, from which point onwards *doubles, second couplets* and subsequent verses were generally listed directly after their first verses.

Although composers or poets are not mentioned in the table of contents, composers are commonly referenced above the relevant air in the body of the *Recueil*. Poets are mentioned less frequently. Appendix 1 lists composers who are either fully named or referenced in relation to *airs sérieux* in the *Recueils* published between 1695 and 1699.[184] In contrast to the *Livres d'Airs,* composer attributions in the *Recueils* are standard; within the *Recueils* the subject of this study, only eighty-three airs make no mention of a composer. As noted by Goujon[185] in relation to the complete set of *Recueils* published between 1695 and 1724, a non-negligible proportion of composers remain in partial anonymity or, effectively, complete anonymity, as some of these composer references cryptically refer only to initial letters of surnames.

As described above, in the December 1695 publication, Ballard indicates to his readers an intention to publish at the start of the following year a free annual table of contents covering the airs printed over the course of 1695, which would allow the monthly editions to be bound into one single, annual volume.[186] For those taking up the offer of the annual index, Ballard envisaged the disposal of the monthly table of contents page. In the *Recueils* examined, the monthly books have indeed been bound into one annual volume with the

[178] See for example the instrumental *ritournelle* which precedes the air found at RASB 1697/1/4.
[179] See RASB 1697/10/200: "*Plusieurs Couplets sur le retour de la Foire de Besons"*.
[180] See for example the treatment of the airs from *Mirtil et Melicerte* in the *Recueils* of February and September 1699.
[181] See for example the *Recueils* of October and December 1696, and January 1697.
[182] An exception occurs in the *Recueil* of August 1698.
[183] The *double* is, however, printed contiguous to the relevant *simple* in the body of the publication itself.
[184] For a full list of attributions of anonymous airs in the *Recueils,* see Goujon, 'Les "Recueils d'airs sérieux"', 2010, 59–72.
[185] Goujon, 'Les "Recueils d'airs sérieux"', 2010.
[186] *Avertissement* to the *Recueil* of December 1695.

annual table of contents at the end. The monthly table of contents pages have in fact been retained, however, and it is fortunate that Ballard's advice as to disposing of this page has not been followed, as these pages contain significant information.

The annual indexes of airs reflect the presentation of the monthly indexes; airs are listed under the categories *airs sérieux, airs à boire* and set out alphabetically, generally by textual incipits and occasionally by title.[187] In the annual index for 1695, *doubles* or subsequent verses are listed alphabetically by incipit, often appearing non-adjacent to and separate from their relevant *simple* or first verse within the alphabetical list. Reflecting the change of strategy in the monthly edition, the annual index for 1696 lists its *doubles* and subsequent verses non-alphabetically, rather, marrying them up with the entries for the relevant first verses. This practice was not systematically followed, however.

A review of the table of contents pages for the collection reveals the incipits of the airs to be the most consistently presented feature. By looking at the table of contents in isolation, a user of the collection would have been unable to carry out a search for an air by the name of its composer, unable to reliably search by voice-type or instrumental setting or number of voices or instruments, and largely unable to search by the name of the greater musical work from which a particular *air sérieux* was drawn.

The presentation of the airs in the table of contents in alphabetical order by incipit facilitated a search for airs on a textual rather than a sequential basis. It was the incipit of the air which was given pre-eminence and which one can reliably conclude either to have been crafted by Ballard into, or to have been simply reflective of, the search criteria favoured by users of the collection. The absence of reliable information as to other search parameters evidences the paramountcy of the textual incipit and suggests that these sometimes very modest compositions took on a role and status of their own; the airs were seemingly known in their own right, separate and independent from the larger works to which they belonged. The fact that an air was by a particular composer or for a particular voice-type or setting was presumably less imprinted on the musical consciousness and aural memory of the users of the collection than the words and melodic shape of the airs themselves.

3.7 Clefs as an indicator of voice types and settings

There are no explicit dedicatees to be found in the collection. However, Ballard makes implicit references in para-musical material to his target market on several occasions, expressing the *Recueils* to be, variously, "*Au Public*" and "*le Public*" (for the public),[188] for "*amateurs de la musique*" (those who hold an affection for music),[189] and for "*tous ceux qui aiment la Musique*" (all those who love music).[190]

[187] See for example *Plusieurs Couplets sur le retour de la Foire de Besons,* found in the *Recueil* of October 1697.
[188] *Au lecteur* to Ballard, *Recueil d'airs sérieux*, 1695, n.p.; *Au lecteur* to Ballard, *Recueil d'airs sérieux*, 1696, 3; *Avertissement* to Ballard, *Recueil d'airs sérieux*, 1698, n.p.; foreword to Ballard, *Recueil d'airs sérieux*, 1698, n.p.
[189] Foreword to the *Recueil* of January 1696, 3.
[190] Foreword to the *Recueil* of January 1695, 3.

In the absence of explicit dedicatees, it is interesting to examine the voice and ensemble combinations featured in the publication. A study of the voice-types implied by the choice of clefs provides a profile of the likely intended consumers and performers of the airs.

Table 3.1 lists in descending order the different sound combinations found in the *Recueils* under investigation, with the material in table 3.2 presenting the voice-types corresponding with these clefs. The figures indicate several trends. Firstly, the predilection of Ballard for solo song accompanied by continuo: almost 88 per cent of the *airs sérieux* examined are for solo voice and continuo, representing a drifting away from the multi-voice songs dominating the *Livres d'airs*.[191] Secondly, the overwhelming majority of the *airs sérieux* under consideration are for the female voice. Settings for solo *bas-dessus* (a lower soprano voice using the clef ut1) and continuo are the most numerous in the collection, followed by settings for *dessus,* or a slightly higher female range with continuo (indicated by the clef sol2). The high female voice range also features in the multi-voice airs, with a preponderance of duets set for *bas-dessus* and *basse-contre* (bass), followed by duets for *dessus* and *basse-contre.* Of the male voice-types, *haute-contre* (high tenor) and *basse-contre* are the most prevalent.

[191] In Goulet, *Poésie, Musique et Sociabilité, 102,* the author notes that the most common setting was for the 2-voiced combination of *bas-dessus* and *basse-contre* (34 percent) followed by songs scored for *bas-dessus* and continuo (30 percent) then songs for *dessus* and *basse-taille* (14 percent).

Table 3.1: Clefs as an indication of voice-type and settings

Settings	Number of airs	%
Ut1, BC	380	74.07
Sol2, BC	53	10.33
Ut1, fa4	20	3.90
Ut3, BC	10	1.99
Sol2, fa4	9	1.75
Ut1, ut1, fa4	7	1.36
Sol1, BC	5	.97
Ut1, instruments, and BC	5	.97
Ut3, fa4	3	.58
Ut1, ut1, BC	3	.58
Sol2, ut3, BC	3	.58
Sol2	2	.39
Sol2, fa3, BC	2	.39
Ut1	1	.19
Fa3	1	.19
Fa3, BC	1	.19
Sol2, fa3	1	.19
Sol2, ut1	1	.19
Fa4, ut4, BC	1	.19
Sol2, ut1, fa4	1	.19
Ut3, ut4, fa4	1	.19
Sol2, instruments, and BC	1	.19
Fa3, instruments, and *luth*	1	.19
Ut4, instruments, and BC	1	.19
Total	513	

Note: “BC” indicates “basso continuo”. The information presented in table 3.1 categorizes airs according to voice-types. Airs with obbligato instruments, for example, have been listed according to their voice setting, not listed according to the instruments used. Table 3.1 does not include airs which are purely instrumental. Additionally, the information reflects the policy adopted by Ballard in assigning *doubles* and fragments of larger works a separate entry in the table of contents.

Table 3.2: Voice-types associated with the clefs listed in table 3.1

Clef	Voice-type
Sol1	*Dessus* (high soprano)
Sol2	*Dessus* (high soprano)
Ut1	*Bas-dessus* (low or second soprano)
Ut3	*Haute-contre* (high tenor)
Ut4	*Taille* (tenor)
Fa3	*Basse-taille* (low tenor)
Fa4	*Basse-contre* (bass)

As demonstrated above, the *Recueils* acted both as a mirror of current practice as well as a predictor and creator of new trends. It is not clear whether the pre-dominance of airs for high female voice was reflective of a musical practice in which women were the pre-dominant performers, or whether Ballard, in potentially transposing the airs to suit gender and voice-type, helped to create this market. The trend is, however, reflective of Bacilly's comment as to the advantages enjoyed by the higher voice ranges, in their ability to demonstrate a greater number of emotions and passions to good advantage than the lower ones.[192]

Six of the serious airs from the *Recueils* have an upper instrumental part, either for violin[193] or for transverse flute[194] in which the instrument provides an obbligato part to the voice, or features in a *ritournelle* to the air, a setting which strongly evokes the cantata which developed and flourished in the early part of the following century.

3.8 Poetic voice

The first-person poetic voice dominates the texts of the *airs sérieux* of the collection. Occasional exceptions to this rule occur, where the narrator presents him- or herself as an external onlooker, narrating in the third-person. In these latter songs, the recounting of actions and events (as opposed to the expression of personal feelings) constitutes the principal poetic material.[195] The early *Recueils* also feature several airs which present pithy, general observations (usually about love). These observations are in the nature of maxims or aphorisms, such as an air from the 1696 *Recueil* which concludes that often amorous sighs betray the desires of a heart which appears to be tranquil.[196] Such maxims were a feature of gallant literature.[197]

As shown above, the usership attested to by the clef indications suggests a predominance of female singers. A reading of the poetic texts implies the contrary, however; of the texts with a first-person poetic voice, the vast majority remain either explicitly or impliedly male.[198] It is not in any doubt, however, that women sang profane airs such as the *airs sérieux* the subject of this study. Rather, the disjuncture between text and music should be viewed against the backdrop of the prevailing salon values of *politesse* and *bienséance* (explored below in chapter 6); casting women as men created a safe space for the expression of emotions that the requirements of modesty would otherwise have silenced.

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[192] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 45.
[193] RASB 1695/12/232: "*Petits oyseaux dont les chants amoureux",* RASB 1698/9/176: "*Par un jeu digne d'un Heros",* RASB 1698/10/191: *"Le Bruit éclatant des Trompettes",* RASB 1699/2/6: "*Bergers, rassemblez-vous, accourez tous".*
[194] RASB 1697/5/96: "*Tout parle en ces lieux de mes peines"*, RASB 1697/5/97: "*Vous qui connoissez mon martire".*
[195] See for example RASB 1696/1/20: "*Un jour dans une grotte obscure".*
[196] See for example RASB 1696/2/41: "*Un cœur tranquille en apparence".*
[197] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 298.
[198] Gordon-Seifert notes the increasing presence of the female poetic voice from 1680 onwards. Gordon-Seifert, *Music and the Language of Love*, 260–61.

3.9 Ornamentation: use of *agréments* and *doubles*

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, theoretical writings on ornamentation for instruments and voice flourished as theorists tried to codify the *agréments.* Notwithstanding this concentration of study on the subject, no coherent vocal notational convention was successfully established, and symbols and nomenclature differed from theorist to theorist.

The notation of *agréments* in the early years of the *Recueils* mirrors this diversity. For example, several airs such as the one in figure 3.3 have no ornaments marked. This reflected the practice adopted in the first years of the *Livres d'airs*.[199] In some airs, such as the one in figure 3.4, the sole ornamentation markings consist of the symbol "+", denoting that an ornament should be performed over that note, with no further specification as to which ornament is intended.

[199] Goulet notes that in the *Livre d'airs*, no ornament markings are present until 1667, when the '+' indication appears. Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 111.

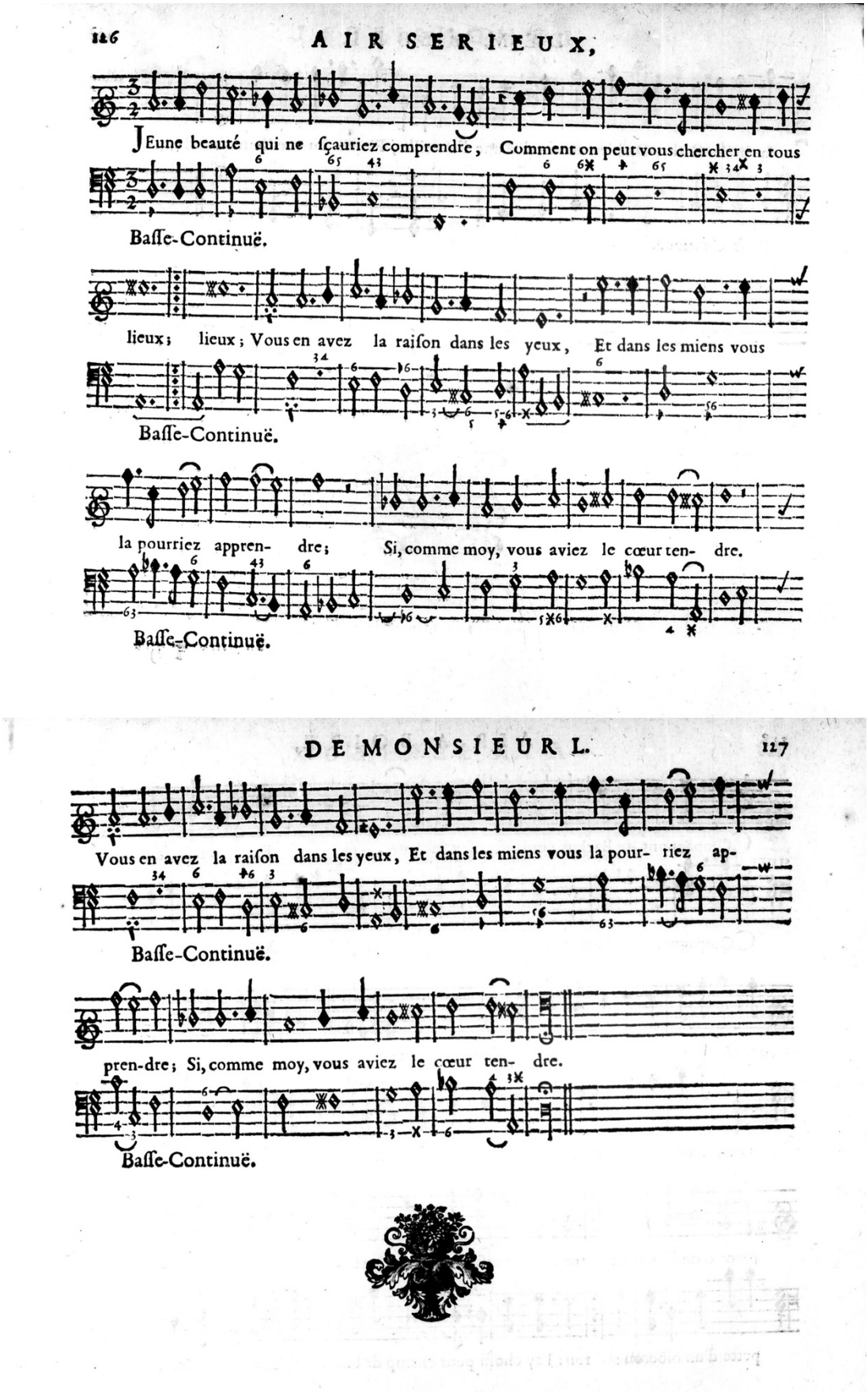


Figure 3.3: RASB 1695/7/126: *"Jeune beauté qui ne sçauriez comprendre"* by Monsieur L.

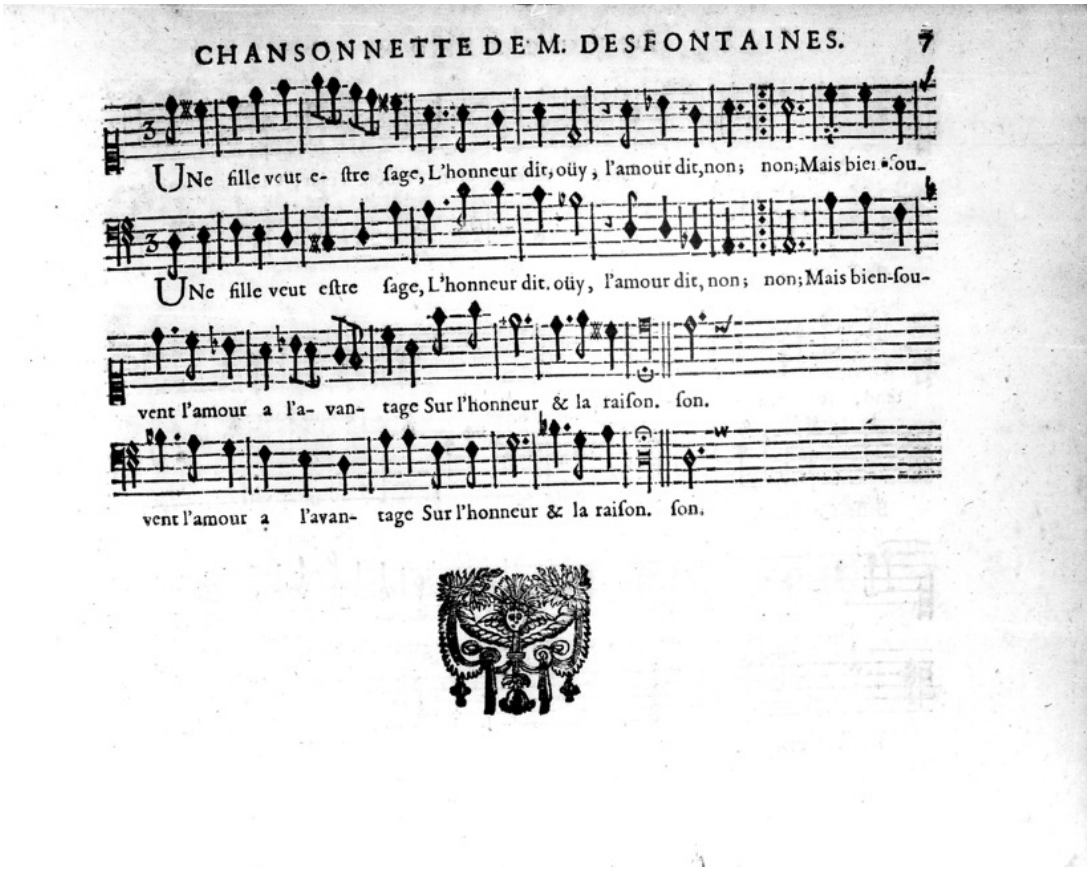


Figure 3.4: RASB 1698/1/7: "*Une fille veut estre sage"* by M. Desfontaines.

In other airs, alongside the "+" symbol, *ports de voix, coulades* and the *appuy* ornaments are indicated, written out in note form. Figure 3.5 shows such an example, with a *coulade* on the first syllable of the word "*pleure*".

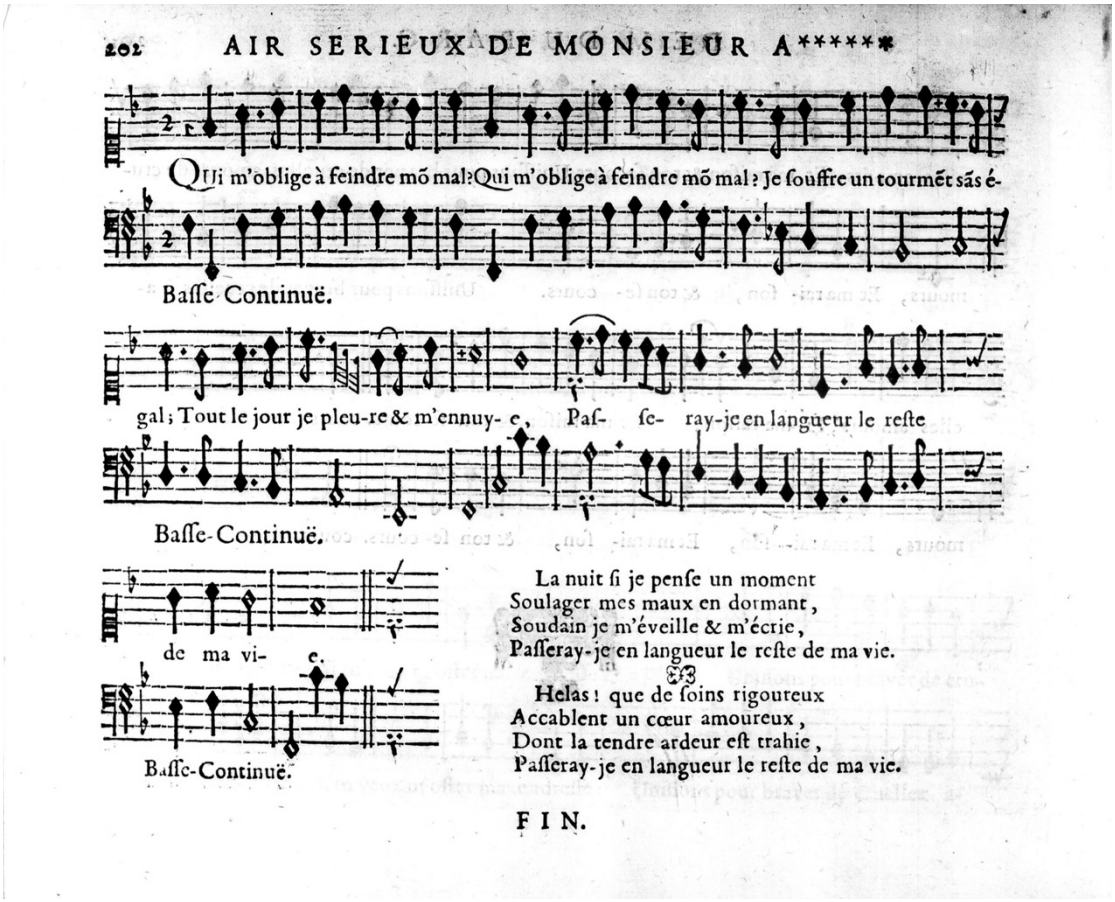


Figure 3.5: RASB 1695/10/202: "*Qui m'oblige à feindre mon mal"* by Monsieur A******.

Yet another approach in denoting embellishment appears in the *Recueil* of September 1695, where a symbol is used for the *appuy, port de voix*, and *accent.*[200] These symbols make their debut in an air by Pierre Berthet (see bars 3, 8 and the final syllable of the word "*soulager*" respectively in figure 3.6) and are the subject of specific explanation in a small table of *agréments* included by the composer on the final page of his treatise of 1695.[201] Berthet's symbols for the *agréments* appear regularly in the collection thereafter.[202] Other symbols make a strong appearance too, notably those resembling the modern mordent[203] and lower mordent (referred to at the time as a *pincé*).[204]

[200] RASB 1695/9/2: "*Depuis que je vous vois"*.
[201] Berthet, *Leçons de musique*, 47.
[202] See in contrast Berthet's air in RASB 1697/5/6: "*Le Zephir, Messager de l'aimable Printems"*, where only the minimalistic "+" symbol has been used.
[203] This first appears in RASB 1695/2/3: "*Que l'Hyver à son gré desole la nature"*.
[204] This first appears in RASB 1695/2/5: "*Vous ne sçavez que trop rendre un coeur infidelle"*. On the *pincé,* see Montéclair, *Les Principes de musique* (1736), 84.

Noteworthy is the combination of markings denoting that the singer should perform a *port de voix* and *accent* over the one note, a trend which in the *Recueils* appears for the first time in Berthet's air shown in figure 3.6 and continued by others thereafter. Also noteworthy is the relative frequency of the *accent* marking in isolation. The theorists who addressed vocal ornamentation speak of the *accent* as being reserved for doleful expressions of sadness and grief, suffering and tender expressions (see appendix 5). Yet, significantly, the *accent* markings in the airs of Berthet and others appear on words which are not necessarily highly emotive or sorrowful,[205] and, in the case of an air from the 1697 *Recueil,* the *accent* marking appears in a positively cheerful textual context on the word "*m'enchante*".[206] The proliferation of the *accent* and its combination with the *port de voix* is startling and will be further explored in the performance observations in chapter 7.

[205] For example, the *accent* marking appears on the words "*écoute"* and *"faits*" in RASB 1697/7/134 and on the word "*ces*" in RASB 1696/9/166.
[206] See RASB: 1697/9/180: "*Ma liberté m'enchante".*

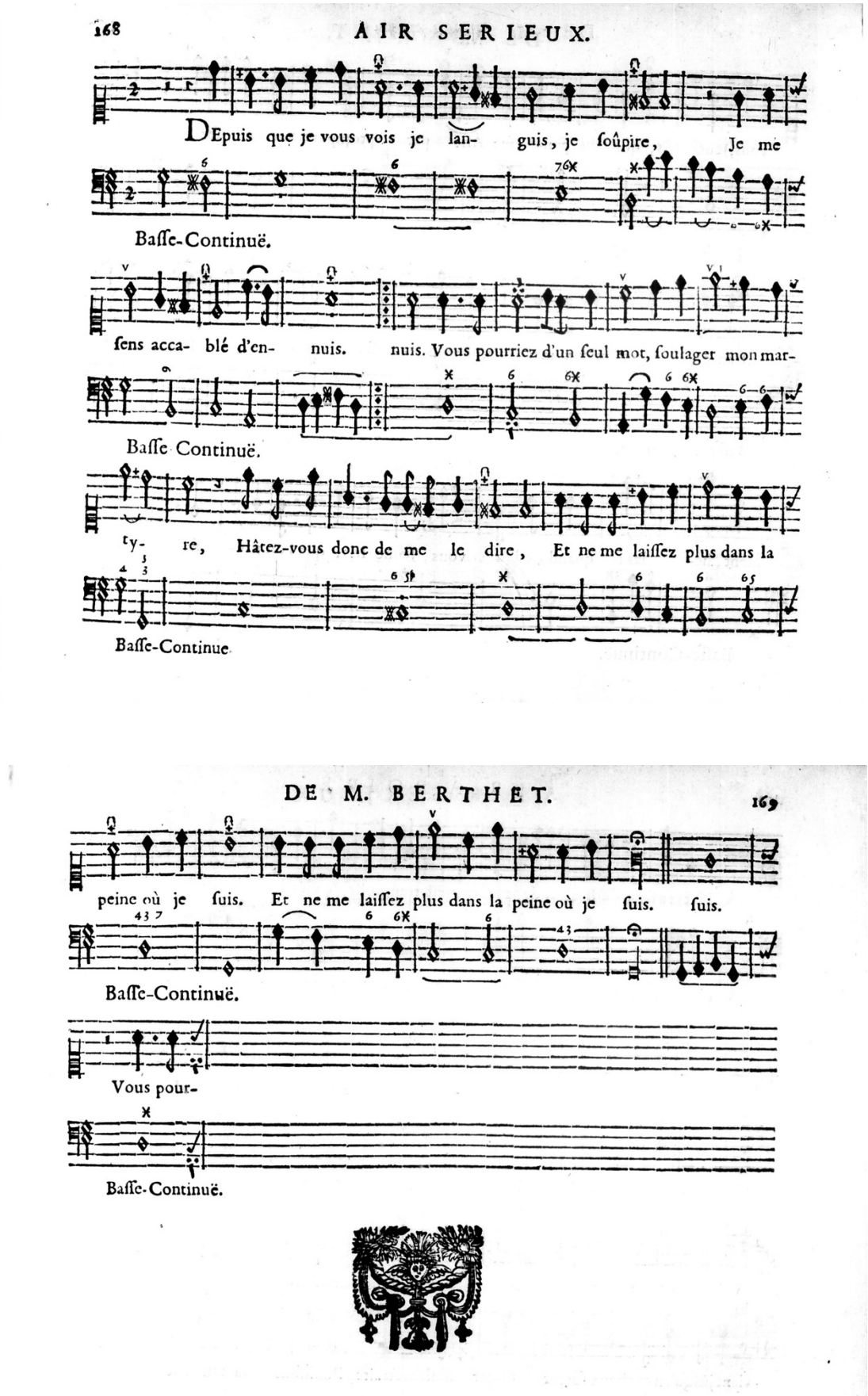


Figure 3.6: RASB 1695/9/168: *"Depuis que je vous vois je languis"* by M. Berthet.

This diversity of approach persisted throughout the early years of the *Recueils*, with no discernible editorial evolution. There are several possible reasons for Ballard's silence on the question of ornamentation. In his *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter* of 1668, Bacilly attributes a paucity of ornamentation markings in vocal music generally to typographical limitations and to the fact that too many markings can hinder and obscure the clarity of an air, causing confusion.[207] In those airs with sparse *agréments*, Ballard was possibly following Bacilly's advice on clarity, making the performance of the airs an attractive prospect for the amateur singer whose technique may not have allowed for the execution of ornate *passages.* It is also conceivable that the time constraints associated with the process of selecting airs and publishing the collection monthly meant that Ballard was content to publish the airs in the state in which they were submitted to him, without further editorial work.

The absence or lack of specificity of printed ornaments does not mean that the airs would have been performed without embellishment. On the contrary, the practice of ornamenting a vocal line had been accorded an almost sacred status by many theorists. In a comment directly addressed to the singing public three years before the start of the *Recueils*, Ballard, too, attests to the importance of ornamentation in creating pleasing movement from one note to the next.[208] Ballard's on occasion minimalist approach could, moreover, be interpreted as his giving latitude to the singer to imagine and invent, and to showcase their ability to ornament appropriately. On this reading of the matter, the sparsely ornamented airs of the *Recueils* would not be discounted from the consideration of highly-skilled singers, but may rather have been viewed by them as a blank canvass on which to demonstrate their inventiveness.

If sparse ornament markings indicate an air's suitability for the amateur and accomplished singer alike, this is not the case for the airs in the *Recueils* which include elaborate passages to form a *double*. An example of a *simple* and its *double* are shown at figures 3.7 and 3.8 respectively. In the *Recueils* published between 1695 and 1699, twenty-two airs provide a realised *double* for their second or subsequent verse.[209] All *doubles* in the airs examined were for female voice (*dessus or bas-dessus*). *Doubles* were not printed with any regularity: four in 1695, seven in 1696, six in 1697, two in 1698 and three in 1699. Although the melody of the *double* was typically set to the same bass line as the unadorned *simple*, this is not always the case.[210] The *double* is generally printed with its bass line underneath, allowing the singer and accompanist to follow each other's part with ease, or to assist the self-

[207] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 135; That the printing of *passages* was challenging in the seventeenth century has been discussed in relation to the *Livre d'airs* in Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 59.
[208] *XXXV. Livre d'airs de differents autheurs à deux et trois parties* (1692), 79. Ballard explains that his reason for including ornaments supernumerary to the beats in a measure is to make known to the singer what the voice must do to pass pleasingly from one note to the other.
[209] This is to be contrasted with the absence of realised *doubles* in the *Livres d'airs*. See Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité* at 58. In the *Recueils*, the *double* is typically printed immediately after the *simple.* However, see RASB 1697/10/2: "*Ah! Rendez-vous, Iris*," where the *double* is printed before the *simple*.
[210] See RASB1696/7/4: "*Quand l'objet qui fait ma langueur"*, RASB 1696/9/2: "*Sensible à mes douleurs"*, and RASB 1697/5/5: "*Vous qui connaissez mon martyre*."

accompanying singer.[211] In the table of contents published with each month's *Recueil*, each *double* is given a separate listing and page number, and denoted "*Second Couplet*".[212]

[211] The following are exceptions to this rule: RASB1696/2/7: "*Je m'abandonne aux plaisirs"*, RASB 1697/1/8: "*Pourquoy si vous m'aimez vous efforcer à feindre"*, RASB 1697/8/7: "*Vos mépris, vos rigueurs, et votre longue absence"*, RASB 1697/9/5: "*Tant de douceur et tant d'amour"*, RASB 1698/8/3: "*Je pense voir dans ma langeur extreme"*, and RASB 1698/8/4: "*Je crains souvent, ô crainte criminelle"*.

[212] See RASB 1698/8/3: "*Je pense voir dans ma langeur extreme"* and RASB 1698/8/4: "*Je crains souvent, ô crainte criminelle"*, where there is no marking of "*Second Couplet*".

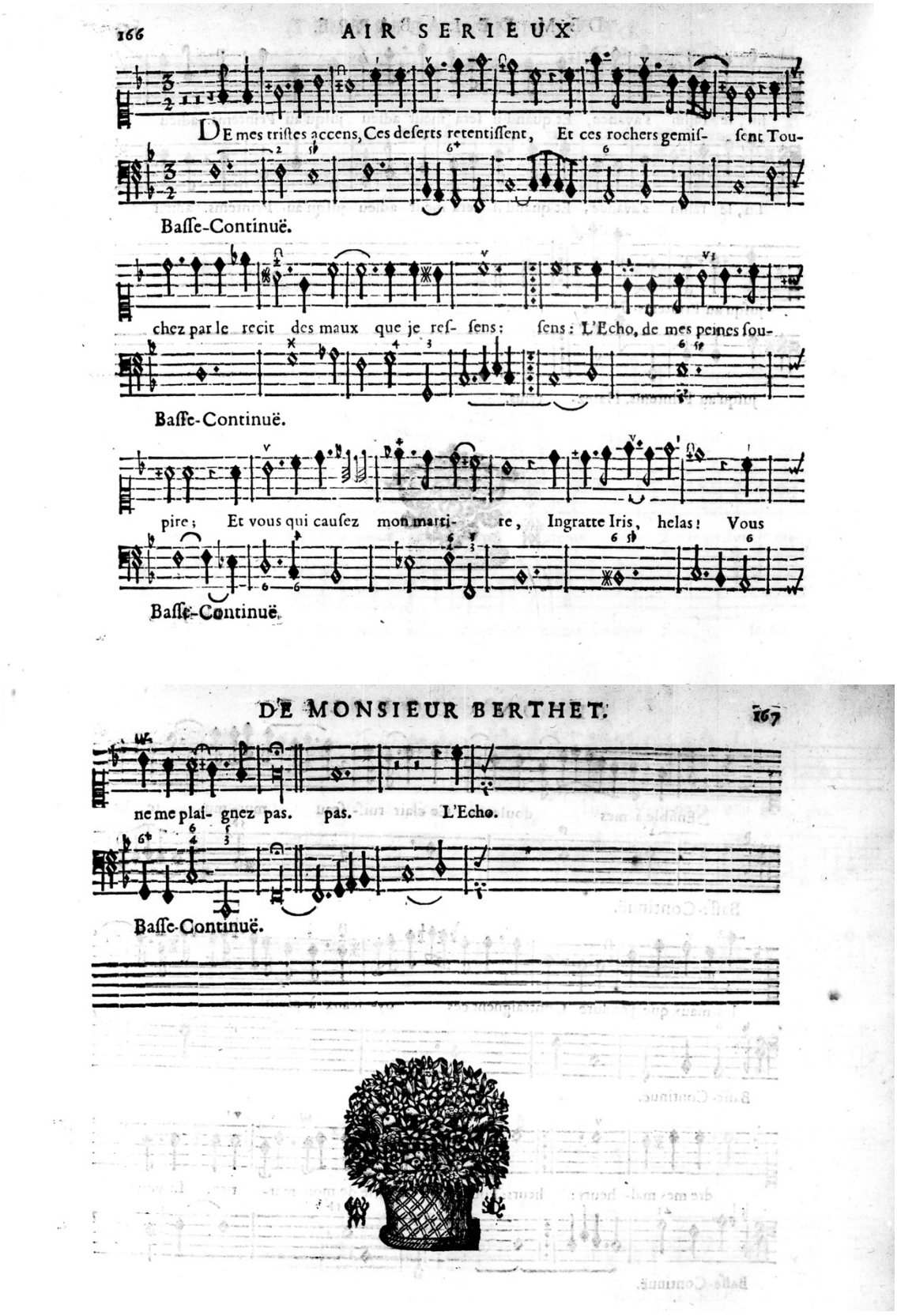
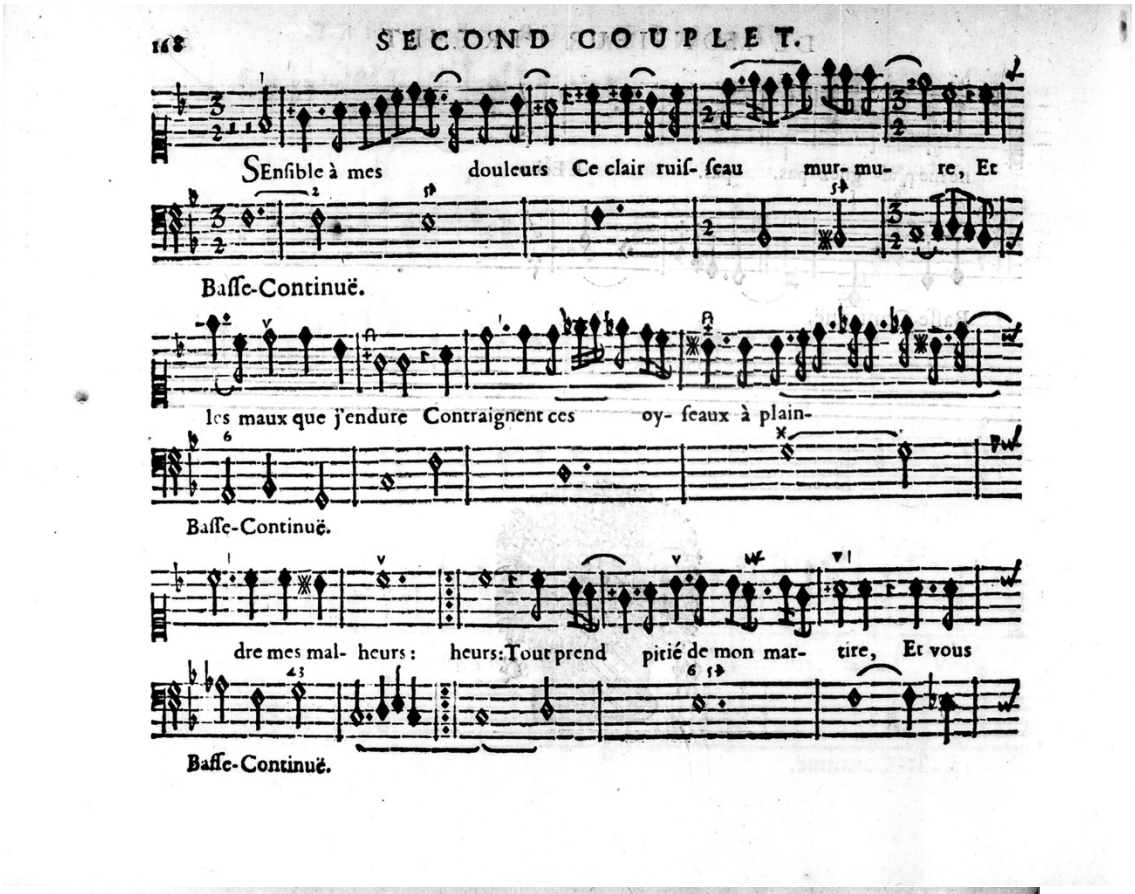


Figure 3.7: RASB 1696/9/166: *"De mes tristes accens"* (*simple* of RASB 1696/9/168: "*Sensibles a mes douleurs"*) by Monsieur Berthet.



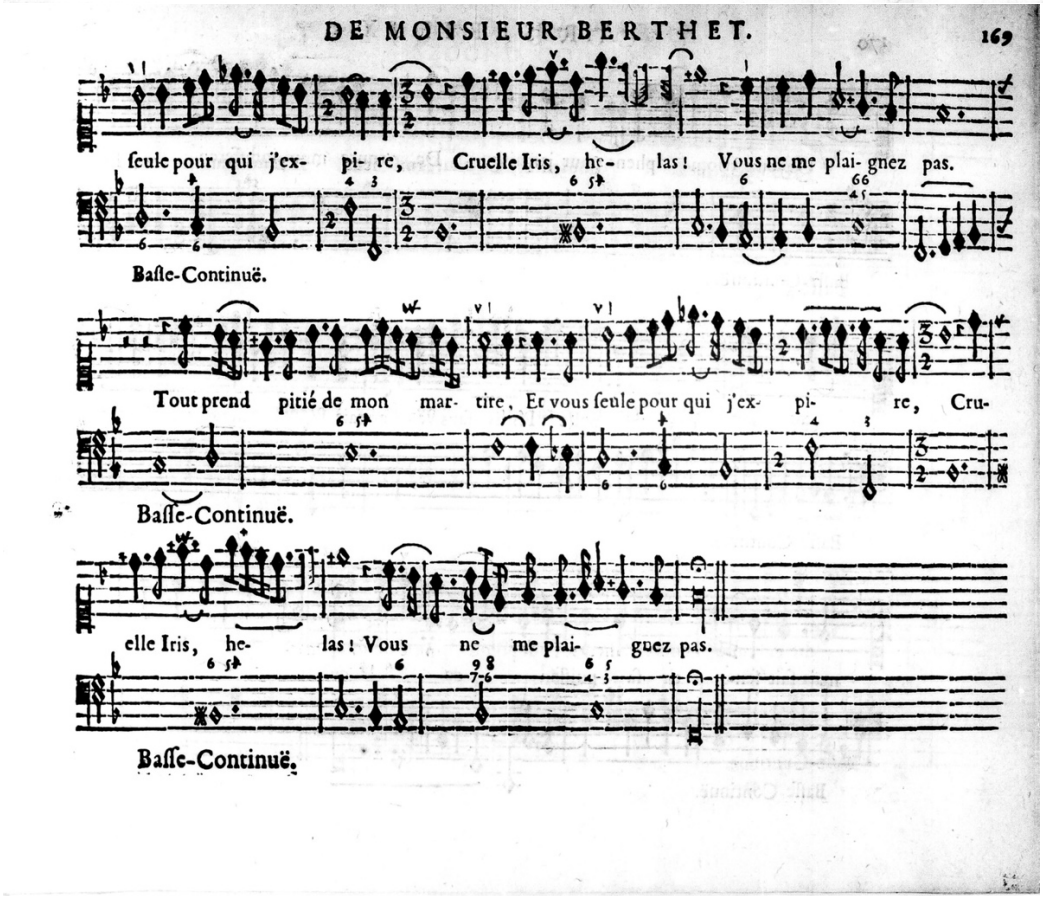


Figure 3.8: RASB 1696/9/168: "*Sensible à mes douleurs"* (*double* of RASB 1696/9/166: "*De mes tristes accens"*) by Monsieur Berthet.

As well as their presence in *doubles*, *passages* sometimes also make an appearance as embellishments of repeated textual fragments within a single verse. In the airs displaying this feature, the composer has amplified a portion of the text and realises passages for the repeated portion. The repeated text ranges from the reprise of a small fragment of a line,[213] to the amplification of a whole line of the text[214] or to the repetition of half of the poem (which makes redundant the need for the repeat sign that was typically marked at the end of each half of a binary air).[215] The latter is demonstrated in figure 3.9.

[213] See RASB 1695/12/2: "*Comme une Hyrondelle en Hyver"*. In this air, rather than marking the *segno* for the repeat of the second half at the first opportunity, Montéclair writes the repeat of the words, "*Mais sitost qu'en ses amours",* with added *passage*s and then marks the *segno*.
[214] See RASB 1695/11/6: "*Vous chantez d'un air si touchant"*.
[215] See RASB 1695/11/7: "*Bien que l'amour nous cause des allarmes"*.

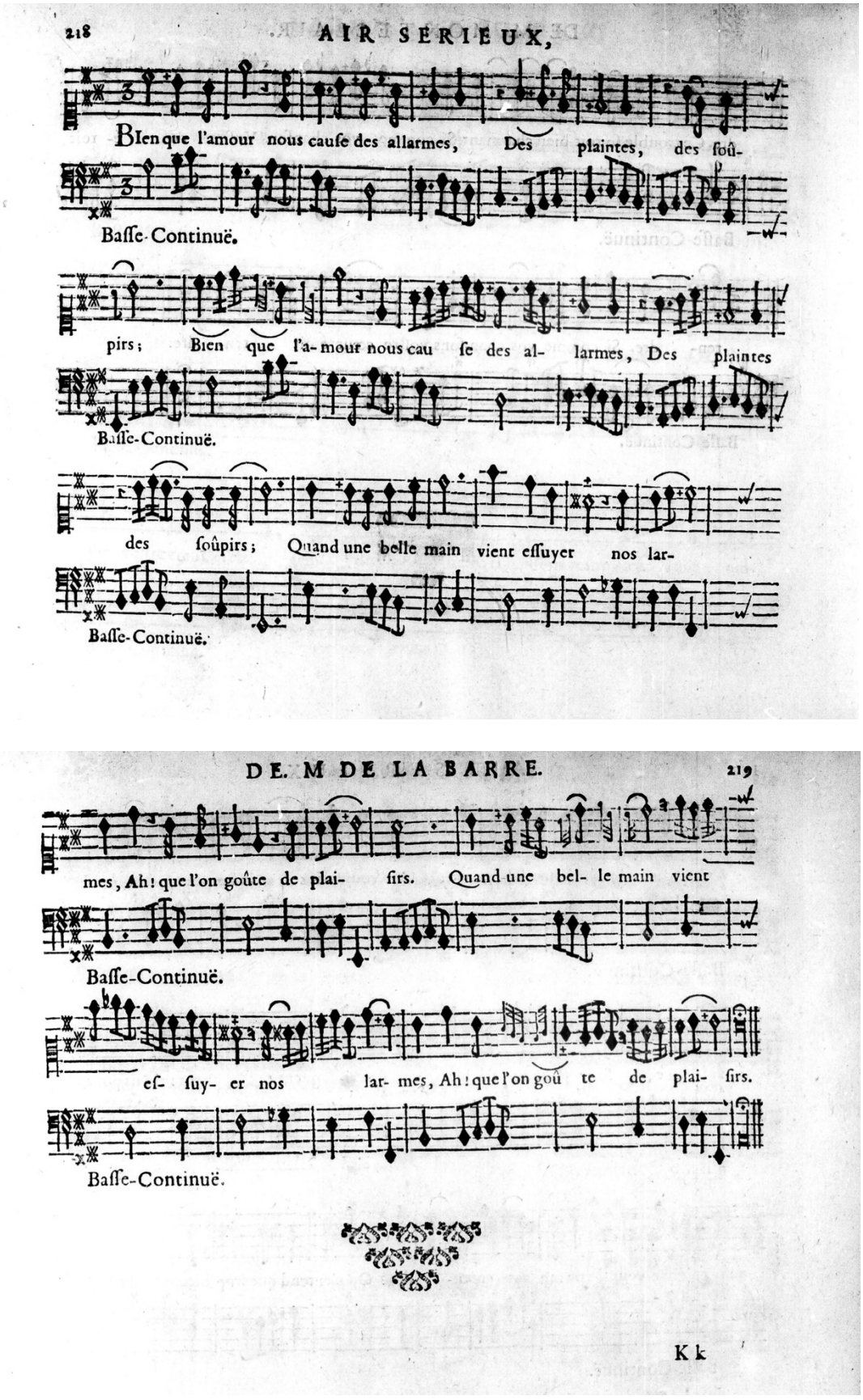


Figure 3.9: RASB 1695/11/218: *"Bien que l'amour nous cause des allarmes"* by M. de la Barre.

Both realised *doubles* and long-hand embellishments to textual reiterations provide insight into contemporary vocal ornamentation practice and for this alone, the *Recueils* are a valuable source of study. The singing of *doubles* and extended passages is technically challenging for the singer, requiring a suppleness and speed of voice and knowledge of and sensitivity to syllabic quantity.[216] The presence of elaborate embellishments of this nature in the *Recueils* is telling of the fact that the collection was, at least in part, directed at and patronised by the skilled practitioner.

3.10 Accompaniment

3.10.1 Solo and multi-voice airs with untexted bass lines

One of the consistent features of the *airs sérieux* under investigation (both solo airs and multi-voice airs) which have a separate, untexted bass line[217] is the presence of the marking "*Basse-Continuë*". Usually, although not always, accompanied by figures above the non-texted bass line, this reflects the fundamental accompanying practice of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Although there appears to be no definitive printing policy as to layout and placement, when space allows, figures are predominantly placed vertically above the bass notes in descending order and generally with the largest intervals at the top. This is in accordance with the musical examples given in the French accompaniment treatises which proliferated at the end of the seventeenth century.[218] Consecutive figures pertaining to a single bass note give no hint of rhythmic interpretation, although this is usually dictated by the harmonic changes implied in the vocal line.[219]

3.10.2 Sung bass lines with figures

Fifty-two of the airs in the early years of the *Recueils* are multi-voice airs. Five of these multi-voice airs include a separately written-out bass line which is untexted and which bears the indication "*Basse-Continuë*".[220] In the remainder of the multi-voice airs, it is generally the case that the bass line is texted and sung, with no "*Basse-Continuë*" indication present. In approximately six airs, however, it is clear from the presence of figures over the sung bass line that continuo accompaniment was envisaged, which would have doubled the sung bass line or could potentially have replaced the bass voice.

3.10.3 Figured bass accompaniment in France at the end of the seventeenth-century

[216] Bacilly considered these attributes necessary for executing diminutions. See Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 209.
[217] RASB 1695/4/71, RASB 1695/7/130, RASB 1695/10/194, RASB 1697/2/42, RASB 1699/2/36
[218] For a full discussion of these treatises, see Zappulla, *Figured Bass Accompaniment*.
[219] Rameau, writing later, noted that such placements should be determined by the ear. See *Treatise on Harmony*, 442.
[220] RASB 1695/4/71, RASB 1695/7/130, RASB 1695/10/194, RASB 1697/2/42, RASB 1699/2/36.

Of the more than approximately 300 solo airs where the words "*Basse-Continuë*" appear under the first system, the bass line is figured in all but eleven. The facility afforded the accompanist by the predominance of bass lines which are figured and the ample supply of continuo accompaniment treatises promising fast results for diligent students suggest that Ballard was catering to the needs of the amateur as well as the proficient harpsichordist for whom these figures would have been largely superfluous. Again, we see Ballard adopting an inclusive policy in this publication, which was geared towards an audience with the widest ambit of musical proficiencies.

Although elsewhere in Europe, thoroughbass had been incorporated in compositions possibly before 1602,[221] French sources reveal that in that country, they were slower to adopt the concept, at least in print.[222] As early as 1647 in French printed sources, accompaniments in tablature were gradually being replaced by separate, figured parts for a thorough- or *continue* bass. Ballard, concerned with the marketability of tablature, printed Constantijn Huygens' *Pathodia sacra et profana occupati* in that year with figured bass parts throughout, having requested that the original tablature accompaniments be rewritten as *basse continue*. Etienne Moulinié's *Meslanges de sujets chrestiens, cantiques, litanies et motets, mis en musique à 2, 3, 4 & 5 parties avec une basse continue* of 1658 has been identified as the first composition by a French native published with a figured *basse continue*.[223] The *Livres d'airs* had also dispensed with tablature in favour of keyboard score, with the first figured air appearing in the 1669 edition.[224]

Tablature, it was recognized, had been an obstacle for playing in ensembles, whereas *basse continue* minimised confusion and allowed all ensemble members to "speak the same language".[225] This same sentiment, lauding the merits of thoroughbass over tablature, was frequently echoed by composers of the time; in 1660 Nicolas Fleury remarked in the *Avertissement* to his treatise on playing *basse continue* on the theorbo that by following his rules, even those who knew nothing of the composition of music could within a month start to play *basse continue.*[226] Bartolotti in 1669 remarked that by using his method, "*ceux qui sçavent la Musique, & ceux qui ne la sçavent pas, y trouveront également de la facilité, pour toucher toutes sortes d'Airs à Livre ouvert*".[227] In 1680, Perrine included in his *Livre de musique pour le lut* a new and easy method for playing the lute with notes of music. In the preface to that work, he explains that learning to play from tablature involves great difficulty and causes disaffection in the public. With his method, he explains that a child of eight or nine years old could readily acquire the skill to play music at sight on the lute.[228] He also indicates that *basse continue* facilitates sociability in music-making, as it allows one to play in an ensemble setting with all sorts of other instruments, an activity which was only done irregularly up until then because of the difficulty of finding the connection between lute tablature and music and vice versa. François Campion's attempt in 1705 to write for

[221] Zappulla, *Figured Bass Accompaniment*, xix.
[222] Zappulla, xviii.
[223] Zappulla, xviii.
[224] See LDDA 1669/25: *"Sous ces ombrages verts"* as identified in Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 109.
[225] Perrine, *Livre de musique pour le lut*, 15.
[226] *Avertissement* to Fleury, *Methode*, n.p.
[227] *Avertissement* to Bartolotti, *Table pour apprendre facilement à toucher le théorbe sur la basse-continuë*, n.p.'Those who know music and those who do not, will both find herein ease in playing all sorts of airs at sight'.
[228] *Preface* to Perrine, *Livre de musique pour le lut*, n.p.

the guitar in keyboard score rather than tablature[229] provides further evidence of the complexities leading to the decline in popularity of the latter. Elsewhere, in one of his later works dated 1716, Campion goes further and describes the use of tablature as "*pernicieuse pour ceux qui veulent fair quelque progres sur le Theorbe*".[230]

Another attraction of figured bass over tablature was the facility it lent to transposition, proficiency at which was considered a requirement for accompanists. Already in the mid-seventeenth century, this advantage had been noted by, amongst others, Michel Lambert, who referred to it in the foreword of his books of airs:

> *Il m'auroit esté facile d'ajoûter la tablature du Teorbe telle que ie l'ay composée, mais ie n'ay mis a dessein que les basses continues pour la facilité des voix que l'on pourra plus aisezment accompagner en transposant quand il le faudra a la maniere accoutumée*.[231]

In the many continuo accompaniment treatises published after this time, the requirement for the accompanist of a singer to be proficient at transposition is the subject of regular instruction and advice.

3.10.4 Accompanying Instruments

The starting point for any discussion of the likely instruments used to accompany the *airs sérieux* of the *Recueils* must be Bacilly, who expresses a clear preference (at least when accompanying the solo voice) for the theorbo over the harpsichord and viola da gamba because of its commodiousness and sweetness[232] and because it would not obscure or overpower weak and delicate voices. Referring specifically to the theorbo, Bacilly states that it is very rare to hear it played but very common to hear it being tuned,[233] a statement which, if taken at face value, provides clues as to the likely care taken over tuning and intonation.

Certainly in performing the *airs sérieux* in the context of the salon, the preference expressed for the theorbo makes practical sense; this instrument was portable and, especially in contrast to the harpsichord, relatively small, meaning that it could be moved from room to alcove to *ruelle* with some ease. Bacilly's comment reflects the growing trend for theorbo accompaniment (printed in musically-accessible notes rather than tablature) at the end of the seventeenth-century as compared to the lute.

Self-accompaniment on the theorbo was envisaged, too. Jacques Boyvin writes with approval about singers who accompany themselves on that instrument,[234] and Bacilly positively encourages singers who wish to perfect themselves in the vocal arts to learn the

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[229] See further Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, 295.
[230] Campion, *Traité d'accompagnement et de composition*, n.p. 'Pernicious for those who want to make progress on the theorbo'.
[231] *Avant propos* to Lambert, *Les Airs de Monsieur de Lambert*, 2. 'It would have been easy to add theorbo tablature in the way that I composed it. But on purpose, I only added basso continuo for the ease of the voices, such that one can more readily transpose, when necessary, and accompany them in the usual manner'.
[232] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 17.
[233] Bacilly, 22.
[234] Boyvin, *Traité*, 8; as cited in Zappulla, *Figured Bass Accompaniment*, 51.

theorbo;[235] in fact, Bacilly describes it as disadvantageous when the accompaniment is performed by a person other than the singer, stating that it is common for singers to encounter the situation in which there is neither a theorbo at hand nor anyone to play it.[236] In at least one account in Madeleine de Scudéry's works which is set out in section 6.4 below, a young girl is said to take up the theorbo to self-accompany, reflecting Bacilly's preference.

The proliferation of accompaniment treatises which were published in the second half of the seventeenth-century reveal that the choice of continuo instruments was certainly not confined to the theorbo, however. Moreover, certain indications in the bass line of the serious airs in the *Recueils* carry implications that have significant impact on instrumental combinations.

Firstly, the harpsichord is also mentioned by Bacilly[237] as a member of the continuo group, and Robert Zappulla, in his survey of French continuo practice, asserts that keyboard instruments were unmatched in their popularity for continuo realisations.[238] Instruments by the Ruckers/ Couchet, Blanchet, and Hemsch families as well as by individual makers were readily available, according to Zappulla,[239] with most of these being double-manual instruments.

Conventions and rules of realisation for harmonic continuo instruments are amply described in the treatises. There are two points to highlight in particular. Firstly, in reference to the theorbo, Bacilly cautions that it should be played with a sense of moderation and the accompanist should avoid showy and excessive figuration in order not to overpower the voice. Rather, it should flatter the voice and cover up its faults.[240] Presumably, Bacilly's stricture would be pertinent for other accompanying instruments, too. Secondly, in 1732, Rameau expresses the radical view that harpsichordists need not play the bass line when there is a sustaining instrument to play that part.[241] Albeit expressed at a time which is considerably later than the publication of the airs in this study, the relevance to the performance of these airs of the practice of omitting the bass line in some circumstances has not been accorded full academic attention. Such an approach possesses many advantages for the ensemble, such as enhanced flexibility (resulting in enhanced expressive possibilities) for sustained bass instruments, and minimised intonation discrepancies between harmonic and sustained continuo instruments. It also creates a more transparent sound that would be apt for the reduced domestic dimensions of the salon, supporting rather than overpowering the non-professional singer in a performance context in which, as we will see in chapter 5, intelligibility of words and audibility were primary considerations.

Alongside the theorbo, the guitar and lute were regular staples of the seventeenth-century French continuo group. By the time the *Recueils* were published, the lute had declined in

[235] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 19.
[236] Bacilly, 20.
[237] Bacilly, 17.
[238] Zappulla, *Figured Bass Accompaniment*, 37.
[239] Zappulla, 61.
[240] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 19.
[241] Rameau, *Dissertation*, 17–18; as cited in Zappulla, *Figured Bass Accompaniment*, 74.

popularity,[242] however, owing in part to the difficulties associated with reading tablature. Zappulla notes the baroque guitar was smaller and lighter than its modern counterpart,[243] which would make it a portable and therefore easy choice for spontaneous music-making. Indeed, by the 1660s and 1670s, the guitar was widely marketed to musical amateurs in Paris because it lightened the burden of tuning. The harp is mentioned as a possible further member of the plucked continuo group by Brossard in his definition of "basso continuo",[244] but according to Bacilly's comments in 1668, it was already at that time no longer in use.[245]

The bass and double-bass members of the viol (*basse de viole* and *contre-basse de viole)* and violin families (the 'cello, or, before around 1650, the *basse de violon* and the *contrebasse*) were conventionally used as sustaining instruments.[246] Brossard also includes the bassoon and the serpent in his list of basso continuo instruments in his dictionary.[247] He further indicates that when no figures are marked in the bass, the viola da gamba was often used.[248] Rousseau indicates that the viola da gamba can be used to self-accompany, whereby the one performer both plays the bass line and sings,[249] although this would no doubt be a challenging undertaking for the non-professional musician.

Although routinely used in French continuo groups for formalised performance occasions such as opera and concerts, it is less likely that continuo instruments such as the bass and double-bass members of the viol and violin families, and even the viola da gamba, were regularly heard to accompany *airs sérieux* in the salon, however. As will be demonstrated in chapter 6, in a world which shunned shows of artistic effort, artistry or preparation, and in which the singing of airs was intertwined with gallant conversation, a seemingly spontaneous breaking into song would not readily have accommodated the sense of *mise en place* required to fetch and tune an instrument. Much more likely would have been the use of the highly portable theorbo or guitar, or the harpsichord, a commonly-owned instrument amongst the wealthy at the time. As the literary accounts examined in chapter 6 reveal, unaccompanied singing in the salon was also common.

3.11 Conclusion

A forensic examination of the early *Recueils* and the format and contents of the *airs sérieux* contained within forms a rich point of departure for this study. The month after month elaboration of musical trends in the *Recueils* created a vast document, both revealing and defining current taste. The examination in this chapter of the *airs sérieux* in the *Recueils* published from 1695 to 1699 has attempted to open a window onto this world.

A world dominated by solo song for high female voice but also encompassing other vocal and instrumental combinations are the hallmarks of the collection. Beyond the binary nature of the title, the *Recueils* reveal a broad and eclectic mix of genres, settings, and

[242] Zappulla, *Figured Bass Accompaniment*, 48–49.
[243] Zappulla, 53.
[244] Brossard, 'Dictionaire'.
[245] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 17.
[246] Zappulla, *Figured Bass Accompaniment*, 55–60.
[247] Brossard, 'Dictionaire'.
[248] Brossard.
[249] Rousseau, *Traité*, 55.

styles. Attesting to the wide appeal and usage of the books, this chapter has uncovered a range of song, from solo to multi-voice airs, from unaccompanied song to mini-ensemble pieces to works performed on the lyric and dramatic stage, and from simple, unadorned melodic lines to florid *doubles.* In short, these volumes brought to the public each month a new and varied diet of music, catering to the musical everyman.

Representing a considerable evolution from the *Livre d'airs* in terms of readability and manoeuvrability, the *Recueils* were not only practical. Considerable effort was invested on the part of Ballard to make these volumes beautiful, too, revealing them to be aesthetic objects, memorializing pieces from stage repertoire, and disseminating the newest vocal works amongst an avid public. Desirable objects in themselves, the *airs sérieux* in these volumes privileged the male poetic voice yet favoured the female singing voice. Shedding light on the previously undetected prevalence of the *accent*, this chapter also presents the volumes as apt and beautiful objects for use in the world of the seventeenth-century salon.

The following chapters will further explore just how the inhabitants of this world navigated a musical landscape which presented them with opportunities to simulate stage performances of dramatic works, and which invited them to voice through the medium of song those emotions that salon values required to remain otherwise unspoken.

Chapter 4

Decoding the passions

4.1 Introduction

As a preliminary step to investigating the performance practice associated with the *air sérieux* and the salon, it is necessary to address the vocal background from which such practice emerged. As will be demonstrated in chapter 5, the theorists who described singing and music close to the time of the publication of the early *Recueils* write of the necessity for the singer to give voice to the passions inscribed in the text and music. The fundamental starting point was the necessity for the singer to use his or her voice and body to depict an emotional state, creating a visual and musical semiotic which would move and persuade the passions of the listener.

A basic premise of this persuasive configuration is that the singer should know the passions and know how to identify the passions crafted into the composition by the poet and composer.[250] The core primary sources referred to in chapter 5 provide such an interpretative tool. In various levels of detail, these writings address themselves to the composer specifically (instructing him or her as to how to portray the passions through musical devices), and also set out more general observations as to the relationship between certain musical characteristics and certain passions.

That musical devices should relay the affect of the lyrics was a concept embedded within seventeenth-century compositional practice. Nowhere is this more evident than in the correspondence surrounding the famous compositional competition which was instigated by Mersenne, in which the compositional skills of the Dutch priest and composer, Johan Albert Ban, were pitted against those of the Frenchman, Antoine Boësset. In 1640, Ban was set the task of composing an air to the text "*Me veux-tu voir mourir*", which Boësset had previously set in a slightly, but significantly, altered form.[251] Victory was awarded to Boësset. Although using judging criteria which have been described as "radically different" from those in Ban's faction,[252] the French panel nevertheless focused on the extent to which Ban's musical setting reflected the text. Ban sought to rationalize and create compositional rules for setting texts, rather than leaving these to evolve by chance.[253] In correspondence, he justified note by note his choice of intervals as the servant of the affect of the piece and its text. The panel held, however, that Ban's composition had fatally misinterpreted the affect of the text as one of indignation and anger, rather than amorous pleading. Ban had therefore, in the panel's eyes, made inappropriate choices of intervals and meter changes. Moreover, his choice of F-Major was inappropriate because of its vehement major third, F-A. Boësset, on the other hand, had opted for d-minor, which was considered apt for the amorous pleading which the judging panel considered the primary affect of the text. In emphasizing Ban's misinterpretation of the text and concomitant failure to choose apt supporting compositional devices, the French panel confirmed that such matters were of significance and that connections did exist between affect and compositional devices.

[250] See further chapter 5 of this study on the requirements of the poet and composer to express the passions.
[251] See further Walker, 'Ban and Mersenne's Musical Competition'.
[252] For Ban, excellence in a composition lay solely in the extent to which it reinforced the emotional content of the text. Whereas Ban's French judging panel does not deny that compositional devices create emotional effects, this was but one factor in the principal function of song, which was to give pleasure. For a detailed review of the competition, see Walker.
[253] Walker, 237.

Both in the writings of the core theorists and in the writings commenting on the Ban-Boësset compositional duel, therefore, it is evident that the prevailing musical and theoretical thinking identified connections between musical devices and affect.

The present chapter sets out these compositional connections. After presenting a summary of the passions as understood and discussed by seventeenth-century writers, this chapter will present the reader with a practical road-map with which to interpret the passion being expressed. This decoding exercise encompasses a wide ambit of compositional parameters. It requires an investigation of the musical treatment of entire phrases rather than single words[254] and it prompts an investigation of elements such as melody, tessitura, rhythm, meter, mode, and harmony. Lexical choices, syllable numbers, and syntax also influence the emotional topography, and these will also be examined.

In the case-study in chapter 7, using the compositional connections described in this chapter, the selected air will be submitted to an affective analysis. This analysis will primarily be undertaken using the rules made explicit in the core theoretical works and, experimentally, by recourse to the work of Patricia Ranum, which is further discussed in section 4.6.

4.2 The theory of the passions in late seventeenth-century and early-eighteenth-century French thinking – a summary

Analysis and discussion of the passions interested a diverse group of disciplines in seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century France, from philosophy to medicine to art. Descartes[255] spoke of the physiological effects of the passions on the body and soul, for example, and using this Cartesian world view in which the cosmos could be explained through reason, Charles Le Brun also joined up art with science , depicting the measurable effects of the passions on the face. In the realm of the spoken and sung word, too, Grimarest (amongst others) addressed both the effect of the passions on the voice, and the question of how orators seeking to represent the passions should moderate their voices to imitate the passions.

The 1694 dictionary of the *Académie Françoise* defines "*passion*" as the movements of the soul in its concupiscible or irascible part, aligning with the Scholastic tradition of Thomas Aquinas. In his *Summa Theologica,* Aquinas divided the eleven passions into two groups with each passion forming part of a conjugate pair: six concupiscible or desire-based passions (Love and Hatred, Desire and Aversion, Joy, and Sorrow[256]) and five irascible or anger-based ones (Hope and Despair, Confidence and Fear, and Anger (which has no pair)), and this model formed the foundation of seventeenth-century French thinking.

[254] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 1707, 210; See also Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 308 where he addresses this issue in relation to the appropriateness of suspending consonants on selected words; In the context of the Ban-Boësset compositional duel, Mersenne allied himself with this stance, criticising Ban for focusing too much on individual words at the expense of the complete meaning. See Pirro, *Descartes et La Musique*, 117.
[255] Descartes, *The Passions of the Soul*.
[256] References to the passions are written with their first letter capitalized.

However, there was no consensus in the way the seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century French theorists discussed the passions. Even within the thinking of one single writer who addressed this topic, the complexity of the search to find a definitive system of categorizing the passions becomes evident; for example, within the space of a very few pages of text, Mersenne talks of eleven passions, then rationalises these down to four, and then further still to three.[257] Other examples of the diverse approach to discussing the passions are found in La Voye Mignot, who states that there are six passions (Joy, Sadness, Love, Hatred, Hope, and Fear) which correspond to six modes.[258] Bretteville also describes the passions, and adds to the principal ones described in appendix 2 concepts such as Friendship[259] and Boldness.[260] Descartes describes six primitive passions (Wonder, Love, Hatred, Desire, Joy, and Sorrow) and states that all others are composed of these. However, he rejected the Aquinian concupiscible-irascible dichotomy as a categorization model.

Passions could be simple or, more commonly, could work in combination with each other to form innumerable composite affections.[261] Alongside variations in composition, every passion could be felt and manifested in varying degrees, creating a highly varied and nuanced set of movements of the soul.

A summary description of the way the eleven passions identified by Aquinas were configured by the French theorists is set out in appendix 2. However, the number of passions was said to be innumerable[262] and this summary does not purport to cover the "swarm" of affective possibilities created by the combining of simple passions into composite ones, nor the shades and nuances created by varying degrees of intensity of the simple passions. The composite passions and these shades and nuances will be discussed in chapter 7 in relation to the case-study air.

Although not featuring in Aquinas' list, Descartes and Le Brun, at least, considered Wonder to be the first passion.[263] According to doctrine, the soul observes or admires something first. When this object surprises us and we judge it to be new or different from what we knew in the past or what we were expecting, this makes us wonder if it is good or bad, and be astonished by it. The act of observation and deliberation which constitutes Wonder is the gateway to the other passions, which are summarised in appendix 2.

4.3 Parameters relating to the lyric text

In a genre in which poetic and musical creation often intersected in the salon and at a time when recitation and poetry-writing proliferated, the lyric texts of the *airs sérieux* under consideration are an apt analytical starting-point for investigating the passions encoded within an air. In these texts, the passions are frequently alluded to by name, and statements proclaiming the elements described above abound.

[257] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 369.
[258] La Voye Mignot, *Traité de musique*, Part IV, 5.
[259] Bretteville, *L'éloquence de la chaire*, 337.
[260] Bretteville, 388.
[261] Descartes, *The Passions of the Soul*, art. 112.
[262] Descartes, art. 68.
[263] Descartes, arts. 53, 70.

By treating the lyric text as a type of condensed story, the listener can form a picture of the para-narrative events surrounding the moment of poetic utterance. The reader can not only obtain definitive information from specific allusions in the text, but can also surmise as to what event has previously occurred which has prompted the narrator's expressive pouring-forth. By seeking to align these events with the descriptions in appendix 2, the reader or performer is afforded preliminary insights into the nature of the passions expressed. The performer should bear in mind that passions are rarely static and are rarely expressed in isolation, preferring co-habitation with other, often contrasting emotional states.

This is not a scientific approach, but a common-sense one in which the subjective judgements of the performer are a necessary analytical tool. The analysis of the case-study air in chapter 7 uses this practical approach as a starting point.

Using a more specific model of analysis, the reader can look to theorists such as Lamy and Descartes, who both said that every passion experienced by human beings results from a stimulus or object which causes the body to react. Although it should be stressed again that this is but one configuration of the passions in a discourse in which there is no uniformity, by referring to Lamy's configuration from 1699,[264] it is possible to summarise in question-answer format the way in which the passions were stirred by the admiration or observation of a stimulus or object by the poetic narrator:

1. Is the stimulus/object good?
2. If the answer is no, go to step 6.
3. If the answer is yes, is the good stimulus/object present?
4. If the good stimulus/object is present, it gives rise to Love and Joy.
5. If the good stimulus/object is not present but possession is possible, it gives rise to Desire. Desire stirs Hope.
6. Is the bad stimulus/object present?
7. If the answer is yes, it may give rise to Hatred and Sadness.
8. If the answer is no, it may give rise to Fear and Terror. Fear and Terror stir Despair if there is no way to avoid the bad stimulus/object.

Using the emotional configuration above, the performer should examine the nature and presence or absence of the stimulus, and the narrator's passionate and active response to the object.

On a more detailed level, the lexical choice of the poet can also provide clues as to the affective message. Perrin, for example, discusses the emotional associations of words. He observes that the inclusion of references to deserts, rocks, caves, and prisons in a text excites Sorrow or Pity. Joy or Admiration can be aroused by using words depicting nature's most lovely and admirable objects, such as the sky, the stars, greenery, flowers, brooks, birds, and gentle breezes. Pleasant and marvellous actions, singing, dancing, sleeping, making love, talking about agreeable things, fighting, flying, running lightly all excited Joy and serious Admiration, too.[265]

[264] Lamy, *La rhétorique*, 1699, 145.
[265] As cited in Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 339.

Mersenne reduces the span of his investigative gaze even further, and comments on the affective significance of individual vowels within words. He says that composers should choose words which evoke the passion they seek to communicate. Beautiful words must be chosen to create beautiful effects, and the beauty of words depends on beautiful letters or sounds. "A" and "o" denote grand and magnificent things, while the feminine mute "e", short "i" sound and "u" sound express sad, abject and small things.[266] As for consonants, *consonnes rudes* should be chosen in order to conjure up aggressive impulses, particularly the "r".[267] "D", "i", and "z", on the other hand, were said to represent sweetness and agreeableness.[268] Le Cerf de la Viéville also relates lexical choice to affective significance, and says that feminine words (that is, those ending in -e, -es, -ent) lend gracefulness, gentleness and variety to a text, by implication suggesting that words with masculine endings lend an opposing feel.

4.4 Musical parameters

It is clear from the description of the *accens* (or tones of voice) associated with the passions[269] that three variables potentially contribute to define the expressive characteristics which are the hallmarks of each passion: firstly, the degree of elevation of the voice (how high or low is the voice?), secondly, a qualitative element of expression (how does the voice sound? Languishing, doleful, vibrant, happy, majestic?), and thirdly, a variable relating to the rate of speech or speed of delivery (how fast or slow are the words being spoken?).

The first variable finds its musical manifestation in the form of the pitches that the composer has notated and the tessitura. The second variable is represented by the composer in his or her choice of harmony, the sequence of intervals, and use of expressive tools such as chromatic notes. The third variable finds its musical voice in the rhythm notated by the composer, punctuation, and the syllabic quantity and number of syllables contained in a verbal unit.

Composers used musical devices therefore to simulate the pitch, duration and expressive timbre of the *accens* in order to represent the passions. By examining each of these parameters, it is possible to construct a picture of the tone of voice which the composer has sought to evoke in his or her musical setting,[270] and identifying such tone of voice assists us in identifying the passion associated with it.[271]

4.4.1 The degree of elevation of the voice - pitch and tessitura

An essential component of many of the descriptions of the *accens* is their pitch.

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[266] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 403.
[267] Mersenne, IV, vi, part 2, 403.
[268] Mersenne, IV, vi, part 2, 403.
[269] See further appendix 6.
[270] Mersenne advised composers that the harmony and *mouvement* should correspond so closely to the words and discourse that the listener will deem it a single entity. See Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, v, [324] (original not paginated).
[271] See Gordon-Seifert, *Music and the Language of Love*, 63–64 on the *accens* as imitations of the physical signs of the passions.

For Grimarest, for example, Despair requires a tone of voice that is abrupt and high.[272] In a similar vein, Mersenne specifies that one of the elements of the tone of voice of Sorrow is slowness, sombreness or gloominess,[273] suggesting the darkness of a singer's lower register, rather than the brightness of the upper voice.

Seventeenth-century rationalisations concerning the spoken pitches employed by orators (of which the melody of vocal airs was the artful imitation) can shed light on some on the emotional messages which the composer sought to express through the composition of their musical oratory.

The movement from one oratorical *ton* or pitch level to another received considerable attention. The linking of the register of the spoken voice to an emotional ambience was specifically addressed in the writings of rhetoricians such as Le Faucheur,[274] Bretteville,[275] and Bary.[276] Various speech pitches were considered appropriate, too, for the various parts of a spoken oration, which was classically divided into the *exordium, narratio, partitio, confirmatio, refutatio,* and *peroratio*. Rhetoricians held competing views on the ideal compass of the spoken voice in delivering these various oratorical components and in expressing an emotional message,[277] Mersenne indicated that the normal vocal range of the orator was a fifth but could be enlarged by the expression of emotion.[278] Le Faucheur specified that there are five or six tones between the highest and the lowest vocal pitch, and that extremes of height or depth should be avoided as they are disagreeable.[279]

Richesource, writing in relation to the church, insisted that the appropriate spoken compass for preachers was five pitches.[280] Joseph Dinouart later condensed and re-presented Richesource's writing, and provided an eighteenth-century explanation of the earlier work.[281] Again directed towards preachers, he similarly advocates a five-pitch compass and assigns solfège pitches to each *ton*, from *ut* to *sol.* Explaining and presenting one's position and stating hypotheses should use the lowest pitch level (*ut*). The voice rises to a second above this basic pitch level (*re*) for the final syllable of a word group. When the spoken pitch rises to approximately a musical third (*mi*), it expresses gentle and sweet passions. When the pitch rises to a fourth above the lowest starting pitch (*fa*), it is expressing the great movements of the soul, and leaps of a musical fifth (*sol*) or more express great pathos.[282]

In the theatrical context, witness accounts of the declamations of actors such as Mlle Duclos, and the famous anecdote of Mlle Champmeslé performing Racine's *Mithridate* at the *Comédie Française* reveal that the pitch-span of the dramatic orator's voice exceeded a fifth or sixth and in fact went over the octave.[283]

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[272] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 144.
[273] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 369.
[274] Le Faucheur, *Traitté*.
[275] Bretteville, *L'éloquence de la chaire*.
[276] Bary, *La rhétorique françoise*.
[277] The range would necessarily vary according to whether the context was the church or theatre, too, with the range being smaller in the religious context. Not all rhetoricians supported the observance of oratorical tons in speaking, with some advising that its song-like effect was only suitable for the theatre. See Wentz, 'Annotated Livret', 13.
[278] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, V (viii) 8; See further Wentz, 'Annotated Livret', 13.
[279] Le Faucheur, *Traitté*, 92–3.
[280] See Richesource, *L'Éloquence de la chaire*, 351–52; as cited in Wentz, 'Annotated Livret', 15.
[281] Dinouart, *L'Éloquence du corps*.
[282] See further Wentz, 'Annotated Livret', 11–22.
[283] See Wentz, 10–11; See also Rosow, 'French Baroque Recitative'.

Despite these differences in opinion amongst the theorists and the evidence of different practices within different oratorical contexts, certain commonalities emerge. Most importantly, pitch variation was related to emotional content. Unemotional passages resided on the basic pitch-level or one above (*re*) and as the intensity of emotion rose, so too did the pitch. Pitch could rise by degrees for mild and gentle expressions and depending on context anywhere up to the oratorical *sol* of Richesource/Dinouart or to the upper octave of Champmeslé's famous stage exclamation.

As reflected in rhetorical preaching manuals and accounts of stage practices, the declaimed word rises and lowers in pitch as it changes in intensity during the course of a classical speech. So too the upper voice in vocal music moves up and down in artful imitation of these oratorical *tons* and the intensity they express,[284] with melodic movement of the vocal line generally being considered to be smaller than the movement of the spoken voice's inflection while declaiming.[285]

According to Mersenne, tunes sound best in a singer's middle register,[286] which was also said to be the register most commonly used by orators in harangues.[287] Descartes, too, makes particular reference to the pitch range of the voice, stating that because more breath is required for the production of a high note, high pitches are more tense than low ones. Cureau de la Chambre also makes note of the special colours associated with those pitches that are beyond the middle vocal range, stating that raised pitch is suitable for exclamations, and low pitch is associated with languor.[288]

The vocal range of the *airs sérieux* in this study is certainly limited; most sit comfortably within the middle range of the voice-type suggested by the clef and excursions into register extremes are rare. When the voice does venture to either extremity, the singer should therefore be alerted to the emotional significance of this and seek to match that extremity with the pitch descriptions of the *accens*[289] in order to determine the passion being expressed at that moment.

4.4.2 Musical elements contributing to timbre and expressive quality

4.4.2.1 Intervals in the upper voice/*dessus* part

The notion that specific melodic intervals could move the soul was a concept addressed by a variety of European writers from Gioseffo Zarlino to Johan Albert Ban,[290] and this notion was also addressed by later writers at least into the eighteenth century.[291] For Mersenne, too, the melodic intervals of a texted line of music were declared to be reflective of the various passions and the degree of vehemence of those passions. He states that the wider the interval, the more vehement and intense the passion[292] and that wide intervallic leaps often signify anger.[293] The expressive significance of these intervals is summarised below:

[284] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 359, 371 and section 4.4.2.1 below.
[285] See Dubos, *Réflexions critiques*, Troisième partie:163–64; as cited in Wentz, 'Annotated Livret', 30.
[286] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, [361] (original page misnumbered as 365).
[287] Duncan, 'Persuading the Affections', 155.
[288] See Ranum, *Harmonic Orator*, 385.
[289] See appendix 3.
[290] See further Walker, 'Ban and Mersenne's Musical Competition'.
[291] See, for example, the contributions of Frédéric de Castillon in Diderot and Alembert, *Supplément à l'Encyclopédie*.
[292] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, [359] (original page misnumbered as 365).
[293] Mersenne, IV, vi, part 2, 371.

Table 4.1: Emotional significance of intervals in the upper voice

Interval	Emotional significance
Semitone	Laments, pains, sighs[294]
	Sadness and love[295]
Semitone (if rising)	Weeping, sighing, groaning[296]
Whole tones	Great, brusque or rustic things, such as martial and vigorous actions.[297]
Minor thirds	Laments, pains, sighs[298]
	Moderate pain (as opposed to minor sixths, which Mersenne implies indicate greater pain)[299]
	Sad and loving things
Major thirds	Rigour, harshness, bitterness and anger[300]
	Joy[301]
Fourths	Rigour, harshness, bitterness, anger[302]
	Despair and anguish[303]
Augmented fourths	Great, brusque or rustic things, such as martial and vigorous actions[304]
Fifth (in ascent)	Harshness and violence[305]
Minor sixth	Great laments and anguish[306]
	Laments, pain, and sighs[307]
Minor sixth (in descent)	Despair and anguish[308]
Major sixth	Rigour, harshness, bitterness, anger[309]
	Great, brusque or rustic things, such as martial and vigorous actions.[310]

4.4.2.2 Mode, tonality, and accidentals

In Jean Rousseau's *Méthode claire, certaine, et facile pour aprendre à chanter la musique*, the terms "major mode" and "minor mode" are introduced, reflecting the move away from the twelve-mode system and the transition to the major-minor modes that had occurred well before the publication of his treatise in 1683.[311]

[294] Mersenne, IV, v, [323] (original not paginated).
[295] Mersenne, IV, vi, part 2, [360] (original page misnumbered as 364).
[296] Mersenne, IV, vi, part 2, 371; Mersenne, III, i, 41; Mersenne, IV, vi, part 2, [360] (original page misnumbered as 364).
[297] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, III, i, 41; Mersenne, IV, vi, part 2, [360] (original page misnumbered as 364).
[298] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, v, [323] (original not paginated).
[299] Mersenne, IV, iii, 188.
[300] Mersenne, IV, v, [323] (original not paginated).
[301] Mersenne, III, i, 41; Mersenne, IV, vi, part 2, [360], (original page misnumbered as 364).
[302] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, v, [323] (original not paginated); In descent, fourths were considered by Descartes to be the harshest of all intervals. See Descartes, *Compendium*, 24.
[303] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, [359] (original page misnumbered as 363).
[304] Mersenne, III, i, 41; Mersenne, IV, vi, part 2, [360] (original page misnumbered as 364).
[305] de Waard, *Correspondance*, x.247-8; as cited in Walker, 'Ban and Mersenne's Musical Competition', 254.
[306] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, III, i, 41; Mersenne, IV, vi, part 2, [360] (original page misnumbered as 364); Mersenne, IV, iii, 188.
[307] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, v, [323] (original not paginated).
[308] Mersenne, IV, vi, part 2, [359] (original page misnumbered as 363).
[309] Mersenne, IV, v, [323] (original not paginated).
[310] Mersenne, III, i, 41; Mersenne, IV, vi, part 2, [360] (original page misnumbered as 364).
[311] By the time the *Recueils* were published, the place of the twelve-mode system had been superseded in modal theory by the major-minor modal system. See further Tolkoff, 'French Modal Theory'; Tolkoff describes

Drawing on the concept of energies from antiquity, many of the core French commentators expressed the view that each musical mode inherently carried and conveyed a certain energy and distinct musical ambience, which aroused a particular emotion in an audience. Marc-Antoine Charpentier famously compiled a list of the energies inherent in eighteen modes, but earlier, too, in Boësset's correspondence surrounding the compositional competition with Ban, his acknowledgement of the suitability of certain modes for certain affects reveals that views reflective of Charpentier's had been circulating for some time previously. Charpentier's famous list is reproduced alongside the comparative lists of energies proposed by Rousseau, Charles Masson, and Rameau in appendix 3.

The energies inherent in the various modes were related to the expression of the passions. If the descriptions set out in appendix 3 are examined, the marked distinction between the ambience expressed by major versus minor modes becomes evident; major modes present cheerful emotions, and minor ones present sad emotions. This same general distinction is noted by Mersenne, who states that the force and effect of a mode depends on the major or minor third and sixth, with minor intervals being appropriate for expressing caressing and calming passions, sadness and pain, while the major third in modes is suitable for expressing Joy, virility, and courageous deeds.[312] Despite the controversies of their competition, Ban and Boësset nevertheless reached agreement that the character of a mode was determined by the nature of the third above the keynote, with major modes expressing vehemence and minor modes expressing blandness.[313] Masson states, too, that the major mode is suitable for songs of joy, while the minor mode is appropriate for serious or sad subjects.[314] Further evidence of the importance of the key signatures and presence of accidentals as a means to read the passions can be found in Bacilly's writings,[315] where he links expression and musical ambience to the presence of sharps and flats, and Le Cerf de la Viéville, who states that a predominance of flats creates languid music. [316]

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the process whereby the major-minor system came to hold pre-eminence, surveying theoretical works from Zarlino to Rameau. On the potential role of Sébastien de Brossard in deducing the existence of major and minor modes, see Ranum, *Harmonic Orator*, 319. Henceforth, the word 'mode' will refer to the key of the piece in the modern sense, rather than the earlier twelve-mode system.

[312] Pirro, *Descartes et La Musique*, 95 and 115.

[313] See Walker, 'Ban and Mersenne's Musical Competition', 245.

[314] Masson, *Nouveau traité*, 10.

[315] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 121.

[316] On this same theme, Patricia Ranum's study concludes that there is a correlation between the degree of cheerfulness or sadness of any given major or minor mode and the number of sharps or flats in the key signature or accidentals within the music. She states that as sharps are added to the key signature of major keys, the energies nominated by Charpentier become increasingly assertive. Equally, as flats are added to the key signature of major modes, Charpentier's energies become more harsh, but via a more introspective route. Thus the *gai* of C-Major is a serene gaiety, the energy of G-Major (when one sharp is added) is sweetly joyous, and the building assertiveness continues with the addition of each additional sharp in the key signature, until B-Major, when the energy should be harsh and plaintive. Ranum further notes that passions conveyed by flats tend to be excessively tyrannical rather than tender, and sharps express exuberant passions. As minor modes move away from the neutral tender and plaintive energy of a-minor, they become more focused on the outside world as sharps are added to the key signature, and introspective and gloomy as additional flats are added. See Ranum, *Harmonic Orator*, 338–41.

Very few of the minor-mode serious airs in the *Recueils* venture beyond g-minor[317] (typically represented with a Bb in the key signature and an Eb accidental within the music). When key signatures with an increased number of flats do appear or when these flats appear as accidentals, it is a visual cue for the performer to investigate whether or not the ambience has moved to a mood which Ranum identifies as one of increased sombreness and gloom. This mode of analysis will be experimented with in the case-study air.

4.4.2.3 Harmony and dissonance

Harmonic elements significantly contribute to the overall affective atmosphere of a piece, and the core theoretical writings offer advice to composers on when and how to use harmonic elements to enhance passionate expression.

The use of dissonances (defined as major and minor seconds, tritones, and major and minor sevenths[318]) was encouraged as a way of creating variety. Dissonances were said to show severity and Sorrow, and to lend a lugubrious expression to the melody.[319] Le Cerf de la Viéville compares dissonances to the piercing cries of lamenting nature,[320] thereby directly casting this harmonic element as representative and evocative of a tone of voice. Writing later, Rameau provides further advice, counselling composers to use minor dissonances (that is, ones that resolve downwards rather than upwards) to express sweet and tender things, and to express Despair and Anger with dissonances of all kinds, particularly major ones.[321]

Positioning of the dissonance was also important to the affective message. A composer wishing to create a feel of severity by the use of a dissonance had to place that dissonance on the first beat of the bar or the first part of the beat and should only do so when the words demanded it.[322] Such dissonances were considered more apt for use in minor keys.[323] When intending to add beauty to a melody, composers were advised to place dissonances on an upbeat or other "unimportant" beat.[324]

The affective clues provided to the instrumental accompanist via the chordal indications of the figured bass will be reviewed and discussed in examining the case-study air in chapter 7.

4.4.3 Tempo and *mouvement*

References implicating speed are inherent to the descriptions of many of the tones of voice or *accens* associated with the passions. For example, the "urgency" demanded of the orator by Grimarest when expressing the *accent* associated with violent Desire (emanating from Love)[325] would seem to suggest rapidity. Grimarest also asserts that Despair or a lack of

[317] By way of example, only four of the seventy serious airs in the 1695 *Recueil* are in c-minor, a key with more flats in the key signature than g-minor.
[318] La Voye Mignot, *Traité de musique*, 26.
[319] Masson, *Nouveau traité*, 58.
[320] Le Cerf de La Viéville de Fresneuse, *Comparaison*, 2:I, 52.
[321] Rameau, *Treatise on Harmony*, 155.
[322] Masson, *Nouveau traité*, 59, 79.
[323] Masson, 59, 79.
[324] Masson, 59.
[325] Lamy, *La rhétorique*, 1678, 174; La Croix, *Nouvelle méthode*, 104.

Hope should be delivered in a voice which is abrupt and hurried.[326] Anger and a desire for vengeance should be delivered in a voice which is not only brilliant, but sudden,[327] which also suggests swiftness. On the other hand, the drawling voice required for the expression of Sorrow[328] implies a slow and weakened tempo.

The pace of passionate recitation associated with the various *accens* was made manifest in music through a composer's employment of parameters of rhythm, meter, and tempo, creating a piece's essential expressive energies or *mouvement*.[329] Just how composers were meant to evoke through these parameters the sense of urgency, swiftness, suddenness, and enervation associated with the *accens* was the subject of considerable discussion in the core treatises.

One contributory element to a piece's *mouvement* was its meter (or *mesure*), which was thought to be the soul of music and to have the ability to arouse the passions.[330] Mersenne stated that beats and tempo contributed as much or even more to expression of the passions than the melody.[331] Rameau, albeit writing at a later time, extends Mersenne's idea and proclaims that meter alone is sufficient to excite the different passions in humans.[332]

It was thought that such was the power of tempo that it could, to an extent, counteract the emotion in the tone of voice; a sad tone of voice could be made more gay than the most joyous mode if very quick movements are used and very slow and dismal movements applied to a joyous melody can make that melody sad.[333] Mersenne here impliedly equates sad affects with slow and dismal movement and joyous affects with very quick movements. Rameau also associates slow movements with Sorrow and mournful things, both slow and gay movements with tender and graceful things, and very rapid movements with furious things.[334]

4.4.3.1 Time signatures

Preliminary information about the speed of a vocal piece can be gleaned by examining descriptions in the core treatises of the various time signatures. As time signatures are linked to tempo, they provide useful information as to the emotion which the composer is seeking to express. Table 4.3 sets out the theorists' instructions as to how to beat the time signatures below, which appear in the *airs sérieux* in the *Recueils*.

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[326] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 144.
[327] Grimarest, 154.
[328] Grimarest, 142.
[329] The seventeenth-century concept of *mouvement* refers to the overlapping and related concepts associated with physical movements of the bodily organs (which signified aroused passions in motion) and the pace of speech and musical rhythms which are the result of these bodily movements. For a more detailed discussion of the concept of *mouvement*, see Ranum, *Harmonic Orator*, 310.
[330] Masson, *Nouveau traité*, 6.
[331] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, v, [326] (original not paginated).
[332] Rameau, *Treatise on Harmony*, 164.
[333] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, v, [326] (original not paginated).
[334] Rameau, *Treatise on Harmony*, 167–68.

Table 4.3: Tempo as indicated by time signatures

Time-signature	Name	De La Voye Mignot[335]	Guillaume Gabriel Nivers[336]	Jean Rousseau[337]	Étienne Loulié[338]	Michel L'Affilard[339]	Charles Masson[340]
𝐂	*Majeur*	Slow beats (12) (does not state how many per bar)	Four heavy beats (19)	Four heavy beats	Four quick beats	Four slow beats (112, 153)	-
𝐂	*Mineur*	Light beats (12) (does not state how many per bar)	Two heavy slow beats (or four quick beats) (19)	Four slow beats	Four quick beats or two slow beats (32,60)	Four light beats (112, 153)	Two slow beats or four quick ones (7)
2	*Binaire*	Suggests 2 is interchangeable with ç and Ç (12)	Two light beats (19)	Two fast beats	-	-	Two light beats (7)
𝐂3	*Trinaire*	Slow beats (12)	Three slow beats (19)	Three slow beats	-	-	-
3	*Triple simple*	Either slow or light beats (12)	Three fast beats (20)	Three light beats	-	-	-
3/2	*Triple double*	-	Three slow beats (20)	Three slow beats	-	-	Three very slow beats (7)
3/4		-	-	Three beats – faster than 3	-	-	-
3/8	*Triple mineur*	-	-	Faster than è	-	-	-
12/8	-	-	-	-	-	Four very light beats (155)	-

Further specifics on the relationship between time signature and affect are provided in La Voye Mignot's compositional manual of 1666: he counsels his readers that *binaire* meter (which he defines as those with the time signature 𝐂, 𝐂 and 2) is suitable for grave matters,

[335] La Voye Mignot, *Traité de musique*. All numbers in brackets refer to page numbers in this work.
[336] Nivers, *Méthode Facile*. All numbers in brackets refer to page numbers in this work.
[337] Rousseau, *Méthode claire, certaine et facile*. All numbers in brackets refer to page numbers in this work.
[338] Loulié, *Élemens*. All numbers in brackets refer to page numbers in this work.
[339] L'Affilard, *Principes*. All numbers in brackets refer to page numbers in this work.
[340] Masson, *Nouveau traité*. All numbers in brackets refer to page numbers in this work.

psalms, motets, serious words, and airs,[341] while *ternaire*[342] (𝐂3 and 3) should be used when more gaiety is needed.[343]

4.4.3.2 Expression and tempo markings

Expression and tempo markings also provide clues as to speed and thus provide the singer with information as to the nature and vehemence of the passion which the composer is seeking to musically represent.

Adverbs relating to tempo and expressions which are found in the airs in this study are *lentement,*[344] *très lentement*,[345] *fort lentement,*[346] *tendrement,*[347] and *gai.*[348]

Lentement and *très lentement* unambiguously refer to tempo. In Brossard's dictionary of 1703, *lentement* is defined as "heavily" and in a manner which could never be said to be lively or animated, and *très lentement*, it follows, is a slower version of *lentement*.[349]

Gai and *tendrement* are not defined by Brossard and Furetière.

4.4.3.3 Numerical tempo markings and the work of Michel L'Affilard

There are no metronomic tempo indications marked in the *airs sérieux* of the *Recueils.* It may, in principle, be possible to speculate about the likely tempo of those airs in the *Recueils* which are based on dance movements by examining Michel L'Affilard's *Principes très faciles pour bien apprendre la musique.*[350] Based to an extent on the earlier writings on chronometry of Joseph Sauveur,[351] L'Affilard famously attempted to precisely record musical tempo in the fifth edition of his *Principes* by giving specific indications for the tempo of courtly dances using a system of numerals and brackets. L'Affilard contributed six serious airs to the *Recueils* under study[352] and his *Principes* remained an influential and popular primer for more than fifty years from its first appearance in 1694, until 1747. However, as

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[341] La Voye Mignot, *Traité de musique*, 12.
[342] La Voye Mignot, 12. Note that the other theorists listed in table 4.3 use the term *trinaire* rather than *ternaire.*
[343] Part IV of La Voye Mignot, 21.
[344] RASB 1697/5/96 and RASB 1699/11/220.
[345] RASB 1695/7/130, RASB 1695/8/160, and RASB 1696/2/38.
[346] RASB 1697/5/88.
[347] RASB 1698/9/190 and RASB 1699/8/162.
[348] RASB 1696/8/146 and RASB 1699/8/164.
[349] In the context of sacred music, Lionel Sawkins has identified several surviving scores of sacred pieces by Lalande which state actual timings for various movements. From this, he is able to draw the conclusion that for the two movements marked *"lentement"* and C-barré, the minimum metronome marking should be 25 and 41 respectively. See further Sawkins, 'Doucement and Légèrement', 371.
[350] L'Affilard, *Principes* The evolution of the various editions of L'Affilard's Principes, which in its fifth edition was the subject of three separate publications, can be found in Erich Schwandt, 'L'Affilard on the French Court Dances', The Musical Quarterly 60, no. 3 (July 1974): 395.
[351] Maxham, 'Joseph Sauveur', 41.
[352] RASB 1695/2/42: "*Vous ne sçavez que trop rendre un coeur infidelle*", RASB 1695/4/78: "*Iris veut faire un nouveau choix*", RASB 1695/6/110: "*Lorsque Tircis me laisse seul icy*", RASB 1695/8/160: "*Vous m'inspirez mille langeurs secrettes*", RASB 1697/1/14: "*Persecuté du sort, méprise de Silvie*", RASB 1697/5/88: "*C'est dans ce bois que l'autre jour*".

none of these airs are based on dance movements, and given the debate amongst scholars surrounding L'Affilard's work as it relates to tempo,[353] this area is not addressed in this study.

4.4.3.4 *Nombre*

The complex concept of *nombre* is a potential source of information as to the proportional rate at which speech should be delivered, and it can thus assist us in deciphering the passion evoked.

According to the theorists who wrote about poetry, each line of poetry can be thought of as a poetic entity, and these entities are typically divided into two smaller verbal sub-entities or units, made up of clusters of syllables. These verbal units are referred to in various treatises as poetic "feet", which, placed together, form a poetic line.

The number of syllables per line of French poetry varies from line to line. The question of how and where to divide up a line into its constituent poetic feet is governed by the stresses in the French language and the number of syllables in the line in question. The lyric texts of the *airs sérieux* in the *Recueils* rarely contain lines of more than twelve syllables.[354] For *alexandrines* (twelve-syllable lines, which were used to create the grandest style of poetry), a caesura or pause occurs after the sixth syllable, dividing the line into two equal six-syllable feet or hemistiches. For a ten-syllable line (called a *commun*), the caesura will occur after syllable four.[355] The caesura in a poetic line with eight syllables can occur either after syllable four or five. In addition to the repose at the caesura, a weaker caesura can occur within the two poetic feet of a line, creating (a maximum of) four parts.[356]

As we have seen above, variety was key, and in this respect, poetic feet were no exception. Poetic feet are therefore typically of continually varying length. The poet's lexical and syntactical choices, and the patterns created by the recitation of lines made up of units containing a varied number of syllables of varying lengths create a rhythm which is unique to every poetic line, producing a diverse ebb and flow of expressive rhythms. This variety and the mingling of syllable groupings of constantly changing length contributes to expression. In the composition process, the division of a line into poetic feet is typically reflected by rhythmic means, with the composer assigning longer note-values in the melody or bass to the notes which are the final syllables of the verbal units, to reflect the repose which the voice takes at the end of each unit.[357]

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[353] This debate relates to the interpretation of the remarks L'Affilard makes on the duration of one vibration of the pendulum he describes. See further Schwandt, 'L'Affilard's Published "Sketchbooks"'; Schwandt, 'French Court Dances'; Schwandt and O'Donnell, 'The Principles of L'Affilard'.

[354] Note that when counting syllables in a line, the atonic or mute "e" at the end of words ending in "e", "es", "ent" (hereafter, "feminine" words) is not counted as a syllable if it is the final syllable at the end of the poetic line. However, the mute "e" in a feminine word is counted if it appears within the line. If such a word appears within the poetic line but it is elided with a word starting with a vowel, the elision means that only one syllable is counted.

[355] La Croix, *L'art de la poésie françoise*, 7–10.

[356] Lamy notes that four is the maximum number of feet that can occur in a line. See Lamy, *La rhétorique*, 1678, 144.

[357] Lamy, 144.

Nombre, then, refers to the rhythms which are generated by the number of syllables in these poetic feet, which are then reflected in the musical setting.[358] The artful variation of *nombre* within a lyric text communicated to the listener the emotional state which was being expressed, and depicted the passions of that text.

La Croix and Lamy devoted considerable time to the concept of *nombre*. For them, *nombre* was not merely a means of achieving variety. It was thought that human souls have a deep sympathy and alliance with the numerical proportions of speech.[359] As such, *nombre* was considered a potent agent which, through the rate of speech, depicted the passions encoded in the text and music, thereby activating those same passions in the listener[360] and "opening up" the listener to be persuaded by the orator's words. *Nombre* was therefore a tool to stir up the passions.[361] Lamy confidently describes it as a fact beyond doubt that certain sounds, certain numbers and certain repetitive rhythms can contribute to awakening images of things with which they have some relationship and link.[362] According to La Croix and Lamy, the human soul is highly attuned to detecting the changes caused by a variation in the rate of recitation or syllabic pattern. The movements of the human soul follow the movements of the animal spirits. When these spirits move slowly or quickly, calmly or violently, the mind is affected by different passions. The animal spirits, furthermore, are very light; it takes very little to obstruct or activate them, meaning that the least force or change of pace in recitation is capable of exciting or stilling them.[363]

As shall be seen in the analysis of the case-study air in chapter 7, the length and arrangement of the clusters of syllables which make up poetic feet in the lyric texts create expressive rhythms which can add subtle affective information. These expressive rhythms can not only be analysed on paper by the singer, but also mined in practice when the singer is declaiming the text;[364] by remaining highly attuned to the various feelings of urgency or languor stirred up in the body of the singer as he or she declaims or sings, information can be gleaned as to the passion embedded in the text and music.

One important assertion that Lamy makes in the 1699 Amsterdam edition of his work is that in reciting poetry, each verbal unit must be pronounced at equal intervals:

> *Les expressions des sens particuliers qui sont les membres du corps de la sentence doivent être renduës égales, afin que la voix se repose à la fin de ces membres par des intervalles égaux. Plus cette égalité est exacte, plus le plaisir en est sensible*.[365]

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[358] *Nombre* was considered one of the factors which determined the success of a song. See Ménestrier, *Représentations*, 94.

[359] La Croix, *Nouvelle méthode*, 652; Lamy, *La rhétorique*, 1678, 173.

[360] La Croix, *Nouvelle méthode*, 653.

[361] Lamy, *La rhétorique*, 1678, 173; For Mersenne, too, the consideration of feet and meter was an important aspect of the composer's role in expressing the passions and reaching the soul of the listener. Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 401.

[362] Lamy, *La rhétorique*, 1678, 176.

[363] Lamy, 173; La Croix, *Nouvelle méthode*, 653.

[364] See Ranum's own description of the affective results produced by considering nombre in *Harmonic Orator*, 182–88.

[365] Lamy, *La rhétorique*, 1699, 199. 'The expression of the individual parts which are the members of the sentence must be rendered equally, such that the voice comes to a rest at the end of each of these members at equal intervals. The more exact this equality, the more one will be aware of how pleasing it is'; Although this

That is, the time between each caesura in the text must be equal. For the singer practising distinct pronunciation or recitation of the text prior to vocalising, Lamy's instructions have significant implications for affective delivery; if a verbal unit contains few syllables, the speed of recitation within a given interval of time will feel relaxed and slow, while the speed of the recitation of a verbal unit that contains a greater number of syllables will have to accelerate in order to fit in all syllables within the same interval of time. The fewer syllables per unit, the greater the sense of equanimity and tranquillity evoked. The more syllables per unit, the more forceful the result. However, Lamy's statement leaves many unanswered questions, which will be addressed further in chapter 7.

4.5 Melodic patterns as the artful imitation of French speech - Patricia Ranum's study

In chapter 11 of her book, Patricia Ranum identifies certain basic melodic patterns which are conventionally used in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century airs and recitatives as imitative of the passions.[366] To do this, she draws on information as to the pitches of spoken French provided by Henri Morier,[367] Joseph Pineau,[368] and the emotional speech melodies presented by Ivan Fónagy and Klara Magdics.[369] Ranum's study compares the melodic movements in airs that make explicit reference to the passions with the melodic patterns identified by these modern theorists. From this, she identifies compositional "habits" which are found in musical passages in which the text refers to a passion by name (specifically, Desire, Love and Tenderness, Joy, Surprise, Sorrow, and Fear) or alludes to it. She also identifies compositional conventions associated with statements of calm speech, statements of assertion, and statements presenting opposing concepts.[370]

These compositional conventions primarily relate to the parameter of melody. Ranum states that Lully settled upon a handful of basic speech melodies and that these continued to be employed quite consistently in both recitatives and airs throughout the Baroque period.[371] The melodic patterns which Ranum identifies from both airs and recitatives are not explicitly prescribed in the historical sources, but they appear with such regularity in the airs and recitatives which she has examined that she concludes that they can be said to constitute normative ways of presenting various emotions.[372]

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concept is stated most clearly in the 1699 edition of Lamy's work, it is also evoked in the earlier edition. See Lamy, *La rhétorique*, 1678, 156.

[366] Ranum, *Harmonic Orator*, 399–416.

[367] Morier, *Dictionnaire*.

[368] Pineau, *Le Mouvement Rhythmique*.

[369] Fónagy and Magdics, 'Emotional Patterns in Intonation and Music'.

[370] These emotional ambiences (tranquility, assertion, and opposition) although not passions in themselves, nevertheless contribute information as to the way the text and music are likely to be perceived and therefore constitute a tool that can help interpret the passion. Note that Ranum identifies consistent ways of composing melodies describing peace, continuity, and expressing duration and prolongation, but these are not directly relevant to the airs in this study and are therefore not discussed. See further Ranum, 417-419.

[371] Ranum, *Harmonic Orator*, 373.

[372] Ranum quotes Bourdelot and Bonnet, *Histoire de La Musique et de Ses Effets*, 1:303 where the authors state that one can guess the words of Lully's recitatives simply by hearing the melodies; See Ranum, *Harmonic Orator*, 373.

The most relevant melodic patterns to the present study relate to the musical depiction of the passions of Desire, Love, Joy, Sorrow, and Fear. In addition to these, although not passions themselves, Ranum also identifies a number of speech "moods" as being subject to conventional musical treatment. These speech moods constitute important emotional signposts which can colour the complexion of a passion and are therefore potentially significant to an affective analysis.

Ranum's findings on the melodies correlating to the passions as well as to the speech moods of assertion, opposition, and tranquillity are summarized in appendix 4, and these will be used as a secondary tool of analysis in chapter 7.

4.6 Conclusion

It was a commonplace in the seventeenth century that musical devices should relay the affects of the words. As the *accens* or tones of voice were the manifestations or at least imitations in sound of the passions experienced within, an analysis of the extent to which a melody resembles the pitch, rhythm, and timbre of the *accens* described by the theorists and presented in appendix 6 should assist us in interpreting the affect of a piece. As a portrayal of the passions was the essential and central element of vocal performance, knowing what to portray was the critical first step. All the theorists agreed that the poet, composer, performer, and even listener, should know the passions. Vocal tuition was ideally started from a young age so that youngsters could get to know the passions. Throughout the literature reviewed for chapter 6, the nature of the passions is debated and dissected and throughout the remainder of this study, their voice will constantly intervene. The analytical tools drawn from the sources which have been presented in this chapter are the essential first step to achieving the expressive and passionate brand of performance that was to be transformed in the salon. Discussed fully in the next chapter, this expressive performance, highly attuned to the passions is simply Bacilly's art of singing well.

Chapter 5

Giving voice to the passions

5.1 Introduction

Having now submitted to the process of decoding the passions, the singer's task becomes more practical: armed with the insights and understanding produced by such an inquiry, how does the singer give full voice to these passions? As discussed in chapter 1, at this stage of the study, I seek to re-examine the historical sources in order to gather evidence as to what was considered good and correct singing. This evidence is not yet context specific. Rather, I seek to define the elements which made up the ideal model of singing, and this will be used to paint a picture of the background from which the salon style of singing emerged.

There is evidence of cross-pollination of activities; of opera singers such as Hilaire Dupuis and Anne de La Barre performing as invitees at salon gatherings,[373] and at the Jesuit church of Saint Louis.[374] Undoubtedly, too, the opera-going amateur singer of a certain class would have had exposure to the operatic conventions of the *Académie Royale* and, given their ready availability in the *Recueils* and in other publications, would have turned their hand to singing the airs from popular stage works of the day at home or in salon gatherings. Whatever the physical context, occasion, or professional status of the singer, what these acts of performance had in common was that the protagonists were all engaged at an elemental level in some form of vocal practice. This vocal practice may well have been modified by the social conventions of the salon, but the musical upper classes who took the cultivation of singing skills seriously and professional singers alike were all working within broad musical conventions.

Those musical conventions were defined by the theorists who set out their views on ideal vocal practices and the ingredients of singing well. Any inquiry into how the singer should deliver the affective message encoded in the text and music necessitates a review of the writings of the relevant theorists, and it is this matter which will form the focus of the present chapter.

5.2 Theoretical works consulted and rationale

This chapter does not purport to be a general guide for the singer who is embarking on his or her first foray into French music. As described in chapter 1, excellent general information on French vocal music in performance has already been incorporated into various works by musicologists. Therefore it is not the purpose of this chapter to produce yet another introduction to matters such as *inégalité*, ornamentation, historical pronunciation, syllabic quantity, and choice of accompanying instruments. These concepts are complex and certainly not immune from scholarly debate, but for the purposes of the present study, the reader is simply requested to take an introductory knowledge of these elements "as read".

Three principal categories of theoretical writings were reviewed in preparing this chapter. In the first category lie primers and handbooks aimed at teaching the musical novice the rudiments: how to read music, how to transpose, and a description of ornaments. Works falling into this category include Étienne Loulié's *Élemens ou principes de musique*, Jean

[373] Gordon-Seifert, *Music and the Language of Love*, 339, note 79.
[374] Lowe, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, 25.

Rousseau's *Méthode claire, certaine et facile pour apprendre à chanter la musique,* Pierre Berthet's *Leçons de musique,* Michel L'Affilard's *Principes trés faciles pour bien apprendre la musiqu*e, and Michel Pignolet de Montéclair's *Nouvelles méthode pour apprendre la musique.*

The second category of treatises reviewed constituted a more fertile source. These are works which are either aimed at singers (or singers and other musicians) or which address singing, music and aesthetics in a greater level of detail than the first category. Bénigne de Bacilly, leading pedagogue and commentator of his day, was the principal theorist whose work was considered. His 1668 *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter* went through three subsequent editions in 1671, 1679, and 1681 (this edition has been lost), attesting to its importance, with the preface to the 1679 edition containing a reply to criticisms of his treatise. Marin Mersenne's 1636 *Harmonie universelle,* and to a lesser extent, his earlier *Traité de l'harmonie universelle* of 1627, although written decades before the publication of the *Recueils,* links singing with declamation and the spoken arts and focuses on the *actio* of the singer. For him, the singer had to use vehement, expressive pronunciation to incarnate the passions contained in the music, and this view is so fundamental to the approach of the theorists writing later that his work can, in many ways, be considered a backdrop to Bacilly's. Neither of these sources were specifically targeting performance in the salon, but both were engaging in earnest attempts to define the qualities of good singing.

Later commentary by Michel Pignolet de Montéclair in his 1736 *Principes de musique,* Jean-Antoine Bérard's *L'art du chant* of 1755, Albert Auguste Raparlier's *Principes de musique,* and François-Joseph Lécuyer's *Principes de l'art du chant* was also reviewed for this chapter for comparative purposes and is referenced as such.

The third category consists of works on poetics, oratory, pronunciation, and rhetoric, and includes Michel Le Faucheur's *Traitté de l'action de l'orateur,* Claude-François Ménestrier's *Des représentations en musique anciennes et modernes*, René Bary's *La rhétorique Françoise*, Bernard Lamy's *La Rhétorique Ou l'Art de Parler*, Jean Hindret's *L'art de bien prononcer et de bien parler la langue françoise,* Étienne Dubois de Bretteville's *L'éloquence de la chaire*, Antoine Phérotée de La Croix's *L'art de la poésie françoise et latine avec une idée de la musique sous une nouvelle méthode,* and Jean Léonor Le Gallois de Grimarest's 1707 treatise, *Traité du récitatif dans la lecture, dans l'action publique, dans la déclamation, et dans le chant.* The primary target of the treatises in this third category is not necessarily the singer (although La Croix and Grimarest do consider music in detail, with Grimarest addressing himself specifically to actors who sing, or *acteurs qui chantent*). However, as will be demonstrated below, the singer was considered an orator and as such, writings aimed at those engaged in speaking in public are essential reading.

As has been shown, salon and stage performance practices and conventions collided in the salon on several levels: with *airs sérieux* from dramatic works crossing over into that refined atmosphere via their publication in the *Recueils*, with that same stage repertoire then being sung by salon amateurs, and with members of polite society witnessing the singing of such repertoire by professionals either on stage or as invited salon performers. It has been demonstrated that professional stage singers (or *acteurs qui chantent*) were aware of and, in turn, influenced by treatises such as Grimarest's. Written in 1707 and therefore post-dating the repertoire studied, Grimarest's *Traité du récitatif* has nevertheless been shown to

rely significantly on the methods of René Bary (*Méthode pour bien prononcer un discours et pour bien l'animer*), which was in turn inspired by Michel Le Faucheur's work, both dating from earlier in the previous century.[375] It was by that time already a commonplace to compare acting to oratory, and while Grimarest's work contains no notated music, the information which he expressly addresses to the actor who sings adds information to the picture I seek to build up of what was considered good and correct singing. Although at first glance Grimarest's work (and the speech-based manuals which he mined to formulate his method) may not seem strictly relevant to the salon singer, the work contributed to creating a stage practice which inevitably influenced non-professionals who witnessed it.

Seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century dictionaries[376] and other writings in support of these three principal categories of works have been considered where necessary, and are referenced as appropriate.

From reading the theorists, certain common and inter-related themes emerge. For this reason, rather than simply reiterating or translating the writing of each theorist on a treatise-by-treatise basis, a thematic approach has been adopted. The themes are presented in summary form in the section immediately below.

5.3 Presentation and summary of the themes

One of the most striking and consistently-referenced themes to emerge from the theoretical writings is the connection between singing and the oratorical arts. Singers were orators, and as such, they had to call on the art of rhetoric to fulfil the three ends of oratorical delivery, which were to move, to persuade, and to please the listener. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French writings, the profound importance of the singer fulfilling these ends cannot be emphasised enough.

As with speech-based orators, singing orators had to give primacy to the words. Distinct pronunciation of the lyric texts was paramount, and the theorists clearly view the "singing of notes" as a weaker rhetorical choice than "singing the words". Distinct pronunciation entailed a number of sub-factors. These included a thorough knowledge of syllabic quantity and the correct pronunciation of words in accordance with the conventions of declamation. Declamation was the heightened mode of speaking in which words were given more weight or gravity than in normal conversational speech,[377] adding force and energy to the delivery.[378] Declamation was a central tool of rhetoric and was prescribed for use, as shall be seen below, in delivering vocal music as well as in public speech and on the dramatic stage. Good declamation was thought to lead to good singing, and vice versa.[379] The singer who does not follow the rules given for declamation is not actually singing the words, it was said, merely the notes.[380] So crucial was its role in singing that it was thought that it could

[375] See further France and McGowan, 'Autour du "Traité du récitatif"', 303–4.
[376] The following dictionaries were the principal ones consulted: Brossard, *Dictionaire de Musique*; Académie Française, *Dictionnaire*; Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, 1690.
[377] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 248.
[378] See further formulations of the distinction in Bacilly, 253–54, 265, 328.
[379] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 222–23.
[380] Grimarest, 226.

provide the antidote to the "damage" which the constraints of notated music could cause to expression.[381]

In addition, in order to move, persuade, and please their listeners in the most effective manner, singing orators (and speech-based orators) had to know the passions. They had to be able to discern the emotional message encoded in the lyric text and music and express it. Entire sections of the treatises are devoted to how the orator (and therefore the singer) should portray the passions; tone of voice, gesture, proper delivery of figurative language, ornamentation, pitch, and the speed of delivery of the words were essential parts of their oratorical tool kit. Importantly, more than simply relying on these tools of depiction, however, the singer ideally had to feel that emotional state within him- or herself in order to arouse that same emotion in the listener.

Grimarest's treatise provides some of the most comprehensive advice to singers (*acteurs qui chantent*). As his advice uniquely bridges the related disciplines of declamation and vocalisation, it is useful to use it as a broad structural framework for exploring the themes of this chapter. Grimarest presents the following instructions:

> *L'Acteur doit se faire une étude particuliere de prononcer distinctement chaque silabe, à quelque élevation, ou à quelque profondeur que le Compositeur l'ait portée. Il y a des voix si confuses, quoique belles, que l'Auditeur perd tout ce qu'elles prononcent, le Spectateur alors n'étant frapé que des tons de la Musique, c'est là bien souvent ce qui lui fait dire que les paroles ne valent rien, sans les avoir lues: & peu s'en faut qu'il ne dise aussi qu'elles sont mauvaises; parcequ'elles ne se font pas bien entendre dans la bouche de l'Acteur. Ainsi avant que de chanter un morceau de Musique, on doit bien consulter l'étenduë de sa voix, pour ne point dérober à l'Auditeur le plaisir d'être touché par le sentiment exprimé par les paroles; en même tems que la mélodie du chant, & l'harmonie de toutes les parties de Musique frapent agréablement son organe.*[382]

Each of these themes will now be explored in turn.

5.3.1 Singing as an oratorical art

The age-old alliance between music and oratory can be traced back at least as far as Aristotle,[383] Cicero,[384] and Quintilian.[385] Song could be likened to an oratorical discourse or

[381] Grimarest, 223.

[382] Grimarest, 217. 'The actor must make a special study of pronouncing each syllable distinctly, at whatever height or depth the composer has notated it. There are some voices which, although beautiful, are so unclear, that the listener loses everything that they are saying, and the spectator is then only struck by the pitches of the music. This very often incites the spectator to say that, without reading them, the words are worthless. And he as good as says that the words are bad, too, because they are not understandable in the mouth of the actor. Therefore, before singing a piece of music, one must check the range of one's voice, such that the listener is never denied the pleasure of being touched by the sentiment which is expressed by the words, at the same time that the melody, the harmony, and all the parts of the music agreeably strike the ears of the listener'.

[383] Aristotle, *Rhetoric*.

[384] Cicero, *De Inventione and De Optimo Genere Oratorum*; Cicero, *De Oratore*.

[385] Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*.

speech, and to engage in the act of singing was to engage in an act which demanded many of the same skills as those required of speech-based orators, such as priests giving a sermon in church, advocates in court, and actors declaiming theatrical texts on stage.

Monsieur de Saint-Lambert, although writing about the art of harpsichord playing, famously compares a piece of music to an oration.[386] Not only were the skilful orator and the composer engaging in a similar activity in ordering, arranging, and reasoning through the elements of their speech or song, but for Saint-Lambert, the component parts of an oration corresponded to the musical elements of a composition: the musical notes were the letters which made up words, measures were the words themselves, cadences were the full-stops, and the reprises were the parts.

Throughout the treatises from at least Mersenne to the eighteenth century, the language is peppered with words that are often more suggestive of discourse than song. Mersenne, for example, uses the word "*réciter*" rather than "*chanter*".[387] This is significant, as according to various contemporaneous dictionary entries for "*réciter*", this word denotes the pronunciation or recitation of a discourse.[388] In his 1709 primer, Montéclair refers to repeat signs in the following way: "*Les deux barres pointées…marquent qu'il faut dire deux fois la première partie*".[389]

Bacilly goes beyond merely analogising speech with song and asserts that song is actually "*une espèce de déclamation*".[390] In a similar vein, Grimarest states that a song consists of "*paroles mises en musique*",[391] and instructs the singer to "pronounce" rather than "sing" each syllable at whatever pitch the composer has stipulated.[392] Text-centric conceptions of song continued well into the eighteenth century, with Raparlier, a singing teacher in Lille, commenting in 1772 that good singing need be no more than a more energetic and pleasant way of marking prosody and *accents*.[393]

5.3.2 Singers and speech-based orators

Mersenne unambiguously equates the demands of oratory and singing, stating that a singer's *récits* should have the same effect as a well-enunciated harangue.[394] He later states that vocal music should be performed such that it has at least as much force on the listeners as if it had been recited by an excellent orator.[395] Grimarest, too, by addressing the title of

[386] Saint-Lambert, *Les principes du clavecin*, 14. More precisely, Saint-Lambert states that it is a speech which resembles a piece of music.
[387] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 353, 365.
[388] See for example Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, 1690, 326 which defines *'réciter'* as recounting, saying, relating something, reading aloud a work, or declaiming. Académie Française, *Dictionnaire*, 380 defines *'réciter'* as pronouncing a speech which one knows by heart.
[389] Montéclair, *Nouvelle Méthode*, 34. 'The repeats signs indicate that the first section should be said twice.'
[390] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 328. 'A type of declamation.'
[391] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 73. 'Words put into music.' Opera, similarly, was referred to as "*tragédie mise en musique*".
[392] Grimarest, 217.
[393] See Raparlier, *Principes de musique*, 4.
[394] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 356.
[395] Mersenne, IV, vi, part 2, 365.

his treatise to those engaged in reading, public speech, declamation, and singing,[396] draws an immediate link between these disciplines. He explains his choice of title as being based on his wish to emphasise that he was dealing with the *actio* of the orator, the person who declaims and the person who sings,[397] thereby bundling these roles together. In the preface to his work, he states that the advice he will impart is necessary for those who read, sing, declaim, or give a public discourse, implying that there is a common set of demands which spans these disciplines.

As the deliverer of a type of oratorical discourse, the singer had the same role to fulfil as a speech-based orator. The categories of speech-based orator most frequently cited by the theorists and with whom singers of the time, as vocal orators, shared a required skill-set, were priests, barristers, and actors. In a conception of oratorical art inherited from antiquity and in common with their counterparts whose domain was the church, the court room, and the theatrical or lyric stage respectively, the role of the singer as vocal orator was to move, persuade and please. The ability to persuade and inspire the listener was in fact considered the very definition of excellence in singing.[398]

As with other orators engaged in public speaking, the singer was expected to call upon the rhetorical arts in order to persuade and move the passions of the audience. The imperative of working on the listener's emotions is evoked by Grimarest's reference to *expressing* (*exprimer*)*,* rather than *singing*, a song.[399] It is also embedded within the very definition which Furetière assigns to the word, "*air*", being:

> *…une conduite de la voix, ou des autres sons par de certains intervalles naturels ou artificiels qui frappent agréablement l'oreille, & qui témoignent de la joye, de la tristesse, ou quelque autre passion*.[400]

In his or her musical oration, the singer had to excite his or her listeners to whatever end was desired.[401] Mersenne in his criticism of "hard" voices by implication sets out what he considers desirable in singers:

> *…les voix qui sont dures ne plaisent pas, quoy qu'elles soient iustes, & qu'elles ayent les autres qualitez, don't I'ay parlé, parce qu'elles ont trop d'aigreur, & d'esclat, qui blessent les oreilles delicates, & qui empeschent qu'elles ne se glissent assez agreablement dans l'esprit des auditeurs pour s'en rendre les maitresses, & pour le conduire par tout où l'on veut.*[402]

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[396] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*.
[397] Grimarest, 3, 73.
[398] Formulations of the classic role of the orator are numerous in the treatises considered in this study. The following are some examples La Croix, *Nouvelle méthode*, 625; Ménestrier, *Représentations*, 94; Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 2, 120, 155, 202, 220.
[399] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 198.
[400] Furetière, 'Dictionnaire Universel', 1690. '... a moving of the voice or other sounds by certain natural or artificial intervals which agreeably strike the ear and which evidence joy, sorrow, or some other passion'.
[401] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 365.
[402] Mersenne, IV, vi, part 2, 354. 'Although they may sing with good intonation and have other qualities of which I have spoken, hard voices are not pleasing, because they have too much sourness and brilliance, which are injurious to delicate ears, and which prevent those voices from pleasantly gliding into the spirit of the listeners in order to master them and lead them wherever the singer desires'.

What was required, therefore, was for the speaker or singer to use the art of rhetoric to depict or portray the passion in the text or music so that it could be clearly recognised by the listener, then stimulating the appropriate response in him or her. A mere rendition of the notes on the page was not enough, and in what was a system of shared responsibility between the composer, performer, and listener, it was thought that the science of music itself would not have any effect on the hearts of the listeners.[403] In the words of Mersenne, the voice had to carry "*une grande intention*".[404] Armed with the rhetorical tools typically associated with speech, it was believed that a sort of mimesis should be striven for, such that the listener would then feel the same emotional fluctuations experienced by the singer. The orator's words were considered to be the signs which represented these emotional fluctuations,[405] and therefore the way the words were delivered was, and remains, crucial.

For Grimarest, the spectator must be able to recognise the passions depicted by the speaker in order to be touched by them.[406] Before attempting to give a convincing portrayal of a passion,[407] the singer first had to be able to identify the emotional content which the author or composer was seeking to represent. For the singer or speaker to be able to discern the spirit of what they had to perform, Grimarest states that study, education, taste, and interaction with others (*commerce*) were required.[408] During the process of setting the poet's text, the composer had to be equipped with knowledge of how to use melodic, harmonic and rhythmic devices in order to represent the passions conveyed in the poetry.[409] Importantly, it was thought that the singer had to be instructed in these same rules to which the composer had submitted.[410] A vague idea of these rules was not sufficient: for Grimarest, the singer had to be "equally knowledgeable" about these matters in order to first discern and then depict the passion.[411] At times he is uncompromising in this respect: those who do not undertake the inquiry of discerning the "*véritable sens d'un Auteur*" [412] should not display themselves. More than three-hundred years after writing his treatise, Grimarest is, in effect, revealing himself to be the champion of the analytical approach adopted in chapter 4.

The singer therefore had to stand as an educated interpreter, or translator[413] of the message of the poet and composer. Learning how to decode the hidden affective message of the composer or poet seemingly pervaded the entire process of forming the singer. Bacilly discusses at length vocal tuition and the qualities of a good singing teacher and says that the earlier in childhood that vocal training can start, the better.[414] One of the qualities

[403] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 205.
[404] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 1, 342. 'A big intention.'
[405] Lamy, *La rhétorique*, 1678, 4.
[406] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 155.
[407] Or to give voice to several passions contained within the one expression, a possibility noted by Grimarest at 155.
[408] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 124.
[409] Mersenne, *Traité de l'harmonie universelle*, 1:191.
[410] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 202. Note that Grimarest specifies that the singer should also study the rules required of the poet.
[411] Grimarest, 199.
[412] Grimarest, 188–89. 'The true sense of the author'.
[413] Grimarest uses the term *'traducteur'* in *Traité du récitatif*, 196.
[414] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 80.

he deems as key in a teacher is that he or she show care for the musical intentions of the composer, otherwise they will be teaching at cross purposes to the ideals of music.[415] He further states that it is the responsibility of teachers to be able to demonstrate a stock of good airs *according to the intentions of reputable composer*s.[416] For Mersenne, too, the ability to decode the affective message and give voice to the intentions of the composer was not something that was only required or conceived as something to be saved for maturity. It was, rather, apparently instilled at a young age. He stipulates that:

> *Mais ceux qui enseignent à chanter doivent monstrer tous ces differens degrez des passions aux enfans, comme ils leur enseignent les cadences, les divers passages & les tremblements, afin qu'ils ne manquent point d'accentuer toutes les syllables, & les notes marquées par le compositeur…*[417]

5.3.3 The central role of the text

The performance of a vocal piece was akin to an orator giving a public address. As an oration, the lyric text was the element which served the role as the enhancer of the affective message of the text. There are numerous references to this concept in the treatises, and the material which follows provides but a few examples. Of course, the fact that these rules existed does not mean to say that they were adhered to in all circumstances. Sung texts were no doubt sometimes incomprehensible to the audience. Here I present, however, the view that the theorists unanimously espoused. Such was the volume of writing on this matter in the seventeenth century that its importance is hard to ignore.

Ménestrier speaks of music as the element which must accommodate all the *inégalités* of the measures of a composition, the nature of the words, the long and short syllables, the vowels which must be sounded, and other elements of prosody.[418] He states:

> *Il faut assujettir le chant…aux paroles, & aux vers dont les recits & les sentimens doivent être entendus dans ces actions de Theatre*…[419]

The beauties of music and the rules of singing are in fact in servitude to the words and poetry.[420]

In Grimarest's work, the musical pitches are described as an element of constraint on the singer, who must follow the composer's prescriptions. Elsewhere, he asserts that music can

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[415] Bacilly, 64.
[416] Bacilly, 70. Emphasis added.
[417] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 372. 'Those who teach singing must show all these different degrees of passions to children, just as they might teach them cadences, various passages, and *tremblements,* such that they do not neglect to accentuate all the syllables and notes marked by the composer...'.
[418] Ménestrier, *Représentations*, 147.
[419] Ménestrier, 135. 'The upper voice must be subordinated to the words and poetry whose sentiments and the telling of such must be heard in theatrical performances'.
[420] Ménestrier, 140.

in fact damage expression.[421] Nevertheless, Grimarest clearly believes that the singer must follow his instructions as to the tones of voice and *accens* which the words express:

> *…l'Acteur qui chante, quoiqu'assujetti aux tons du Compositeur, doit cependant suivre les accens que j'ai prescrits pour tous les mouvemens que les paroles expriment*…[422]

That is, the singer can remedy the damage which music can potentially inflict on expression by following his rules of declamation.[423]

This is a view with which Bacilly, writing earlier, would certainly have agreed. He frequently counsels that where the composer's scansion of the text does not reflect the correct syllabic quantity, the singer should amend the fault by modifying the length of the note.[424]

5.3.4 The "chain of rhetoric" and the role of the poet, composer, singer, and listener

As we have seen above, the singer had to mimic, depict, or represent the emotions conveyed in the text and music. This was the *actio* or fifth canon of rhetoric, and the final step in the process in which poet, composer, speaker/singer, and audience all conspired to play a role.

Mersenne, among others, equated the elements of musical composition with the elements of rhetoric. At the very start of the process, the poet conceived and then gave voice to his or her thoughts and ideas through diction, syntax, figurative language, and other poetic tools. The composer setting a lyric text had to discern from the text the meaning and ideas of the poet, thus engaging in *inventio*, or the act of discovering or inventing resources for persuasion. The composer then had to arrange and order the musical materials to best underline the expressive and affective qualities of the text (just as the poet before him or her had done), engaging, whether or not consciously, in the second pillar of rhetoric, *dispositio.* The part of the compositional process relating to *elocutio (*or the choice of style) involved the composer formulating a general style to match the demands of the text. Mersenne relates this third pillar of rhetoric to the compositional process, likening the effect of various cadences to punctuation.[425]

Throughout the creative process, a composer setting lyric poetry (as with the poet who created the text in the first place) had to keep in mind the need to move the passions of the audience. The composition methods of Charles Masson,[426] Marc-Antoine Charpentier,[427]

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[421] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 223.
[422] Grimarest, 222. 'The actor who sings, although subject to the pitches of the composer, must nevertheless follow the tones of voice that I have prescribed for all the energies that the words express' .
[423] Grimarest, 222–23.
[424] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 123, 214, 331; Writing a century later, Raparlier echoes Bacilly's view. See *Principes de musique*, 42.
[425] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, v, [216] (original page misnumbered as 316). As with *actio*, the fourth pillar of rhetoric *(memoria* or memory) relates to performance and is thus not part of the compositional process.
[426] Masson, *Nouveau traité*.
[427] Charpentier, *Règles de composition par M. Charpentier*.

and Étienne Loulié[428] among others provide some examples of the then-prevailing teachings on the art of composition, and chapter 4 has explored the devices which composers typically used to represent the affects of the poetic text. The musical notes set out on paper by the composer provided a link which spanned the compositional, performance, and listening process; the composer in effect stood "behind" the singer, playing the role of "invisible" orator to the audience. The composer's role was to interpret the affect of the poetic text and by the means of his or her musical notation, give voice to the passions encoded therein. In performing the composition, the singer also had to interpret the affect of the text and music and depict that affect, generating an emotional response which moved or persuaded the listeners.[429]

Mersenne provides some detail as to the skills required by a composer in order to touch the soul of the listener. He discusses elements of melody and text[430] and he also states that composers have to study to gain a knowledge of the expressive energies or *mouvements* and the degrees of each passion in order to be able to represent them in the most simple and sincere form.[431] To be most effective, composers should themselves be struck by the sentiment which they want to imprint on the soul of the listener:

> *…on doit bien considerer, comprendre, & exprimer le sens, & l'intention des paroles, & du sujet, afin de l'accentuer & de l'animer en telle sorte, que chaque partie face tout l'effect dont elle est capable; ce qui arrive particulierement lors que le Compositeur est luy mesme frappé du sentiment qu'il desire imprimer dans l'esprit de ses auditeurs en faisant & en chantant ses Airs.*[432]

Ménestrier, touching on composition, notes that musicians have to be excellent *grammairiens* in order to compose well.[433] Grimarest goes even further, and states that the composer must enter into the meaning of the poem as if he or she had composed the poem him- or herself.[434] He berates those composers who only have sight of the music and pay no attention to the "*mouvements qui lui sont prescrits par les paroles*".[435]

It is no surprise that the extent to which a composition goes to the heart of the listener was considered to be a sign of its excellence. Writing in 1681 in relation to recitative in dramatic music, Ménestrier expressly acknowledges this, saying that the passing of the music from the ear to the soul is what constitutes excellence in dramatic music.[436] Le Cerf de la Viéville

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[428] See Ranum, 'Étienne Loulié'.
[429] Grimarest notes, however, that the performer, rather than the composer, is the one who owes most to the listener, as the performer is the one with the voice, gesture, and sentiment to express the passion of the music. Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 216.
[430] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, [360-361] (original pages misnumbered as 364-365).
[431] Mersenne, IV, vi, part 2, 372.
[432] Mersenne, IV, vi, part 2, 363. '...one must carefully consider, understand, and express the sense and intention of the words and of the subject, in order to accentuate and animate them such that each part has all of the effect of which it is capable. This arises especially when the composer is himself struck by the sentiment that he desires to imprint on the spirit of his listeners'.
[433] Ménestrier, *Représentations*, 92–93.
[434] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 203.
[435] Grimarest, 201–2. 'The energies which are prescribed by the words'.
[436] Ménestrier, *Représentations*, 104.

echoes this view.[437] Masson, writing a year later, expresses a similar opinion and says that it is the ability of the expression of a composition to make the soul pass from one passion to another that is the natural proof of the perfection of a work.[438]

The listener, too, had a significant role to play in the rhetorical chain. As the final recipient of the material which had started life in the hand of the poet, been shaped into music by the composer, and transferred via the expressive conduit of the performer, he or she had a role which went beyond the passive receptor of affective clues. For Grimarest, listeners, along with singers, had to be instructed in the rules which the composer had to observe in setting words to music.[439] The necessity of having a discerning set of ears was a matter about which he felt strongly.[440] He states that the listener's education had to go beyond mere acquaintance with the rules and knowledge of "*un peu de Musique*".[441] He says that the spectator should not imagine that just because he or she has not been affected by the music that the expression of the music or the music itself is of no value.[442] Rather, Grimarest advocates that the spectator should contemplate and assess his or her own abilities as a listener, ensuring that the fault does not lie with their lack of receptivity or insentience. In short, listeners had to self-question to ensure that they do not have a dull or dense spirit, which was unable to fathom the sense of the expression and unable to be moved by a passion which had been skilfuly conveyed.[443] Ménestrier also addresses the issue of the cognisant listener by describing its antithesis:

> *…ils ont des oreilles pour entendre le chant, & comme ils ont d'ailleurs l'ame pesante, les accords ne les touchent point, ni les mouvemens de la Musique ne font point d'impression sur leur ame, & ils entendent les Concerts les plus sçavans, comme ils entendent le chant de plusieurs oiseaux, qui n'est qu'un gazoüillement qui n'a rien de concerté.*[444]

According to him, discerning listeners, on the other hand, who have a knowledge of music are full of a purely spiritual harmony, even when they are not singing. The reason for this, which allies with Grimarest's emphasis on this point, comes down to education; in their memory and imagination they have a full knowledge of chords and consonances.[445] The listener, as the final cog in the wheel, had to be equipped with openness and a spirit of receptivity that would allow affective clues to take full hold of his or her senses. But first, they had to have the knowledge which would allow them to recognise the passions in order to be touched by them.

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[437] Le Cerf de La Viéville de Fresneuse, *Comparaison*, 2:160-161.
[438] Masson, *Nouveau traité*, 28.
[439] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 202.
[440] Later, Grimarest is critical of undiscerning listeners who applaud public-speakers who mistake one tone of voice for another and merely elevate their voice. See Grimarest, 157.
[441] Grimarest, 229.
[442] Grimarest, 229.
[443] Grimarest, 229.
[444] Ménestrier, *Représentations*, 103–4. 'They have ears for understanding song, but as they also have a dense soul, chords do not touch them at all, neither do the movements of music make any impression on their soul. They hear the most skilful harmony in the way they hear the song of a group of birds, which is only a warble and does not have any harmony to it'.
[445] Ménestrier, 104.

Perhaps the skill-set necessary to cement the bond which should ideally ally creators of music, performers, and listeners is best summarised by Grimarest in this way:

> *Il faut considerer la Musique vocale dans le Musicien, qui la compose; dans l'acteur, qui la chante; & dans la personne, qui l'écoute. La science, & le gout sont nécessaires à celui qui compose: Celui qui chante a besoin d'art, de science, & de discernement; Et celui qui écoute, doit avoir toutes ces parties pour juger seurement.*[446]

5.3.5 The singer must pronounce the words clearly at whatever height or depth the composer has set them.

In Grimarest's treatise, after addressing comments to those engaged in other forms of public speech, he finally turns his attention to actors who engage in singing. Grimarest instructs them to take great care to pronounce distinctly each syllable at whatever pitch the composer has set it.[447] Transposition was, of course, allowed and was an important subject in basso continuo manuals, and what Grimarest is addressing here is the quality and approach to phonation and singing.

In a chapter which is highly significant for the present study, he draws together all commentary on rhetoric and declamation from the earlier parts of his treatise (directed at barristers, priests, and other public speakers), and categorically states that actors who sing must also observe these same rules of declamation.[448] Crucially, singing orators must say the words on the pitches. This conception of song as words spoken (rather than sung) on pitches is fundamental to the approach which is experimented with in the case-study air and to the exploration of the sub-elements of Grimarest's edict, which follows.

5.3.5.1 Distinct pronunciation and volume

Fundamental to the advice delivered not only by Grimarest but by the other theorists is the need for good pronunciation, in which the speaker or singer delivers his or her text both distinctly but also at an appropriate volume. The need for the singer or speaker to have his or her words understood by the audience is so central a requirement that but a few examples from the theorists will suffice as illustration. Le Faucheur devotes a whole chapter to volume and the care that speakers must take to make themselves easily heard, a requirement which he expresses to be the public speaker's "*premier soin*" or first priority.[449] Ménestrier, too, applauds the good pronunciation prevalent amongst Greek poets,[450] their first concern being to make their words heard, and he speaks critically of singers who do not make this same effort. The requirement of distinct pronunciation is equally important for Mersenne:

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[446] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 198. 'One must consider vocal music in terms of the musician who composes it, the actor who sings it, and the person who listens to it. Science and taste are required by those who compose. The singer requires art, science, and discernment. And the listener requires all of these things to judge them with a sure hand'.
[447] Grimarest, 217.
[448] Grimarest, 222.
[449] Le Faucheur, *Traitté*, 58.
[450] Ménestrier, *Représentations*, 93.

> *Une des grandes perfections du chant consiste à bien prononcer les paroles, & les rendre si distinctes, que les auditeurs n'en perdent pas une seule syllabe…* [451]

Again, drawing together the related disciplines of speech and song, Mersenne says that in singing, the pronunciation has to be as good as it is in delivering a speech.[452] La Croix describes it as disagreeable and leading to "disgust" when texts are delivered in a manner which obscures and confuses the words.[453] For Bacilly, the listener only tastes half the pleasure of music when the speaker is not heard or understood.[454] According to Le Faucheur, unclear pronunciation will not only be unpleasant for the listeners, but will distract their attention away from what is being said.[455]

Distinct pronunciation was not merely a tool to afford a more pleasant experience to the listener, however. Rather, it was fundamental to the art of persuasion itself, and an essential pathway towards the delivery of the passions. The ears were thought to be the doors to the spirit and the heart. Listeners, it was logically asserted, lend their ears more readily to a speech or sound which is easier to understand, and it was thought that this ease or pleasure should be capitalized on to more easily move, agitate, or excite humans in whatever direction was desired by the singing orator.[456]

What then are the practical steps which the singer should follow in order to achieve distinct pronunciation?

5.3.5.2 Clarity and strength

Firstly, the speaker or singer should be reminded that as orators, the pronunciation for which Grimarest is striving is the heightened pronunciation of declamation, in which the speaker delivers the words with a weight, force, and energy that is greater than in simple, familiar conversation.[457] The voice must be loud enough to be heard,[458] and also sonorous and flexible.[459] For Le Faucheur, the voice must be clear and strong.[460] Some people naturally possess the gift of a clear and strong voice, while for others, it must be acquired through practice. Le Faucheur's approval of the extreme regime of self-improvement undertaken by the Greek orator, Demosthenes, to cure his weak voice[461] emphasizes the great importance placed on clarity and strength.

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[451] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 356. 'One of the great perfections of singing consists in pronouncing the words well and making them distinct, such that the listeners do not lose a single syllable'.
[452] Mersenne, IV, vi, part 2, 356.
[453] La Croix, *Nouvelle méthode*, 646.
[454] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 290.
[455] Le Faucheur, *Traitté*, 58.
[456] La Croix, *Nouvelle méthode*, 645.
[457] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 248–49.
[458] La Croix, *Nouvelle méthode*, 646.
[459] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 2.
[460] Le Faucheur, *Traitté*, 59.
[461] Le Faucheur, 65. To overcome his weak voice, Le Faucheur recounts that Demosthenes built himself an underground bunker to which he would retreat, often for two or three months in succession, in order to work on gesture and declaim "*à haute voix*", shaving half of his head so that he wasn't tempted to go out, chewing on pebbles to overcome a "fat tongue", and strengthening his voice by practising at the seaside above the roar of the sea.

5.3.5.3 Proportionality

Strength of voice must be tempered with a sense of proportionality, however, and the volume of the voice must be in proportion to the place in which the speaker (and, by extension, the singer) is delivering his or her (musical) address.[462] No doubt this is primarily a caution against speaking or singing too softly, with the concern most prevalent in the mind of the theorists being the need to project in order to be sufficiently heard. By extension, the inverse is equally pertinent, however; just as inaudibility was a negative feature, so too the singer delivering one of the *airs sérieux*, typically performed in very small confines, had to be mindful of moderating the volume according to the dimensions of the room, with a performance that was too loud marring the enjoyment of the listener and distracting them from the delivery of the affect.

5.3.5.4 "Proper" pronunciation

Armed with a clear and strong voice which is projected in proportion to the size of the room, the speaker or singing orator who seeks to achieve the distinct pronunciation espoused by the theorists must then make a choice as to the actual sound of the vowels and consonants which either individually or in digraph form make up the words in the lyric text. Not just clear, but proper or correct pronunciation was considered essential,[463] and ignoring this aspect was described by Bacilly as a serious error.[464] Moreover, when speaking in public, reading aloud, or engaging in the heightened, declamatory speech required for singing, different rules as to pronunciation sometimes applied from those of ordinary conversation.[465] Just as an unclear voice was undesirable, so too, incorrect pronunciation was considered a threat to the delivery of affect.[466] Pleasing pronunciation, on the other hand, was considered by Bacilly to be a sort of vocal ornament[467] which existed for the purpose of giving expression or finesse to the vocal line.[468]

According to Bacilly, in order to achieve this "proper pronunciation" and instil the correct habits in his or her pupil, the singing teacher must not only know the French language well, but must know it in a form unlike the "common herd".[469] With their Paris-centric mindset, both Bacilly and Grimarest are scornful of the speech found in the provinces, particularly Normandy. Jean Hindret, in the preface to his 1687 work which is devoted to proper pronunciation, spelling, and the French language, also rails against incorrect speech but is more sweeping in his criticism, finding fault even with those at court and in Paris.[470]

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[462] Le Faucheur, 59; Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 108, 131–32; Raparlier, *Principes de musique*, 34.
[463] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 62, 66, 92.
[464] Bacilly, 67.
[465] This was particularly the case with the final 'r' or verbs ending in '-er', and the 'l' in 'ils'. See Hindret, *L'art de Bien Prononcer*, 205, 209.
[466] See Bacilly, 67. Speaking in the context of singing teachers, Bacilly says that poor pronunciation betrays a lack of understanding of the text, which implies that the singing teacher does not know how to express the word meanings.
[467] Bacilly, 137.
[468] Bacilly, 270.
[469] Bacilly, 66.
[470] Hindret, *L'art de Bien Prononcer*, n.p.

In what amounts to a third of his treatise, Bacilly devotes himself to instructing the reader on the correct pronunciation of French as it relates to vocal music and declamation. His expansive and technical remarks on pronunciation in part two of the treatise set out in detail the correct way of pronouncing each vowel and consonant, including such matters as when to sound final consonants to enhance clarity or make a rhyme.[471] These rules are also to be found in other writings of the period, such as those by Antoine Lartigaut,[472] Gabriel de Foigny,[473] and Jean d'Aisy.[474]

5.3.5.5 *"Gronder"* - the modification of pronunciation

As distinct from the important role played by the orator's or singer's general tone of voice in representing the passions,[475] affect also influenced pronunciation on a more micro level, and could modify or determine how individual words or even syllables were to be pronounced. Bacilly and Bretteville both address this concept.

Bacilly asserts, for example, that if the "a" vowel is sung on a long note and there is a passion or sentiment attached to it, greater vigour and less sweetness may be required. In illustration of this, Bacilly gives the example of the exclamatory "*a"* in "*Ah! qu'il est malaisé*!" and the *a* in the word "*ingratte*" of "*Si l'ingratte ne m'aime pas*". In both of these cases, the mouth must be open very wide, whereas in expressions of joy such as in the exclamatory "*a"* in "*Ah! qu'il est doux d'aimer*!" and "*Ha! Que le plaisir est extrême*", the emphasis should be on width and the opening must be similar to a smile.[476] Whether or not the song was familiar or public, serious or gallant also impacted on vowel formation, also. If the song was what Bacilly describes as a "mere trifle" in its words and music, then the singer should pronounce the "*oi*" and "*oy*" as if they were "ay", such that words such as "*croyez*", "*soyez*" and "*soit*" sound like the word "*sayez*".[477]

Writing later and in nearly identical terms, Bérard and Raparlier also describe ways in which pronunciation will vary according to the character of the words themselves. The character is determined by the nature of the object which the words represent and according to both writers, words can be signs of serious, terrible or sad, frivolous, amiable, happy, indifferent, or tender objects.[478] When speaking of the *terrible*, pronunciation must be hard and obscure. When speaking of tearful, pathetic things, the words must be obscure and muffled. When speaking of birdsong, a babbling brook, or expressing tranquil, tender or amiable passions, it should be sweet and clear.[479]

Bretteville's treatise, although targeted at priests and barristers, nevertheless provides rules which are applicable to all orators seeking to persuade or move the passions. He identifies certain words which require specific expressive pronunciation. For example, affirmative

[471] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 296–97.
[472] Lartigaut, *Progrês de la véritable l'ortografe*.
[473] Foigny, *L'Usage du Jeu Royal*.
[474] d'Aisy, *Suite Du Génie de La Langue Françoise*.
[475] The orator's or singer's tone of voice (*accens*) is examined below at section 5.4.2.
[476] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 259.
[477] Bacilly, 287. In a similar vein, Bacilly says at 299 that the "l" in "*il*" can be omitted if the song is in the style of a gavotte. The more serious the air, the more attention is required to expressive pronunciation.
[478] Raparlier, *Principes de musique*, 32; Bérard, *L'art du chant*, 68.
[479] Raparlier, *Principes de musique*, 33; Bérard, *L'art du chant*, 69ff.

words such as "*certainement*", "*assurément*", "*absolument*" required a firm tone. Words showing blame or horror, such as "*atroce*" and "*détestable*" required a high and moved voice. Words indicating misfortune or plaintive words, such as "*malheureux*" and "*déplorable*" should be pronounced in a sad way. Words expressing quantity, such as "*grand*", "*haut*", and "*profond*" need a certain weight in their pronunciation, and words indicating weakness or baseness such as "*bas*", "*petit*", "*vain*" should be delivered in a lowered voice with disdain.[480]

Bacilly further specifies that some consonants should be pronounced such that the sounding of the vowel which follows them is postponed for some time. He names this concept "*gronder*" (from the verb "to growl"),[481] and he states that it is principally practised on the "m", "n", "j", "s" and "v" when those consonants appear at the start, rather than in the middle, of a word.[482] All these consonants are, in modern phonetic terminology, considered voiced consonants owing to the fact that the vocal cords vibrate when they are sounded. The fact that they are voiced allows the singer or speaker to sustain these consonants over a period that is slightly more prolonged than usual in familiar speech before moving to the vowel, and this gives weight and intensity to the consonant in question and equally raises anticipation of the vowel that follows. Another consonant that may be subject to this practice is the unvoiced consonant "f" in the words "*infidelle*" and "*enfin*". The singer should note that good judgement and taste must be used to assess whether or not the expression can support a suspended consonant. An actual emotion must be expressed by this device, Bacilly states. Words such as "*mourir*", "*malheureux*", *misérable*", "*volage*", "*jamais*", and "*non*" can support suspended first consonants, but when these words are used in a negative, their expression is diluted, such that it would be inappropriate to suspend the "m" on "*Je ne veux mourir ny changer*", for example.[483]

Bacilly's rules as to pronunciation of the "r" consonant are also subject to this mutable approach, depending on affect. Generally, Bacilly stipulates that the "r", if between two vowels should be pronounced simply and in an unaffected manner.[484] But if an "r" precedes or follows another consonant, it must be pronounced with a greater degree of force as if it were a double "r" or with even more intensity according to whether the word required "greater or less expression".[485] Further, generally speaking, an "r" which follows a consonant would be given less force than one which precedes another consonant, but this again depends on the affective connotation of the word. Bacilly cites the word "*cruelle*" as an instance in which the affective demand of the word would override this general rule.[486] Bacilly's general rules can also be overridden when the context and meaning of certain words require it. For example, because the expression in the following phrase is one of urgent questioning, the "r" must be given greater emphasis: "*Pourquoy faut-il, belle inhumaine?/ injure, invective, reproche*".[487] However, when an "r" that would receive

[480] For the full list of words, see Bretteville, *L'éloquence de la chaire*, 479.
[481] *Gronder* is akin to the doubling of consonants which is described by Bérard and Raparlier. See Bérard, *L'art du chant*, 94; Raparlier, *Principes de musique*, 34. Lécuyer also refers to doubling of consonants. See Lécuyer, *Principes*.
[482] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 307.
[483] Bacilly, 308.
[484] Bacilly, 291.
[485] Bacilly, 292.
[486] Bacilly, 292.
[487] Bacilly, 293.

emphasis under the foregoing rules is used in a negative, the opposite is required, as in its negative form it connotes something less pernicious: "*Mon coeur ne sent plus de tourment"*, or "*Philis n'est plus ingrate à mes desirs*", or "*Elle a banny la cruauté*".[488] Other examples of when the affective meaning of a word is a more significant determinant of distinct pronunciation than grammatical rules is in the case of the "r" at the start of a word: words such as "*rigueur*" and "*revolte*" require more strength than words such as the more neutral words, "*réciter*", "*ranger*", "*rappeller*", etc.[489]

5.3.5.6 Observance of rules of syllabic quantity

Another essential ingredient of distinct pronunciation was the need to observe the rules of syllabic quantity, as promoted by Antoine de Baïf in the sixteenth century. Baïf based his concept of *vers mesurés* or measured verse (and by extension, *musique mesurée)* on the distinction that exists in French prosody between distinctly long and short syllables. Bacilly, Mersenne, Le Faucheur, Jean Hindret, and Grimarest all built on this legacy, devoting considerable time in their treatises as to how to determine syllable length.[490] Although there are subtle differences in terminology and some points of disagreement, there are basic concepts on which the theorists agree.

In brief, in French, syllables receive emphasis not through vocal accents or stresses, but through elongation. The accent is quantitative. There is a distinction in declaimed French between long, short, and in-between (and doubtful) syllables. Some syllables are by nature long, and their length cannot be changed. Although two or more adjacent long syllables were permitted, two or more adjacent short syllables were not allowed.[491] In some instances when necessary, therefore, whenever there were two or more short syllables placed consecutively, short monosyllables (as opposed to short syllables within polysyllabic words) could be converted into long ones.[492] Bacilly describes this process of converting short monosyllables into long ones through the principle of retrograde symmetry.[493] The subtle adjustment of syllabic length which is achieved by applying this principle was thought to add clarity to the diction, forcing the orator to pause and lengthen syllables which may otherwise be jumbled together in rapid succession. The long syllables resulting from invoking symmetry would, along with other long syllables, be appropriate syllables on which to ornament.

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[488] Bacilly, 293.

[489] Bacilly, 294–95.

[490] The importance of observing syllabic quantity was referred to at least as late as 1772. See Raparlier, *Principes de musique*, 42. However, note that Raparlier, in contrast to Bacilly, devotes but one page to this topic. .

[491] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 338–39, 351.

[492] Bacilly, 344.

[493] In order to test if such conversion of a short monosyllable into a long syllable is required, the singer should start at the rhyme at the end of the poetic line and work backwards. Using the information as to syllabic length in part 3 of Bacilly's treatise, the singer should identify the long syllables and ensure that there are no adjacent short syllables. If two adjacent short syllables are identified, the singer must convert the first short monosyllable encountered (always still working in reverse order) of any cluster of adjacent short syllables into a long syllable. See Bacilly, 338–55.

The proper observance of syllabic length was seen as essential by the theorists. Early on in the treatise, Bacilly describes this as the principal aim of his work,[494] and there are numerous other examples throughout his volume attesting to the pedestal on which he placed the ability to discern and differentiate syllabic quantity.[495] This attitude is echoed by other theorists, too.[496]

The idea was that the distinction between short and long syllables according to Bacilly's rules (including the rule of symmetry) should be observed by composers in setting lyric texts to music. In this way, short syllables should be assigned notes of short value, and long syllables (whether naturally long or whether converted into long syllables by the demands of symmetry) should be translated into notes, which, relative to the notes assigned to short syllables, are of longer duration.[497]

For Bacilly in particular, knowledge and observation of syllabic length was not only fundamental for composers in scanning and setting texts, but also for teachers and singers as well. Where composers have not set syllables in a manner which appropriately reflects their relative length, or equally, where the set, rhythmic patterns of a dance-form result in a short syllable falling on a beat which the form dictates should be a note of long value or vice versa, then Bacilly and Grimarest advise that the singer was obliged to "correct" these faults.[498] There were two principal means to do this, both of which reflect the priority given to the words over the music. Firstly, where a short syllable had been erroneously set to a long note, that long note should be abridged by placing a rest either before it, or after it.[499] Secondly, in the opposite case, where a long syllable has been incorrectly set to a short syllable, because of Bacilly's strict requirement that all long syllables should receive a long ornament (which is dealt with immediately below), it can be deduced that the singer should, in principle, place a long ornament on that note to indicate length in refutation of the short note value "wrongly" assigned to it by the composer. Such a strategy impacts on the rhythmic movement of the piece. When faced with the dilemma of choosing between the respecting of syllable length or notated rhythm, Bacilly is clear: at least in the case of an *air sérieux*,[500] the rules for syllable length must take precedence.[501] Grimarest, too, echoes this sentiment in no uncertain terms. Using an example from Lully's *Atys,* he advocates that where a shorter syllable has been incorrectly set to a long note and the next note is a short note which has been assigned a longer syllable, the performer should in effect steal from the length of the first note and bestow some of that length on the second note.[502]

5.3.5.7 Ornamentation as a pathway to distinct pronunciation

[494] Bacilly, 6.
[495] See, for example, Bacilly, 90, 137, 244.
[496] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 377; La Croix, *Nouvelle méthode*, 346; Ménestrier, *Représentations*, 146–47; Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 220–21; Bérard, *L'art du chant*, 49; Lécuyer, *Principes*, 23; Raparlier, *Principes de musique*, 42.
[497] Masson, *Nouveau traité*, 26; Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 205; Ménestrier, *Représentations*, 146; Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 415; Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 336–37.
[498] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 331; Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 217.
[499] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 123; This is to be compared with Mersenne, who, in *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 395, only refers to adding a rest before the long note which has been wrongly set to a short syllable.
[500] Bacilly, by implication, defines an *air sérieux* as an air which is not based on a dance form. See 354.
[501] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 354.
[502] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 218–19.

Vocal ornamentation and syllabic quantity were inextricably linked. For Bacilly, vocal ornaments did not simply relate to melody, but existed for the purposes of emphasizing the length of syllables.[503] Since an ornament was an indicator of length, its absence or presence sent an important subconscious message to the listener, helping the listener untangle and make sense of the succession of words in a poetic line. Ornamentation, when applied based on the rules of syllabic quantity, was therefore an important tool in achieving clarity of pronunciation.

During the process of considering and applying Bacilly's long list of technical rules as to correct syllabic quantity and pronunciation, the singer or orator should not forget that the rules promoting distinct pronunciation ultimately existed for the purpose of delivering the affect of the composition. Syllabic quantity, as one of the determinants of when and how ornamentation was to be applied, was no exception; pronunciation which was made more distinct by the application of suitable ornaments on appropriate syllables enhanced affective representation by increasing the chances that the listener could readily understand those words. The easier it was for the listener to hear and understand the words or text, the more likely it was that he or she would be moved or persuaded by those words.

Rather than as a means of simply decorating a melody, vocal ornamentation was therefore a function of the declaimed, spoken word. According to Bacilly, if a syllable (either a monosyllable or a syllable in a polysyllabic word) is long (or converted into a long syllable by the principle of symmetry), it should be ornamented with an embellishment that appropriately signifies its length.[504] If the syllable in question is a short syllable which is treated as a short syllable, it must not be ornamented at all.[505] According to this view, ornamentation is an aid to achieving the brand of distinct pronunciation which Bacilly, Grimarest, and the other theorists under consideration advocate.

As has been shown in chapter 3, it was not common practice to print all the ornaments in a piece of music, and this is certainly the case in the airs of the *Recueils*, where a minimalistic approach in this regard is in evidence. The theorists can aid the singing orator in filling in these gaps, however; where no ornaments are marked, the singer can use the length of syllable in the word in question as one determinant[506] of the ornament to apply.

Bacilly's rules as to which length of syllables can support certain ornaments are summarized below, and the reader should consult the third part of Bacilly's treatise which investigates syllable-length in great detail. All bracketed numbers refer to page numbers in Bacilly's *Remarques curieuses*.

[503] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 101.
[504] Bacilly, 335. At 362, Bacilly refers to this as an *obligation* to perform a long ornament, without any option or omission. This obligation exists even if the singer is obliged to slow down and break the metrical structure of the air. See further Bacilly, 106-108. Long syllables can also support the diminutions that would have been inserted into *doubles*. See further Bacilly at 219.
[505] Bacilly, 353–54.
[506] As will be demonstrated in section 5.4.1, choice of ornamentation should also be driven by affect.

Table 5.1: Ornaments appropriate to the various length of syllables

Length of syllable	Ornaments which may be used
Long syllables	*Accents* (189, 335, 361, 366, 371, 372, 379, 384, 408), *plaintes* (361, 372), long *tremblements* (170, 194, 335, 366, 371, 379, 384, 387,408), *doublement de gosier* (366, 379), simply elongating the syllable will sometimes suffice for an ornament if there is no time to perform an actual ornament (379)
Semi-long syllables	*Tremblements* if performed as short as possible (384, 406, 408), *tremblements* (362), throat repetition (195, 337, 368, 406, 408), *doublement de gosier* (195), *accent* (362, 406), or repetition of the note (406)
Short syllables	No lengthening device should be added (353-354)

In the florid writing of the twenty-two *doubles* found in the repertoire studied, the above rules are somewhat different. In common with the tradition best represented by the *doubles* in the 1660 engraved collection of Michel Lambert, the elaborate *passages* for second and subsequent verses in the early *Recueils* often disregard the natural verbal rhythm of the text in favour of the music. The underlying harmonic framework may remain similar or the same, but the melody consists of written-out diminutions which dramatically increase the rate of rhythmic activity. Moreover, the writing is so florid that there seems to be little time or space in the music for the singer to add in further ornaments to demonstrate syllabic length and no latitude to "correct" the composer if he or she has written a long melisma on a short syllable. As had been Lully's complaint with the convention, the poet is dominated by the musician in the case of the *double*.

Given this lack of real opportunity for the singer to make adjustments, he or she is reliant on the quality of the textual/musical setting ordained by the composer. Bacilly provides some rules, stating that the composer should observe syllabic quantity and write diminutions on long syllables, and avoid writing ornaments on the "u", "i", "o" and "ou" sounds.[507]

The singer attempting to improvise a *double* for him- or herself is faced with a challenging task. Not only would he or she have to take account of Bacilly's compositional rules, avoiding the embellishment of certain syllables, but the performance of the *double* is in itself a highly-skilled affair. The natural inclination of the singer is to place "strong" words on "strong" beats, and when this sense of rhythmic and textual organisation is obscured by melismas or displacements of "strong" words to "weak" beats, good training and long practice is required – precisely what Bacilly prescribed.[508]

5.4 The singing orator's affective tool kit: ornamentation, *accens,* breathing, and gesture as expressive tools for depicting a passion

The question at this stage of the process then becomes one of expression: how does the singing orator, using pronunciation which is proper and distinct, and observing syllabic quantity, represent or portray the passions, arousing these same passions in the listener?

[507] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 226–28.
[508] Bacilly, 26.

5.4.1 Ornamentation as a vehicle of affect

By subtly underlining different syllabic lengths, we have seen above that vocal ornaments, when correctly applied, constituted an aid to comprehension of the lyric text. Comprehension on the part of the listener was one of the factors considered essential for delivery of the affect of a piece.

The expressive timbre or sound of the ornaments themselves also played a significant role. Vocal ornaments were in fact considered to be mimetic of the emotional states which are represented or depicted during an oration, whether spoken or sung. The rapid alternation of pitches in a *tremblement,* for example, produces an effect which is redolent of trembling in the voice*,* which was considered a manifestation of the emotional state of desire.[509] The slight elevation of the voice in the *accent* and the *plainte* is similar to the doleful, expressive sighing which characterizes the plaintive tones that one makes when experiencing suffering because of love or experiencing sorrow.[510] According to Mersenne,[511] when the speaking voice is languishing, it produces a semi-tone, and this could be considered to be mirrored in the *port de voix,* which not uncoincidentally was identified as being suitable for the doleful expression of sadness and grief.[512] Particularly in combination with the *accent* or *chûte*,[513] a properly executed *sanglot* with its "*aspiration violente*" produces an expressive sob which likewise evokes the plaintive tones which Grimarest specifies as appropriate to express love-sick suffering and sorrow.[514] By contrast, the *coulé* produces an easy, lilting musical effect, which mirrors the flattering and tender tone evocative of the sweetness of love and the soft, full, and easy tone which was thought to occur in the emotional state of joy.[515] The mimetic characteristic of sung ornaments is also evident in many of their names (such as "*tremblement*", "*plainte*", and "*sanglot*"), and the role of ornamentation in depicting an inner emotional state is experimented with and described further in chapter 7.

The theorists reviewed adopted a variety of approaches to vocal ornamentation. Bacilly's discussion of ornamentation represents the most detailed and comprehensive exploration of this subject among the theorists and constitutes the first codification of this subject using French nomenclature. As well as a detailed description of each *agrément,* Bacilly attempts to elaborate on the aesthetic choices as to when certain ornaments should be used. Bacilly's persistence in relating ornamentation to syllabic quantity accords him the pre-eminent position as promoter *par excellence* of the distinct pronunciation about which Grimarest and the other theorists were so uncompromising.

At the minimalist end of the scale, Pierre Berthet, a significant contributor to the *Recueils,* devotes but one page to this subject, setting out the symbols for a select number of vocal ornaments, and notating the pitches of the ornaments long-hand.[516] Montéclair's primer, the *Nouvelle Méthode* of 1709, sets out in brief the name of the principal ornaments, and

[509] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 147.
[510] Grimarest, 136 and 142.
[511] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 371.
[512] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 201.
[513] Montéclair, *Principes*, 89.
[514] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 136 and 142.
[515] Grimarest, 142.
[516] Berthet, *Leçons de musique*, 47.

his 1736 treatise takes up this subject in greater detail, describing and notating examples,[517] affording the singer a visual demonstration alongside his narrative instructions. However, he does not define some of the sub-categories of ornaments as Bacilly does for the *port de voix,* for example. Although his writings make occasional reference to the affect which some of the ornaments portray, he does not elaborate on aesthetic choices or discuss syllabic quantity. His description of the ornaments also lacks detail as to how they should be timed, a fault which is not present in Bacilly.

In a treatise written many decades after the publication of the collection under study, Jean-Antoine Bérard's *L'Art du chant* presents yet another approach entirely[518] - a physiological description of the vocal ornaments and a mechanical description of the way in which the larynx and vocal cords should be manipulated to execute these ornaments. Bérard also includes extracts from operas, including Lully's *Armide*, with annotated ornaments,[519] which provide a direct glimpse of the likely practice of the time. In common with earlier writings, he states generally that the *agrémens* are the means of moving the passions, yet his treatise does not give details as to which ornaments are appropriate for representing the various affects.[520] He does, however, state that the character of the words should determine the duration, energy, sweetness, and speed with which ornaments are sung.[521]

The information in appendix 5 illustrates the ornaments which the theorists expressly refer to as being suitable for the depiction of various states of mind or for airs with specific characters.[522] Just how the performer can capitalize on the close bond between ornamentation and affect is explored in the case-study and practical analysis in chapter 7.

5.4.2 *Accens*

In addition to proper pronunciation and a knowledge of syllabic quantity, singers were required to have a knowledge of the *accens* and their effect in order to move their audience.[523] Grimarest required all orators to have a "*parfaite connaissance"* of these matters,[524] which for Mersenne gave an air a certain grace and animation.[525] Knowing how to make appropriate use of *accens* was considered a skill required of every good orator for

[517] Montéclair, *Principes*.
[518] Controversy has surrounded the authorship of this treatise almost since its first publication in 1755, with Joseph Blanchet publishing a nearly identical book the following year. For the sake of brevity, references in this study to Bérard will be to the 1755 work purporting to be by Bérard.
[519] Annexure to Bérard, *L'art du chant*.
[520] However, those sections of Bérard's work in which he annotates ornaments in operatic extracts of the time do provide some limited clues: Bérard provides a heading for each extract, such as "*Pour les sons étouffés" or "Pour les sons majestueux"*, which may allow the singer to make general, basic connections between sounds and suitable ornaments.
[521] Bérard, *L'art du chant*, 136.
[522] As such, appendix 5 does not refer to all the ornaments examined by the theorists. Further, some of the information in the table may be useful for the de-coding exercise carried out in chapter 4. For example, if an *accent* has been noted by the composer, the singer may deduce that the composer was making a doleful expression of sadness or grief, or one of the other affects associated with that ornament, which may inform other aspects of his or her performance.
[523] Preface to Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*.
[524] Grimarest, 3.
[525] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 372.

the purposes of persuasion – for priests as the "*ambassadeurs du ciel*"[526] and for others who spoke in public.

The theorists trace the persuasive importance of the voice's varying inflections back at least as far as ancient Greek theatre[527] and Saint Augustine.[528] According to Mersenne, the listener's spirit and ears have a certain rapport with the speaker's *accens*, which are capable of shaking or weakening the listeners, and which strike them in such a powerful way that the orator can take the listener exactly where he wants to.[529] La Croix and Lamy write in the same terms, speaking of the different movements of the soul responding to different tones of voice.[530] Sounds are highly evocative such that even animals understand and flee at the sound of a gruff tone, they explain. Similarly, animals can be tamed when spoken to sweetly[531] and trumpets and drums can make us think of war.[532] Le Faucheur also considers *accent* as a major persuasive tool, and says that without the inflections suitable to the subject and the passions,[533] the effect that a speech should produce is compromised.

As for the definition of *accent*, Furetière suggests that it is:

> *un certain ton de voix qui est souvent une marque de ce qu'on veut dire, qui en fait faire une bonne ou une mauvaise interpretation*.[534]

Mersenne defines *accent* generally as the orator's manner of speaking[535] or the inflection or modification of the voice of the words by which one expresses the passions and the affections.[536] He states that the speaking and singing voice are subject to these inflections.[537] Later he describes *accens* as a certain vigour and vehemence of the voice which carries the strength of a discourse into the mind of the listener.[538]

Accent therefore was a concept which corresponds loosely to the modern concept of "tone of voice".[539] Every sentiment, it was thought, had a tone of voice which was fitting to it.[540] Words were considered to be the interpreters of the orator's thoughts and the mirrors of the passions of the soul.[541] The inflection or the tone of the voice with which words were

[526] Mersenne, IV, vi, part 2, 373.
[527] Ménestrier, *Représentations*, 78.
[528] La Croix, *Nouvelle méthode*, 102.
[529] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 373.
[530] La Croix, *Nouvelle méthode*, 102; Lamy, *La rhétorique*, 1678, 173.
[531] La Croix, *Nouvelle méthode*, 103; Lamy, *La rhétorique*, 1678, 174.
[532] La Croix, *Nouvelle méthode*, 459.
[533] Le Faucheur, *Traitté*, 83.
[534] Furetière, 'Dictionnaire Universel', 1690. 'A certain tone of voice which is often the mark of what one wants to say, which makes a good or bad interpretation of it'.
[535] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 365, 366.
[536] Mersenne, IV, vi, part 2, 366.
[537] Mersenne, IV, vi, part 2, 366.
[538] Mersenne, V, viii, 9.
[539] *Accent* will be used interchangeably with "tone of voice" in this chapter, and is not to be confused with the concept of "*ton*".
[540] Lamy, *La rhétorique*, 1678, 289.
[541] Bretteville, *L'éloquence de la chaire*, 467.

uttered was an expressive tool which was called on to vivify the meaning of words and better depict the passion that the speaker was feeling or trying to move in his listeners.[542]

Knowing how to vary the voice according to subject matter was something that was considered to come naturally to humans. Many of the theorists make the observation that humans naturally speak one way when recounting joyful and pleasant events, for example, and another way when describing sad and doleful ones. Pronunciation, it was considered, should follow this natural inclination and the voice should be varied accordingly.[543]

Theoretical writings devoted much time to defining the passions and many writers examined the *accens* associated with the various passions. While there are many general overlaps in the thinking of the theorists, there is no absolute or neat unanimity to be discerned in their categorization of the passions and the various *accens* with which they were associated. Information drawn from the treatises dealing with the *accens* appropriate for representing the passions is set out in appendix 6 and includes a wide ambit of references, from Mersenne to Bérard.

As this chapter primarily deals with the practical question of how the singer, as an orator, should give voice to the affects embedded within the text and music, the most important information to be imparted on *accens* is of a practical nature: to what use can the spoken tones of voice be put when singing? Are the tones of voice described by the theorists an analytical tool or something to be used in performing? What tone of voice should the singer use when pronouncing these words on the pitches set by the composer?

From a theoretical point of view, Mersenne suggests that it should be possible to apply *accens* to whatever pitches are notated by the composer in the music (at least in relation to expressing anger), as Italian singers manage to express this passion with their vehemence and *accens*.[544] Grimarest addresses the issue of the possibility of singing with *accens* expressly, and asserts that although one is duty-bound to the musical notations of the composer, the singer should nevertheless follow the *accens* prescribed.[545] In the case of Grimarest, although his instructions as to tones of voice are to be found in the section of his treatise directed at spoken declamation and actors, he later clarifies that for actors who sing, all these same rules of declamation must equally be followed, notwithstanding that the performer is subject to the pitches pre-ordained by the composer.[546] Singers must therefore respect the *accens* associated with the passion that they are evoking, and this advice is experimented with in chapter 7.

5.4.3 Expressing several passions together

According to Bacilly, rather than seeking to depict isolated words, when considering which *accent* is suitable for the depiction of the passion in a portion of texted music, the singer should generally consider the whole phrase or line.[547] Grimarest is of a similar view, and

[542] Bretteville, 470.
[543] See, for example, Bretteville, 466.
[544] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 371.
[545] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 221.
[546] Grimarest, 222.
[547] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 121.

says that words by themselves do not express a sentiment. Rather it is the entire expression which counts.[548]

This may lead to the situation described by Grimarest, where one expression will evoke several passions together.[549] In this instance, Grimarest gives no more detailed instruction than that the speaker must join up several *accens* so that the spectators can recognize the passions conveyed and be touched by them. He admits that few good actors are able to achieve such a subtle mingling of *accens*.

5.4.4 The natural and the artificial

There is room for confusion in the way the theorists write about *accens*. Are the theorists requiring the orator to simply select an appropriate tone of voice in order to produce a representation of a passion or should the orator, as a prerequisite, feel the passion within him- or herself, which will in turn naturally, inevitably, and without further prompting generate the appropriate tone of voice? This ambiguity between the natural and the artificial is reflected within Mersenne's very definition of *accent*, as:

> *une inflexion ou modification de la voix, ou de la parole, par laquelle l'on exprime les passions & les affections naturellement , ou par l'artifice*.[550]

On the one hand, the language which dominates much of the writings on *accens* is prescriptive and suggest that the speaker seeking to express a particular passion can simply select the corresponding tone of voice "off-the-shelf" and speak with it, rather than the tone of voice being generated as a natural consequence of the passion felt by the orator.[551]

There is a strong competing view. Le Faucheur asserts that the various tones of voice which the orator presents in order to move or persuade the listener should be reflective of the movements that the orator him- or herself feels inside. He states that words were given to us to be the interpreters of our thoughts and the mirror of our passions.[552] Therefore the speaker, according to Le Faucheur, must feel the passion him- or herself, as this then creates a physical reaction in the speaker which he or she can then pass more easily to the audience.[553] As soon as it is genuinely shown in the eyes of the orator, it will pass to the eyes and souls of others.[554] He states that nature is the best teacher in these matters and will produce the correct effect in the speaker when he or she truly feels similar passions. As with strings on an instrument which sound according to how they are touched, he explains that so too with the voice, if a speech proceeds from a vehement affection, it produces vehement pronunciation.[555]

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[548] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 210.
[549] Grimarest, 155.
[550] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 366. 'An inflection or modification of the voice or of the word, by which one expresses the passions and the affections naturally or artificially'. Emphasis added.
[551] See, for example, Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 136, 139, 142; Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 370.
[552] Le Faucheur, *Traitté*, 90.
[553] Le Faucheur, 203–4.
[554] Le Faucheur, 209.
[555] Le Faucheur, 113.

For Lamy and La Croix, between whose writings there is substantial overlap, speeches should not have too much artifice and affectation, as such speeches will never touch the audience. Both assert that sounds can excite the passions - each passion responds to a certain sound, which is capable of exciting in the animal spirits the movement with which that passion is connected.[556] To paraphrase La Croix, speeches with too much artifice and affectation will not bear a resemblance to the animal spirits and therefore will never be touching.[557] This impliedly refutes the notion that the speaker can simply select a tone of voice and hope to convincingly portray an affect.

Even much of Grimarest's and Mersenne's writings, despite elsewhere suggesting that the orator or singer can simply select a tone of voice, seem to ally with Lamy and La Croix. Mersenne says that *accens* come from nature but admits that they can either be natural or artificial (when the speaker is required to use an *accent* which is not natural to him or her).[558]

Grimarest does at one point seem to agree: simply elevating the voice is not enough.[559] The speaker should show by the various tones of his or her voice the diversity of movements that are felt inside, in order to be able to excite the same in his or her auditors.[560] Both Grimarest and Mersenne provide a description of how the passions manifest themselves in a speaker and the way that a particular passion will inevitably affect and colour the voice.

Finally, Grimarest confirms his preference for the natural over the artificial when he acknowledges that his critics might ask why he has to specify things like tone of voice, which should come from nature. Grimarest answers that it is exactly nature that his critics are ignoring.[561]

5.4.5 Affect, *accens*, and the imagination

More than a mere elevation or lowering of the voice, *accent* was therefore a tone of voice which should be generated from within, from the passion which is experienced by the speaker at the moment of utterance. This is the ideal. How then should the speaker or singer deal with the situation when he or she does not necessarily experience simultaneously with the utterance the passion which is demanded by the text and/or the music? When the text and/or music demand the articulation or expression of a certain passion and the speaker or singer does not necessarily identify with that particular passion at that moment, how does the speaker or singer avoid falling into the trap of simply elevating or lowering the voice to mimic the physical manifestations of a certain emotional state?

The answer relies on an engagement with the imagination. According to Le Faucheur, in order for the speaker to feel the passion encoded in the text, he or she should follow the suit of actors in former times, who worked assiduously on developing and moving their

[556] Lamy, *La rhétorique*, 1678, 174; La Croix, *Nouvelle méthode*, 104.
[557] La Croix, *Nouvelle méthode*, 114.
[558] Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2, 367.
[559] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 158.
[560] Grimarest, 90.
[561] Grimarest, 157.

imaginations such that they could conjure up emotions and produce, for example, profuse tears on demand.[562] The most efficacious method of developing this skill, it was thought, was for actors to focus on real subjects in their own hearts, rather than the fictional subjects which they were representing on stage. One notable example of this approach which Le Faucheur cites relates to the great actor, Polus. In real life, having suffered the bereavement of his own son, Polus returns to the theatre playing the (female) role of Sophocles' Electra, for which he was required to carry the funeral urn and bones of his (her) stage-brother, Orestes. In order to make the stage portrayal more powerful, rather than carrying a mere prop, he decided to carry the very funeral urn and bones of his own deceased son on stage. This moved the actor to such an extent that he emitted cries and shed genuine tears, which engendered the same emotional reaction from the audience, who similarly wept with sorrow.

5.4.6 Breathing as an element of the depiction of a passion

A breath produces a hiatus in the sound, and the speed at which the orator or singer breathes and the location of these breaths within the poetic and musical line therefore help to create the rhythmic pace which was a highly potent tool in depicting and provoking different emotional states.

As well as contributing to expression, breathing was in fact an essential element of distinct pronunciation. According to Grimarest, the pauses generated by the singer taking a breath promoted clarity and he asserts that if they are not observed, the words will be barely intelligible.[563] This view was echoed by Le Faucheur, who noted amongst other things that if there are lots of members, they should be distinguished by a small pause after each small period and a long pause after a long period.[564] For La Croix, listeners experience several other things in pronunciation other than the sound of each letter, syllable, word, and expression – they hear silence or the repose of the voice at the end of words or sentences.[565] The importance of silence to a piece of music was also recognized at the compositional level, with Charles Masson expressly articulating that silence was essential to give beauty and perfection to a piece.[566] As with the other elements of affective delivery, the skill of knowing where to place and how to judge the length of repose at the points of respiration was said to be one which required study and practice.[567]

According to the theorists, primarily two factors are of importance in determining where the orator or singer should breathe and the permissible length of the hiatus which the breath produces: the grammatical accents at the caesura and rhyme, and punctuation. In the introduction to his first book of airs published by Ballard in 1691, Sébastien de Brossard addresses the question of where the singer should breathe, and specifies that this can occur wherever there is a rest, where the end of a word coincides with a dotted note, at the end of a poetic line or at the caesura. Breaths should never be taken in the middle of a word or during a cadence, unless performing a long *roulade* on that syllable. Brossard's airs in the

[562] Le Faucheur, *Traitté*, 205.
[563] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 44.
[564] Le Faucheur, *Traitté*, 176.
[565] La Croix, *Nouvelle méthode*, 649.
[566] Masson, *Nouveau traité*, 119–20.
[567] Le Faucheur, *Traitté*, 165.

1691 Ballard series are annotated throughout with a small "d", which indicates where the singer should breathe.[568] This breath indication reliably bears out Brossard's written instructions in the introduction, with the "d" annotation appearing at the end of each poetic line, and also at the caesura within the line.

Michel L'Affilard undertook a similar exercise in the fifth edition of his *Principes très-faciles pour bien apprendre la musique*. This work redacts a number of L'Affilard's airs (both serious airs and drinking songs) and, as explained in its Preface, L'Affilard has inserted a small "c" throughout these pieces to indicate where the breath should be taken.[569] A review of the placement of the small "c" reveals the same logic at work in both L'Affilard and Brossard: the "c" indication specified by L'Affilard again reliably appears at the caesura and at the end of the poetic line.

In practice, although there may be exceptional cases depending on texts and musical settings, certain general assumptions can therefore be made from the above principles. Adopting the terminology relating to syllable count, the orator or singer can safely assume, for example, that the likely place for them to breathe will be after syllable six and after syllable twelve in an *alexandrine*. In a ten-syllable line or *commun,* the orator can expect to breathe after syllable four as well as at the end of the poetic line, and in an eight-syllable line, the breath would come either after syllable five or four (coinciding with the caesura) as well as at the end of the poetic line. As no caesuras usually occur in lines with fewer syllables than this, the orator or singer will ideally not breathe in these shorter lines.[570] In effect, this emphasis on breathing at the hemistich and the end of the line accords with Raparlier's more general advice written much later, which is that the singer should consult the sense of the words, paying the utmost importance to the construction of the phrases; one should only breathe when the sense of the words comes to a repose, as it naturally does at the end of the line and the half-line.[571]

Brossard also sanctions breaths at rests and where the end of a word coincides with a dotted note. As is evident in the video examples, a poetic or vocal line which is broken up not merely at the hemistich and end of the line but also by further hiatuses caused by breathing will have a more hurried and less tranquil expression than a segment of text not broken up in this way.

Punctuation is the second factor which impacts on breathing, and by extension, expression. There was a hierarchy pertaining to the length of repose associated with the punctuation marks: the full-stop marks the longest pause, the colon requires a lesser repose, the semi-colon is greater than the comma but less than the colon, and the pause at the comma is almost imperceptible.[572] In the *airs sérieux* under study in the *Recueils,* as is typical of the genre, commas sometimes but not always occur at the end of each poetic line. At the end of

[568] Brossard, *1er Livre d'Airs*, n.p.
[569] L'Affilard, *Principes*, 6.
[570] Despite his or her best intentions, the orator or singer may simply run out of breath, however. L'Affilard cautions that when one is short of breath, the pitch can lower and poor intonation can result. At page 6 of the Preface, he advises the singer to artfully avoid this.
[571] Raparlier, *Principes de musique*, 42.
[572] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 44ff. Note that Grimarest's discussion of punctuation also covers the exclamation mark and question mark, but these will not be examined insofar as they relate to the length of the repose caused by breathing.

the first half of the text, there is typically a colon, and certainly at the very end of the text there is either a full-stop, or, less frequently, a question mark. Further points of repose delineating the poetic feet within a line sometimes, but not always, coincide with a comma.

The orator who is practising aloud his or her declamation of the lyric texts in accordance with the teachings of the theorists, should be mindful of observing the differentiation in length between the various pauses produced by potentially pausing for breath at punctuation marks.

5.4.7 Gesture

Just as the *accens* were audible signs of the passions, gesture and facial expressions were the visual indicators of the commotions of the soul. However, French treatises which address gesture and the artful use of the hands, face, and body to incarnate the relevant passion are directed to the preacher and barrister[573] or people who have to speak in public,[574] rather than to the singer. Although one treatise is indeed written by a retired actor, Jean Poisson, it is nevertheless directed generally to the orator rather than actors or singers.[575] As such, the question of how lyric and dramatic artists used their hands and bodies, and particularly as to how they moved on stage, remains a grey area.

The existing French handbooks addressing bodily comportment do provide detailed instructions to the preacher and barrister as to how to animate their speeches. Insofar as the function of gesture for these orators was to enhance the affective semiotic of their discourses, the common general themes which emerge from these works can equally be applied to singing and acting as a starting point from which to think about an approach to the visual portrayal of the passions: gesture must have a connection with the subject of the discourse, the passions expressed, and the figures in the discourse. It must not be affected or too studied, but natural and proportionate. The face is the part of the body most exposed to the listeners, and it must vary in accordance with the subject and passions.

Specific information on how stage and lyric actors used their bodies can be gleaned by examining frontispieces to operas and dramatic works, as has been carried out by John S. Powell.[576] Le Brun's 1668 lecture[577] on depicting the passions in the visual arts, although intended for the painter and sculptor, is also instructive to the singer and actor in reconstructing facial and eye expressions that would have communicated a direct affective signal to their audiences. In her book on *actio* and persuasion, Angelica Gooden demonstrates that actors in eighteenth-century France were encouraged to take paintings as their models for performance. Le Brun's doctrines thus found their way into the theory and practice of acting, too.[578] Moreover, she notes that eighteenth-century acting treatises stated that their material was applicable to both the operatic and theatrical stage.[579] For

[573] Bretteville, *L'éloquence de la chaire*; Bary, *Méthode*.
[574] Le Faucheur, *Traitté*.
[575] Chaouche, 'Réflexions'.
[576] Powell, 'Music and French Baroque Gesture'.
[577] Le Brun, 'Conférence'.
[578] Gooden, *Actio and Persuasion*, 9.
[579] Gooden, 33.

these reasons, the descriptions and accompanying illustrations in Le Brun's *Conférence* were consulted extensively in my practical experiments in this study.

5.5 Conclusion

Mersenne's work and the first edition of Bacilly's treatise, two of the earliest sources reviewed in this chapter, do not specifically address the stage singer. Their instructions as to fully-affective vocal performance are aimed at a wider singing public. Later theorists continued their teachings and, in a similar fashion, did not seek to define their readership to one particular class of singer. Well may Bacilly's instructions have been considered best applied in practice by stage professionals and therefore have been associated with their mode of performance, but, put simply, Bacilly's views, the principal elements of which were taken up by singing, acting, and general music theorists well into the eighteenth century, were not intended only as something for the professional to embrace, but for anyone who wanted to learn the art of singing well.

The theorists reviewed in this chapter therefore form an apt starting point for anyone seeking to recreate this elusive art, from which we will later explore the salon modifications. The instructions set out above represent these ideal aesthetic and technical conceptions of singing as defined by seventeenth-century theoretical thought. In this conception, which has the singer as orator at its heart, the performer must know the passions, and must be able to incarnate them in his or her body and voice in order to be able to transmit them to his or her listeners. Given the abundantly-evident imperative for passionate representation and holistic portrayal of the affects in the text and music, the fact that the first singers of French opera were, famously, *comédiens,* is no idiosyncratic, historical coincidence. Well-developed acting skills were essential, and, as demonstrated both in this chapter and from a practical point of view in the challenges associated with the case-study in chapter 7, elements of performance (ornamentation, expressive pronunciation, tone colour, facial position, timing) are all interrelated and generated from the thoughts and imagination within. Emphasis was placed on declamation and "speaking" the pitches, not just by Grimarest, but by theorists as far back as at least Mersenne, and there were many tools at the singer's disposal.

Chapter 6

Conversation, the salon, and the *air sérieux*

6.1 Introduction

Having built up a picture of the elements required for the type of ideal singing espoused by the theorists, in these two final chapters I now seek to use the specific case of the *airs sérieux* in the early *Recueils* to demonstrate how the values, norms of behaviour, and specific context of the salon would have transformed the theorists' instructions, creating a vocal performance practice unique to the salon.

To do this, I will firstly situate the *air sérieux* within the world of the salon and within polite discourse. Whereas chapter 2 presented the occasions, dramatic works, and physical venues in which *airs sérieux* were sung, this chapter reduces its gaze even further. I will examine the interactive social triggers which propelled a *salonnière* or cultured member of society to move from speech to song, how the singing of airs mingled with worldly activities, and the place of the sung air within sociable interactions of the polite classes.

In building up this contextual picture for the purposes of this chapter, I have relied on three principal sources of information. Firstly, I have reviewed fictional representations of singing in the works of Madeleine de Scudéry and other writers from the latter part of the seventeenth century. From Scudéry's privileged vantage point as both writer and salon hostess, the fictional representations of the singing of airs in her novels and the social interactions modelled in her series of instructional texts are generally considered to be idealised reflections of real-life exchanges which took place in polite society such as salon gatherings. Although much work has been done by Goulet and Gordon-Seifert in their reviews of literary sources, my own investigation has revealed further significant references to the singing of airs, offering an additional window on the integration of airs into sociable interaction.

Secondly, as had already been the practice for some decades, the *Mercure galant* printed notated music for one or two *airs sérieux* each month, several of which were also published in the *Recueils* studied. Rather than being printed in moveable type as was Ballard's practice, these were engraved airs, with varying degrees of musical or textual modifications as compared to their Ballard counterparts.[580] In its accounts of events and, to a lesser extent, worldly interactions, the *Mercure* also makes fleeting but important references to moments and occasions on which airs were sung, offering further evidence of vocal context. I integrate into this chapter those references to song which have been newly uncovered by my examination of the monthly journal between the years 1695 and 1699, along with references to singing that have been identified from previous years of that publication.

[580] Those airs printed in the Mercure galant which are printed in the *Recueils* are the following: "*Quand on aime bien tendrement*" ('Mercure galant', May 1695 and RASB 1695/9/177); "*Un soir dans une grotte obscure*" ('Mercure galant', January 1696 and RASB 1696/1/20); "*Avoir tous les appas de l'aimable jeunesse*" ('Mercure galant', January 1697 and RASB 1697/2/26); "*Aimable objet d'une flame innocente*" ('Mercure galant', May 1697 and RASB 1697/6/112); "*Par un jeu digne d'un héro*s" ('Mercure galant', September 1698 and RASB 1698/9/174, -176, -182, -188); "*Moutons chéris d'une fière bergère*" ('Mercure galant', June 1697 and RASB 1697/6/122); "*L'ingrate Iris me fuit et ne veut plus m'entendre*" ('Mercure galant', April 1699 and RASB 1699/4/70); "*Fuyez de nous, bergers volage*s" ('Mercure galant', June 1699 and RASB 1699/7/138); "*Reviens affreux hiver, regne dans nos bocages*" ('Mercure galant', November 1699 and RASB 1699/11/210).

Finally, conversation handbooks and etiquette manuals flourished in seventeenth-century France. In the latter part of that century, these instructional tomes moved away from prescribing behaviour in hierarchical structures such as at court to prescribing ideal speech and behaviour for a wider, more egalitarian audience[581] – the worldly, cultivated person such as the salon participant. Presented in dialogues with either direct speech or reported, third-person format, these manuals either take the form of didactic guides in which an experienced and worldly person instructs a less-experienced person as to how to converse and behave in society, or manuals which present fictional, model conversations for emulation. Scudéry contributed much to this genre, including her *Conversations Morales, Nouvelles Conversations morales, Conversations sur divers sujets, Conversations nouvelles sur divers sujets,* and *Entretiens de morales.* Such was the accuracy of the representation in Scudéry's *Conversations Morales* that they were, according to some academics, the models for Madame de Maintenon's shorter and adapted *Conversations,* which formed part of the curriculum at Saint-Cyr between 1686 and 1691 and were designed to prepare the girls for worldly, salon life.[582] On the basis of Scudéry's salon credentials, and although not representing the totality of this genre, the aforementioned have been reviewed for this chapter. Manuals by other authors were selected for review according to the extent to which they addressed the salon, rather than the courtly, aspirant. The following representative works were thus reviewed for this chapter: *L'esprit de cour* by René Bary, *De la conversation, discours* by Antoine Gombaud, chevalier de Méré, the *Nouveau Traité de la civilité* by Antoine de Courtin, *L'Art de plaire dans la conversation* by Pierre d'Ortigue de Vaumorière, the anonymous *Entretiens galants,* and *Modeles de conversations pour les personnes polies* by Jean-Baptiste Morvan de Bellegarde.

Owing much to a sixteenth-century Italian work, these French manuals disseminated a culture of decorum, propriety, *politesse,* and *galanterie* - values that pervaded thinking on ideal worldly interaction. The practice of song, both in the salon and in less formalised exchanges between people in polite sociable circles, interwoven as it was with the spoken word, was inevitably impacted.

These worldly values, at odds both socially and ideologically with the brand of expressive, passionate representation and vocality which chapter 5 has demonstrated was required of the professional stage singer, distanced salon and polite renditions of *airs sérieux* from stage renditions and dramatic vocal practice. As a prelude to the practical performance observations which are set out in chapter 7, sections 6.5 and 6.6 set out the societal values which diluted and modified stage vocality, and the performance values and strictures which contributed to the dilution of dramatic renditions to a shape and form which was apt for usage amongst music-making members of polite society.

6.2 Conversation defined

In order to conform to expected social morés, it was necessary to know how to express oneself with grace and skill. Conversation was the means by which people were judged and it was how one distinguished oneself.[583] According to one writer, nothing was more

[581] Randall, 'Court, Salon, and Republic of Letters', 149.
[582] Goldsmith, 'Excess and Euphoria', 66.
[583] Avertissement to Bellegarde, *Modeles*, n.p.

important to getting on in life than knowing how to please in conversation.[584] The proliferation of seventeenth-century instructional manuals on conversation attested to this preoccupation.

These manuals and model conversations frequently ponder the nature and definition of conversation itself, and from these we learn that the type of exchange to which they turned their attention was not what occurred when people carried out business, negotiated transactions or pleaded in court.[585] Rather, the notion of conversation carried the connotation that that conversation would be convivial, elevated and refined. Defined in the 1694 dictionary of the *Académie Françoise* as a familiar conversation or "*entretien familier",* Chevalier de Méré elaborates that conversation encompasses all the communications between people who meet each other either by chance and exchange only a few words, when one walks or travels with friends or people one does not know, when one shares a table with good company, when one pays a visit to people one likes, or those interchanges that take place in an *assemblée* dedicated to diversion.[586] According to Bellegarde, people of quality who were fairly leisurely and with no occupation spent much of their time visiting or receiving visitors.[587] Many were the occasions therefore when those of a certain standing would have engaged in conversation as defined here – not only was it expected in formal salon interactions, but it was also expected in all polite and leisurely exchange. The conversation manuals and literature I reviewed for this chapter reflect this broad range of setting, and we find conversations taking place not only on visits to people's houses, but on walks, in small rooms, in gardens, and in snatched private moments when two people break away from a larger circle.

More than an ornament making life more agreeable, conversation served the social function of introducing politeness and elevated moral values into the world.[588] Much was to be learnt from observing and mixing with those skilled in conversation,[589] and the most able models were considered to be women.[590] Women were acknowledged leaders in this field, and it was in the *ruelles* of polite society that new phrases and words were coined under their influence.[591] Conversations could be short (as in Bary's manual) or they could be constituted by debates in which the characters discuss topics over a number of days, such as those featured in Scudéry's works. The topics of conversation evidenced in the materials reviewed for this chapter were heavily focused on the emotions, with characters debating (amongst other topics) the nature of friendship, love, hate, jealousy, greed, raillery, dissimulation, and convention. Philosophy was considered a fitting topic for discussion in the *ruelle*.[592] Although speakers were cautioned not to bore their listeners and to make their exchanges interesting to the whole circle, Scudéry notes that, in principle, no topic was *interdit.*[593] Conversation topics should be free and diversified and suited to the particular

[584] Vaumorière, *L'art de plaire*, 4.
[585] Scudéry, *Conversations sur divers sujets*, 1680, 1:2; Méré, *Conversation*, 14.
[586] Méré, *Conversation*, 13–14.
[587] *Avertissement* to Bellegarde, *Modeles*, n.p.
[588] Scudéry, *Conversations sur divers sujets*, 1680, 1:1.
[589] Méré, *Conversation*, 40.
[590] Bellegarde, *Modeles*, 303; Vaumorière, *L'art de plaire*, 253.
[591] Bellegarde, *Modeles*, 300.
[592] 'Mercure galant', February 1699, 13.
[593] Scudéry, *Conversations sur divers sujets*, 1680, 1:30.

interlocutor or conversation circle, the time, and the place. In short, conversation should be *bienséant.*

6.3 The contours of a conversation circle

The sources provide the following facts about the conversation circles which both actively defined salon practice and which formed the nest in which many of the *airs sérieux* of this study made their home. If Madeleine de Scudéry's literary accounts of salons are indeed reflective of the reality of these sociable gatherings, then conversation was considered ideal when practised within a group "*dont le nombre n'est pas fort grand*".[594] A clearer idea of numbers of participants in these conversation circles is given in the *Mercure galant*, which describes a conversation circle made up of two duchesses and ten or twelve other participants of lower ranks.[595] A description of a salon a year later in the same publication describes eight or ten people of both sexes taking part, and states that each participant would take a turn to speak.[596] In René Bary's conversation manual, all his model conversations take place between two people only.[597] In Pierre Ortigue de Vaumorière's work,[598] a maximum of seven participants converse together, with a fairly equal representation of both sexes. In the frontispiece to that work, six people sit together in a circle, but each pair of participants (comprising one woman and one man) engages in private exchanges within the group.[599] Such a practice of pairing off is confirmed by Scudéry in the dialogue which precedes the *Conversations sur divers sujets,* where she notes that "*les Dames et les Galants se parlaient par troupes, au lieu de se séparer deux et deux, comme il arrive assez souvent*".[600] The frontispiece to her *Entretiens de morale* visually confirms this practice, with a man and woman conversing in the foreground and couples interacting in the background. In an outdoor setting amongst ornamental water fountains shown on the frontispiece of the first volume of Scudéry's *Nouvelles Conversations*, a private moment of conversation between a man and woman is portrayed. A group of four women look on from a distance, with a single man also watching separately in the background from under a tree. In another exterior scene, the *Mercure galant* of December 1699 describes a conversation outside in a *cabinet de verdure,* noting a fluidity in groupings and stating that the conversation circle was "*tantôt meslée, tantôt séparée".*[601] The following three figures provide some examples of this scenography.

[594] Scudéry, *Conversations sur divers sujets*, 1680, 2:385. 'Of which the number was not too large'.
[595] 'Mercure galant', March 1673, 371–72; as cited in Lecœur, 'Conversation and Performance', 27.
[596] 'Mercure galant', June 1674, 24–26; as cited in Lecœur, 'Conversation and Performance', 28.
[597] Bary, *L'esprit de cour*.
[598] Vaumorière, *L'art de plaire*.
[599] As noted by Lecœur, 'Conversation and Performance', 27.
[600] 'Dialogue' in Scudéry, *Conversations sur divers sujets*, 1680, 1:n.p. 'The ladies and the gallant men spoke in groups, rather than separating into pairs as often happens'.
[601] 'Mercure galant', December 1699, 149. 'Sometimes mixed, sometimes separated'.

Figure 6.1: Frontispiece from Madeleine de Scudéry's *Nouvelles conversations de morale* (1688).

Figure 6.2: Frontispiece from Madeleine de Scudéry's *Entretiens de morales* (1692).

Figure 6.3: Frontispiece from Pierre Ortigue de Vaumorière's *L'art de plaire dans la conversation* (1701).

6.4 What circumstances within worldly conversation prompted song?

Scudéry makes frequent use of song texts in her literary works. Goulet notes the following early examples. In *Mathilde d'Aguilar,* the eponymous heroine is said to sing admirably, and the song texts which are examples of her repertoire are set out by the author.[602] Scudéry's *Clélie* and *La Promenade de Versailles* each contain two poems which were set to music in the *Livre d'airs,* although the music is not printed in Scudéry's works.[603] Elsewhere in *Clélie,* both the music and text of an air are printed,[604] constituting the sole example of this in her œuvre.

One episode in *Clélie* reveals the following: the character, Amilcar recounts to a group of females in his company the story of Herminius' unsuccessful attempt to seduce Valérie. Amilcar narrates that Herminius, in a moment of anger, composes verses on an air that both he and Valérie know in which he lamentingly takes his leave of Valérie. Amilcar is implored by his company to recite this text, and Amilcar makes the suggestion that he will sing the verses rather than reciting them, in order better to capture the attention of his company.[605]

In Scudéry's *La Promenade de Versailles,* the character, Glicère, recounts the declaration of love that Cléandre makes to Célanire. During a walk in a garden noted for its echo, Cléandre contrives to arrange for a male singer to sing some lines about how one must remain silent in love, and then to sing another air which Cléandre is said to have composed, which figures in the *Livre d'airs* of 1670. Cléandre then repeats the last lines of the song to Célanire, speaking in sighs the material that has just been sung by another. He whispers to his beloved that he has had to find ingenious ways such as this of declaring his love in public to Célanire, since he has not been able to declare his love in private. Earlier in the novel, too, Célanire sends Cléandre a rejection in the form of a quatrain of verse, which is set to music and found in the *Livre d'airs* of 1671.[606]

The prose of Mme Gomez de Vasconcellos' *Le Galant nouvelliste* is dotted with verse, all of which is written by her daughter. In this work set in worldly society, sung airs are used as miniature diversionary interludes in salon conversation, the narrator frequently sings to company, and on one occasion performs an air of his own composition in order to instruct his interlocutor in his gallant adventures. At the conclusion of the novel, four songs are said to be sung for the marquise and her company during their coach ride to the Tuileries, although the performers' identities remain ambiguous.

The narrator of Tallemant's epistolary allegory, *Le second voyage de l'Île d'Amour,* readily moves from prose to verse. The frequent poetic interludes in the work serve several functions: as a means of giving voice to personal thoughts which in effect comment on the narrative action described in the prose, as a means of encapsulating the narrator's thoughts on a subject, and as direct versified speech of both the narrator and the characters he encounters. The verses which the narrator sings to himself every day when he arrives at the

[602] Scudéry, *Mathilde*, 58; as cited in Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 615–16.
[603] As cited in Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 639.
[604] Scudéry, *Clelie*, 1658, 8:639–40; as cited in Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 639–40.
[605] Scudéry, *Clelie*, 1658, 3:253; as cited in Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 648.
[606] See further Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 649.

allegorical town of Indifference evoke love, and are a tactic of diversion on his part,[607] expressing the ability for the intrigues of love to help him by-pass the tedium of that fictional location.

In Dancourt's stage work, *L'Été des coquettes*, song intervenes within conversation on similar grounds; this time, not only to divert, but to prolong and sustain an exchange whose momentum is faltering. In one scene, Angélique implores her singing master, M. des Soupirs, to make copies of a song he has just sung to her. The singing master re-appears with the copied music, and Angélique takes him up on his offer of singing it to the company that has gathered, on the grounds that the conversation has languished and a song would be welcome. The company then discusses the merits of the song. This fictional account of an air as a sustainer of a dwindling conversation mirrors the remark of Le Cerf de la Viéville, who, in addressing the subject of accompaniment, says that "*La conversation languit: on prie quelqu'un de chanter un Air, on l'écoute et on recommence à causer*."[608] Evidence of song as a sustainer of discourse was also unearthed in my reading of Scudéry's conversation on discretion, in which one character who is described as having a pleasant voice offers to sing for his hostess so as not to give her the trouble of having to entertain him. The episode describing this vocal offering from an albeit unwelcome guest shows equally how the singing of a song could serve as a "conversation filler".[609] Another such occasion is described in the *Mercure galant* when a suitor who is not gifted in the art of conversation asks the object of his admiration to sing for him so that he would be saved from the obligation to converse.[610]

In a statement which is revealing not only of the ubiquity of song but of its relationship with the art of discourse, the anonymous author of *Entretiens galans* complains that Parisians sang "*éternellement*". Song seemingly insinuated itself into social exchange given the least chance, and such was the entanglement of the spoken and the sung that airs often took the place of a spoken reply in polite conversation:

> *On ne les voit jamais sans entendre un air de l'Opera. Où qu'ils aillent, ils entonnent toûjours quelque chose. Ils disent une chanson dans la converation la plus serieuse. Et ils vous repondent en musique, lorsque vous vous attendez à quelque réponse de bon sens. Pour leur Maîtresse, ils ne l'entretiennent que sur un ton d'Opera. Ils n'expliquent leur tendresse que par quelque petite chanson. Ils trouvent toûjours quelque couplet qui a du raport à ce qu'on leur dit, & ils le chantent pour y répondre.*[611]

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[607] Tallemant, *Le second voyage de l'Île d'Amour*, 14.
[608] See Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 668. 'The conversation dwindled. We asked someone to sing an air. We listened to it and started to speak again'.
[609] Scudéry, *Conversations morales*, 1686, 2:588.
[610] 'Mercure galant', May 1698, 227.
[611] *Entretiens galans*, 1681, 2:101–2; as cited in Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 669. 'One never sees them without hearing an air from the opera. Wherever they go, they always start to sing something. In the most serious of conversations, they will speak a song. And they will reply to you in music when you are expecting some sensible response. For their mistress, they will only speak to them on the tones of opera. They only ever express tenderness by some little song. They always find some couplet which bears some relation to what they are saying, and they sing it by way of response'.

In this same work, we find a conversation which is ostensibly about music but which thinly veils an underlying game of flattery and seduction played at least by the male character, Philemon. Berelie and Philemon discuss an air which Philemon has just sung. The female character, Berelie, then sings the whole air with Philemon, who stops to exclaim how good the air is. Compliments are exchanged between the pair, but Berelie insists that Philemon's compliments are only made to elicit a compliment in return. Philemon happily replies with a couplet in song, saying that when one loves the musette of the shepherd, one soon loves the shepherd himself. Berelie replies with another sung couplet, pretending to flee Philemon. She sings another complete song and Philemon is about to reply when a third character who is hosting the pair remarks that the pair have just made a fairly long "*scene en musique*".[612] My review of Scudéry's conversation on laziness reveals another example of this reactive, almost "antiphonal" use of airs, in which the characters engage each other to sing couplets in dialogue to one another.[613]

Although not an example of verse which is sung, the *Mercure galant* describes an episode in which a character composes poetry for the purpose of explaining a Latin inscription on a statue to his company.[614] Similar examples of verse which was created in order to edify and clarify abounds in the literature reviewed for this study. As the natural musical extension of this practice, within Scudéry's descriptions of conversations, the singing of an air could also serve as a means of explaining or summarising, albeit in an ornamental and vocalised form, one's point of view. One such exchange is found in the *Conversation de l'Esperance* in Scudéry's *Conversations morales*: in a gathering of polite society which takes place during a moment of rest following a walk in a public garden, six friends discuss the nature of hope. Towards the end of the lengthy conversation, one of the circle recites a song text by way of summary of her view.[615] Inspired by this, the other participants offer their views in the form of songs, such that by the end of the exchange, several song texts have been recited. The conversation scene closes by one of the participants rising from her seated position and singing a couplet from the song text which she had previously recited aloud, which she is said to repeat several times to her friends while the walk continues.

Several further examples of the interaction between conversation and song, which have not yet been the subject of academic attention, were revealed in my investigation of Scudéry's works. In one exchange in *Nouvelles Conversations,* the characters discuss repentance. The host, Damon, wishes to memorialise the conversation by making maxims out of it either in verse or prose. One of the company, Mérindor, is charged with the task of composing some lines in an easy measure which one can sing, which would then be performed by one of Damon's able musicians. He is said to choose as a model four lines that everyone had sung before. The company discusses repentance again, then they are said to walk to a beautiful grotto. The soft murmurs of a fountain are said to act as the theorbo for the musician, who surprises the party and sings perfectly what Mérindor had created that morning.[616]

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[612] *Entretiens galans*, 1681, 2:55–57.
[613] Scudéry, *Conversations morales*, 1686, 1:176.
[614] 'Mercure galant', August 1699, 282–83.
[615] Scudéry, *Conversations morales*, 1686, 1:67; as cited in Gordon-Seifert, *Music and the Language of Love*, 232.
[616] The fact that the performance by the fountain in the grotto was pre-meditated rather than spontaneous shows that the lack of accompaniment was planned and not considered in any way to derogate from the beauty of the rendition. In short, accompaniment was not a necessity.

Afterwards, all the company are said to be pleased because it reflected their thoughts well.[617] Each participant selects the verse which they find most fitting to their own opinion on repentance, and one participant is said to sing his chosen verse. Song is also mentioned when the next day, on departure, the host charges his musician to sing an air, which includes a reference to repentance, linking back this impromptu farewell to the topic of conversation of the day before. This account uses song to memorialise a lively conversation by summarising diverse views and as a musical farewell with allusions to the same theme. From it, we can conclude that song was both a function of conventional social niceties (saying goodbye) and a powerful parallel to the opinions expressed in the spoken word.

My reading of Scudéry also uncovered the following episode which has not yet been accorded academic attention. In a conversation about jealousy in the *Conversations morales*, the assembled company dine together, then go into a *cabinet* where the host's daughter, who is said to sing admirably well, took up a theorbo and sang several operatic airs. Finally, she is said to sing several couplets of an air by Le Camus, each of which finishes with the line, "*Helas je n'estois point jaloux"*.[618] This last rendition is said to be on the order of the hostess, Ismenide, who wants to thereby remind the company of what she has resolved in relation to the topic of conversation - jealousy. Once these verses are sung, they form the impetus for further conversation on the topic. Another in the conversation circle remarks that it was jealousy that was responsible for curing him of love, and that at the time, he had sung a piece which finished by two lines, which he quotes as "*Importune raison pourquoy vous dois-je suivre,/Quand on n'aime plus rien il faut cesser de vivre".*[619] This episode is significant, not only as it further reinforces song's function in concretising one's opinion expressed in the spoken word and generating further discussion, but because it provides a glimpse of the crossover of vocal practice between stage and salon which will be explored in chapter 7.

Parallel to the expectation that salon participants be able to ornament conversation by calling up extracts to cite from poetic texts, plays, and published letters, one can imagine salon participants privately committing to memory lyric texts and airs in part or in whole, to be sung or spoken at opportune moments during polite exchanges. Scudéry's descriptions of impromptu song within conversation reveal that such study was a social necessity. A good memory was a sought-after social trait. Within a conversation, such displays of a well-performing memory met a multitude of purposes, as shown above, and cemented a person's reputation as a person of quality and refinement. Conversation guides show that preparation of subjects to converse on and material was a serious task,[620] but in line with the prohibition on affectation explored below, such learning of passages must be seen to have emanated not from a laborious exercise of rote-learning, but from an effortless and casual pleasure. This prohibition on effort and affection is evident throughout the fictional

[617] Scudéry, *Nouvelles conversations*, 1688, 1:341–52.
[618] Scudéry, *Conversations morales*, 2:634. With the assistance of the *Catalogue des airs publiés dans le Mercure galant* (1678-1700) found at http://philidor.cmbv.fr/catalogue/intro-mercure_airs, I was able to conclude that this air was '*Je pensois que sous vtr' empire*', the words of which were by Scudéry. The music of this air has been identified as appearing in the author's work, *Clélie*, but its presence in Scudéry's *Conversations morales* has not previously been noted.
[619] Scudéry, 2:635. 'Bothersome reason, why must I follow you?//When one no longer loves anything, we must cease to exist'.
[620] See for example the advice given by Vaumorière, *L'art de plaire*, 259, 261.

discussions and model conversations of the instruction manuals reviewed. Time and again, a character, seemingly off-the-cuff, delivers a long quote or recites a poem, and yet this impressive display of memory is always couched within a statement of humility in which the character protests that he or she may not remember the extract accurately or apologises for his or her probable mistakes. Such displays of self-deprecation appear regularly in the *Mercure galant,* too.[621]

The trying out of new pieces in convivial, worldly company also prompted moments of song. Sight-singing, or singing *à livre ouvert,* mirrored the reading aloud of poetry, novels, and *lettres galantes,* parallel activities which also afforded salon circles the opportunity to experience, judge, and discuss new works for their own edification, rather than for garnering praise.[622] Scudéry's *Conversation de la Paresse* paints a portrait of this practice. In this conversation, two friends (Artemire and Clarinte) await the arrival of two others in a cabin in a large garden. In this cabin, there are four paintings, on which are inscribed the words of an air. The music of this air is notated on a brass plate attached to the marble base of the middle painting (but not notated within Scudéry's work). While waiting for the rest of the company to arrive, Artemire reads the verses. After doing so, she then sings the verses in their musical setting and says that she does so in order to see "*si l'air estoit aussi singulier que les paroles*".[623] When the rest of the company arrives, they find that one gentleman has secretly placed cards on which are written new verses beneath the original verses. Artemire invites another of the gentlemen to sing all eight verses with her as a dialogue. This gentleman, Telamon, sight reads the verses and music before the assembled company in a spirit of curiosity to see how the new verses fit with the music. A similar occasion presents itself in de Pure's *La Prétieuse*, in which the salon hostess Eulalie tries out Gelasire's verses to an existing sarabande in order to see if the words fit the music.[624]

The creation of airs during a worldly gathering was another significant facet of convivial musical activity amongst groups of cultured connoisseurs, and the trying out of freshly composed creations which must have inevitably followed this activity also constituted a point of entry of the *air sérieux* into the sound landscape of the salon. The penning and recitation of poetry by salon participants was a central part of this creative process. A *rite mondain,*[625] the ability to compose verse was a worldly skill that was not only key to social success, but likely a natural extension of a world in which interaction was dotted with snippets of poetry and poetic references, and in which poetry was part of everyday interaction. Goulet evokes a privileged world in which the writing and recitation of poetry was ubiquitous and part of worldly exchange, not necessarily as a means to display one's literary talents, but to divert company and to show one's spirit.[626] In the context of her study of the *Livres d'airs*, she identifies several modes of creation. Poetry was commonly invented to fit existing music,[627] or a musician could equally take inspiration from a piece of

[621] See for example 'Mercure galant', December 1699, 29, 148.
[622] Note that an author reading his or her own text was, by contrast, personally implicated in a desire to impress, involving therefore a certain degree of affectation. See Lecœur, 'Conversation and Performance', 78.
[623] Scudéry, *Conversations morales*, 1686, 1:161. 'If the air was as special as the words'.
[624] Pure, *La prétieuse*, 2:228.
[625] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 443.
[626] Goulet, 443–48.
[627] Goulet, 454–56.

poetry and set it to music.[628] Without exhaustive investigation, evidence of "recycling" of materials and collaborative working is to be found in at least three airs of the repertoire studied: "*Ah! laissez-moy rêver dans cette solitude"*[629] is set by both Charpentier[630] and by Monsieur de Breuil in the *Recueils,* the text of Monsieur Desfontaines' *"Sans les connoître"*[631] is used by Jean-Baptiste Drouard de Bousset in a different musical setting several years later,[632] and "*Je vous aime"*[633] bears the same melody as Campra's "*Ad un cuore"* from *L'Europe Galante,* but with adapted text.

The creation of the text could equally be a collaborative effort, with a composer tackling the task of writing the words for the *double* or a poet adding additional text to extend a pre-existing poem.[634] These modes of creation are all depicted in the novel of the abbé de Pure, *La Prétieuse ou le mystère des ruelles.* Catherine Gordon-Seifert also finds evidence of this collaborative spirit in Scudéry's *Conversations morales,* and describes how one member of a group may create a first strophe, with another then composing a second strophe presenting a slight variation on the first. Other participants modify certain words or phrases while others offer a different song text altogether that either complements or contrasts with those already included. Gordon-Seifert identifies this collaborative spirit as extending to the compositional realm, too, demonstrating that more than one poet and composer participated in the creation of various airs by Bacilly, Lambert, and Le Camus.[635]

The texts of the *airs sérieux* themselves also provide us with valuable clues. They reveal the immediate context which, at the moment of the poetic-musical utterance, has triggered the narrator to express him- or herself in verse and song. Within the poetic landscape of the repertoire studied, strong emotion is the principal instigator. The emotional states that purportedly prompt the poet to write (and, by extension, later in the rhetorical "chain" of events, the composer to set the text and the singer in his or her *actio* to represent that expression) almost always involve affairs of the heart. Lyric texts in the first-person poetic voice predominate the collection, with laments, complaints, and amorous declarations directed at the beloved figuring heavily. Unjust treatment in the game of love, evidence of unfaithfulness, unreciprocated feelings, gazing admiringly on the beauty of the beloved all gave rise to emotions, therefore, which seemingly propelled song. Admiration (although not in this case for the beloved) as the impetus for writing verse on which music is then composed is also in evidence in Scudéry's description of Saint-Cyr in *Nouvelles Conversations*. Following its description, one character remarks that a friend had so much admiration for the institution after inspecting it that she could not help but write some poetry about it, on which a very good song had been composed.[636]

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[628] Goulet, 457. The latter practice is fictionally portrayed in Scudéry's *Histoire de la Confiance* in her *Conversations Nouvelles,* in which a character composes six verses of poetry renouncing his beloved. His companion reads the verses aloud and says that simply writing the verses is not enough – they should be sung, in his opinion, and he retains the poetry and puts them to music.

[629] RASB 1697/10/192.

[630] See *Recüil d'airs à voix seule, à deux, et à trois parties composez par differents autheurs*, F-Pn Rés Vmf ms 13, 90-91.

[631] RASB 1697/11/208.

[632] Bousset, *Second recueil*, 279.

[633] RASB 1698/2/26.

[634] Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité*, 457–60.

[635] Gordon-Seifert, *Music and the Language of Love*, 232–33.

[636] Scudéry, *Nouvelles conversations*, 1688, 1:272.

In the texts of the *airs sérieux* studied, the voice is also portrayed as a weapon of seduction and persuasion, with both men and women employing the singing of an air at moments in which they seek to charm their prey. For example, in an air from the July 1697 *Recueil,* the narrator compliments his beloved on the tenderness of her voice, but views this vocal quality as so powerful a force that it threatens to bend his resolve to renounce love:

> *Que vostre chant est tendre!*
> *Est-il quelque chagrin qu'il ne puisse charmer?*
> *Mais, helas! n'est-il pas dangereux de l'entendre*
> *Quand on ne veut plus rien aimer.*[637]

Similarly, in an air from the October 1699 *Recueil,* the voice of the beloved is described as having the powerful capacity to soothe the ardour of a lover:

> *Laissez chanter Climeine*
> *Sa voix agreable à mon coeur,*
> *Sçaura calmer la vive ardeur*
> *Qui m'enflame pour l'inhumaine.*[638]

As we shall see below, the high value placed on the concept of *bienséance* within the worldly interaction of the salon meant that it was not always appropriate to directly express feelings of disgruntlement and love. The *Mercure galant* of July 1699 provides one such example, where a well-born girl receives a declaration of love and she is said to reply in the only way that such a girl as she can – by blushing, which is said to allow one to guess that which cannot be said.[639] In her study,[640] Faith Beasley has demonstrated that singing an air was a means of expressing feelings that propriety would otherwise demand be left unsaid and remain hidden. This element of dissimulation is echoed in the conversation about music in *Entretiens galans.* There it is said that Philemon worked on his voice in order to have a pretext on which to sing to Berelie in order to express in song that which he did not dare say.[641] My study of the texts of the *airs sérieux* of the early *Recueils* supports this view, as the texts provide a suitable shield for distancing the singer from too direct and personal an expression. Firstly, although verse was often generated following real events and encounters with real people (even if those real people are merely characters inhabiting fictional works[642]), stock pastoral names and attributions are standard fare. Fictionally, we can see the dire consequences that can ensue when protagonists use real names rather than pastoral pseudonyms; when Mélinte is named as the renounced lover by Timante in his verses in Scudéry's *Conversation de la Confiance* and these are then turned into song and sung everywhere in Paris, the consequences for the character, Mélinte, are a source of great

[637] RASB 1697/7/125: "*Que vostre chant est tendre"*. 'How tender your song is!//Is there any chagrin that it cannot charm?//But, alas!, is it not dangerous to hear it//When one wishes never again to love'.
[638] RASB 1699/10/198: "*Importuns habitans".* 'Let Climeine sing.//Her voice, pleasing to my heart//Will know how to calm the lively ardour//Which sets me afire for her'.
[639] See 'Mercure galant', July 1699, 71–72.
[640] Beasley, *Salons*.
[641] *Entretiens galans*, 1681, 2:53.
[642] See for example the verses addressed to a woman with the pastoral pseudonym 'Iris' following one conversation participant's encounter with her in Scudéry, *Nouvelles conversations*, 1688, 2:438–39.

affliction. Bucolic pseudonyms were therefore not only conventional, but acted as a sort of poetic shield. Another device used to create a safe space for the expression of strong feelings through song is the absence of the "*vous"* in many of the song texts of the repertoire. Poetically speaking, the beloved is not in the room, and only appears as an absent and, therefore, safely-distanced, third person. Finally, the first-person narrative voice of the airs studied is predominantly male, rendering these songs a safe-house of emotional expression for the female amateur singer who populated the salon.

In the *airs sérieux* studied, the seductive powers of the singing voice are often associated with deception. For example, in one air*,* the singing narrator remonstrates his/her beloved for his/her touching manner of singing, which the narrator claims is at odds with the beloved's lack of real-life tenderness.[643] Likewise, in a fifteen-verse gavotte air*,* the narrator claims that Tircis' amorous musical pleadings to his beloved are excessive if his air is simply *badinage*, but too little if his feelings are in fact sincere.[644] Associated with flattery and with overtones of insincerity, singing was thus a weapon of *galanterie,* and a means of dissimulation.

6.5 Baldassare Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano* (1528) and its influence on salon comportment and vocal practice

As explored in chapter 2, the respect of formal conventions in social interaction and dialogue formed the basis for acceptance into polite society. These formal conventions were prescribed in the French etiquette and conversation manuals of the seventeenth century. The theorists who authored these manuals assimilated the views expressed by Baldassare Castiglione in the philosophical debates which make up his lengthy book on sociability, *Il libro del cortegiano* (1528). This work sets out the characteristics that constituted an ideal and worthy courtier or court lady (in the third chapter). Castiglione's work on sociability found fame outside Italy and was widely read, translated, and re-printed across Europe.[645] Translated into French first by Gabriel Chapuis in 1580 and in some cases in the seventeenth century, incorporated word for word into writings,[646] Castiglione's views have been shown to have held considerable sway with seventeenth-century French thought.[647] The influence of those views in the conversation manuals reviewed shows the impact they had on sociable interaction such as that practised in the salon, and by extension, the singing that took place as an integral part of that sociable exchange.

Through the mouthpiece of the Count of Urbino, Castiglione instructs his readers that the ideal courtier is one whose grace makes his words, gestures, and actions universally pleasing, and who practises a certain effortlessness (*sprezzatura*). This effortlessness conceals all artistry and makes whatever one says or does seem uncontrived, and thereby natural. The avoidance of contrivance and affectation was critical. True art is what does not seem to be art, and the most important thing is to conceal artistry, according to Castiglione. It is by concealing artfulness that the courtier avoids the appearance of affectation and

[643] See RASB 1695/11/216: "*Vous chantez d'un air si touchant*".
[644] See RASB 1696/1/20: "*Un jour dans une grotte obscure".*
[645] For an overview of the reception of Castiglione's work in Europe, see chapter 1 of Burke, *The Fortunes of the Courtier*.
[646] Lecœur, 'Conversation and Performance', 37.
[647] Fader, 'The Honnête Homme', 10.

shows grace. Although not offering specific instructions on how to avoid affectation, certain principles emerge, which are summarised in brief as follows: exaggerated concentration and effort are to be avoided. One must act as if one cares little for the activity in which one is engaged and as if one is thinking about something else. The courtier should ideally stick to simple tasks rather than difficult ones in which his labour and effort are apparent. Graceful and intentional minor imperfections are allowed (although these should not be exaggerated, presumably on the basis that such exaggerations would be an affectation in themselves), with perfection occasionally giving way to imperfection. Effortlessness and excellence in performance were not considered incompatible, therefore; it was nonchalance that distinguished the aristocratic or worldly performer from the professional.

Castiglione's *sprezzatura* was translated into the French context through the interrelated concepts of *politesse, honnêteté, bienséance,* and *grâce.*[648] These were values which informed all aspects of ideal worldly comportment and interaction, and permeated, equally, into aesthetic judgements. In Scudéry's description of Saint-Cyr in her *Nouvelles conversations de morale*, for example, it is precisely the sense of moderation and proportionality of the physical surroundings of that institution (in short, its *bienséance*) which attracts praise from the narrator. The apartment of the founder of the school is said to be large and beautiful, but also modest in a way which is infinitely pleasing. The view is said to be perfectly beautiful, neither too wide nor too limited beyond the gardens. Everything tells of modesty and piety, although it all equally has an air of *politesse* and an extremely noble grandeur.[649] *Bienséance* also infiltrates into the glowing description of the pupils at the school[650] and figures in writings about fashion[651] and poetry.[652]

These values are also in evidence in relation to judgements on vocality. So fundamental were these values to singing that Méré states that beauty of voice and vocal talent would not suffice to win admiration. To be esteemed as a singer, the possession of *honnêteté* was an essential quality. This was the case even if the singer knew little of music.[653] The inroads that *sprezzatura* made into French musical thought are equally demonstrated in a passage identified by Don Fader and written by Le Cerf de la Viéville. Speaking in the context of the *querelle* between French and Italian musical aesthetics, he draws an unfavourable picture of Italian music, personified by a showy and highly made-up coquette who is said to smile and grimace in a studied manner with brilliance and liveliness but without heart, soul or sincerity. In contrast, Le Cerf de la Viéville portrays French music in favourable terms as a noble but modest woman who is neat, dressed with gallant propriety and natural face-colouring except for some occasional rouge to cover some tiny flaw. This woman is said to be far removed from all that is false, speaking well without flattering herself that she is a good speaker.[654] A lack of affectation and self-flattery are held up as ideal and portrayed as essential ingredients of politeness. That naturalness (represented by the woman

[648] Fader, 11. '*Grâce*' was less commonly referred to as '*négligence*'.
[649] Scudéry, *Nouvelles conversations*, 1688, 1:255–56.
[650] Scudéry, 1:264. They are said to dance to songs without constraint but with great modesty, and even the youngest girls are commended on the games they play because of their proportionality to the pupils' age.
[651] *Entretiens galans*, 1681, 2:3–4.
[652] *Entretiens galans*, 1681, 1:143–44. Naturalness was said to be prized over exaggeration and the creation of chimeras.
[653] Méré, *Conversation*, 39.
[654] Fader, 'The Honnête Homme', 6.

personifying French music in Le Cerf de la Viéville's comparison) was prized over affectation was a common theme, evidenced by the frequent raillery against the *précieuses*, who were criticised for only liking outrageous and extraordinary things, and preferring elaborate turns of phrase to express the most simple things.[655] In Scudéry's *Conversation des Louanges* in *Nouvelles Conversations,* the criticisms directed at a figure who is said to praise his house, family, gardens and himself, and to boast of his bravery in battle also show that self-effacement was a virtue highly esteemed by polite society.[656] The necessity of shunning affectation, effort, and too studied a manner is echoed throughout the conversation manuals reviewed.[657]

In Courtin's manual, which allies civility with Castiglionian concepts of *bienséance* and decorum, the author prescribes small and often precise practical details as to what is considered good and bad etiquette. His brief comments relating to music are noteworthy. As can be expected in a social climate which prized modesty and a lack of contrivance, he stipulates that one's talents for singing, music, or writing verse should remain hidden. If one's talents are discovered and you are asked to sing or play, then *honnêteté* dictates that you should first decline by politely excusing oneself. Only after being pressed to do so should you acquiesce.[658] To avoid affectation, Courtin also indicates that one should not spend too long tuning one's guitar or lute.[659] One should avoid pointing out interesting parts in the music, as this is a vanity. Moreover, one should not sing or play for too long, or speak or interrupt others while they are singing and playing.[660] In commenting about the correct way of speaking, Courtin counsels his readers against making big hand gestures,[661] and one can imagine that this would apply equally to members of polite society engaging in song.

Restraint and an absence of affectation also emerge as ideal attributes of the noble musician in a description found in Scudéry's *Clélie.* In a portrait supposedly representing Mme de Sévigné, a *salonnière* and keen musician, Scudéry describes the ideal amateur musician as someone who sings in a passionate manner and very well, but nevertheless as a noble person, without expecting to be asked and without affectation.[662] Passion in performance was acceptable but it should not be exaggerated or affected.

Echoes of Castiglione's principle of *sprezzatura* are equally to be found in the fictional representations recounting moments of musical experimentation and sight-singing *à livre ouvert*. In both of the representative examples described in Scudéry's *Conversation de la Paresse* and de Pure's *La Prétieuse* in section 6.2 above, the characters try out new pieces and the music and words become the subjects of scrutiny. By making the music and texts the protagonists rather than the act of performance, affectation is formally precluded.

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[655] Bellegarde, *Modeles*, 355; Courtin, *Nouveau traité de la civilité*, 85.
[656] Scudéry, *Nouvelles conversations*, 1688, 2:424.
[657] See for example Scudéry, *Conversations sur divers sujets*, 1680, 1:30; Bellegarde, *Modeles*, 355; Vaumorière, *L'art de plaire*, 5,11; Courtin, *Nouveau traité de la civilité*, 85; Méré, *Conversation*, 25.
[658] Courtin, *Nouveau traité de la civilité*, 158–59.
[659] Courtin, 158–59.
[660] Courtin, 160.
[661] Courtin, 59.
[662] As cited in Fader, 'The Honnête Homme', 21.

For the worldy salon participant, the deriving of pleasure through music-making was fundamental, not least because the contrary attitude would have carried with it the implication of a certain anxiousness on the part of the performer to please. Such anxiousness could be cast as a type of affectation. Indeed, Bacilly emphasises the pleasurable aspect of singing and prizes the skills of the singer who sings just for their own diversion over the singer who sings to please a whole assembly of listeners.[663] The latter, he says, can only sing in a dramatic style, whereas the former are able to execute both a theatrical and a delicate style of singing.

Moderation was translated into the salon context in the concept of propriety, decorum or *bienséance*. Closely related to *politesse,* the 1694 dictionary of the *Académie française* defines *bienséance* as a standard of behaviour denoting an appropriateness of word and action in relation to the person, age, sex, time, or place concerned. As the latter concepts could differ between people and situations, *bienséance* was therefore a floating set of duties and standards, whose primary elements were the shunning of pedantry, the concealment of knowledge, and a modesty of comportment. Those not born with an innate ability to navigate this floating set of rules were counselled to find good models to imitate. Don Fader suggests that this esteem for innate ability carried with it a concomitant feel of distrust for learned behaviours and for talent, which were perceived as carrying the danger of the person wishing to cultivate these for their own sake.[664] Such a cultivation of behaviour would not be natural and would also flout Castiglione's prohibition on affectation. Bellegarde, writing in 1690, encapsulates the spirit of *bienséance* in a gallant dialogue between two characters, Euthyme and Theagene. In this exchange, a nobleman is admonished for too great a show of his abilities; the high level to which he has cultivated his musical talent is cast as inappropriate and in fact detrimental to his social standing.[665] A deficiency in *bienséance* was at the heart of criticism of the Italian musical idiom, which was cast as exaggeratedly expressive and unmoderated. To conform to the standards of propriety, a member of polite society had to show both naturalness and restraint, therefore. They had to listen carefully to the conversation in order to moderate their responses.[666] The characters in Scudéry's *Conversation de la Discretion* address the links between discretion and *bienséance*, and conclude that the ability to find the right balance between too much and too little generated modesty.

The emphasis on restraint and self-control necessitated a holding back, also, on excessive emotion. Méré acknowledges that in conversation, the movements of the soul ought to be moderated and a distance had to be kept from all that could make the soul sad and sombre and all that could lead it to excessive laughter.[667] Indeed, anything that could shock should be avoided.[668] The volume of the voice and the tone of voice should be moderated to take account of the subject and circumstances[669] in order to match one's words with the

[663] Bacilly, 'Réponse', 12–13.
[664] Fader, 'The Honnête Homme', 14.
[665] Bellegarde, *Réflexions*, 129.
[666] Vaumorière, *L'art de plaire*, 19.
[667] Méré, *Conversation*, 9–11. The comments on laughter are echoed by Courtin. See Courtin, *Nouveau traité de la civilité*, 60–61.
[668] Scudéry, *Conversations sur divers sujets*, 1680, 1:29–30; Courtin, *Nouveau traité de la civilité*, 94.
[669] Méré, *Conversation*, 16–17, 88; Courtin, *Nouveau traité de la civilité*, 69.

occasion.[670] However, this stricture on excess was also itself tempered with considerations of *bienséance* and a sense of proportionality; tears, laughter, and even anger were in fact allowed provided that they were proportionate to the calls of the discussion surrounding them. One's sense of judgement had to be employed to arbitrate on proportionality.

Moderation was said to be an essential character of an *honnête homme,* who avoids impulses of prejudice, instinct and passion, and *honnêteté* was an essential component of good singing. That the singer should have both talent for singing, politeness of language, and the ability to converse in polite society was what distinguished the *honnête homme* from the disparaged and morally dubious professional singer, according to Bacilly.[671] Paradoxically, one writer notes that *salonnières* could achieve naturalness by looking to professional actors, and to imagine that in one's interaction, one is playing a theatrical role. The sense of "distance" that this created was thought to give a person a sense of freedom from constraint in their speech and action. Interestingly, such liberty was perceived as saving one from fear and worry, a sort of affection of which Castiglione would certainly have disapproved.[672]

That the possession of *politesse* and *honnêteté,* considered fundamental to singing by Bacilly, were fundamental to achieving esteem and admiration for the worldly amateur singer is also demonstrated by the various descriptions of Bacilly's teacher, Pierre de Nyert. Nyert was widely acclaimed for his singing and highly esteemed by Bacilly for his vocal skills, but he also embodied Castiglione's principles. Tallemant de Réaux reports admiringly, for example, that he was said to always wait to be asked to sing and that he sang in such a way that there was no danger that he played the singer.[673]

Throughout the literature reviewed, there are references to the concept of *galanterie.* This quality governed the social code between men and women and also had a role to play in shaping behaviour, interaction, and therefore communication (whether that communication was by means of conversation or song). With echoes of Castiglione's stipulations to avoid contrivance and showiness, Scudéry defines *galanterie* as the indefinable grace of natural, easy, and unaffected conversation, in which the speaker uses his or her knowledge but conceals it beneath a playful and gentle exterior. The gallant person gives a pleasing *je ne sais quoi* to things which are not pleasing and adds a certain secret charm to the most everyday conversation, which satisfies and diverts.[674] It is *galanterie* which makes a person pleasing and liked. In conversation, a gallant air consists principally of thinking of things in an easy and natural manner, opting for playfulness and gentleness rather than seriousness and brusqueness, and in speaking simply and without affectation.[675] One should be able to pleasantly relate a trifle to the most serious and grave people, to make an address to the most severe of women, and to speak of science to those who are ignorant of it.[676] According to Vaumorière, there was a way of speaking which softened unfortunate topics of conversation and allowed speakers thereby to address those topics which one might not

[670] Méré, *Conversation*, 70.
[671] Bacilly, 'Réponse', 5.
[672] See further Lecœur, 'Conversation and Performance', 171–72.
[673] As cited in Fader, 'The Honnête Homme', 24.
[674] Scudéry, *Conversations nouvelles*, 1:372.
[675] Scudéry, 1:373.
[676] Scudéry, *Conversations sur divers sujets*, 1680, 1:32–33.

want to address overtly and please those with delicate feelings.[677] This was a type of gallantry and it was also a means by which conversation participants could ensure compliance with the social requirements of *bienséance* - by modulating one's words to fit the situation, but also the feelings of others.

Gallantry was not always synonymous with sincerity, therefore, and was associated with the flattery of women in an attempt to win their favour. Indeed, as has been pointed out previously, the majority of Bary's model gallant conversations involve flattering the female.[678] The concept of gallantry carried connotations of trickery and deceit.[679] Bary noted this propensity for *bienséance* and *galanterie* to coalesce*,* when he said that propriety demands that one say something, but it does not require it always to be truthful.[680] Equally, gallantry allowed a person to say that which others only dare think, and thus not transgress the strictures on decorum and propriety.[681] Whether or not amounting to deceit, gallant behaviour did often involve a sense of dissimulation. Scudéry's descriptions support this view, with a character in her *Conversations nouvelles* explaining that *politesse* required one to judiciously submit one's reason to the conventions of the world, even if one did not always agree.[682] The ability of the speaker or singer to transform the meaning of a word according to his or her tone of voice is recognised in the conversation on coquettry in *Entretiens galans*.[683] There it was acknowledged than an epithet can serve as both insult and commendation, depending on the way it is said and that words which are considered offensive can be transformed in meaning if they are said in an agreeable way. Just as the saving grace of coquettry was the fact that the coquette sought to please others, so the person demonstrating *galant* behaviour was saved from condemnation as this *galanterie* was *bienséant.* A similar view is expressed by Scudéry in *Conversations nouvelles,* where it is said that the way in which one's voice sounds on a particular word could transform gentle raillery into something more malicious.[684]

6.6 Other salon-modifying factors

My review of the literature revealed other social and behavioural strictures which would have impacted on and shaped vocal practice. For example, the speaker had to think only of pleasing his or her listeners,[685] and commendations are given throughout the literature to characters who manage to speak in a way which neither angers nor displeases.[686] An easy and flowing expression,[687] and a natural and noble air were required.[688] One had to maintain an air which balanced cheerfulness with seriousness in order to be modest and to not fall foul of the rules of decorum.[689] When in company, one was required to be

[677] Vaumorière, *L'art de plaire*, 87.
[678] Lecœur, 'Conversation and Performance', 174–75.
[679] Randall, 'Court, Salon, and Republic of Letters', 148.
[680] Bary, *L'esprit de cour*, 41.
[681] Scudéry, *Conversations nouvelles*, 1:373.
[682] Scudéry, 1:126.
[683] *Entretiens galans*, 1681, 1:208–9.
[684] Scudéry, *Conversations nouvelles*, 1:134.
[685] Méré, *Conversation*, 15; Scudéry, *Conversations sur divers sujets*, 1680, 1:8.
[686] See for example Scudéry, *Conversations nouvelles*, 1:122.
[687] Méré, *Conversation*, 23.
[688] Méré, 25.
[689] Courtin, *Nouveau traité de la civilité*, 95.

sociable,[690] but not to dominate the conversation.[691] One should avoid injustice and cruelty.[692] Scudéry stipulated that hatred for another should not be spoken of as it can never lead to pleasant conversations.[693] One should be agreeable and cheerful.[694] Throughout my review of Scudéry's idealised conversations, this latter aspect was striking; the characters are frequently said to converse "*en souriant", "en riant"* and "*agréablement*", even when at odds on philosophical matters. More than twenty years after Méré set out these strictures and Scudéry represented them in her works, we find their echo throughout Vaumorière's 1701 instruction manual, too.

Modesty and restraint of expression were salon values upheld by Tallemant des Réaux, too, who recounts with apparent horror the contortions and intense expressions of a *salonnière* reciting a sonnet.[695] Indeed the code of behaviour which required *bienséance* in one's conversation and conduct, would also have required proportionality of gesture, too. In his treatise, Grimarest directly addresses the popular salon pastime of reading aloud. He comments that people reading aloud should not make a spectacle of themselves. Gesture and pronunciation should not be aligned when engaging in this activity. Pronunciation should remain vivid and readers should make use of various tones of voice appropriate to the text. The different passions which one expresses when reading aloud naturally require small movements of the arms and face, as this gives fire and *agrément* to the reading. Echoing Courtin's instructions discussed above, he states that otherwise, however, gesture has no part to play in this pastime.[696] He contrasts this with declamation; with declamation, one learns by heart the text, its inflexions, and gestures, whereas when reading aloud, one has to guess the *mouvements* which follow without the same degree of preparation. When reviewing the literary texts summarised in this chapter in conjunction with the strictures on decorum and *bienséance* described in the etiquette and conversation manuals, my conclusion is that Grimarest's comments on gesture in relation to the salon activity of reading aloud must also apply to the salon activity of singing an air within polite conversation. Such airs, as we have seen above, were woven almost spontaneously into polite discussions, leaving the singer little time to choreograph his or her movements. Large movements would be read as contrived and reeking of the stage singer in any case. An economy of gesture, on the other hand, was seemly, natural, and modest.

The requirement to maintain an easy and convivial yet unaffected manner and to keep gesture muted impacted in a concrete way on certain aspects of vocal delivery within polite society. Bacilly acknowledges that correct pronunciation and a meticulous observance of syllable quantity and accentuation are critical to the art of singing well. Bacilly states that women (the main transgressors) are firmly opposed to any pronunciation which would seem to change the normal formation of the mouth in speaking, as they perceive any and all changes as ugly grimaces.[697] Bacilly expressly identifies the following of his rules as being

[690] Méré, *Conversation*, 76.
[691] Scudéry, *Conversations nouvelles*, 1:126.
[692] Méré, *Conversation*, 51.
[693] Scudéry, *Conversations morales*, 1686, 2:501.
[694] Méré, *Conversation*, 14.
[695] Tallemant des Réaux, *Historiettes*, 2:901.
[696] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 100.
[697] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 267; For a detailed description of the literature on physiognomy and the conflict between noble bearing and correct pronunciation, see Bane, 'Honnêtes Gens'.

susceptible to this corruption in spoken pronunciation: firstly, especially amongst women, Bacilly notes the tendency to pronounce the -e, -es, or -ent of a feminine ending in a manner which is too open. He cites two examples using the words "*extrême*" and "*inevitable*" and complains that these are often pronounced "*extrêmea*" and "*inévitablea*". The antidote which Bacilly suggests (to pronounce the feminine endings as an "*eu*", with the lips in almost the same position as this diphthong) is seemingly no antidote at all, because, according to Bacilly, even with this diphthong, many singers fail to bring the lips close enough together. Secondly, the same problem exists with the "*ou*" sound (where people only tend to pronounce the "*o*" in this diphthong). Bacilly cites an example of people incorrectly pronouncing the word "*douceur*" which is made up of two diphthongs, and only giving half the sound of each. This results in an "o" and an "e". Another common fault occurs, again particularly amongst women, when they smooth over the "o" vowel, even going so far as to pronounce "*comment*" as "*quement*". According to Bacilly, this makes the "o" lose all its natural power and is done in an attempt to make the sound more delicate.[698]

These corruptions of spoken pronunciation to avoid grimaces were common faults in singing, too. Bacilly notes with disapproval that pupils in search of a singing teacher were attracted by an instructor's ability to sing without making faces. However, this attraction is misplaced according to Bacilly and the faces which are deemed to be grimaces are in fact the result of certain pronunciations which cannot be made without adjusting the mouth. While these may be read as affected facial contortions by some, Bacilly does not consider them to be an affectation at all.[699] He complains, further, that women who sing never acquire the expressive ability associated with the concept of *mouvement*.[700] He explains that the reason for this is that they deem such emotionalism as unseemly to the modesty of their sex, and that this leads to an inanimate vocal style. Méré, likewise, complains of this, doubting the merits of a bland performance which neither leads one to weep nor sigh.[701]

While Bacilly freely voices his complaints against dispassionate performance and corrupted pronunciation, he is nevertheless careful to state that overblown and overly-affected performances are to be avoided, too. He draws a distinction between the salon singer and the stage professional. Exaggerated styles of singing, with affectation and grimaces, are apt for the stage, he says, but should be avoided in the salon, as they take away all the grace and *agrément* of song.[702] In this, he does seem to be casting his vote in favour of music-making that can give priority to the detailed beauty of song – the salon – but his critique of the bad vocal habits of its protagonists is never far away.

6.7 Conclusion

Steering one's course through the voluminous etiquette codes dictating decorous behaviour and speech must have been a difficult and perilous task. Obliging the speaker to demonstrate a natural, unaffected, gracious, and cheerful character, and to hide any effort and artistry, salon codes of behaviour represented a double challenge for the singer of the *airs sérieux* in the early *Recueils*. For if in one ear they heard echoes of Castiglione's ideal

[698] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*, 273–74.
[699] Bacilly, 73–74.
[700] Bacilly, 200.
[701] Méré, *Œuvres complètes*, 3:134.
[702] Bacilly, 'Réponse', 11–13.

courtier, in the other ear they heard and witnessed on the stage highly expressive, passionate renditions of vocal music (including renditions of airs drawn from stage works which were also printed in the *Recueils*) such as those envisaged by the theorists whose works were reviewed in chapter 5.

The writings of Bacilly, aesthetic mouthpiece of the seventeenth-century's long theoretical tradition of championing affective representation of text and music, only adds to this sense of peril. As the most celebrated vocal pedagogue and singing theorist in Paris, teacher to royal and noble ladies, instructor of leading and influential (male) stage actors, while he critiques overblown and affected styles of stage singing, he also directs a barrage of criticism at dispassionate performance. His disapproval of the way in which correct pronunciation was corrupted by a resistance to proper phonic formation with the lips and mouth is proof that such practices, despite his battling against them, did exist. Well may he have disapproved, but these "bad habits" were so endemic that they formed part of a new, demographic- and context-specific performance style.

Abiding by the rules as to decorous and polite modes of conduct and communication, attempting to distance oneself from stage professionals yet sub-consciously (or consciously) assimilating some of their habits, giving in to a passionate rendition as far as salon values will allow - these are all possible points at which the world of the salon and the world of the professional could collide. These intersections in vocal mode and expression are explored in the final chapter.

Chapter 7

Case-study: Performance observations and conclusions

7.1 Introduction

Stimulated by a desire to bring to light and perform a repertoire that is rarely heard today, the aim of this study was to investigate the vocal performance practice associated with the salon through the lens of the *airs sérieux* found in the *Recueils* published from 1695 to 1699. This concluding chapter seeks to meld together the various strands of inquiry of my study and to draw conclusions to the research questions posited at the start of this dissertation. In it, I document how I engaged with this investigation from a practical, vocal point of view, and describe the process of applying the theoretical findings gleaned from the historical sources to my own artistic practice. As a case-study, I make observations on an air drawn from the *Recueils* and, by way of the descriptive explanations which make up this chapter, I seek to answer the research questions posited in chapter 1.

Whereas preceding chapters have had a theoretical and academic focus, this chapter is subjective. Footnotes have been expressly avoided and, only where needed, sources have been referenced via the section in the dissertation in which they are discussed. By applying the findings of the preceding chapters to my own singing, I was naturally entering the realm of the "I" and relying on intuition, feeling, and the experiential to inform my work. As research in and through art, the discipline of artistic research demands this subjectivity. This chapter therefore pivots around the personal, physical, and sound observations I noted while carrying out and then reflecting on my own performances and experiments. The insights drawn from these subjective experiences are in fact the outcomes of this study.

7.2 Description of my methodology in relation to the research questions

The more than five hundred *airs sérieux* which are to be found in the 1695-1699 *Recueils* were my constant companions in writing this dissertation and in formulating my observations for this final chapter. Of this large pool of airs, one was selected to form the subject of this case-study. Many such airs were reflected on, however, and were the focal point of experiments with declamation, analysis of affect, modification of the passions, and decorous vocal delivery, concepts around which this chapter pivots.

The case-study air was chosen on the basis that it was ostensibly "representative" of the *airs sérieux* in the *Recueils*. To the outsider, the repertoire studied may be perceived as homogenous and monochromatically pleasant. Having spent considerable time investigating the corpus of airs, however, I feel that this is anything but the case. In this sense, therefore, it is perhaps, on reflection, not accurate to describe the air as representative. The airs studied are rich and varied in terms of form, style, and expression, and the case-study air should therefore be viewed as only a snapshot of the overall range of music which the *Recueils* offers the singer. Although these airs are short, much can be learnt from applying the knowledge set out in the preceding chapters to this music, and I consider the findings and possibilities which are presented in this chapter as representative of my findings after experimenting with a greater number of these airs.

In order to document a version of the air with which to compare the final results of my study, I first worked on a version which I felt represented the case-study air in my concert practice at the start of the trajectory – this is a "musical" rendition that is unstaged, without gesture, and without a narrative or sociable context (henceforth the "concert version/s").

Adopting scientific terminology, I informally thought of these concert renditions of the air as the control-group version, providing a sort of musical base-line against which the other versions could be tested and commented on. This attempt to re-create concert "normality" is, admittedly, not without its flaws; it is never possible to clone performances and context. In performance, energy is generated from audience presence and the performer reacts to the reaction of the listeners. In working on and recording the concert version, there was no such energy coming from beyond the "fourth wall", which in this case merely consisted of a recording device and technical operator. The knowledge that one was being recorded certainly contributed some amount of performance adrenaline such as one experiences when performing publicly. However, it was not possible to re-create absolutely all concert conditions.

In working on the concert version of the case-study air, I prepared the air as I would for any other public performance, focusing on diligently learning notes, perfecting the intonation, experimenting with ornaments, and, later in the process, ensuring that I was together with the theorbist. It was clear from working on this version that these were thoughts which occupied the mind of my accompanist, too, as the basis on which repetitions of certain sections were requested was when small mistakes or intonation imperfections occurred.

In contrast, and as previously demonstrated, the theorists whose work was reviewed for chapter 5 inhabited a world of different artistic priorities. To sing correctly and well in Bacilly's sense, song had to be closely allied to speech and declamation, the passions played a central role, and the delivery of affect was paramount. To incarnate by words and gesture the passions encoded within music and text was critical for the singer in order to be able to move and persuade the audience.

Rather than simply using the concert versions of the airs as a springboard from which to launch immediately into an inquiry into salon vocal practices, I felt it necessary to take a step back. It became clear that salon vocal practice was in effect a decorous and pared-back reflection of Bacilly's *l'art de bien chanter,* a practice which was most accurately borne out amongst professional stage singers. I felt sure, as a result of the findings presented in chapters 4 and 5, that performances of late seventeenth-century French baroque repertoire which claim to be historically-informed did not fully reflect those findings. Cherry-picking of information from the theorists had led to a current mode of performance practice which is not in fact correct. I felt that in order to build a salon version, I first had to destroy my conceptions and then re-find Bacilly's art of singing well, from which the salon practice was derived.

In experimenting with the airs from the early *Recueils* and the case-study air for this chapter, I was unveiling repertoire that, to the best of my knowledge, had not been publicly performed (at least in my lifetime), and thus fulfilling part of the motivation of this study. However, I felt I had to seek out a version of the airs which would have accorded with the ideals espoused by the theorists before I could see how this ideal would have been tempered by salon factors. The quest for a fully-affective performance that accorded with the vision of the theorists who wrote about singing and aesthetics became a major part of my inquiry. Although this quest no doubt made this dissertation a longer one to read, it was an important one and I consider the results and observations below which touch on this

facet of the study to be as much a part of the research output as the salon parts. (This version is henceforth referred to as the "fully-affective version" or "stage version".)

As we have seen in chapter 2 many of the airs studied were drawn from dramatic works from the stage, and brief solo airs of the type which predominate in the *Recueils* make frequent appearances in stage and lyric works. Given this crossing-over of repertoire and style and having seen and heard how a stage singer would present the airs in the fully-affective version, how would a cultured member of society present this same repertoire and how would it have sounded? (My vocal experiments with and thoughts on this question are referred to as the "salon version".)

In summary, I present and comment on three versions of the one case-study air: the "concert version", the "fully-affective" version, and the "salon version".

7.3 Preparatory work and input from experts throughout the trajectory

From the outset, I considered it necessary to use historical pronunciation when experimenting and performing the airs studied. This is a complex and vast topic which is not exempt from debate and disagreement among experts, and I therefore sought advice and coaching from historical linguist, Nicole Rouillé.

In acknowledging the critical importance to the theorists of incarnating the passions of the text and music, I realised that not only tone of voice, pronunciation and declamation were important, but that gesture, the face, and posture were going to play an important role in my delivery of the fully-affective version. In response to the first research question, I worked on several examples of the case study air in declaimed version, in a version which follows the pitches of the music, and finally in the version synthesising all elements. The significant extent to which gestures impacted on vocal timbre, emphasis, and expression is the subject of the observations and conclusions throughout this chapter, but it should be emphasised that it was not the aim of this study to attempt to tackle and perfect gesture in itself.

Despite having sung in stage productions involving historical gesture, this had not equipped me with independent expertise in this field. Moreover, in these productions, the singers were habitually coached by a director or gesture expert who had choreographed the movements and postures in advance and simply dictated them to the singers. The singers were required to rote-learn the movements, using certain words within the vocal texts as cues, and producing a mechanised series of movements. These movements were effectively super-imposed or applied onto the text and music in what I had always considered to be an artificial and un-integrated manner, and there was neither time nor room for discussion as to how these movements could possibly be generated from the inner thoughts of the singer. Facial and eye expressions were not discussed. Certain postural details were addressed (the ideal being to keep the classical "S" shape in the body), but at the same time, the subtle vocal nuances and resonance changes which are brought about by variations in posture, facial and eye expressions were not.

During the course of this study, I worked with Jed Wentz and two other experts in an historical acting workshop which re-introduced me to the physical vocabulary of gesture and significantly extended my knowledge and understanding. The fully-affective version of the

case-study air was prepared with their input and assistance. However, it should be noted that gesture was simply one part of my experimental, affective tool-kit. Gesture was a tool, and not an end.

A final caveat must be provided. My review of the *Mercure galant* revealed that the author of those publications reported each month on new fashion trends. Although an interesting theme for further study, I did not address the significant influence that the wearing of historical garments would have had on posture, the body, and vocal production. Given that fashion seemingly moved at such a pace, it did not make sense to attempt to pinpoint and re-construct any particular historical mode. Nor did my reconstruction attempt to reproduce the acoustical effect that the heavily-draped, rich interior of a salon would have played on timbre and sonority, or the ambient background noises of the natural settings in which conversation and song also intermingled. Rather, my study was focused solely on the voice itself.

The work with theorbo accompaniment was carried out at the Royal Conservatoire, The Hague in Studio 1 with the kind assistance of Earl Christy, theorbist. The theorbo was at A = 392 Hz.

7.4 Case-study: "*Iris me paroissoit si tendre et si fidelle*" – RASB 1695/5/86

This air is printed in the *Recueil* of May 1695 and is stated to be by M. Le Camus. As its publication date in the Ballard volume post-dates the death of Sébastien Le Camus (ca. 1610-1677) and this song does not appear in any catalogue that I was able to access of that composer, it is possibly by Charles Le Camus (d. 1717), his son. The text is not attributed.

The score is presented in appendix 7, and the text of the air is as follows.

Iris me paroissoit si tendre & si fidelle,	Line 1
Que par mille sermens je m'estois engagé	Line 2
De n'aimer jamais qu'elle,	Line 3
Cependant l'ingratte a changé:	Line 4
Dans le chagrin qui me dévore,	Line 5
Je ne démêle point mes propres sentimens,	Line 6
Je croy que je la hais; mais il est des momens	Line 7
Où je crains de l'aimer encore.	Line 8

In Le Camus' musical setting, there is a textual repetition of the phrase "*Où je crains*" in line 8, which is treated sequentially in the music.

I provide the following translation:

Iris seemed to me to be so tender and faithful,	Line 1
That by a thousand oaths I committed myself	Line 2
To love only her.	Line 3
However, the ungrateful one has changed.	Line 4

In the sorrow which devours me,	Line 5
I cannot distinguish my own feelings.	Line 6
I think that I hate her but there are moments	Line 7
When I fear that I love her still.	Line 8

7.4.1 The concert version - observations

As I reviewed the audio material of the concert version of this air and my notes made at the time, many details emerged. These versions were not overthought or particularly considered, and were approached in the guise in which I feel most at home - as a concert singer and ensemble musician. The approach was very "vocal" and sounded very "sung". In accordance with my classical vocal training, the vocal registers are sufficiently mixed, such that one does not feel too great a difference between the singing in the low sections and high sections of the piece. The intonation and the sense of ensemble with the theorbist is satisfactory, and the tempo is regular.

In preparing the concert version of this piece, I had especially concentrated on working on integrating what I thought was a wide gradation in ornaments, especially the tempo of the oscillations on the *tremblements.* On reviewing my performances of the concert version, this was far from the case, however. Further, the ornaments were performed very "melodically". That is, as a series of pitch oscillations. In producing a fully-affective version of this air, this aspect of the performance underwent subtle but fundamental changes, and in the next stage of the experiment, I tried to make ornamentation an affective and expressive, rather than a lyrical, device.

As with many of the *airs sérieux* examined for the present study, the text of this short piece contains many affects, which are often composite. Perhaps partly as a result of this intermingling of affects, my portrayal of mood was not sustained. The expressive "message" was composite and not clear. The performance was a quick-moving jumble of moods, each phrase flitting from one mild expression of musical emotion to another, without really committing to an overarching thought. Further, the affective expression is generally reserved, without an overpowering emotional character: my reminiscence of Iris is mild, my expression of Sorrow is reserved, and my expression of Hatred in line 7 is polite.

Visually also, a person watching this performance with the sound muted would not have been able to accurately deduce from my expressions the passions being evoked. In terms of delivery of a "message", my concert version did not demonstrate affects which were sustained. Further, the hand and arm which hold the folder containing my music make a sometimes-disturbing number of gestural movements – these are rhythmic impulses and emanate unconsciously from the desire to "conduct" the music or channel the ensemble energy. On reviewing the concert versions, I was reminded of how ingrained the habit is to resort to the inoffensive face of the concert singer. Although the expression of emotion seems appropriate, one always returns to the pleasant face of the singer in order not to enter the world of the "character actor".

7.4.2 Analysis of text and musical parameters using the findings of chapter 4

Chapter 4 identified the links between textual and compositional devices and the passions. In order to find a sonic version which accorded with the theorists' ideals and to produce a fully-affective version, the first step was to identify the passion of the air by analysing its textual and compositional devices. Using the material in chapter 4, I carry out such an analysis below. The analysis roughly follows the order used in that chapter. This is followed by notes on the development and creation of the performance of the air in its fully-affective version, using the material drawn from the theoretical writings in chapter 5.

7.4.2.1 Textual parameters

In attempting to deduce the passions of this air through the parameter of text alone, my focus was on three elements: firstly, the theorists' descriptions of the nature of the passions (as presented in appendix 2) and how the "events" of the mini-narrative of the air coalesce with these descriptions; secondly, specific references to the passions in the text; and thirdly, the comments of Mersenne, Le Cerf de la Viéville, and Perrin as to the affective significance of certain words, vowels, and consonants.

Bearing this approach in mind, the first step in analysing the affect of this short eight-line air was to form a general picture of the amorous "back-story" of the male narrator and to try and ally his emotions with the description of the principal passions set out in appendix 2.

Descartes' and Le Brun's observation that Wonder is the first passion and the gateway to all others is keenly felt in the first line of this air: Iris, the central female figure and source of the narrator's outpourings is invoked by name in the first word, and this triggers loving thoughts in the narrator, remembering her tenderness and fidelity. His feelings are mixed, however, and the imperfect form of the verb *paraître* in the first line already hints that these qualities were not enduring; the narrator's memories of happier times are tinged from the outset and made more poignant by the fact that the male pledged his commitment to her not once or twice, but a thousand times. Descartes describes the composite passion of Regret as a kind of sadness or languor mixed with tender memories of a lost past, and this sense of sad reminiscence felt very strong here. The conjunctive adverb, *cependant,* immediately heralds to the listener before he or she hears the end of the sentence that something radical has changed (in this case, Iris' fidelity to the male narrator). The harsh noun *ingratte* is used to berate Iris' altered allegiance.

The second section of the air becomes more personal and inward-looking, with the male narrator focusing on the emotional turmoil which has resulted from the events recounted at the start of the air. He complains of suffering from Sorrow which is devouring him, introducing an element of physicality and bodily suffering. The narrator cannot fathom and distinguish his own emotions, a statement made more strong by the use of the word *point* in place of *pas*. On the one hand, he thinks that he hates her, but then concedes there are moments where he fears he loves her still. His emotional state is one of confusion at this point: after the strong statement invoking the passion Hatred in line 7, he does not say that he categorically loves her still but says there are only *moments* where he feels this. In any case, the confusion of his emotions is not a welcome state for him and by saying that he fears he loves her still (*crains de l'aimer encore*), he indicates his resistance to this and that

it is against his better judgement. Thus there is an element not only of confusion, but inner conflict, too.

The air contains no mention of the words mentioned by Perrin as suggestive of sadness and pity such as rocks, caves, deserts, prisons (see section 4.3). Nor does it contain references to things such as flowers, birds, brooks which Perrin says evoke joy and serious admiration.

Four emotional states or passions are alluded to by name or near-name in this air: (tender) Love *(tendre* – line 1 and *aimer* - lines 3 and 8*),* Sorrow *(chagrin* – line 5*),* Hatred *(hais* – line 7*)* and Fear (*crains* – line 8).

As discussed in chapter 4 (see section 4.3), Mersenne and Le Cerf de la Viéville address the affective significance of certain vowels and consonants. Notably, Mersenne says that the feminine, mute *e*, the short *i* sound and the *u* sound express sad and abject things and Le Cerf de la Viéville states that the feminine, mute *e* suggests gracefulness, gentleness and variety. This implies that masculine words, and words containing vowels other than the short *i* and *u* sound would, by implication, convey harsher, more assertive affects than sad, abject, gentle, and graceful things.

Using a combination of Mersenne and Le Cerf de la Viéville's views and taking into account the allusions to the passions and their descriptions set out in appendix 2, I make the following observations on each line or half-line of the text:

Iris me paroissoit si tendre & si fidelle,

This line consists of two masculine polysyllabic words and two feminine polysyllabic words. This would point to an equal mix of the opposing ambiences of gentle Sorrow and assertion. The presence of the short *i* sound in *Iris, si*, and *fidelle,* and the alliterative sibilants in the repeated *s*, however, brought this line for me into the realm of gentle sadness for a past, tender love rather than something harsher.

Que par mille sermens je m'estois engagé

This line consists of three masculine polysyllabic words and one feminine polysyllabic word. The narrative voice refers to strong actions such as commitment (*engagé*) and the pledging of oaths and promises (*sermens*). Additionally, the hyperbole, *mille sermens,* is suggestive of vigour and these elements combined suggested to me that although the affect is still one of Love, gentle regret and Sorrow, stronger more assertive elements enter the affective picture.

De n'aimer jamais qu'elle,

This line consists of two polysyllabic masculine words and one polysyllabic feminine word. The mood continues to change from one of gentleness to something more assertive. This was signalled to me by the hyperbole, *jamais*, the feeling of "compaction" created by the matching word rhythms and rhyme of the *-ai* digraphs in *jamais* and *aimer* situated consecutively, and the sense of conviction generated by using a six-syllable line, when the two previous lines had been double this length.

Cependant l'ingratte a changé:

This line is also dominated by masculine words. The conjunctive adverb, *cependant,* the invective reference (*ingratte*) and the fact that the narrator's ungrateful beloved is said to have changed all signal a clear turning point in the affective mood of the poem.

Dans le chagrin qui me dévore,

This line is equally split between one masculine and one feminine polysyllabic word. However, the reference to *chagrin* invokes the passion of Sorrow, and the strong image of this Sorrow consuming or devouring the narrator confirms that this is the dominant affect at this point.

Je ne démêle point mes propres sentimens,

The male narrator exhibits his emotional confusion as professed by the words of the text itself; while there is an assertive, strong element conveyed by the word *point*, feminine polysyllabic words dominate, continuing the affective picture of Sorrow.

Je croy que je la hais;

This half-line consists exclusively of monosyllables, creating a strong movement in the poetic rhythm which is redolent of the rapid commotion of the soul which Descartes refers to in describing Hatred. The Hatred referred to in this line is the natural progression from the Sorrow of the opening statements. The denotation of the words in this line make the narrator's stance plain, and accords with the descriptions of Hatred by the theorists.

mais il est des momens

This half-line contains only one polysyllabic word (*momens*). The use of the conjunction, *mais*, signals that the narrator's passions are again on the move and indicates that there are moments when the Hatred professed in the previous half-line is ambiguous; his thoughts are moving away from the vigour of this passion towards Fear and Despair.

Où je crains de l'aimer encore.

The final line consists of one masculine and one feminine polysyllabic word. Fear and Love are invoked by name (*crains* and *aimer*). Lamy describes Despair as the development of Fear and Descartes describes Despair as coming about when there are poor chances of acquiring what is good or avoiding something that is evil. At least on the level of text, the male narrator here approaches this state of Despair; having expressed his Fear with the textual and sequential musical reiteration of the phrase (*où je crains*) he sees no way of avoiding still loving the fickle Iris.

It should be noted that in the textual analysis of this air and the many others that I reviewed in this way throughout my study, I came to the conclusion that Mersenne and Le Cerf de la Viéville's comments as to the affective significance of certain vowels and consonants could

not be treated as decisive criteria for determining the passion invoked. Their comments did not always, in themselves, assist me in drawing definitive conclusions as to affect from the text. Although their comments are interesting from a theoretical point of view, in practice, matching up the back-story of the air with the description of the passions themselves and the sign-posts provided by express references to the passions in the text were stronger criteria.

In summary, using the descriptions of the passions from appendix 2, the text alone (independent of the music) evoked the affects set out below. The reader will note that each section of text (and music) is repeated in the air, and as is natural, that thought or feeling evolves and develops with each iteration. Often there were several affects within one line.

Iris me paroissoit si tendre & si fidelle, [Love]
Que par mille sermens je m'estois engagé [Love]
De n'aimer jamais qu'elle, [Love]
Cependant l'ingratte a changé: [Regret and Sorrow]

Iris me paroissoit si tendre & si fidelle, [Regret and Sorrow]
Que par mille sermens je m'estois engagé [Regret and Sorrow]
De n'aimer jamais qu'elle, [Sorrow and Hatred]
Cependant l'ingratte a changé: [Sorrow and Hatred]

Dans le chagrin qui me dévore, [Sorrow]
Je ne démêle point mes propres sentimens, [Sorrow]
Je croy que je la hais; [Hatred] *mais il est des momens* [Fear and Despair]
Où je crains de l'aimer encore. [Fear and Despair]

Dans le chagrin qui me dévore, [Sorrow]
Je ne démêle point mes propres sentimens, [Sorrow]
Je croy que je la hais; [Hatred] *mais il est des momens* [Fear and Despair]
Où je crains de l'aimer encore. [Fear, Love]

7.4.2.2 Musical parameters - elevation of the voice

Pitch and tessitura

The piece is for soprano, with the C clef on the first line of the stave suggesting that the tessitura will be for lower soprano. The range of the vocal line spans the interval of a tenth, from E4 to G5. For a trained singer, the tessitura hovers around a comfortable mid-range for soprano of A5 to E5.

The lower extremities of the vocal line are found on the words "[*d*]*ans le chagrin qui me dévor*e" (line 5), where the melodic line descends and reaches its lowest point (E4) on the final word of that phrase. The "darkness" of the lower vocal register used at this point is redolent of the gloomy and sombre tone of voice that Mersenne says evokes Sorrow (appendix 6). Apart from one appearance on the word "*de*", the highest note (G5) of the piece is repeated and given prominence as the first part of the phrase "[*j*]*e crois que je la hais*" (line 7). The power of the voice at this pitch approaches the thundering or roaring which Grimarest

describes as evocative of Hatred (appendix 6). On reviewing the catalogue of airs and their vocal ranges which I compiled at the start of my study, I noted that G5 can be considered at the extreme end of the pitch range commonly used. Indeed, in performing this piece, singing "[*j*]e *crois que je la hais*" did feel like an especially significant moment because of the vocal "pressure" which is experienced when singing at this tessitura, even at low pitch. Interestingly, this series of high, repeated notes on "[*j*]e *crois que je la hais*" also evokes the elevated voice which Grimarest and Mersenne identify as denoting Anger. In setting the final line of the poem, "[*o*]*ù je crains de l'aimer encore*", Le Camus repeats a fragment of that line, with the entire section reading "[*o*]*ù je crains, où je crains de l'aimer encore*". This repetition evokes a sort of trembling hesitance, which matches several theorists' description of Fear (see appendix 6).

7.4.2.3 Musical parameters - timbre and expressive quality

Intervals in the upper voice/*dessus* part

In carrying out this section of the analysis, I attempted to deduce affect by analysing the intervals used by Le Camus in the air and finding their corresponding emotional significance from the material presented in table 4.1 of chapter 4. Soon after starting this exercise, I found this approach problematic, however.

Firstly, I felt that Mersenne's descriptions of the emotional significance of intervals did not take into account the fact that any given line of melody can be made up of intervals with affects which do not necessarily logically sit well with each other. For example, the intervals in the line "[*c*]*ependant, l'ingratte a changé"* (line 4) consist of three semitones, one whole tone, three descending minor thirds, and a minor sixth (spanning the quaver rest). While the semitones and minor intervals are supposedly evocative of laments, pains, and sighs, the whole tone, according to Mersenne, is meant to invoke great, brusque, rustic, martial or vigorous things. It was not clear to me how much weight to give the affective significance of the whole tone as compared to the laments, pains, and sighs of the other intervals. Was the presence of the whole tone meant to lead me to conclude that the line was one of laments but that the narrator had not completely collapsed and entered a languid state because of the vigour associated with this interval? Was it simply a matter of paying heed to the interval which occurred most regularly within a phrase or piece?

Equally, the line "[*d*]*ans le chagrin qui me dévore*" (line 5) is set to a whole tone, a major third, and a semitone. This would seem to suggest that we are in the territory of laments, pains, sighs, sadness, love (semitone), great, brusque, rustic, martial or vigorous things (whole tone). However, the presence of the major third also suggests we are in the realm of rigour, harshness, bitterness, anger, and, surprisingly, joy (major third). Each line contained what I thought to be conflicting affective intervals. Although interesting musicologically, an analysis using intervals was not useful for the researcher-performer.

Mode, tonality, and accidentals

The air is in a-minor, modulating to the dominant major, E-Major, at the end of the first half, as is common in the predominantly binary *airs sérieux* found in the *Recueils*. According to Charpentier, J. Rousseau and Masson, a-minor evokes tender and plaintive things, shows

seriousness, and is suitable for use in the context of a fervent prayer or petition. E-Major was said to be suitable for quarrelsome, grating, tender, gay, grand, and magnificent things.

I felt the descriptions attached to a-minor accorded well with the passions identified by the textual analysis, but E-Major did not.

The frequent excursions to new tonal centres naturally necessitate the use of accidentals in the music. Generally, as set out in chapter 4, accidentals were considered to have affective significance; the presence of sharps was said to indicate assertion, and flats created a languid feel (see section 4.4.2.2). Using the visual indicators of flats or sharps in the air, the theorists would conclude that the affect becomes more assertive in the line "[*c*]*ependant l'ingratte a changé"* (line 4) because of the presence of the added F-sharp and G-sharp, and that immediately following this, the use of a G-flat to naturalise the previous G-sharp indicated the start of a more languid passage, coinciding with the line 5, "[*d*]*ans le chagrin qui me dévore".* In my view, the accidentals used accorded with my own analysis of the other musical parameters and accorded, rather than conflicted, with the affects which I deduced from my textual analysis at this point.

Harmony and dissonance

Minor dissonances prevail at the harmonic level, occurring most notably on the "*-gé*" of "*engagé",* on the word "*ingratte",* at the start of the second section and resolving only after a full bar onto the second syllable of "*chagrin*", on "*dévore*", at the cadence on "*sentimens*", on the words "*que je la*" resolving onto "*hais*", at the word "*momens",* and on the second iteration of "*où*". These generally occur on the second beat of the bar, except for the dissonances on "*l'ingratte"* and "*dans le chagrin"* which occur on the first, marking these out as moments of particular severity (section 4.4.2.3).

Tempo and *mouvement*

The air is in cut-common time throughout, with no expression or tempo markings. Whether beat as four light beats or two slow ones, the writings of the theorists summarised in table 4.3 indicate that this is generally a slow tempo. A slow musical pace is indicative of Despair and Sorrow (see appendix 6) which was appropriate to the denotation of the text.

The artful juxtaposition of syllable-clusters into poetic feet of varying lengths, which created *nombre,* was considered by the theorists to be a powerful expressive agent (see section 4.4.3.4). However, when attempting to think about *nombre* in the present analysis of the passions encoded within the air, I realised that little concrete advice was actually offered in the theoretical writings. Specifically, the theorists dealing with French poetics did not give express correlations between the length of poetic feet and the passions. Patricia Ranum's discussion of the emotions conveyed by the length of poetic feet did not fill this theoretical gap, although I agreed with her approach, which draws personal conclusions about the perception on the subject of the various syllable groupings. In common with Ranum, when experimenting with declaiming and singing, I also felt that the poetic word-rhythms and the degree of "word-density" were powerful affective message-bearers.

For this reason, the observations that follow are without exception based on my own experience of the contrasting feelings of haste/urgency or slowness/restfulness which were conjured up when I declaimed the texts. Lines 1 and 2 of the air are twelve-syllable Alexandrines which repose at the mid-line caesura as reflected in Le Camus' rhythmic setting. When judged solely from a rhythmic point of view, I experienced these two lines as balanced, informative, and neutral. In contrast, in declaiming "[*d*]*e n'aimer jamais qu'elle",* a dramatic change is forecast. Whereas lines 1 and 2 were twelve-syllable lines, the syllable count of line 3 is halved to six, and this short line is suddenly given an emphatic sense of conviction and determination by splitting itself into three very compact poetic feet ("[*d*]*e n'aimer", "jamais",* and *"qu'elle"*). Although the line which follows ("*[c]ependant l'ingratte a changé*") returns to a longer, eight-syllable count, the caesura after syllable three (after "*cependant*") results in a remaining five-syllable half-line, which in my view, gave this whole line an unbalanced, disturbing, and unstable feel.

By contrast, the eight syllables of line 5, "[*d*]*ans le chagrin qui me dévore*", is divided into two equal poetic feet coinciding with the mid-line caesura. My experience of declaiming lines 4 and 5 (both of which are eight-syllable lines) back-to-back was vastly different. In contrast to line 4, the balanced pair of poetic feet in line 5 ("[*d*]*ans le chagrin* then *qui me dévore"*) created a feel of languor and sorrowful acceptance rather than one disturbed by imbalance. Line 6 is an Alexandrine with a mid-line caesura made up of two six-syllable poetic feet. This sense of balance seemed not to accord with the denotation of the text. In contrast, line 7, also an Alexandrine, created an entirely different feel. The six monosyllables which make up the first half-line evoked a sense of rapid firing and spitting of compact syllabic "bullets" which immediately mimicked the abruptness, hurriedness, and violence of the *accens* of Despair and the roughness, severity, firmness, and hardness of Hatred, both as described by Grimarest. It also invoked the roughness and sharpness of the *accens* of Anger. The remaining six syllables of that line seemed to slow down considerably, perhaps because of the sense of density created by the internal rhyme of "*mais"* with "*est"*. Line 8 is an eight-syllable line divided into two poetic feet of three syllables ("[*o*]*ù je crains")* and five syllables ("*de l'aimer encore"*). When declaiming the first part of that line, it felt neutral in terms of speed and affect. However, when my declamation mirrored the musical setting of those words and I repeated the text fragment, the repetition of that phrase did evoke the sense of trembling and hesitance which Grimarest, Mersenne, Le Faucheur and Bretteville identify as the hallmarks of Fear. The predominance of long syllables in the latter part of that line (including the monosyllable "*de*" which is lengthened because of the rule of symmetry) in the long poetic foot, seemed to elongate and slow down that part of the line, giving me the impression of a sense of resignation.

Melodic patterns as the artful imitation of French speech – Patricia Ranum's study

I encountered difficulties when trying to put into practice the connections that Ranum posits between melodic shape, affect, and mood (section 4.6). Firstly, it was problematic to decide on the correct "shape" to assign to the melody in order to fit Ranum's criteria. Even if it had been an easier task, I felt that the choice of "shape" to assign the melody was an artificial one as it was, to some extent, influenced by the other analytical conclusions that I had already made.

However, there were two sections of the air in which I felt the melody matched one of the shapes she describes: firstly, the rise and fall of the musical setting of lines 2 and 3 accords with the shape which Ranum identifies as conveying opposition. I could not identify any antithetical concepts in these lines, however. Secondly, the narrow melodic range of line 5 ("[*d*]ans *le chagrin"*) accords with the shape she assigns to sadness, anguish, and lament. This seemed to fit with the denotation of the words.

Affective analysis – summary

In conducting this affective review according to the analytical criteria set out in chapter 4, the most reliable indicator of affect was the denotation of the words – what has just happened and what is the "story" behind the text? The changing sense of compaction and speed related to *nombre,* the slow tempo implied by cut-common time, and the affective messages conveyed by the use of accidentals and mode enhanced the affective picture. Seeking to use intervals as an indicator of passion was not, in this case, a reliable analytical tool. Conducting similar affective analyses of other *airs sérieux* in the corpus confirmed this view. Ranum's work linking melodic shape to affect did not, at least in the airs I closely examined, provide a clear or conclusive analytical tool.

In summary, using the descriptions of the passions found in appendix 6, I felt the music reflected the affects discernible from the text which were set out above – that is the poem and music were generally in harmony when seeking to convey an affective message. There were two exceptions to this: in the musical setting, I felt the expressive fire of consonant "bullets" created in line 7 a feel of Anger as well as Hatred, which seemed to be confirmed by the string of high pitches in this line which were redolent of Grimarest's elevated voice of Anger. That is, although the text specifically mentioned the passion of Hatred, I experienced this more as Anger. Secondly, the elongation of the rhythm in line 8 created an expressive slowing down which added a sense of Regret to the affective mix. The affects encoded in the music thus deviated slightly from the affects discernible in the text alone (presented above). Taking into account both text and musical parameters, the affects of this air are presented below:

Iris me paroissoit si tendre & si fidelle, [Love]
Que par mille sermens je m'estois engagé [Love]
De n'aimer jamais qu'elle, [Love]
Cependant l'ingratte a changé: [Regret and Sorrow]

Iris me paroissoit si tendre & si fidelle, [Regret and Sorrow]
Que par mille sermens je m'estois engagé [Regret and Sorrow]
De n'aimer jamais qu'elle, [Sorrow and Hatred]
Cependant l'ingratte a changé: [Sorrow and Hatred]

Dans le chagrin qui me dévore, [Sorrow]
Je ne démêle point mes propres sentimens, [Sorrow]
Je croy que je la hais; [Hatred and Anger] *mais il est des momens* [Fear and Despair]
Où je crains de l'aimer encore. [Fear and Despair]

Dans le chagrin qui me dévore, [Sorrow]
Je ne démêle point mes propres sentimens, [Sorrow]
Je croy que je la hais; [Hatred and Anger] *mais il est des momens* [Fear and Despair]
Où je crains de l'aimer encore. [Fear, Regret, Love]

7.4.3 The fully-affective version – the findings of chapter 5 applied to the preparation process

Chapter 5 demonstrated that both speech-based orators and singers had to know the passions and incarnate them in their voice and gesture using a variety of strategies, arousing within themselves a feeling which could be passed on to the audience and move them, too. For Bacilly and others, singing was considered a type of embellished declamation. When speaking of singing, the treatises abound with words which evoke speech rather than vocal production. Grimarest counsels *acteurs qui chantent* to follow all the rules of declamation that he sets out for other speech-based orators in the earlier part of his treatise. He considered that music in fact damages expression. Le Faucheur demands an engagement with the imagination, demanding authenticity and instructing the orator to feel the emotion he or she is trying to express at the moment of its utterance (see section 5.4.5).

Grimarest, Bacilly, and Le Faucheur were therefore of critical importance in my thinking about experimenting with a fully-affective rendition of the case-study air. Declamation and imagination played a crucial role.

Applying Grimarest and Bacilly's advice, my first concern was to develop a proper, distinct, and expressive pronunciation, reflecting the *accens* which were the hallmarks of the passions encoded within the text and music. Firstly, as well as taking advice on historical pronunciation, I made my own analysis of the syllabic lengths of the texts using Bacilly's instructions. Notably, I made syllabic adjustments to short monosyllables as required by the rule of symmetry, and I gave emphasis to certain consonants following the spirit of Bacilly's advice as to the concept of *gronder* or growling of consonants on expressive words (especially, the "f" of *"fidelle"* in line 1, the "j" of *"jamais"* in line 3, the "-gr-" of "*ingratte"* and the "ch" of "*changé*" in line 4, and the "ch" of "*chagrin"* in line 5). When compared with the accents and emphases of everyday conversational French, these elongations created a subtle "ebb and flow" feeling which gave shape and variety to the text, while the consonant doublings gave emphasis and energy to certain words, allowing the text to enter the realm of heightened expression associated with declamation.

Chapter 4 demonstrated that every sentiment had a certain tone of voice or *accens* which was fitting to it. Using the material set out in appendix 6, the next step I took when experimenting with the *airs sérieux* in the corpus and the case-study air in particular was to integrate those tones of voice into my declamations. However, after several experiments in which I sought, in effect, to super-impose a tone of voice onto the text, it became clear that this was not satisfactory. Simply mimicking a tone of voice to represent an emotional state was not sufficient to evoke the passion which I was attempting to communicate nor did it feel that I was doing anything more than carrying out a sort of inauthentic impersonation. There was a missing ingredient, which was the imagination.

Le Faucheur at one point comments that words are the interpreters of our thoughts and the mirrors of our passions (see section 5.4.5). Words (and by extension, the tone of voice in which we declaim them) have to be propelled by our own feelings, therefore. Tones of voice cannot simply be "applied" to a declamation. An affective authenticity is required. Using Le Faucheur's advice (that one has to focus on real subjects in one's own heart to conjure up genuine feelings), I entered the realm of the method actor and assigned personal emotional "trigger-thoughts" in an attempt to prompt me to conjure up the affect in the text. This was the subject of much experimentation.

Early on, after publicly presenting my declamations using these emotional trigger-thoughts, one comment I received was that the process took a long time, especially to move from one passion to the next. As discussed below, at the later stage of trying to integrate my declamations with musical renditions of the case-study air (in which my musical training naturally led me to instinctively try to enforce a regular tempo), this battle between absorbing myself in the emotional world conjured up by the trigger-thought and maintaining tempo became particularly prominent.

Although entering the emotional realm conjured up by the various trigger-thoughts took me some time, once I had in fact entered that realm at the start of each new line or phrase, the speed at which the declamation was performed was then generated naturally by the trigger-thoughts. Interestingly, these declamatory tempi matched up with the adjectives relating to speed which are found in the theorists' description of the *accens* (see appendix 6). Thus, conjuring up a trigger-thought to engage my imagination with Love in line 1 naturally made my voice move in a swift and mellifluous fashion, as described by Mersenne. Turning my mind to something which evoked Sorrow when speaking of "*chagrin*" in line 5 led to a slower speed, which also accorded with the instructions of the theorists.

Despite the language surrounding the theoretical advice on *accens,* which often implies that the orator should simply select a tone of voice appropriate to the particular passion (see section 5.4.4), I concluded that as a performer trying to incarnate the passion, I had to follow Le Faucheur's advice and see the *accens* as an incidental result generated by an authentic inner emotional state. As appendix 6 demonstrates, there was no unanimity of advice amongst the theorists as to the *accens* which should correspond to a given passion, although there was often considerable overlap. As I had decided to let my inner emotional state be my guide, certain tones of voice naturally arose. The tones of voice which came about as a result of my emotional trigger-thoughts are set out below.

Iris me paroissoit si tendre & si fidelle, [Love – sweet and agreeable tone]
Que par mille sermens je m'estois engagé [Love - sweet and agreeable tone]
De n'aimer jamais qu'elle, [Love - sweet and agreeable]
Cependant l'ingratte a changé: [Regret and Sorrow – slow, gloomy, weak, drawling, plaintive tone]

Iris me paroissoit si tendre & si fidelle, [Regret and Sorrow – slow, gloomy, weak, drawling, plaintive tone]
Que par mille sermens je m'estois engagé [Regret and Sorrow – slow, gloomy, weak, drawling, plaintive tone]
De n'aimer jamais qu'elle, [Sorrow and Hatred – sad, plaintive, rough tone, lacking in pity]
Cependant l'ingratte a changé: [Sorrow and Hatred – sad, plaintive, rough tone, lacking in pity]

Dans le chagrin qui me dévore, [Sorrow – sombre, weak, drawling, plaintive, languishing]
Je ne démêle point mes propres sentimens, [Sorrow – sombre, weak, drawling, plaintive, languishing]
Je croy que je la hais; [Hatred and Anger – rough, severe, growling tone, reproaching] *mais il est des momens* [Fear and Despair – trembling, hesitant, gloomy, regrettable]
Où je crains de l'aimer encore. [Fear and Despair – trembling, hesitant, gloomy, regrettable]

Dans le chagrin qui me dévore, [Sorrow – sombre, weak, drawling, plaintive, languishing]
Je ne démêle point mes propres sentimens, [Sorrow - sombre, weak, drawling, plaintive, languishing]
Je croy que je la hais; [Hatred and Anger – rough, severe, growling tone, reproaching] *mais il est des momens* [Fear and Despair – trembling, hesitant, gloomy, regrettable]
Où je crains de l'aimer encore. [Fear ending with Regret and Love – gloomy, weak, drawling, plaintive, agreeable]

According to Bacilly, affect alters pronunciation (section 5.3.5.5). He makes specific reference to the "a" vowel and the word "*ingratte"* and effectively states that in that word, the jaw or mouth should be opened wide (in modern singing terms, "dropped") rather than in a smiling fashion, where the emphasis would be on breadth. When guided by imagination in the declamation above, I was pre-occupied by trigger-thoughts which helped me to experience feelings of Regret, Sorrow, leading to Hatred and Anger. On the word "*ingratte",* I was equally engaged with conjuring up these thoughts, and without trying to mechanically drop my jaw on this word, I observed that a subtle darkening of the "a" vowel occurred naturally at this point.

I then turned to ornamentation. Throughout this study, ornamentation was one of the most intriguing issues, primarily because I felt that the way I had approached it as a student was so antithetical to the perspective provided by the theorists whose work was reviewed for chapter 5. Montéclair's 1736 *Principes de musique*, which had been my French ornamentation bible during my studies, provides invaluable instruction on this matter - its commentary is clear and there is additional clarity thanks to the notated examples. However, it is also problematic and was published many decades after the repertoire investigated in this study. Presented with notated representations as is the case in the *Principes de musique*, it is easy for the student to form the habit of thinking of the *agrémens* simply as a series of melodic oscillations, of performing them "lyrically", and of losing sight of the function of ornamentation as set out by Bacilly.

According to Bacilly, this function was threefold: to make pronunciation and syllable length clearer and more understandable, to beautify, and, crucially, to convey the passions. Feeling sure that I was not the only singer falling into this trap, I felt determined to explore this issue further. Firstly, I made sure that my choice of ornaments signified syllable length, in accordance with the material in table 5.1, with all long syllables having some sort of ornament, or at least an elongation of the syllable (also allowed by Bacilly). Secondly, in my experiments, I worked on using the ornaments in an onomatopoeic, emotional sense rather than just a melodic sense. A *tremblement* therefore should be a moment to both experience and demonstrate a heightened quivering of emotion (which could manifest itself in trembling in the voice and in the body, in the case of Fear, for example). An *accent* should be experienced as a surge of feeling, the natural and incidental melodic consequence of which is a sense of vocal "pouring forth" which happens to be notated by Montéclair as a minute, raising of the pitch at the end a long note.

One of the new findings of this study relates to the ornamentation markings of Pierre Berthet. As discussed in chapter 3, in the airs which he contributed to the *Recueils* there are frequent indications that the singer should perform an *accent.* Intriguingly, these *accent* indications do not simply appear on expressive or emotive words or at moments of anguish. They also appear on somewhat prosaic syllables and the frequency of their appearance is significant. An *accent* is one of the ornaments which Bacilly specifies can be used to indicate long syllables (see table 5.1). Whereas my practice was always to reserve an *accent* for a highly-emotive moment and a very expressive word such as "*hélas*" (a practice which happened to accord with the theorists' view), Berthet's frequent indications of this ornament coupled with the fact that Bacilly lists it as one that the singer can use in fulfilment of his obligation to demonstrate length on a long syllable led me to conclude that the *accent* was much more prevalent in expressive singing at the end of the seventeenth century than it is today.

Berthet's indications calling for a combination of the *port de voix* with the *accent* were also highly significant, in my view. Firstly, it is not a combination I have heard in performance or on recordings, and, interestingly, it creates a link between vocal practice of these airs at the end of the seventeenth century with the stage vocal practices which Jean-Antoine Bérard notes by way of his annotated operatic scores of Lully and Rameau (amongst others) from 1755.

In the case-study air, ornaments are indicated on the syllables which are underlined.

Iris me paroissoit si tendre & si fidelle,
Que par mille sermens je m'estois engagé
De n'aimer jamais qu'elle,
Cependant l'ingratte a changé:

Dans le chagrin qui me dévore,
Je ne démêle point mes propres sentimens,
Je croy que je la hais; mais il est des momens
Où je crains de l'aimer encore.

The underlined syllables represent the ornaments which are expressly notated in the score. Chapter 3 demonstrated that Ballard's approach to printing ornaments was economical, and it became clear from my study that there would be many more ornaments added in besides these. In the declaimed version of this case-study air, I seek to feel a heightened sense of emotion on those syllables which are underlined above. I do this by returning to the trigger thoughts at these specific moments. As the declamation process unfolded and progressed and as more ornaments were added, I tried to think of each ornament as expressive of a feeling rather than merely a series of pitches.

Grimarest indicates that the *acteur* must pronounce each syllable at whatever pitch (*"à quelque elevation, ou à quelque profondeur"*) that the composer has set it. For me, this advice was crucial. It seemed to provide the link between the theoretical comments which located singing within the realm of oratory and which likened it with embellished declamation, on the one hand, and the practical matter of dealing with exactly how to both declaim and sing pitches at the same time, on the other. A declamation that is melodic

would seem to accord with the famous account of the expressive melodic speech-range of Champmeslé, too (section 4.4.1). Accordingly, for all the airs with which I experimented and with the case-study air, I created a "melodic map" of the text in which I super-imposed the contours of Le Camus' melody onto the words. The melodic contours are broadly indicated with arrows.

I then worked on my declamations following these broad pitch contours.

Iris me paroissoit si tendre & si fidelle,

Que par mille sermens je m'estois engagé

De n'aimer jamais qu'elle,

Cependant l'ingratte a changé:

Dans le chagrin qui me dévore,

Je ne démêle point mes propres sentimens,

Je croy que je la hais; mais il est des momens

Où je crains [où je crains] de l'aimer encore.

These declamations were also practised over the harmony, forming a *Sprechstimme*. This exercise actually worked best when I self-accompanied, producing a very pared-back, reduced version of the accompaniment on keyboard. The reason for this was one of timing – either waiting for or feeling hurried along by the accompanist interrupted the flow of the imagination and I was seeking to move from one passion to another only when my mind was sufficiently prepared.

The next step was to try to bring the declamatory pitches of the notes closer to the pitches set by Le Camus. This was a gradual process in which I tried to get more and more accurate with my "oratorical" pitches until they approached the musical pitches. It generated a spectrum of results, producing examples that felt highly "spoken" to results that felt closer to singing.

7.4.4 The fully-affective version – performance observations and conclusions

My quest to synthesise musicological and practical findings and to apply the instructions of the theorists whose works were addressed in chapter 5 created a fully-affective version of this air which was far-removed from the concert version in five key respects: tone colour, vocal register, expressive articulation of consonants, timing, and ornaments. These will be addressed in turn. The reader will be directed to specific moments in the two versions by reference to the line number (along with a Roman numeral (i) or (ii) to denote the first iteration or repeat of that line).

On reflecting on the concert version compared with the fully-affective version, the following differences, although subtle, were discernible to me in terms of tone and vocal colour: in attempting to fixate on the beloved with my eyes, attention, and thoughts, I had naturally come close to Le Brun's representation of Love. With the corners of the mouth slightly raised and a relatively static forehead and posture, the sound produced in line 1 (i) in the fully-affective version was open, light, easy, and bright, as befits an invocation of Love. This was in contrast to the concert version, where it was more pressured and concentrated. On the repeat of this in line 1 (ii), the tone becomes significantly more clenched and aggressive. At this moment, the eyes are suspiciously observing the beloved, with the face turned away in the opposite direction. On reviewing the fully-affective version, I noted, too, that the brow is furrowed, the eyebrows are drawn in, the eyes are small and glaring, and the corners of the mouth are turned down, producing a look that was sardonic, bitter, and sorrowful, all in accordance with the close connections which were said to exist between the passions of Sorrow and Hatred (see appendix 2).

Classical singing training dedicates significant attention to postural alignment, the body, and the elimination of tension. The larynx, suspended in the neck, houses the vocal folds, and if the muscles attached to the larynx are tense, the actions of the vocal folds may be affected. These muscles are all attached to other structures in the body, which are affected by the basic posture of the singer. Although it is not my intention to attempt to cover the minutiae of the complicated network of muscles used in singing, I feel it safe to provide the following as the general postural rules gleaned from my training: ideally, the jaw should be relaxed and free, opening backwards and downwards without jutting forward. The neck should be free and allowed to lengthen up, the ears should be located over the shoulders. The shoulders should be relaxed and down, the spine needs to feel elongated, the back should feel wide, and the thorax should not be behind the hips. The body weight should not be on the heels of the feet nor forward on the balls. Throughout my vocal training, I came to be acutely aware of the extent to which minute adjustments to things such as tongue position, jaw alignment, neck position, and the alignment of the thorax and hips can affect sound. Classical singing focuses on the elimination of all facial and jaw tension, and encourages the singer to consciously relax the minute muscles in the neck, tongue, and face. Even by tensing the eyes, furrowing the brow, or tensing the shoulder, for example, a reaction is produced at the level of the tongue and larynx, which changes the resonance of the voice, and this was a fact of which I was very aware when carrying out my experiments.

At the words "*[c]ependant l'ingratte a changé"* in line 4 (i)*,* I turned my thoughts to the injustice of my treatment at the hands of Iris. Although it was initially my plan to represent a languid sense of Regret here, my trigger-thoughts could not help turning to something more

active. On reviewing the fully-affective versions, the corners of my mouth are drooping and slightly turned down. At this particular moment, I was not necessarily trying to represent Hatred or Sorrow (closely related passions, according to Descartes), but by taking inspiration from Le Brun and positioning the lips in this way, the tone colour on the word "*ingratte"* inevitably became darker and more sombre*.* As we have seen in chapter 5, Bacilly distinguishes the pronunciation of a long "a*"* vowel in a joyful phrase from the pronunciation of a morose "a" vowel, even citing the word "*ingratte*" as an example. Rather than just mechanically following Bacilly's advice and dropping my jaw for this word, I felt that the same effect was achieved as an incidental result of concentrating my mind on the negative trigger-thought. Moreover, as the sides of the mouth were turned down, it was natural to drop the jaw here, and to widen the mouth at such a moment would have felt completely unnatural. That is, what started out as advice from Bacilly as to how to manipulate the body to create an emotional ambience was in fact automatically generated from the work that was going on within, at the level of the imagination. At the same moments in the concert versions, with no concentrated trigger-thought to feed the imagination, the vocal colour is significantly brighter and without a discernible character.

The tone on both iterations of "*[j]e crois que je la hais"* in the fully-affective version is vastly different to the concert version, too. On these lines, I had conjured up a vivid image that helped incite feelings of Hatred and its close associate (Anger) within me. At these moments, the fists are clenched, the whole upper-body, face, and teeth are intensely tightened and contorted. The clenched teeth in particular produced an extremely tense vocal timbre, producing the feeling that I was spitting these words out. The pounding impulse of the clenched fists on the word "*hais*" in this version gave a hammering accent and vociferousness to that word in this rendition, which is significantly milder in the concert version.

On both iterations of "*[j]e crains de l'aimer encore*", there is an element of Fear. At line 8(i), Fear is mixed with Despair, and in the final line of the piece, I engage in a renewed contemplation of the beloved, producing something more tender akin to Regret or Love. In both evocations of Fear, I seek to show the confusion of the inner emotional state; the narrator both hates Iris but cannot be sure that he does not love her still. I attempted to demonstrate the Fear and confusion brought about by the trigger-thought with darting, crazed eye movements. This was probably somewhat disproportionate and, on reflection, created the misleading visual impression that as the narrator, I was under some sort of immediate physical threat. Nevertheless, these swift eye movements which had been produced by channelling a strong trigger-thought had produced an interesting sense of physical trembling within the voice.

The concentration on the trigger-thoughts brought about changes in the extent to which the vocal registers were mixed, too, and in general, there was less homogeneity and unity than in the concert version. In the fully-affective version, the colour and registration of the voice changed in accordance with the intensity and nature of the trigger-thought (and the gesture which resulted). This delineation of registers is demonstrated on the word "*fidelle*" in the fully-affective version, in which I had tried to think of Iris in contrasting terms of softness (*tendresse*) and resilience (*fidelité).* The sound on the word "*fidelle*" accordingly is stronger and owes much to the voice's chest/modal register. There is more of an audible gap in the tone colour between the higher tessitura and the lower notes. The tone is less unified. In

working on how to portray my thoughts in gesture, I had felt these contrasting elements in the body, too; I had felt antithetical sensations of softness (particularly in the shoulders) when uttering the word "*tendre",* on the one hand, and a swelling up with self-confidence and pride when I describe her faithfulness, on the other. At both iterations of "*dans le chagrin qui me dévore"* in the fully-affective version, the voice sinks down to the chest register in a way that feels less at home with my classical training. The trigger-thought of *chagrin* was very vivid and naturally caused a sort of sinking and deflating in the shoulders and torso, which felt that it was giving the voice no choice but to sink and deflate into the chest register. The trigger-thought was therefore strongly dictating to the body, and the posture of the body brought about changes to the vocal colour which my voice could not resist reflecting. Singing "correctly" (in the modern, classical sense) was not a concern in preparing the fully-affective version, and this change in registration felt organic and, surprisingly, appropriate. The change in vocal register was particularly noticeable in the second iteration of this line (line 5 (ii)).

Subtle changes associated with register can also be detected at "[*j]e crois que je la hais".* In the concert version, there is more a sense of "verticality" in the sound at "*je crois que je la hais"* and an acceptable mix between middle register and head register. In the fully-affective version, particularly on the repeat, these words come across as somewhat spoken. This accords with Grimarest's instructions to speak each syllable on the pitch, but, from a classical singing point of view, speaking these words at a pitch which is beyond modal register creates an effect which is rather screechy. The trigger-thought impelling me to conjure up Hatred and Anger had effectively produced a rough, screeching, growling, and reproaching sound which resembles the theorists' description of the tone of voice associated with this passion. Again, producing a vocally beautiful version was not the goal, and I felt that this screechy tone was in fact a natural and authentic response to the work of the imagination.

Although conscious of applying Bacilly's concept of expressive "growling" of consonants in my singing prior to commencing this study, the two audio versions presented here reveal the extent to which these written rules are brought alive and made sense of by the integrated approach advocated by the theorists, combining imagination, the body, and the voice. Generally, while attention was already paid to Bacilly's idea of *gronder* in the concert version, the articulations on expressive consonants are much more pronounced in the fully-affective version. Unifying the thought of pride and self-assurance on the word "*fidelle"* in line 1, with the sense of swelling up and ennoblement of the neck, shoulders, and thorax that occurred in the body on that word created a strongly-pronounced "f" consonant. This same feeling of "smugness" and self-assurance was felt on "*jamais"* and "*qu'elle*" in line 3, the latter word being particularly emphasised by the indicative hand and arm gesture at that moment. Other words which in the fully-affective version were given heightened emphasis (often working in combination with gesture) either by doubling of consonants or by using an almost imperceptible caesura before them were the words "*tendre", "l'ingratte", "changé", "chagrin",* and *"dévore".* The articulation on a more global level was altered by following the advice of Grimarest – using his instructions to speak rather than sing each syllable on a pitch produced a markedly less legato result in the fully-affective version in contrast to the concert version. On a physical level, when experimenting with this style of "spoken" song, I had frequently noted this same sensation.

The influence of the trigger-thought and my quest to make the ornamentation a function and expression of passion rather than merely a melodic device produced notable results in the fully-affective version. For example, on the first word of the piece, "*Iris",* Ballard notes the requirement for an ornament over the second syllable, which, as the final syllable of a masculine word and therefore a long syllable accords with Bacilly's view that such syllables need to be ornamented (table 5.1). The ornament that I felt would be natural here was a simple *coulé,* to evoke a languid sense of tenderness. In the fully-affective version (in which the beloved is the subject of Wonder and of trigger-thoughts evoking Love), this *coulé* is completely smooth and linked seamlessly to its adjacent notes. The atmosphere created during the opening in the fully-affective version is one that approaches tenderness. Brought about my trigger-thoughts evoking Love and enabled and supported in a bodily sense by the smooth hand and arm gesture in which I physically reach out to her, this rendition is to be contrasted with the same moment in the concert version, in which the invocation of the beloved merely sounds like a series of three, somewhat disjointed notes. Similar changes are noticeable on the *port de voix* on the word "*mille*" in line 2 – by thinking of the upward movement here as an intense sigh and imbuing it with the sense of longing associated with Love and Regret, the sonic result has been radically changed and the result is smooth and integrated with the surrounding notes.

In accordance with my discovery of the surprising prevalence of the *accent* and the combination of this ornament with a preceding *port de voix,* I was keen to experiment liberally with these in the fully-affective version. The ornaments on the words "*jamais"* (line 3)*, "changé"* (line 4)*, "point"* (line 6), "*hais"* (line 7), and "*crains"* (line 8) represent such moments of experimentation. At these moments, I approached the relevant ornaments as if they were emotive expressions in themselves rather than simply functions of pitch. Specifically, for example, I imagined the *port de voix* on "*point*" to be a moment when my confusion and Sorrow gives rise to the primal sound of a child "whingeing". I re-invigorated my feeling of Hatred and Anger at the appropriate moment to produce the *accent* on "*hais",* and what was to become the *port de voix* plus *accent on* "*crains"* started out as a function of the Fear and trembling that I was trying to imagine.

With Le Faucheur's instructions in mind, conjuring up a thought which was real and personal to me in order to experience a certain emotion in the hope of passing it on to my audience was my sole motivation. In attempting to keep my mind focused on the trigger-thought, changes in tempo and timing occurred which took the fully-affective version of the air a long way from the concert version. It was not until I fully committed to thinking of the trigger thoughts that these tempo disruptions showed themselves, however, and initially, the impulse to contain the affects within a more regular tempo was a strong one. Once I had turned my principal focus to the trigger-thoughts, however, and tried to sustain that thought throughout the phrase or line, keeping the tempo regular was then very difficult and felt like swimming against a strong current. The sense of tempo freedom that had characterised my declamations also, in my view, contributed to the difficulty I then had in maintaining regularity of tempo in the more "sung" versions. Tempo disruptions occurred on two levels: firstly, within a single emotional ambience, I was sometimes compelled to speed up or slow down. This is evident in line 3, "[*d*]*e n'aimer jamais qu'elle",* where I finish the cadence before the theorbist, and line 5, "[*d*]*ans le chagrin qui me dévore*", where I slow down at the end of that phrase. Similarly, in the iterations of "*où je crains",* the rhythm is notated in a very calm series of repeated crotchets and minims. In fact, this is one of the

most rhythmically calm and regular parts of the air. By using a sense of confusion and real physical Fear as my guiding thought, this phrase becomes anything but calm and regular; a sense of rhythmic trembling and a halting quality were produced by the trigger-thoughts.

Secondly, the tempo changes occur on a more macro level, when I move from one passion to another. These are perhaps more noticeable than the first type of tempo disturbance. In line 4, "[*c*]*ependant l'ingratte a changé",* I noted down that I had wanted to use that phrase as a turning point in which I shifted my imagination away from thinking of happier times with Iris to a contemplation of the new and sadder reality without her. The considerable time and effort involved in turning my thoughts in this direction is borne out by the marked slowing in tempo on "*cependant",* a word which for me signifies a turning point*.* It was similarly difficult to be punctual when starting the phrase "[*d*]*ans le chagrin qui me dévore"* for the same reason, and this phrase takes on the character more of a free section of recitative because of this tempo disruption.

In conclusion, by seeking to adopt the spirit of Le Faucheur's advice on the imagination, I developed a series of trigger-thoughts to encourage me to experience the passion which was being evoked in each line of poetry or phrase of music. By adopting this method, the affective message of each section in the fully-affective version was, in my view, more clearly defined in character, and better sustained throughout the phrase in question. It brought about significant changes in the body which critically impacted the voice, as described above.

7.4.5 The salon version – the findings of chapter 6 applied to the preparation process

As shown in chapter 6, the occasions which prompted song within worldly interaction were diverse and numerous. For practical reasons, I chose to experiment with a single representative example that seemed to most aptly allow comparisons to be drawn between this version and the previous two. There are of course many more versions and scenarios. In choosing a salon scenario, I wanted not only to re-imagine around me the sociable and refined performance context of a worldly gathering but to analyse from a very personal and subjective perspective the effect on the voice and the style of singing that was generated when I cast myself into this world. Chapter 6 demonstrated that concepts of *bienséance* and decorum affected worldly interaction, and now was the time to experiment with how they affected performance practice.

One of the major initial questions with which I was confronted was the extent to which (if any) a singer in the salon would have engaged with the sort of material presented in chapters 4 and 5. Given the mania for singing, would the non-professional simply have contented him- or herself with mastering rudimentary musical parameters such as note reading and rhythm and other elements found in primers such as the ones by Loulié and Berthet? To what extent were the "higher-level" instructions of Mersenne, Bacilly, and Grimarest imprinted on the artistic consciousness of the non-professional? Singing members of polite society would have been exposed to the highly-affective performances of *acteurs* on the lyric stage, but would they, subconsciously or consciously have been making the sort of analytical inquiry as to the passions as was set out above? Would the incarnation of the passions in their voice and gesture be their overriding performance imperative? I concluded that the answer, to at least part of this, was yes.

As set out at the end of chapter 5, amongst the nobility and bourgeoisie who cultivated their skills in singing and music, there was indeed a well-developed awareness of the passions and passionate representation. Bacilly and Mersenne both counselled young people to start their musical education early, in order to learn the passions (sections 2.2 and 5.3.2). Surely their comments were not directed only to youngsters destined to be the future generation of stage professionals. Certainly they were speaking, rather, to a wider pool of people who were interested in cultivating music for non-professional purposes. Learning the passions was a necessity, according to those theorists, for all young people. Rhetoric was taught (in a speech-based context) in the Jesuit colleges, and the art of persuasion was therefore part of a vocabulary with which young men, at least, were formally familiar from a young age. Secondly, Grimarest is voluble in his writing about the need for the listeners, in common with poets, composers, and performers, to know the passions (section 5.3.4) in order to be able to judge with discernment and be moved. Thirdly, throughout his work, Bacilly calls on singers to shun both overblown styles of representation and also bland inexpressive varieties. Singers, according to him, had to know the passions and convey them in the ways already discussed in chapter 6, creating a sort of affective veracity. Non-professional singing members of the nobility (such as those who sang the *airs sérieux* in the *Recueils)* were amongst his list of pupils and would thus have been exposed to and influenced by his views in their lessons, and they would have been exposed to this passionate mode of singing on the operatic stage. Finally, the conversation manuals which were reviewed in chapter 6 and which were considered models of real-life polite interactions almost exclusively portray conversations debating the passions, revealing a remarkable level of pre-occupation with the passions and the emotions.

However, in order to distance themselves from the negative image of stage professionals (section 2.7.3), passionate representation of the type carried out on the stage would have been modified. It would also have been modified by the prevailing codes of salon behaviour and shaped by the particular context in which the song arose. In the experimental, imaginary situation described below, which is drawn from the material described in chapter 6, I demonstrate and reflect on these modifications. In order more readily to compare a style of fully-affective performance with a decorous one, I chose to work on the same case-study air, "*Iris me paroissoit si tendre & si fidelle*". This salon rendition was produced without theorbo accompaniment to reflect the many such spontaneous instances of song in the literature. Bacilly, too, clearly envisages that the airs may have to be sung without accompaniment (section 3.10.4).

In the imagined scenario described below, a young woman is asked by her mother to sing some airs drawn from opera to entertain the mother's guests. (This is partly the scenario evoked in section 6.4, drawn from Scudéry's *Conversations morales*.) In effect, this scenario constitutes a miniature, formalised performance occasion and a micro-version of a concert. In this instance, the girl is not singing as a way of communicating a secret message, but perhaps as a way of filling a lull in the conversation, as described in chapter 6. The principal aim of this rendition is to please and entertain.

The rendition was produced sitting down in a room considerably smaller than the studio in which the concert and fully-affective versions were experimented with. My invisible listeners, all known to me, were seated around, reproducing the tight-knit seating arrangement similar to that in Vaumorière's frontispiece (see figure 6.3). I had direct eye

contact with them. I imagined that the air was one which I (as the woman in the scenario) had seen performed by a stage professional, within a stage or operatic work. The air had now crossed the threshold and entered my youthful and polite music-making sphere. Although aware of the dramatic passions contained within the text (identified in section 7.4.2), and seeking to emulate the passionate manner of singing that was so praised by Scudéry in *Clélie*, I did not seek to match the stage professional's degree of portrayal of these emotions. A good musical rendition was important, but it would have seemed affected to try too hard at this, and this was to be avoided. While seeking to conjure up the trigger-thought that would lead to an invocation of the passion, I felt bound not to engage in this task to too great an extent for fear of appearing self-absorbed and affected. I sought to rid myself of pretension and of too much care in evoking the passions, wishing to enter into the music in an enthusiastic but natural way while still obeying social protocols and maintaining a pleasant and gracious demeanour. Whilst I (as the young woman) had prepared the air in anticipation of being asked to sing, singing from memory would have given the impression of too studious a preparation. I used the beautifully ornamented *in-quarto Recueil,* as a prop, disguising the effort that I had made in advance to memorise the air.

Using this scenario as the point of departure, I produced the salon version of the case-study air**.**

7.4.6 The salon version – performance observations and conclusions

On reviewing the various versions associated with the salon scenario, I was struck by the subtle contrasts between my salon performance and, in particular, the fully-affective version. The conflict that existed between, on the one hand, the mental effort to produce a trigger-thought (and the tempo interruptions it brought about) that would evoke Hatred, Anger, and Sorrow and, on the other, remaining natural and congenial meant that the portrayal of these strong passions was significantly diluted in the salon setting. However, these moments were not entirely extinguished. In brief, at those moments when I wanted to express the Hatred and Anger that had played such a significant role in the fully-affective version, *bienséance* transformed them to a diluted, much more serene, and regulated format. Throughout my experiments with the representations of the passions and salon codes of behaviour, the passions of Love and Regret emerged as the dominant passions as they were the ones easiest to invoke in a non-affected way. The stronger passions played a role, but their representation was significantly watered down, and they became almost mild in their telling.

The gestures which had played a significant role in generating different vocal tone colours in the affective version were markedly modified and muted in the salon version. This accorded with Grimarest's advice to the salon reader, which in section 6.6 I concluded must serve as general advice for the salon performer. For example, in my experiments, I gave a small indicative impulse on the word "*qu'elle"* in line 3. In the fully-affective version, the gesture used on that word creates an accusatorial feel, whereas here, the more gentle impulse softens its contours. As had occurred in the fully-affective version but to a reduced extent here, at the word "[*c*]*ependant*", my hand had changed position from a supine to a more alert prone position in response to the great turning-point signalled by this word and in the music. This aided the change in tone colour signalled by the change in affects at this point,

but the difference was much less pronounced than in the affective version as the movement was softer. Unaided by larger hand and arm gestures on the "*gr"* in "*chagrin"* and the second syllable of "*dévore",* the "growling" effect spoken of by Bacilly and others was not as noticeable on the expressive consonants in these words. Likewise, owing to a lack of a percussive gesture on "*hais",* this word was not aggressive in its delivery, although some hissing on the "s" at the end of that word was inevitable. The heightened articulation was still present, but it was not as pronounced. I felt that the reduced articulation of consonants was prompted, too, by the close proximity of my salon listeners.

In contrast to the fully-affective version, by maintaining the salon face of conviviality required in polite conversion, the vocal apparatus changed. When smiling, the tongue rests in a high position, very slightly withdrawn from the back of the front lower teeth in a place similar to the position of the Italian "a" vowel. As a consequence of this smile, in the salon version, the vowels are, without exception, brighter. The darkness of the "a" vowel on the word "*ingratte"* in the fully-affective version, in particular, vanished. An equal if not more potent contributor to this change in vowel sound was not necessarily just the smile of the salon face, but my approach to passionate representation: as *bienséance* forbade me to fully evoke Despair, Sorrow, and Hatred for Iris, the mouth and lips did not droop in response, and thus the pronunciation and vocal colour remained brighter. A muted representation of the passion brought about a change in pronunciation, bearing out Bacilly's comment as to the close link between these two parameters (section 5.3.5.5).

No doubt caused by my care to reproduce the sense of cheerfulness which propriety demanded, in evoking a polite version of the passions and in contrast to the fully-affective version, my face did not contort when I sang of Hatred, Anger or Sorrow. In the affective version when the body was tense and rigid and the teeth were clenched in thinking of Hatred, for example, the vocal tone had reacted, producing a pinched and viperous sound in line 11. In the salon version, gesture in the arms was muted and posture remained relatively static. The shape and movement of the eyebrows and the degree of focus of the eyes felt like the most powerful expressive tool at my disposal - my eyes narrowed and brow furrowed on "[*j*]*e crois que je la hai*s", yet my mouth remained smiling. The eyes and eyebrow became a crucial means of expression, which accorded with the importance placed on them in historical writings on the passions: the pineal gland in the brain was considered the seat of the soul. The passions were affections of the soul, and the soul controlled the reactions of the body through the motions of the pineal gland, which influenced the flow of the animal spirits to the muscles. Being the nearest part of the body to the brain, the face was considered the most accurate index of the mind, and the eyebrows in particular. In my salon version, I had the impression that there was a constant battle between the competing pull of the eyes and eyebrows to express the passions on the one hand, and the mouth to remain pleasant and smiling. I felt that had I given in to the eyes, the mouth would have had to grimace and contort in sympathy, and that would have been considered indecorous and belonging to an overblown style of performance. The smiling mouth therefore won this battle, and the eyes and brow inevitably relaxed into a more neutral and bland position.

Beyond merely maintaining a friendly and open disposition, it has been shown that women made considerable effort to avoid grimacing; they sought to hold the mouth in a position which was as close as possible to its usual formation, and this corrupted pronunciation (section 6.6). As the imagined young girl, I experimented with this. As forewarned by Bacilly

in his criticism of this practice, by avoiding bringing the lips closer together to produce the feminine "e" sound on words such as "*fidelle", "tendre",* and *"elle",* my pronunciation is noticeably modified such that these words sound like "*fidellea", "tendrea"* and so on. Equally, in trying to keep the mouth position almost static as was the practice in polite society, the word "*dévore"* becomes "*dévarea*" and the word "*encore"* becomes "*encarea".* Extending Bacilly's comments and all the while attempting to refrain from moving the mouth too much for fear of grimacing, I felt less inclined to create percussive and aggressive consonants, particularly at the start of the words "*dévore", "fidelle", "changé", "point".* This felt like a form of singing ventriloquism, and on re-listening, the force of these expressive consonants was significantly diminished because of my attempts to maintain a pleasant and cheerful look.

I consciously avoided forming a policy in advance of the experiments as to how I would approach ornamentation. Ornaments needed to be an extension of the expression of affect, but I needed to avoid showiness and too serious a pre-occupation with conveying the passions. The ornaments in the salon and fully-affective version remained similar. In section 3.9, I addressed the *accent,* and noted that this ornament was found to be surprisingly prevalent in some airs in the *Recueils,* although it is not commonly heard today. While initially curious as to how my quest for modesty and *bienséance* would coexist with the immodest sound of the slight raising of the voice of the *accent,* this ornament felt apt rather than audacious in the salon context; without the expressive aid of full gesture and the grimacing faces of Hatred and Sorrow to call on, I was more reliant in the salon version on the voice and on the eyes, and the *accent* felt like a highly-evocative tool that was somehow a happy medium between blandness and affectation.

Just as the reduced gesture of this salon version brought about changes in expressive pronunciation, the fact of sitting down while singing was also telling in the vocal result. Attempting to maintain a noble seated posture meant that there was no element of drooping and sinking of the shoulders as had been the case in the fully-affective version, particularly in line 5. This made it harder to access the sombre sounds of the chest register on the low pitches in this line and created a much more regulated and mixed vocal result on words such as "*chagrin*" and "*dévore*". Sitting down, at imagined close proximity to my interlocutors, also naturally reduced volume.

Tempo changes were smoothed over in the salon version, too. As discussed above in relation to the fully-affective version, the time it took me to move to the new passion disrupted the tempo on several occasions. Since I felt it inappropriate to express the full power of negative passions such as Hatred (which Scudéry had advised should never be discussed or mentioned (see section 6.6)) or passions which would make my listeners too uncomfortable, such as Sorrow, the tempo became more regular as compared to the fully-affective version. Rhythmic changes occurred too, as a result of the watering-down of the passion. This was particularly noticeable in line 7 where the rapid fire of words "[*j*] *crois que je la hais"* which was evident in the fully-affective version was now smoothed over, transformed into a milder and less percussive rhythm. My efforts to remain pleasant and congenial meant that initial consonants were not noticeably doubled and, not being subjected to Bacilly's concept of "*gronder",* there was less "stretching" of timing even on a minute level – words were completed more punctually.

In conclusion, I reiterate that the salon version presented above is only one possible salon scenario. Other scenarios, particularly a version in which a singer uses the cloak of an *air sérieux* to berate or seduce the beloved, would have produced equally rich and no doubt slightly different results. However, from the example presented, we can already detect brighter vowels which are less diverse and more bland in the phonic palette, few expressively doubled consonants (at times the consonants are barely detectable), increased tempo regularity, and more serene and regulated vocal tone colours with no sombre tones and no shrill sounds redolent of the *accens* described in chapter 5 and appendix 6. These results were produced by an imagining of the passions and then a modification of them. In conclusion with the fully-affective version, these imaginings played out through the body, and I felt it was the body's reaction to the imagination itself that produced the vocal results.

Throughout the study trajectory, I had several opportunities to experiment with the salon versions in front of members of the public and I noted audience feedback and comments at the time. Although a complete scenic and costumed reconstruction was beyond the scope of this study, in my presentations throughout the study trajectory, I did, however, try to re-create simple seating scenarios that mimicked the close range at which conversation participants in the salon interacted. As demonstrated in chapter 2, physical factors relating to size and set-up of venue and occasion-specific elements of performance understandably produce unique and idiosyncratic performance practices. A singer in an opera, for instance, who is obliged to project both their voice and their dramatic gestures into the far-reaches of a large hall engages in an activity that will feel very different from that which a singer in a religious ceremony engages in. This will feel different again from the act of singing in a small, private, chamber setting. Interestingly, when I experimented in close range seating groups in a small room, the effect on volume, articulation, and expression was noticeably modified, whereas when these same close-range conversation circles were reconstructed within the space and acoustic of a large hall or church, it was felt that it was harder to tell the difference between the salon and the fully-affective version. That is, in the salon version carried out in large spaces, volume, articulation, and expression were not modified to the same, polite extent. The more the space resembled the proportions of the salon, the greater the influence on the singing. Singing style was brought about by imagining an adherence to decorous values but also shaped by physical setting.

7.5 Postscript

Three final thoughts occur as I conclude this study.

Particularly when experimenting with vocality and *bienséance*, I began to question what the study of this seemingly amateur vocal style has to offer the professional singer. Often, the vocal result was unpleasant and jarring. The question remains a difficult one. By unveiling the airs of the *Recueils* and opening a window onto salon practice, it was not my intention to create something ugly, nor was it my intention to artificially manufacture something beautiful, however. It was my aim to simply apply the instructions from the historical sources in order to re-create proper singing and then see how salon decorum would have modified this vocality. Albeit presenting a practice removed on some technical levels from what we might think of nowadays as "good" singing, my eyes have been opened to the rich multiplicity of performance practices, contexts, and the plurality of sounds which the brief airs in Ballard's collection generated.

Secondly, as a result of this project, I have been forced to confront the implications of my findings on my own mode of teaching this repertoire. The knowledge of the passions is essential. However specialised the skills involved, simply adding in stylistically-appropriate ornaments, observing correct syllabic quantity, mimicking a tone of voice, or choreographing and then super-imposing a series of bodily gestures onto a piece of music is an inadequate approach. These are not discrete elements and should not be treated as condiments which can be used to season food to make it taste more French. Throughout my experiments, I was struck by the extent to which all parameters and ingredients of singing were bound together at a minute level, reacting with each other in an almost kinetic fashion.

This interconnectedness between the parameters discussed in chapter 5 was most patent in the case of the fully-affective performance version and discussed in that section above, but it was also evident in the salon version; without the freedom to express the passion fully, the gesture was diluted, which created blander tone colours and register mixing, diluted the expressive pronunciation, and made the rhythm less brilliant and the tempo more regular.

The voice that continues to resonate in my mind, particularly in relation to the fully-affective mode of singing, is that of Le Faucheur, who highlighted the importance of the imagination. Throughout my practical experiments, his advice was, surprisingly, one of the most unifying and fundamental. By training the mind as he suggests to create vivid and personal representations to act as prompts for the evocation of the passion, the minutiae of the instructions of the French theorists reviewed for this study readily fell into place, without further need to super-impose elements of French “style” onto the voice. By working from the “inside out”, I am convinced that one could start to access the difficult but authentic path leading to a full evocation of the passions, an issue that so preoccupied the writers on singing in the seventeenth century.

And finally, the thought that often struck me in comparing the three versions discussed above is the extent to which the salon version, in which the *bienséance* discourse effectively generated a degree of affective distance, a lack of expressive pronunciation, and reduced vocal shading, resembled the modern concert version. Further studies could benefit by exploring the evolution of salon singing and vocal concert practices in the eighteenth century and the commonalities of these practices with today’s. I continue to wonder if the salon, considered by some as merely the world of musical amateurs and dilettantes, had in fact created and unwittingly bequeathed to us its own unique, “diluted” vocal style, making an indelible mark on our thinking and performance practice many hundreds of years later.

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Appendixes

Appendix 1: Composers of *airs sérieux* named in the *Recueils* published between 1695-1699

Composer	Number of *airs sérieux*	RASB (*year/month/page*)
M. Berthet or M. Bertet	32	1695/2/38, 1695/5/92, 1695/6/116, 1695/6/122, 1695/7/140, 1695/9/168, 1695/12/240, 1696/2/25, 1696/2/36, 1696/2/38, 1696/3/52, 1696/4/74, 1696/5/102, 1696/6/122, 1696/9/166, 1696/9/168, 1696/11/216, 1697/1/16, 1697/2/34, 1697/3/50, 1697/4/70, 1697/5/98, 1697/7/134, 1697/8/150, 1697/9/180, 1697/10/196, 1697/12/240, 1698/1/16, 1698/9/174, 1699/7/132, 1699/11/220, 1699/11/221
M., M. ***** or Monsieur ***** **	23	1695/5/90, 1695/5/98, 1695/7/134, 1695/8/150, 1695/8/151, 1695/9/166, 1695/11/210, 1696/1/20, 1696/2/41, 1696/4/78, 1696/5/86, 1696/5/98, 1696/5/99, 1696/6/114, 1696/7/126, 1696/7/138, 1696/7/139, 1696/8/158, 1696/9/180, 1696/11/218, 1696/11/219, 1697/4/66, 1699/5/100
M. Montéclair	14	1695/7/130, 1695/8/154, 1695/10/191, 1695/10/194, 1695/11/216, 1695/12/[226], 1696/2/31, 1696/3/62, 1696/5/94, 1696/6/120, 1696/9/177, 1697/4/74, 1697/6/107, 1697/9/178
M du Parc	14	1695/1/14, 1695/2/34, 1695/3/48, 1695/6/112, 1695/7/136, 1696/1/10, 1696/3/48, 1696/4/70 1697/4/80, 1698/9/176, 1698/11/212, 1698/12/234, 1699/4/80, 1699/5/90
M. Desfontaines	12	1695/3/60, 1695/9/172, 1695/10/198, 1696/3/54, 1697/4/76, 1697/9/170, 1697/9/171, 1697/10/186, 1697/11/208, 1697/12/226, 1698/1/7, 1698/1/12,
M. De La Barre	10	1695/9/180, 1695/11/218, 1696/5/90, 1696/8/150, 1696/9/170, 1696/9/171, 1696/11/212, 1697/1/8, 1697/2/30, 1697/6/108
M.L. or Monsieur L.	10	1695/1/6, 1695/1/20, 1695/2/26, 1695/3/45, 1695/3/56, 1695/4/66, 1695/7/126, 1695/10/188, 1695/11/206, 1695/12/226,
Monsieur Breuil or Monsieur du Breuil	9	1697/7/130, 1697/8/160, 1697/8/161, 1697/8/166, 1697/9/174, 1697/9/175, 1697/10/191, 1697/10/192, 1697/11/212
M. Montailly	9	1695/11/205, 1697/2/42, 1697/6/122, 1699/6/116, 1699/6/117, 1699/6/120, 1699/6/121, 1699/7/138, 1699/7/139
Monsieur Hubert	7	1696/10/202, 1697/1/4, 1697/1/4 (suite), 1697/3/56, 1699/5/89, 1699/5/104, 1699/7/136
Monsieur Rog. Or Rog* **	7	1695/11/212, 1695/11/213, 1696/2/26, 1696/5/92, 1696/6/106, 1697/5/96, 1697/5/97
M. D'Ambruis	6	1696/7/132, 1696/7/134, 1696/8/146, 1697/8/154, 1697/8/156, 1698/9/182
M. L'Affilard	6	1695/2/42, 1695/4/78, 1695/6/110, 1695/8/160, 1697/1/14, 1697/5/88
M. Le Camus	5	1695/2/30, 1695/5/86, 1695/6/115, 1695/9/177, 1697/2/26
Monsieur Desvoyes	5	1697/1/20, 1697/1/21, 1697/5/94, 1699/7/142, 1699/7/143
Monsieur Cappus	4	1699/10/188, 1699/10/192, 1699/11/210, 1699/12/240
M. Gillier	4	1695/4/74, 1695/10/185, 1696/3/46, 1696/5/88

Composer	Number of *airs sérieux*	RASB (*year/month/page*)
M.C. or Monsieur C	4	1695/3/52, 1695/3/53, 1696/2/40, 1696/3/57
M. Rebel	4	1695/8/145, 1695/8/146, 1696/1/6, 1696/8/162
M. Gervais	3	1695/12/232, 1696/2/28, 1699/8/148
M. Haron	3	1696/12/242, 1697/1/10, 1698/1/8
M. La Coste	3	1696/7/142, 1699/7/140, 1699/7/141
M. Regnault	3	1696/7/128, 1697/6/116, 1697/6/118
Monsieur Collet	3	1699/3/56, 1699/6/122, 1699/8/158
Monsieur D'Andrieux or D'Andrieu	3	1697/8/146, 1699/4/82, 1699/8/150
Monsieur de Saint Germain	3	1697/6/112, 1697/7/140, 1697/8/159
Monsieur Gautier or Monsieur Gautier de Marseille	3	1698/11/211, 1699/7/125, 1699/7/128
Monsieur M.D.L.T. or M. M.D.L.T.	3	1697/9/182, 1697/10/200, 1697/12/238
Monsieur Marchand	2	1697/5/86, 1697/3/60
M. B.	2	1695/3/62, 1695/4/82
M. Hardoüin	2	1695/1/17, 1699/12/232
Monsieur D*F or M. D*F****	2	1697/2/36, 1697/2/40
Monsieur Corneille	2	1696/4/71, 1699/7/144
M. Poucein de Lyon or Monsieur Poncein	2	1699/6/113, 1699/8/164
M. Roy**	2	1696/10/186, 1696/10/188
Charpentier	1	1695/8/156
M de Br.	1	1695/1/10
M. Berman	1	1695/9/182
M. Br.	1	1695/4/71
M. Campra, le Cadet	1	1698/6/122
M. Campra	1	1698/2/26
M. Carrier	1	1695/11/220
M. Corneille	1	1699/7/144
M. Lorenzani	1	1696/1/14
M. Renauld	1	1695/6/106
Mademoiselle ***	1	1696/1/17

Composer	Number of *airs sérieux*	RASB (*year/month/page*)
Mademoiselle Bataille	1	1699/11/224
Mademoiselle de ***	1	1695/4/81
Mademoiselle de Ville**	1	1699/12/236
Mademoiselle de Vilm…	1	1699/8/155
Mademoiselle Goguo.C**	1	1697/7/125
Monsieur A******	1	1695/10/202
Monsieur Bouteiller L'Aisné	1	1699/1/10
Monsieur Bro.	1	1697/5/102
Monsieur Coco	1	1697/7/126
Monsieur D	1	1696/11/206
Monsieur de Bousset	1	1698/9/188
Monsieur de Tartre	1	1699/8/162
Monsieur Dumont L'Aine	1	1699/10/201
Monsieur Duplessis	1	1699/11/216
Monsieur Euterpe	1	1696/2/34
Monsieur Heudeling	1	1698/12/230
Monsieur le Comte de L.R.	1	1699/7/130
Monsieur Martin	1	1696/6/118
Monsieur Pirroye	1	1699/11/222
Monsieur Royer	1	1699/12/228
Monsieur S****	1	1697/12/232
Monsieur Terrier	1	1699/5/94

Note: As per the approach adopted by Ballard, in compiling the above information, *doubles* have been considered as separate entities to their *simples*. It has been assumed, further, that *doubles* were composed by the same composer as the respective *simples.*

Appendix 2: Description of the passions

Passion	Description of the passion by the theorists
Love	Love is a commotion of the soul caused by a movement of the spirits that impels the soul to join itself to objects that appear to be agreeable to it (Descartes,[703] 79). Love is caused by thinking of something that is beneficial to us (Descartes, 56). One species of Love is Delight, which is Love of a beautiful thing (Descartes, 85). Love is stirred by the presence of a good thing (Lamy, [704] 145). Love can be transformed into Desire, when possession of the good thing is possible. Love can have various degrees and can be accompanied by Joy, Desire, or Sadness (Lamy, 145). Love is the most natural and easiest movement of the heart (Bretteville,[705] 326).
Hatred	Hatred is a commotion caused by the spirits impelling the soul to want to be separated from objects that appear harmful (Descartes, 79). Hatred is stirred by thinking of something that is bad or harmful to us (Descartes, 56). Hatred is always accompanied by Sorrow (Descartes, 140). Hatred is stirred by the presence of an evil thing (Lamy, 145). Hatred is the heart's aversion to evil (Bretteville, 343). Hatred, like Love, is stirred up in a moment without the heart having time to consult itself (Bretteville, 343). One species of Hatred is Indignation, which one has for those who do some evil when that evil is undeserved. It is often mingled with Pity (Descartes, 195) or joined to Sorrow (Descartes, 197).
Desire	Desire is stirred by the yearning for some future good, or yearning to avoid some future threatening evil, but also yearning for the preservation of a good and the absence of an evil (Descartes, 57, 86). The acquisition of the future good or the avoidance of some future evil must be possible (Descartes, 58, 166). Desire is the transformation of the Love and Joy one feels for a present object which is not yet possessed but when possession is possible (Lamy, 145). Desire is the movement of the soul towards an absent good (Bretteville, 348). Desire is caused by the spirits of the soul wanting things that it believes to be suitable. Desire can involve yearning for things that are absent which are suitable, but also the preservation of the good thing that is present (Le Brun,[706] 114-115).

[703] Descartes, *The Passions of the Soul*. Note: all further references in this table to "Descartes" are references to this work, and numbers refer to article numbers within this work.
[704] Lamy, *La rhétorique*, 1699. Note: all further references in this table to "Lamy" are references to this work, as are the page numbers.
[705] Bretteville, *L'éloquence de la chaire* Note: all further references in this table to "Bretteville" are references to this work, as are the page numbers.
[706] Le Brun, 'Conférence'. Note: all further references in this table to "Le Brun" are references to this work, as are the page numbers.

Passion	Description of the passion by the theorists
	Desire is the same as Love except that Love involves the present, and Desire looks to the future (Bretteville, 348). Desire is the most universal passion, but the most difficult to govern and regulate (Bretteville, 348). Desire is Love and Joy transformed (Lamy, 145). Desire which is caused by yearning for some good is accompanied by Love, then Hope and Joy (Descartes, 87). Desire to separate oneself from an evil is accompanied by Hatred, Fear, and Sadness (Descartes, 87)
Aversion	Aversion is the opposite of Desire and is the commotion of the soul that leads it to employ all its powers to avoid a looming evil (Descartes, 87). Aversion is the Hatred of an ugly thing (Descartes, 85).
Joy	Joy is stirred by the presence of a good thing (Lamy, 145). Joy is a pleasant commotion of the soul caused by the thought of a present good, when the good is one we regard as belonging to us (Descartes, 61). When the present good is represented to us as belonging to others, we may deem them deserving or undeserving of it. When we deem them deserving of it, it stirs up Joy in us. If we deem them as undeserving of it, it stirs up Envy (Descartes, 62). Joy can be transformed into Desire when possession of the good thing is possible. (Lamy, 145).
Sorrow	Sorrow is aroused by the presence of an evil thing (Lamy, 145). Sorrow is aroused by the thought of a present evil, when the evil is one we regard as belonging to us (Descartes, 61, 92). When the present evil is represented to us as belonging to others, we may deem them deserving or undeserving of it. When we deem them undeserving, it excites Pity. Envy, Pity, and Compassion are part of Sorrow (Descartes, 62). Sorrow always accompanies Hatred (Descartes, 140). Regret is a species of Sorrow, which arises from the recollection of a past good (Descartes, 67, 209).
Hope	Hope is stirred by there being a good chance of acquiring something we desire or avoiding some evil (Descartes, 58). Stirred by the presence of a good thing that is not yet possessed but when possession is possible (Lamy, 145). Stirred by an absent good that one has the possibility to obtain but is difficult to obtain (Bretteville, 376). Desire leads to Hope (Lamy, 145).
Despair	Despair is stirred by an evil that is not present but one sees no way of avoiding (Lamy, 145). Despair is the transformation from Fear (Lamy, 145). Despair is a violent and impetuous movement whereby the soul distances itself from something good that it cannot possess after having searched for it with ardour (Bretteville, 381). Anxiety comes about when there are poor chances of acquiring what is good or avoiding what is evil (Descartes, 58) and this becomes Despair when the anxiety is extreme (Descartes, 58).
Confidence	When Hope is extreme, it changes its nature to Confidence (Descartes, 58, 166). Referred to as “audacity” (*audace*) by Grimarest and Bary. Referred to as “boldness” (*hardiesse*) by Bretteville. Described as a passion of the soul which makes it attack evil or present danger in order to fight and conquer it (Bretteville, 389).

Passion	Description of the passion by the theorists
Fear	Fear is stirred by an evil that is not yet present (Lamy, 145) and the circumstances of which are uncertain (Bretteville, 407). Fear can also arise from the presence of an awesome thing (Bary,[707] 24-5). Fear is stirred when the likelihood of attaining what one deserves is small (Descartes, 58). Fear can be transformed into Despair (Lamy, 145 and Descartes, 58). Jealousy is a species of Fear (Descartes, 58).
Anger	Anger is a turbulent movement of the soul, which rises against the cause of evil and insult which it is experiencing, with a violent desire to take revenge (Bretteville, 416). Anger is aroused when others do something which is harmful to us (Descartes, 65). Anger is a species of Hatred which we have for those who have done some evil or harm or have tried to do some evil or harm to us in particular (Descartes, 199). Anger is linked to Indignation when the evil done by others is not directed towards us (Descartes, 65). Anger mixes with Indignation when the harm is directed at us (Descartes, 65). Anger can either be very sudden and obvious externally (which can be easily calmed and which does not spring from Hatred) or it can gnaw at the heart (which is not immediately noticeable). Hatred and Sorrow predominate in the latter (Descartes, 201-2).

[707] Bary, *Méthode*. Note: all further references in this table to "Bary" are references to this work, as are the page numbers.

Appendix 3: The modes and their energies

Mode	Marc-Antoine Charpentier[708]	J. Rousseau[709]	Charles Masson[710]	Jean-Philippe Rameau[711]
C major	Gay, martial	Gay, showing grandeur		Cheerfulness, rejoicing
C minor	Obscure, sad	Complaints, laments		Tenderness, laments
D major	Joyous, very martial	Gay, showing grandeur	Agreeable, joyous, showy, suitable for singing about victory	Cheerfulness, rejoicing, grand, and magnificent
D minor	Grave and devout	Seriousness	Undefinable gravity mixed with gaiety	Sweetness, tenderness
E major	Quarrelsome, grating			Tender and gay airs, grand and magnificent
E minor	Effeminate, amorous and plaintive	Tenderness		Sweetness, tenderness
Eb major	Cruel, harsh			
Eb minor	Horrible, frightful			
F major	Furious, hot-headed	Devoutness, suitable for church music	Naturally gay, mixed with gravity	Lugubrious airs, storm scenes, fury
F minor	Obscure, plaintive	Complaints, laments	Sad, lugubrious	Lugubrious airs, tenderness, laments
G major	Sweetly joyous	Tenderness	Gay and brilliant	Tender and gay airs
G minor	Serious and magnificent	Sadness	Full of sweetness, tenderness	Sweetness and tenderness
A major	Joyous and rustic	Devoutness, church music		Cheerfulness, rejoicing
A minor	Tender and plaintive	Seriousness	For a fervent prayer or petition	
Bb major	Magnificent and joyous			Storm scenes and the furies
Bb minor	Obscure and terrible			Lugubrious airs
B major	Harsh and plaintive			
B minor	Solitary and melancholy			Sweetness and tenderness

[708] Charpentier, *Règles de composition par M. Charpentier*
[709] Rousseau, *Méthode claire, certaine et facile*.
[710] Masson, *Nouveau traité*.
[711] Rameau, *Treatise on Harmony*.

Appendix 4: Melodic patterns as the artful imitation of French speech - Patricia Ranum's study

1. The melody of desire

Ranum's study[712] found that typically, melodies depicting longing or desire are ones that gently rise and fall (resembling in part the undulating melody of dispassionate, tranquil speech described below), abruptly break and are then followed by a curve with a deep dip which rises again. She found that the key idea of the statement usually occupies the lowest point in the dip and is emphasized by long syllables.

2. The melody of love or tenderness

Ranum's investigation of texts evoking love or tenderness found that generally, they are set to undulating melodies.[713] These undulating melodies, appropriately to a calm passion, are akin to the undulating melodies of tranquil speech but are at a higher pitch when love is expressed. Descending melismas (either notated melodically or constituted on a smaller level by ornamental appoggiaturas), which Ranum describes as "amorous pitch glides", are a feature of the melody of love or tenderness.

3. The emotional melodic leaps of joy and surprise

Melodies expressing joy were found by Ranum to typically be set quite high. They are segmented into components that do not necessarily coincide with speech rhythms.

Surprise, which often takes the form of an exclamation, is characterized by melodies which have a considerable pitch range and which include sudden rises or falls (often as much as a fifth or sixth). Melodies of surprise often conclude on a raised pitch, leaving the statement open-ended or showing that a response is required.

4. The melody of sadness, anguish and lament

According to Ranum, melodies expressing anguish are smooth, static, and almost flat, confined to a range of two or three intervals which are broken regularly by a sob-like note that rises a semitone or tone.[714]

Lamenting is conveyed by melodies similar to anguish but with a less restricted pitch range.[715]

5. The melody of threat or fear

[712] Ranum, *Harmonic Orator*, 401–4.
[713] Ranum, 405–7.
[714] Ranum, 412.
[715] Ranum, 414.

Melodies conveying fear have a very limited pitch range with restricted melodic movement. The flat melody of fear is sometimes also found in threatening commands or awed remarks.[716]

6. Dispassionate, tranquil speech – undulating melody

According to Ranum, everyday French speech adopts an undulating melody which is reflected in music when the melody rises as it nears the end of a word group and then curves down again as it articulates the start of the next group. Intervallic leaps are rare in such dispassionate, calm statements, and according to Ranum, when they occur, they are telling of either a passionate outburst or an imitative figure. In the examples of undulating melodic patterns cited by that author, the texts tell of tranquil events and objects, such as the charms of spring, nature, love, and indifference.[717] The undulating melodic pattern is depicted below:

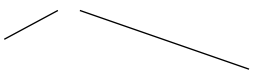
7. The melody of assertion - ascent and descent of the melody

Ranum finds that a melody which accompanies a text which makes a positive or negative assertion rises slowly then descends, usually to a level that is lower than the starting pitch,[718] and that this is reflective of the shape of an assertion in spoken French.[719]

In the poetic context, lines are of such brevity that the rise and fall of the assertive statement usually spans a couplet. According to Ranum, these assertions often sing of love, but are less placid than the undulating curves of dispassionate, tranquil speech.[720] Rather, they deal with the negative aspects of love, such as pain and pride.

An assertion which is an exclamation or command usually follows only one half of the melodic shape, that of descent. When the pitch in a command rises gradually, it suggests that the command may not be obeyed and it is less assertive than a descending exclamation or common.[721]

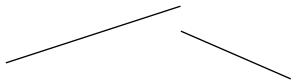
The melodic pattern of assertion is depicted below:



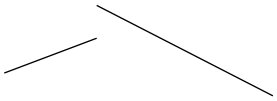
8. The melody of opposition – interrupted rise and fall

[716] Ranum, 420–22.
[717] Ranum, 374–76.
[718] Ranum, 376–77.
[719] Ranum, 377.
[720] Ranum, 378.
[721] Ranum, 380.

Ranum's study found that there is a correlation between expressions of contrasting concepts and an interruption in the melody.[722] This interruption was found to occur approximately mid-statement and is constituted either by a drop in pitch or an abrupt upward leap, with the latter being found to be more common. An interrupted melodic curve was found to be characteristic of inverted statements where the subject or principal clause comes at the end.[723] The corresponding melodic patterns used to express opposition are drawn below:



or



[722] Ranum, 381.
[723] Ranum, 383.

Appendix 5: Ornaments suitable for the depiction of the various affects

Affect	Ornament or other device	Further comments	Theorist
Doleful expressions of sadness, grief. Tender expressions. Mournful, plaintive expressions. Suffering.	*Accent/Aspiration*	According to Bacilly, it should not be confined to plaintive expressions, however. This ornament should not be used in gay airs, nor to express anger, according to Montéclair and Raparlier	Bacilly[724] (201) Montéclair[725] (80) Raparlier[726] (20)
Doleful expressions of sadness, grief. Tender expressions. Bitterness.	*Plainte*	Based on the *accent*/*aspiration*, but with more emphasis on the elevated note, which is repeated.	Bacilly (192, 201)
Doleful expressions of sadness, grief. Tender expressions.	Certain *langeurs* in a descending pattern (Bacilly) or *coulés* (Montéclair), formed by moving the voice from one long note to another very lightly.	Bacilly's description of the *langeur* makes this ornament akin to the *tierce coulé* of Montéclair	Bacilly (201)
Doleful expressions of sadness, grief. Tender expressions.	*Tremblement étouffé*		Bacilly (201)
Doleful expressions of sadness, grief. Tender expressions.	*Tremblement* with a very slow cadence		Bacilly (201)
Languorous and plaintive airs	Slow *cadence* or alternation of notes		Montéclair (81)
Doleful expressions of sadness, grief. Tender expressions.	*Demi-port de voix*		Bacilly (201)
Doleful expressions of sadness, grief. Tender expressions.	Pronunciation involving the sustaining of initial consonants, known as *gronder*		Bacilly (201)
Doleful expressions of sadness, grief. Tender expressions.	Sustaining of final note		Bacilly (201)
A groan, the most acute suffering, greatest sadness, for laments, tender melodies, for anger, contentment, and joy.	*Sanglot*	Almost always used on the first syllable of "*hélas*", and on the exclamations "*ah!*", "*eh!*", "*ô!*".	Montéclair (89-90) Raparlier (28)

[724] Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses*. Note: all further references in this table to "Bacilly" are references to this work, as are the bracketed page numbers.
[725] Montéclair, *Principes*. Note: all further references in this table to "Montéclair" are references to this work, as are the bracketed page numbers.
[726] Raparlier, *Principes de musique*. Note: all further references in this table to "Raparlier" are references to this work, as are the bracketed page numbers.

Affect	Ornament or other device	Further comments	Theorist
***Chants pathétiques* (songs in which the passions are moved)**	*Chûte*		Raparlier (21)
To be used in tender airs	*Tremblement doublé* or *double cadence*	Montéclair notes that *tremblements doublés* are often marked in as diminutions in *doubles* (84).	Montéclair (84) Raparlier (23)
Moments requiring passionate expression	"Throat" *tremblement*		Bacilly (184)
Serious, light, or gay airs	Lively and light *cadence* or alternation of notes		Montéclair (81)
Gay or joyful expressions	*Doublement de gosier*		Bacilly (202-203)
Brilliance, fire and vigour	Fast *cadence* or alternation of notes		Bacilly (166)
Lack of sweetness	*Tremblement*		Bacilly (174)
Less lack of sweetness	*Tremblement* with a *liaison* to "soften" the effect		Bacilly (174)
Sweetness	*Coulé*	According to Montéclair, a *coulé* will sweeten a melody by making it more smooth. According to Raparlier, it is never to be used when words express anger or the movement is fast.	Montéclair (78) Raparlier (19)

Appendix 6: Affects and *accent* or tone of voice

	***Accent* or tone of voice required to depict the various affects**							
Affect	**Marin Mersenne[727]**	**Michel Le Faucheur[728]**	**René Bary[729]**	**Etienne Dubois de Bretteville[730]**	**Bernard Lamy[731]**	**A. Phérotée de la Croix[732]**	**Jean-Léonor Le Gallois Grimarest[733]**	**Jean-Antoine Bérard[734]**
Love	Swift, lively, gay, laughing, agreeable (368)	Soft, happy attractive (114)	Caressing, gay, plaintive voice (*Méthode,* 8)	Gentle and agreeable tone (471)				Gentle and clear (74)
Love, sweetness of							Flattering and tender (136)	
Love, joy of							Gay (136)	
Love, suffering because of							Insistent and plaintive (136)	
Hatred	Violence, approaching indignation (369)	Rough, severe, indignation and loathing (114)		Rough and severe (471)			Rough, severe, lacking in pity, growling reproaching, thundering, roaring, firm and hard (137)	
Desire	Gay, laughing,							

[727] All references to Mersenne in this table are from *Harmonie universelle*, IV, vi, part 2. Bracketed numbers in this table refer to the page numbers of the relevant treatise, unless stated otherwise.
[728] Le Faucheur, *Traitté*.
[729] Bracketed numbers in this table refer to the page numbers of either Bary, *La rhétorique françoise*; or Bary, *Méthode*, as indicated.
[730] Bretteville, *L'éloquence de la chaire*.
[731] Lamy, *La rhétorique*, 1678.
[732] La Croix, *Nouvelle méthode*.
[733] Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*.
[734] Bérard, *L'art du chant*.

***Accent* or tone of voice required to depict the various affects**

Affect	Marin Mersenne[727]	Michel Le Faucheur[728]	René Bary[729]	Etienne Dubois de Bretteville[730]	Bernard Lamy[731]	A. Phérotée de la Croix[732]	Jean-Léonor Le Gallois Grimarest[733]	Jean-Antoine Bérard[734]
	agreeable (369). One of the elements of joy (368)							
Desire, violent, emanating from love			Tender yet pressing tone (*Méthode,* 13)				Tender but urgent (139)	
Desire, violent, emanating from resistance			A tone of spite and anger (*Méthode,* 13)				Anger and vexation (139)	
Desire moderate			Weak voice (*Méthode,* 13-14)				Weak voice (140)	
Desire, languishing			Gentle and interrupted voice (*Méthode,* 14)				Gentle and interrupted (141)	
Avoidance	Linked to Fear (369)						Semi-rough/harsh voice, opposite of Desire (141)	
Joy	Swift, lively, gay, laughing, agreeable (368, 369). Made up of Desire and Love (368)	Full, happy, mellifluous (114)	Gentle, mellifluous (*La rhétorique françoise,* 109), full (*Méthode,* 19)	Full and mellifluous (471)			Soft, full, easy (142)	Sweet and clear (75)

***Accent* or tone of voice required to depict the various affects**

Affect	Marin Mersenne[727]	Michel Le Faucheur[728]	René Bary[729]	Etienne Dubois de Bretteville[730]	Bernard Lamy[731]	A. Phérotée de la Croix[732]	Jean-Léonor Le Gallois Grimarest[733]	Jean-Antoine Bérard[734]
Sorrow	Slow, gloomy, regrettable (369)	Sad and plaintive voice (109), muffled, languishing, plaintive voice, with sighs and moans (114), plaintive and grim (121)	Gentle, slow, lamenting (*La rhétorique françoise,* 109), weak, dragging, plaintive (*Méthode*, 20)	Languishing, fearful, often interrupted by sighs and moans (471)	Languishing (174)	Languishing (654)	Weak, drawling and plaintive with volume moderated according to the listener (142)	Solid, sombre, extremely sombre (71, 75)
Hope or confidence	Gay, laughing, agreeable (369). Requires same tone as joy (369)	High and firm (114)	Haughty and ringing tone (*Méthode*, 20)	High and firm (471)			Loud and ringing voice (143)	
Despair	Slow, gloomy, regrettable (369)		Exclamatory, shrill, precipitous (*Méthode,* 79)				Exclamation, high and abrupt/hurried, exaggerated/outraged and violent (144)	Solid and sombre (70)
Audacity	Gay, laughing, agreeable. Linked to Hope (369)						Impetuous/forceful and lofty (145)	
Fear	Linked to Avoidance (369)	Trembling, hesitant (114)	Weak and hesitant (*Méthode,* 24)	Trembling, hesitant, sometimes a rupture in the voice,			Weak and hesitant (146)	

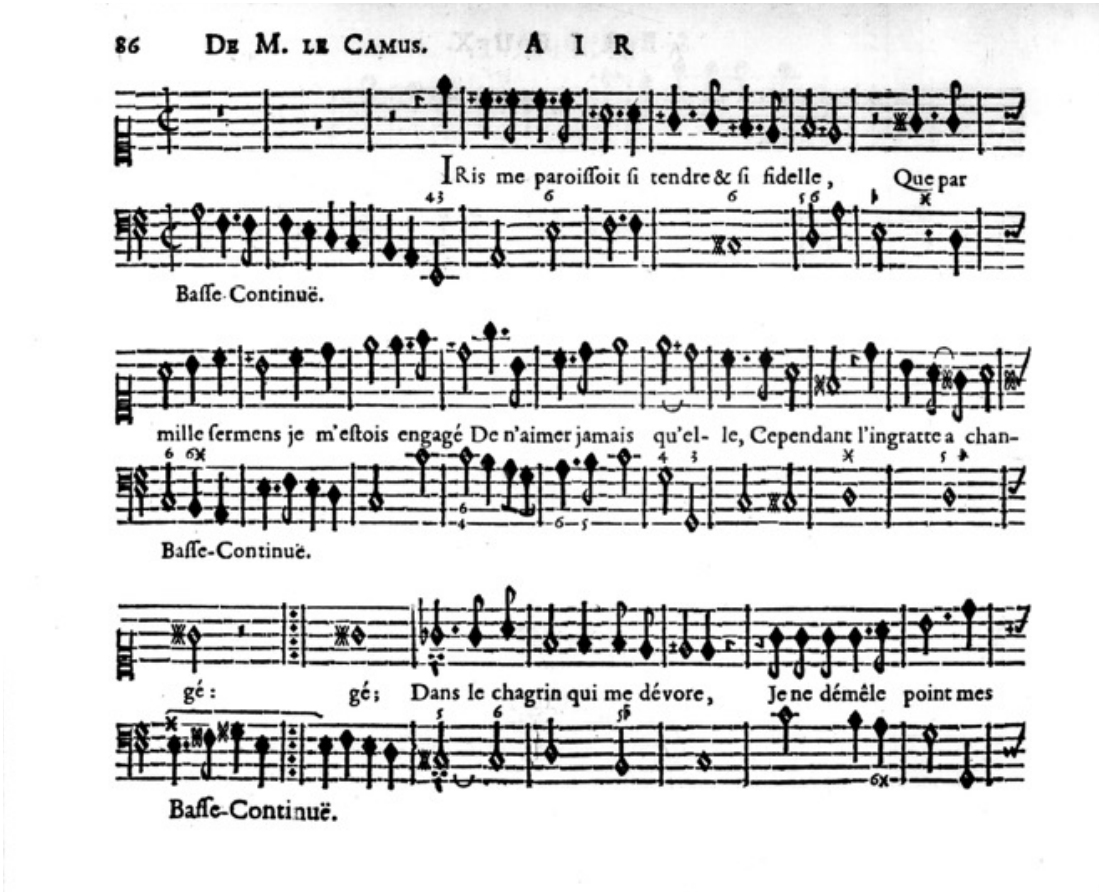
***Accent* or tone of voice required to depict the various affects**

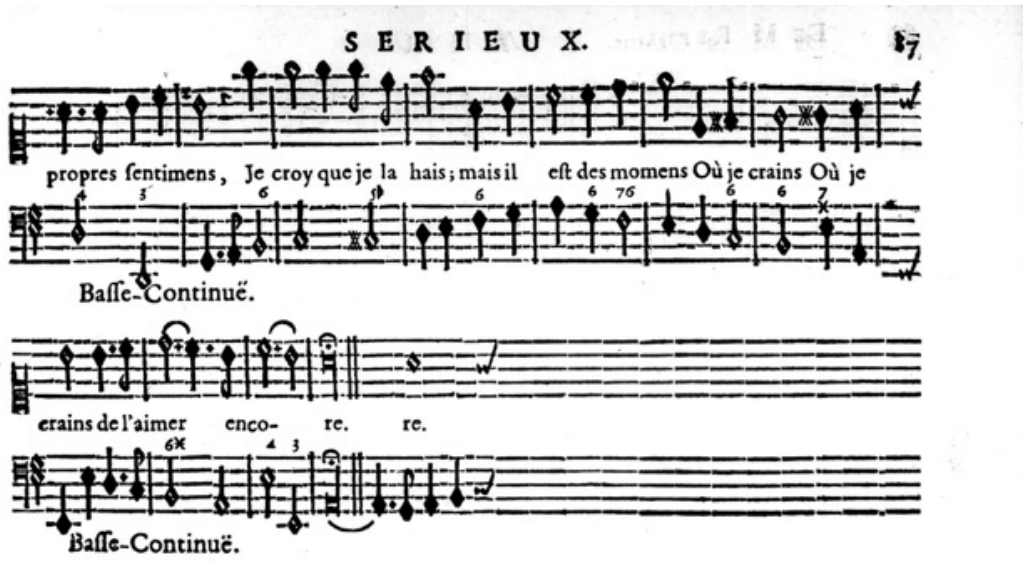
Affect	Marin Mersenne[727]	Michel Le Faucheur[728]	René Bary[729]	Etienne Dubois de Bretteville[730]	Bernard Lamy[731]	A. Phérotée de la Croix[732]	Jean-Léonor Le Gallois Grimarest[733]	Jean-Antoine Bérard[734]
				marking surprise (471)				
Envy							Assured tone (147)	
Jealousy							Bold and daring (147)	Solid and sombre (70)
Indignation							Firm and rough (149)	
Compassion		Mild, plaintive (117)	Exclamatory languishing (*La rhétorique françoise,* 109)	Soft, plaintive voice, full of tenderness (471)				
Compassion, having encountered misery							Sad but full (149)	
Compassion, having encountered injustice							Loud (150)	
Compassion, causing tenderness							Sweet and touching (151)	
Anger, simple, immediate and reactive	Vehement, elevated tone, quicker on last syllable (370)	Shrill, impetuous, violent, with frequent breaths (114, 115)	Rough, shrill, interrupted (*La rhétorique françoise,* 109)	Shrill, impetuous, violent with frequent breaths (471)			Raised voice (152)	Solid and sombre (70)
Anger, experienced by an inferior							Loud murmuring (153)	
Anger, coupled with a desire for vengeance							Brilliant and sudden (154)	

***Accent* or tone of voice required to depict the various affects**

Affect	Marin Mersenne[727]	Michel Le Faucheur[728]	René Bary[729]	Etienne Dubois de Bretteville[730]	Bernard Lamy[731]	A. Phérotée de la Croix[732]	Jean-Léonor Le Gallois Grimarest[733]	Jean-Antoine Bérard[734]
Anger, threatening							Moved and medium high voice (154)	
Admiration		Full and high voice, full of happiness, esteem and admiration (108), elevated, magnificent (122)		Elevated and magnificent tone (472)				
Contempt		Disdain, with no emotion or contention in the voice (125)		Disdain, with no emotion or contention in the voice (472)				
Physical pain		Elevated voice, full of vehemence and ardour (129)		Elevated voice, full of vehemence and ardour (472)		Short and interrupted (466)		

Appendix 7: Score of "*Iris me paroissoit si tendre & si fidelle*" - RASB 1695/5/86





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Summary

This dissertation examines the *airs sérieux* contained within the *Recueils d'airs serieux et a boire de differents autheurs* published by the Ballard printing house in Paris between 1695 and 1699 inclusive. Inspired by the performer's desire to uncover and to sing this previously neglected yet rich and diverse repertoire, the present study was equally propelled by the researcher's instinct to investigate the vocal performance practice associated with it. Previous academic writings in this field showed that the *airs sérieux* of the type published in the *Recueils* were sung in a variety of fora, notably the seventeenth-century Parisian salon. The vocal practice associated with this sociable institution and its polite modes of conversation and interaction therefore represent the principal focus of this study. In its examination of the nuanced style of singing that was unique to these worldly gatherings, the present study seeks to unveil a *politesse du chant*.

The dissertation consists of the following chapters:

Chapter 1 presents an overview of the study, the artistic motivation behind this project, previous academic work undertaken in this field, and the research questions which were the signposts throughout the trajectory.

In chapter 2, I describe the various performance contexts associated with the singing of *airs sérieux* and provide historiographical evidence as to the protagonists who typically sang this miniature genre. Evidence is presented linking the *airs sérieux* in the 1695-1699 *Recueils* to repertoire for the lyric and dramatic stage, and it was observed that brief solo airs with continuo accompaniment of the type found in the *Recueils* also made frequent appearances in stage works. The salon as performance locus is introduced, and the concept of "cross-pollination" of performance practice is discussed; the publication in the *Recueils* of airs from operatic and theatrical works effectively made these vocal pieces available to the cultured salon participant, and this chapter describes how performance modes and personnel intermingled in that refined environment.

Chapter 3 examines the *airs sérieux* from a musical point of view and from this, I build up a picture of the likely singing public and their vocal capabilities. By investigating the 1695-1699 *Recueils* as physical objects and discussing the printing and editorial choices made by Ballard, I situate the *airs sérieux* within their sociable performance context.

A review of the seventeenth-century theoretical writings on aesthetics and singing revealed that the ideal model was one which was richer in affective expression than we know today. Poets and composers made use of codified textual and compositional devices in order to weave emotional expression into their creations, which the performer was then tasked with incarnating in his or her voice and gesture. For all involved in the creative, performance and listening processes, knowledge of the passions was essential. Chapter 4 sets out in detail the compositional and poetic devices which were the vehicles of affective representation, providing the reader with a set of clues as to how to decipher the passions encoded within a texted piece of music.

Closely linked to this information is the material presented in chapter 5. In that chapter, I examine seventeenth-century historical sources on vocality in order to re-create from first principles an historically-accurate concept of singing well or (in the words of Bacilly) *l'art de bien chanter.* The purpose of this exercise was to form an artistic launch-pad, from which to explore how this ideal model was then transformed and adapted in the salon.

Chapter 6 presents a panorama of literary accounts and seventeenth-century etiquette and conversation manuals, painting a detailed picture of the immediate sociable and conversational context in which people broke into song. Drawing on Castiglione's writings about the ideal courtier, the concepts of *politesse, honnêteté,* and *bienséance* are introduced, and the end of that chapter describes how these values left their mark on vocal practice.

The final chapter synthesises all of the above material. Using an air from the 1695 *Recueil* as a case-study and positioned from the subjective perspective of the performer-researcher, I describe and comment on my singing of three versions of this one air: the "concert version", the "fully-affective version", and the "salon version". The concert version is used as a base-case scenario, against which the fully-affective version and the salon version are compared and contrasted. The air is submitted to an affective analysis using the parameters outlined in chapter 4 in order to examine the passions encoded within its text and music. In doing so, personal observations are made as to the usefulness or otherwise of the theoretical and modern writings which address these parameters. By applying the material set out in chapter 5 as strictly as possible, I describe and comment on a fully-affective version of the air, and make observations as to what is happening at the inter-connected levels of the imagination, the body, and the voice. Using the material examined in chapter 6, I then consider the interwoven theoretical values of decorum, modesty, and *politesse* and apply these to the case-study air. The reactions of my voice and body generate a practical, singer's perspective on how this all-important code of behaviour modified the instructions of the theorists who wrote about singing.

The dissertation closes with a personal reflection on avenues for future potential research, the way in which this study has changed my perspective on teaching French baroque vocal repertoire, and possible connections between salon modes of vocality and current modes of concert performance practice.

Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift onderzoekt de *airs sérieux* in de *Recueils d'airs serieux et à boire de differents autheurs*, zoals gepubliceerd door drukkerij Ballard in Parijs van 1695 tot en met 1699.
Als uitvoerend musicus werd ik geïnspireerd door de wens dit tot nu toe verwaarloosde maar rijke en zeer gevarieerde repertoire bloot te leggen en te gaan zingen. Maar dit onderzoek werd eveneens gedreven door mijn instinctieve ideeën de gerelateerde vocale uitvoeringspraktijk aan nader onderzoek te willen onderwerpen.
Bestaande academische publicaties over dit onderwerp toonden aan dat de *airs sérieux* uit de *Recueils* in een grote verscheidenheid van gelegenheden werden gezongen, en wel in het bijzonder in de Parijse *salons* in de 17^{e} eeuw. De vocale praktijk, die men kan relateren aan

dit ‘gezelligheidsinstituut’ en de daar gebezigde beleefde wijze van converseren en ontmoeten, vormde de belangrijkste focus in dit onderzoek, dat zich daarbij richtte op de voor deze bijeenkomsten unieke zangstijl: het onderzoek heeft getracht een zekere *politesse du chant* te ontrafelen.

Het proefschrift heeft de volgende hoofdstukken.

Hoofdstuk 1 opent met een overzicht van het onderzoek, de artistieke motivatie voor dit project, eerder gedaan onderzoek in dit domein en de onderzoeksvragen die de loop van het traject hebben bepaald.

Hoofdstuk 2 beschrijft de diverse contexten waarin het zingen van de *airs sérieux* plaatsvond; het presenteert historiografische bewijzen betreffende de protagonisten die dit kleinschalige repertoire ten gehore brachten. Er wordt verder bewijs geleverd dat de *airs sérieux* in de genoemde bundels koppelt aan het opera- en muziektheaterrepertoire. Ik zag ook dat korte solo-aria’s met basso continuo, zoals aanwezig in de *Recueils* regelmatig hun weg vonden naar het operatheater. Vervolgens wordt de *salon* als uitvoeringsplek geïntroduceerd, terwijl ook het concept van deze ‘cross-pollination’ in de uitvoeringspraktijk wordt besproken. De publicatie van opera-arias in de *Recueils* maakte in dit verband deze stukken toegankelijk voor de cultureel goed geïnformeerde deelnemers aan de *salons*. Dit hoofdstuk beschrijft hoe diverse uitvoeringswijzen en de musici zich in deze fijnzinnige omgeving wisten te vermengen.

Hoofdstuk 3 onderzoekt de *airs sérieux* vanuit het muzikale blikveld en van daaruit probeer ik een beeld te schetsen van wie er in de *salons* zongen en wat hun vocale capaciteiten waren. Ik onderzoek de *Recueils* uit de periode 1695-1699 als fysieke objecten en bespreek de keuzes die Ballard maakte op het gebied van drukken, bezorging en editing. Zo plaats ik de *airs sérieux* in de sociale context van hun uitvoeringspraktijk.

Een overzicht van 17e-eeuwse theoretische geschriften over esthetica in relatie tot de zangkunst onthult ons dat het ideale model er een was dat met betrekking tot de affectieve uitdrukkingskracht rijker was dan hoe we daar nu geneigd en gewend zijn over te denken. Dichters en componisten maakten gebruik van gecodificeerde tekstuele en compositorische formules en constructen om emotionele expressie in hun scheppend werk aan te brengen; de uitvoerende musicus heeft vervolgens de taak om dit alles met zijn/haar stem en gebarentaal te internaliseren en tot uitdrukking te brengen. Voor iedereen die betrokken is bij creatieve uitvoerende en waarnemingsprocessen is kennis van deze hartstochten, c.q. de passies, essentieel.

Hoofdstuk 4 behandelt zeer gedetailleerd de compositorische en poëtische modellen die als drager kunnen functioneren om affectieve elementen tot uitdrukking te brengen. Daardoor verschaffen ze de lezer een aantal handvatten om de passies die zich gecodeerd in een compositie-op-tekst bevinden als het ware te ontcijferen.

In Hoofdstuk 5 onderzoek ik 17e-eeuwse bronnen over 'vocaliteit', teneinde een historisch accuraat concept van 'juist zingen' te herscheppen. Of - zoals Bacilly dit formuleert - *l' art de bien chanter*. Het doel van deze operatie was een artistiek glijpad te construeren waarop ontdekt kon worden hoe dit ideale model zich in de *salon* transformeerde en aanpaste.

Hoofdstuk 6 presenteert een overzicht van relevante literaire teksten en 17e-eeuwse handleidingen op het terrein van de etiquette en van hoe te converseren; ze schilderen een gedetailleerd beeld van de omgangs- en conversatievormen waarin het spreken vaak snel overging in zingen. Ik gebruik de geschriften van Castiglione over de ideale hoveling om de begrippen *politesse*, *honnêteté* en *bienséance* te introduceren.
Aan het einde van het hoofdstuk beschrijf ik hoe deze waarden hun stempel drukken op de vocale praktijk.

Het slothoofdstuk brengt al het materiaal uit het bovenstaande tezamen. Ik gebruik een aria in een *Recueil* uit 1695 als 'case-study'. Vanuit het subjectieve perspectief van de musicus/onderzoeker beschrijf ik mijn uitvoering van drie versies van deze ene aria, en ik geef er commentaar op: er is een **concertversie**, een volledig **'gemaakte' versie** (met 'affecten') en een **salonversie**. De concertversie is een soort basisscenario, waarmee de beide andere versies worden vergeleken en waartegen ze in perspectief worden geplaatst. De aria wordt geanalyseerd op de 'affecten', waarop de uitvoering is gebaseerd, met gebruikmaking van de parameters die in hoofdstuk 4 zijn geschetst. Met dit materiaal in de hand konden de 'passies' die in tekst en muziek zijn opgenomen, worden onderzocht. Hierbij werden persoonlijke waarnemingen gedaan over het nut of over andere bevindingen vanuit de theoretische en actuele geschriften en literatuur, die zich richten op genoemde parameters.
Door het materiaal, zoals in hoofdstuk 5 beschreven, zo strikt mogelijk toe te passen, beschrijf en becommentarieer ik de versie van de aria waarin alle 'affecten' zo volledig mogelijk tot hun recht komen. Ook observeer ik wat er gebeurt op het niveau waarop verbeelding(skracht), het lichaam en de stem zich met elkaar verbinden. Gebruikmakend van het materiaal uit hoofdstuk 6, beschouw ik vervolgens de met elkaar verweven theoretische elementen en waarden: decorum, bescheidenheid en *politesse*. Ik pas ze vervolgens toe op de aria die als case-study is gebruikt.

De reacties van mijn stem en mijn lichaam produceren daarbij vanuit het perspectief van de zanger reflecties over hoe ik – vanwege de belangrijke elementen van de gekozen gedragscode – de instructies van de theoretici die over het zingen hebben geschreven, heb moeten aanpassen.

Het proefschrift eindigt met enkele persoonlijke gedachten over onderwerpen voor verder onderzoek in de toekomst. Maar ook over de wijze waarop dit onderzoek mijn visie op het lesgeven over het Franse repertoire uit de barok heeft veranderd. Dat geldt ook voor de mogelijkheid verbindingen aan te brengen tussen het zingen in de *salons* en de gebruikelijke, standaard-uitvoeringspraktijk van de oude muziek.

Curriculum vitae

Soprano Elizabeth Dobbin started piano and music theory lessons at the age of five in her native Australia, and has been involved with music ever since. After graduating from the University of Sydney with a Bachelor of Arts and a first-class honours degree in Law, Elizabeth initially worked in the field of corporate and finance law in Sydney and London while working professionally as a freelance singer. A keen interest in early music drew her to pursue postgraduate studies at the Royal Conservatory, The Hague. There she studied with Rita Dams, Jill Feldman, Marius van Altena, and Michael Chance, and graduated with a Master's degree in early music singing in 2008. Elizabeth co-founded the baroque ensemble, *Le Jardin Secret*, with whom she won the first prize and audience prize at the Early Music Network International Young Artists' Competition in York, England. She has recorded several critically-acclaimed CDs with the group and recently released a new recording for Fuga Libera of the *airs sérieux* of Jean-Baptiste de Bousset (1662-1725), marking the re-discovery and modern premier of these works. Elizabeth has performed as a soloist and in chamber and choral formations across Europe. Recent solo highlights include an artistic residency at the Trigonale Early Music Festival, performances at the Festival van Vlaanderen, the Resonanzen Festival, the Arolser Barock Festspiele, the Lufthansa Baroque Festival, the London Handel Festival, the York Early Music Festival, the Brighton Early Music Festival, live broadcasts for the BBC and a tour of Spain with *Le Jardin Secret*. She has recorded for Coro, Alpha, Pentatone, Aliud, O.R.F. and Fuga Libera. Elizabeth is a keen educator, and has taught masterclasses in the UK and Europe. She is currently head of the Early Music Department at the Haute École de Musique, Genève.