Abbreviations

Bonfils 1974   Bonfils, Jean, ed. *Livre d'orgue attribué à J.N. Geoffroy*, Le Pupitre: no. 53. Paris: Heugel, 1974.

Chung 1997   Chung, David. "Keyboard Arrangements and Their Significance for French Harpsichord Music." 2 vols. PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1997.

Chung 2004   Chung, David, ed. *Jean-Baptiste Lully: 27 brani d'opera transcritti per tastiera nei secc. XVII e XVIII.* Bologna: UT Orpheus Edizioni, 2004.

Gilbert 1975   Gilbert, Kenneth, ed. *Jean-Henry d'Anglebert, Pièces de clavecin*, Le Pupitre: no. 54. Paris: Heugel, 1975.

Gustafson 1979   Gustafson, Bruce. *French Harpsichord Music of the 17th Century: A Thematic Catalog of the Sources with Commentary*. 3 vols. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979.

Gustafson 2007   Gustafson, Bruce. *Chambonnières: A Thematic Catalogue—The Complete Works of Jacques Champion de Chambonnières (1601/02–72)*, JSCM Instrumenta 1, 2007, r/2011. (http://sscm-jscm.org/instrumenta_01).

Gustafson-Fuller 1990   Gustafson, Bruce and David Fuller. *A Catalogue of French Harpsichord Music 1699-1780*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

Harris 2009   Harris, C. David, ed. *Jean Henry D'Anglebert: The Collected Works*. New York: The Broude Trust, 2009.

Howell 1963   Howell, Almonte Charles Jr., ed. *Nine Seventeenth-Century Organ Transcriptions from the Operas of Lully*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1963.

LWV   Schneider, Herbert. *Chronologisch-Thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Werke von Jean-Baptiste Lull*y. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1981.

INTRODUCTION

The seventeenth-century French harpsichord repertory abounds with pieces derived from Lully's stage music. This is not a complete surprise, as French harpsichordists had been adept at extracting pieces from other genres since Pierre Attaingnant's transcription of vocal and dance pieces (1531), which represents the earliest record of this practice in print.[1] What is striking, however, is the unparalleled zest and energy that they apparently invested in Lully's stage music from about the 1660s.[2] To date, as many as 500 pieces from over 50 sources survive, covering a wide geographical area in Europe and a period of activity of more than 60 years.[3] The numbers alone are telling of the lasting appeal of Lully's music among keyboard players in both France and Francophile regions. However, apart from D'Anglebert's *Pieces de clavecin* (1689), the only such pieces published at the time, this repertory soon fell into obscurity. Until recently, in fact, the unpublished repertory has remained uncataloged at the various archives in which it has been preserved.

The modern revival of this music took a major step forward with the publication of two major catalogs of French harpsichord music. The first was of seventeenth-century music, released in 1979 by Bruce Gustafson, and the second was of eighteenth-century pieces, brought out jointly in 1990 by Gustafson and David Fuller, with an appendix listing significant additions and revisions to the seventeenth-century repertory.[4] For the first time, a clear picture was formed of how many of these arrangements actually survive and where they are now located. Fuller's pioneering article on these arrangements in 1990 suggests that although Lully did not compose a single piece for the keyboard, his music for the stage was frequently arranged by both French and non-French musicians to provide a suitable repertory for amateur and professional keyboard players. My subsequent study (in 1997), which continued this work and that of other scholars, provides the first comprehensive survey of this repertory and assesses its role in the stylistic development of French harpsichord music as a whole.[5]

To date, much of this repertory remains difficult to access. Except for the pieces by D'Anglebert and those in *Rés-476*, the majority of it remains, until now, unpublished.[6]

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1. *Quartorze gaillardes, neuf pavanes, sept bransles et deux basses dances, le tout reduict de musique en la tabulature du jeu d'orgues, espinettes, manuschordions et tels semblables instruments musicaux* (Paris, 1531). See Arthur Lawrence's Introduction to *Elisabeth-Claude Jacquet de La Guerre* (New York: The Broude Trust, 2008).

2. See David Fuller, "Les arrangements pour clavier des oeuvres de Jean-Baptiste Lully," in *Jean-Baptiste Lully: Actes du colloque (Saint-Germain-en-Laye—Heidelberg 1987),* ed. Jérôme de La Gorce and Herbert Schneider (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1990), 471.

3. See the List of Sources for an inventory of the sources and the List of Concordances for a comprehensive listing of concordant pieces.

4. The list of Lully concordances in Gustafson 1979 was updated and expanded in Gustafson-Fuller 1990, 358–68.

5. Chung 1997.

6. All Lully arrangements by D'Anglebert were published in Gilbert 1975 and Harris 2009. These include 15 pieces from the composer's *Pieces de clavecin* (Paris, 1689) and a further five from his

Modern facsimile editions (see the List of Sources) do make some of the repertory more readily accessible, but only to the relatively few who feel comfortable with the idiosyncrasies of earlier notation.

Sources, scribes and functions

The repertory of keyboard arrangements, as Fuller remarks, responds to the need of the growing number of aristocratic amateurs, many of whom were keen followers of Lully's *tragédies* and *ballets*.[7] D'Anglebert's 1689 *Pieces de clavecin* was dedicated to his pupil the Princesse de Conti, whose playing—according to the composer's *louanges*—had inspired the composer with new ideas (*nouvelles Idées*). In January 1687, a special performance of *Acis et Galatée* was staged for the princess, who had missed earlier productions. Could the "Chaconne de Galatée" be one of D'Anglebert's pieces that she inspired? Three other sources have strong aristocratic connections. *Menetou*, a source with the largest single collection of Lully arrangements, is connected with Françoise-Charlotte de Senneterre de Menetoud, a child prodigy who appeared before Louis XIV at the age of nine.[8] Two more manuscripts (*LaPierre* and *Paignon*) were closely affiliated with aristocratic female players.

D'Anglebert, who, as *ordinaire de la musique de la chambre du roi pour le clavecin,* held the ultimate post for a harpsichordist during the *ancien régime*, uniquely provides us with both an autograph source (*Rés-89ter*) and a printed source (*D'Anglebert-1689*).[9] With his close connection with Lully on both professional and personal levels, the composer was arguably the unsurpassed authority on playing Lully on the keyboard. He played the continuo under the direction of Lully, who in turn served as godfather to

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autograph source *Rés89-ter*. Harris 2009 also includes six alternative versions of the Lully Courante and "Les Songes agreables" from four manuscript sources (*Babell, Paville, Menetou* and *Regensburg*). The nine arrangements in *Rés-476* are available in two editions: Bonfils 1974 and Howell 1963. Thirty-two arrangements from *Babell, Gen-2354, Gen-2356, LaBarre-6, Menetou, Rés-F-933, Schwerin-619*, and *Vm7-6307-2* were compiled in my edition, Chung 2004. A handful more, mainly in non-French sources, were published in editions by Beckmann (one arrangement from *Ryge*), Curtis (two arrangements from *Gresse*), Haensel (two arrangements from *Thott*), Hill (one arrangement from *Möller*), Lundgren (two arrangements, one each from *Copenhagen-396* and *Ihre-284*), and Noske (one arrangement from *Van Eijl*). See the List of Sources for detailed bibliographical information.

7. The musical references in the *Journal du Marquis de Dangeau*, the official publication of daily life at court, are primarily a chronicle of Lully performances, the fashion for which was upheld by the Dauphine, the Princesse de Conti, Madame de Sévigné and other leading members of the court. See Chantal Masson, "Journal du marquis de Dangeau," *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, 2 (1961–2), 193–223; Michel Brenet, *Collection de documents sur l'histoire de la musique, formée par Mlle Marie Bobillier (Michel Brenet), F-Pn* (département des manuscrits) f. fr. nouv. acqu. 11407–25, 623–31.

8. For a copy of Menetou's portrait on the harpsichord, see Florence Gétreau and Denis Herlin, "Portraits de clavecins et de clavecinistes francais (I)," in *Aspects de la vie musicale au XVIIe siècle*, ed. Florence Gétreau (Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1996), 2:110. Gétreau and Herlin (pp. 109–10) remarked on the rising number of portraits of female aristocratic harpsichordists in France from 1683. See also Oliver Baumont, *La musique à Versailles* (Versailles: Actes Sud, 2007), 129.

9. David Ledbetter, *Grove Music Online,* s.v. "D'Anglebert, Jean Henry" (accessed December 15, 2009). For a recent study of the composer's biography and works for the keyboard, as well as related performance issues, see Harris 2009, 2:59–144.

D'Anglebert's son.[10] Significantly, his arrangements are unsurpassed in quality and level of craftsmanship, and the composer himself was proud to present them alongside his best original pieces:

> I have added to them some compositions of Mr. Lully, for it must be acknowledged that the works of this incomparable man are of a taste far superior to any other. As they succeed even more admirably on the harpsichord, I thought that my giving several of different character would be appreciated.
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> [J'ay joint quelques Airs de Monsieur de Lully. Il faut avoüer que les Ouvrages de cet homme incomparable sont d'un goût fort superieur a tout autre. Comme ils reûssissent avec avantage sur le Clavecin, J'ay cru qu'on me sçauroit gré d'en donner icî plusieurs de different caractere.] [11]

Besides D'Anglebert, several professional musicians were actively involved as arrangers or scribes, or sometimes both. These include Marc Roger Normand, "Couperin de Turin" (1663–1734), Charles Babel (ca. 1634–1716),[12] Christian Flor (1626–1697),[13] and the Berkeley La Barre, whose hand can be found in four manuscripts transmitting this repertory: *LaBarre-6*, *LaBarre-11, Menetou*, and *Parville*.[14] Fuller has identified Hand A in *Brussels-27220* as the same as *Rés-476*. This and another organ manuscript (*F-Pn* Rés. 2094) are closely linked to the circles of the Parisian organist Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers (ca. 1632–1714).[15] It should be noted that compilers frequently drew from different sources. Of the six arrangements (two with *doubles*) in *Couperin-Turin*, one is concordant with *D'Anglebert-1689*. As Moroney surmises, Couperin himself was probably author of the remaining five pieces, in addition to both *doubles*.[16] In all other manuscripts, the identities of the scribal hands remain hidden. Yet it is almost certain that expert musicians were involved in many cases. Where there was more than one scribe, as would be expected with manuscripts compiled for domestic use, the more skilled, assured hand would probably have belonged to the teacher (e.g. *Lüneburg-1198*, Hand A; *Paignon,* Hand A). Evidence of pedagogical activity, such as the presence of rudimentary theory (e.g. scales, note values), figured bass instructions, and ornamentation tables, is

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10. Douglas Alvin Maple, "D'Anglebert's Autograph Manuscript, Paris, B.N. Rés 89ter: An Examination of Compositional, Editorial, and Notational Processes in 17th-Century French Harpsichord Music" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1988), 527.

11. *D'Anglebert-1689*, Preface. English translation by Beverly Scheibert in *Jean-Henry D'Anglebert and the Seventeenth-Century Clavecin School* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 21.

12. Peter Holman, "Did Handel Invent the English Keyboard Concerto?" *The Musical Times* 144, no. 1883 (Summer, 2003), 13–22.

13 Arndt Schnoor, "Christian Flor und das Lüneburger Musikleben seiner Zeit," in *Christian Flor (1626–1697), Johann Abraham Peter Schulz (1747–1800): Texte und Dokumente zur Musikgeschichte Lüneburgs*, ed. Friedrich Jekutsch, Joachim Kremer, and Arndt Schnoor (Hamburg: von Bockel Verlag, 1997), 11–26.

14. *Harpsichord Music Associated with the Name La Barre*, in The Art of the Keyboard 4, ed. Bruce Gustafson and Peter Wolf (New York: The Broude Trust, 1999), xi–xiii.

15. *Rés-476* is sometimes confused with *F-Pn* Rés. 2094 in modern scholarship. See Gustafson 1979, 1:110–11 and Gustafson-Fuller 1990, 358.

16. Davitt Moroney, *Livre de tablature de clavescin de Monsieur de Druent, écrit par Couperin*, facsimile edition (Geneva: Minkoff, 1998), 11.

particularly visible in *Add. 9565, Humeau, LaPierre*, and *Paignon*, and in the newly discovered *Brussels-50775*.

Throughout the seventeenth century and beyond, pieces drawn from Lully's stage music supplemented the repertory of harpsichordists, whether for their performance, teaching purposes, or both. Interestingly, Lully himself might have propagated the practice through his mistress Marie-Françoise Certain, a brilliant harpsichordist who,[17] according to Titon du Tillet, not only performed many arrangements of Lully's operas in her salon [Parisian residence], but also played them alongside original harpsichord pieces:

> This famous musician [Lully] had her play all the symphonies from his operas on the harpsichord and she performed them with the greatest perfection, just as she did with all the pieces by Louis Couperin, Chambonnières and Marchand.

> [Ce celebre Musicien [Lully] lui faisoit jouer sur le Claveçin toutes les Symphonies de ses Opera, & elle les executoit dans la plus grande perfection, de même que toutes les Pieces de Louis Couperin, de Chambonniere & de Marchand.][18]

The fashion for playing opera arrangements continued after Lully's death. In 1693, a collection of keyboard transcriptions of Marin Marais's *Alcide* was published, but was apparently withdrawn from the market soon afterwards.[19] Titon du Tillet recounts that Louis Marchand, whose fame possibly exceeded that of François Couperin in his time, "*jouoit sur le Clavecin quelques symphonies*" from his own opera *Pyrame et Thisbé*.[20] The vogue of harpsichordists playing opera music had raised the eyebrows of the conservative teacher Saint Lambert who complained that they were not playing the pieces at the correct tempo![21]

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17. La Fontaine's poem was composed on the occasion of her playing to Louis XIV at the age of nine in 1671. See Erik Kocevar, *Dictionnaire de la musique en France aux XVIIe et XVIII siècles*, ed. Marcelle Benoit (Paris: Fayard, 1992), s.v. "Certain, Marie-Françoise."

18. Evrard Titon du Tillet, *Description du Parnasse François* (Paris: J.B. Coignard fils, 1732), 637. See also Bertand Porot, "«Les gens de goût»: portraits d'amateurs sous les règnes de Louis XIV et Louis XV," in *Clavecin en France*, http://www.clavecin-en-france.org/spip.php?article51 (accessed April 6, 2010).

19. *Marin Marais: Pièces de clavecin tirées d'Alcide (1693),* ed. Laurence Boulay (Monaco, Editions de L'Oiseau-lyre, 2005), introductory note by Bruce Gustafson.

20. Titon du Tillet recounted (in 1732, 658–60) that: "Effectivement on peut dire qu'il a été le plus grand Organiste qu'il y ait famais eu pour le toucher, & que ses mains ont toûjours fourni à tout ce que son beau genie produisoit." For Marchand's adventurous career, see *Louis Marchard: Pièces de clavecin*, ed. Davitt Moroney (Monaco: Editions de l'Oiseau-lyre, 1987), introduction. Neither the opera nor his arrangements have survived.

21. Michel de Saint Lambert, *Les Principes du clavecin* (Paris: Ballard, 1702), 24–5: "L'expérience s'en fait tous les jours par ceux qui mettent sur le Clavecin des Airs d'Opera, sans avoir entendu comment on les joüe à l'Opera: car ils donnent à ces Airs le mouvement qu'ils croyent leur être propre, & qu'ils ont reglé sur le Signe qui le marque: Et allant ensuite à l'Opera, ils entendent joüer ces Airs d'un autre mouvement que celuy qu'ils leur ont donné."

Keyboard

The majority of surviving arrangements are found in harpsichord sources and are stylistically suited to the instrument. Specific references to the harpsichord are found in D'Anglebert's *Pieces de clavecin* (1689), and the manuscripts *LaPierre* and *Rés-F-1091*. The latter contains an arrangement titled "Menuet du L'opera pour jouer sur Le Clauessin" (p. 16). Occasionally, arrangements are found in sources devoted primarily to organ music (*Rés-476*, *Troyes*, *Brussels-926*, and *Vitré*) or in sources with a *mélange* of both harpsichord and organ music (*Möller* and *Stoos*).[22] In all cases, arrangements from Lully are found either as an isolated group of entries or mixed in with other harpsichord pieces. The Lully Chaconne from *Phaéton* (LWV 61/40) in *Möller*, a German source compiled for the harpsichordist-organist, has an obbligato pedal part in measures 138–44, although the use of a pedal clavichord or harpsichord cannot be ruled out. *Hogwood* no. 28 is an overture [from Thomas Farmer] "which the Organist of Chichester desired to have set." As most harpsichord players were also organists, it seems likely that, should the occasion have arisen, they could have adapted the arrangements for organ performance. Douglass notes that "it was fashionable to imitate the opera techniques in contemporary French organ music."[23] If so, then arrangements of Lully would offer a logical point of departure for such imitation.

Hogwood points out that, on the evidence of sources transmitting French harpsichord music outside France, the use of the clavichord was widespread among non-French musicians.[24] Perhaps such an option should also be considered by modern musicians.

Arrangements, transcriptions or *airs*

The term "arrangement" is often used interchangeably with transcription, although the latter implies a more faithful adherence to the original.[25] The definition of "arrangement" adopted in this edition to refer to a repertory of some five hundred pieces is anachronistic. During the seventeenth century, arrangements were simply referred to as "Airs de Monsieur de Lully" (Preface to *D'Anglebert-1689*) or "airs d'opera".[26] Similarly, an arrangement of one of Lully's menuets was titled "menuet de l'opera" (see *Rés-F-1091*, nos. 1, 2, 6, 9). It should be borne in mind that many seventeenth-century musicians welcomed a greater fluidity between arrangements and original compositions than is the modern inclination. In general, musicians of the past, including D'Anglebert, did not seem troubled by having arrangements copied and presented alongside original

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22. D'Anglebert's *Pieces de clavecin* (Paris, 1689) contains the six organ fugues by the composer, but the organ music is partitioned, and there can thus be no confusion as to what is for harpsichord and what is not. All arrangements by D'Anglebert were written for the harpsichord.

23. Fenner Douglass, *The Language of the Classical French Organ* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969), preface. See also David Fuller, "Les arrangements pour clavier des oeuvres de Jean-Baptiste Lully," in *Jean-Baptiste Lully: Actes du colloque (Saint-Germain-en-Laye—Heidelberg 1987),* ed. Jérôme de La Gorce and Herbert Schneider (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1990), 474.

24. Christopher Hogwood, "The Clavichord and its Repertoire in France and England before 1700: A Summary and New Manuscript Source," in *De Clavicordio VI: Proceedings of the VI International Clavichord Symposium* (Magnano, September 2003), ed. Bernard Brauchli, Alberto Galazzo and Ivan Moody (Magnano: Musica antica a Magnano, 2004), 158.

25. Malcolm Boyd, *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Arrangement" (accessed December 13, 2009).

26. Saint Lambert, *Les Principes du clavecin*, 24–25.

harpsichord pieces.

Categories of arrangements

The repertory of 500 arrangements embodies a great variety of ways to represent orchestral textures on the keyboard. Some musicians made no effort to do this, and extracted only the melody and bass parts from a short score (*partition réduite*) or the outer parts of a full score (*partition générale*).[27] It is possible that these skeletal versions could serve as an *aide-mémoire* for the player for further elaboration. The majority of arrangements were derived from short scores and recast in the flexible three-part format common to seventeenth-century harpsichord music.[28] Within this conventional framework, the music was shaped in several ways, such as by varying the texture and by adding ornaments and rhythmic nuances. Some arrangers went much further than this, and produced what are effectively recompositions. Recompositions are distinguished from standard arrangements by the use of newly-cast textures and a wide palette of keyboard effects. Expansive textures are particularly in evidence in the overture and chaconne and in the related passacaille. Characteristically, the bass was rewritten to give it more shape and elasticity, either by filling in melodic intervals or transferral to another register, or by bold refashioning with keyboard flourishes and passage work. A more malleable bass line has the major advantage for the player that the left hand can sustain the inner voices and harmonies with more flexibility and continuity. Other niceties include newly induced dissonances and countless details of melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic nuances, with occasional points of imitation. *Doubles*, although not unique to the repertory of arrangements, are a unique way for arrangers to break away from the apparent constraints of the original version. By exploiting the full range of expressive possibilities offered by the harpsichord, the arranger could simulate orchestral richness and grandeur.

The remaining pieces fall into one of the following categories:
(1) *Melody settings*. These are common in non-French—notably German and Dutch—sources. In a typical setting, the arranger worked from the tune itself, which was well known, and freely reharmonized and elaborated it by means of variation and diminution techniques. The numerous settings of "Bel Iris" from the *Ballet de l'Impatience* (1661) are an illustrious example that testifies to the popularity of this melody in both professional and amateur circles outside France.[29] Strictly speaking, though, melody settings are not arrangements, and are rarely encountered in French sources.

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27. Two-part (melody-bass) settings can in found in both amateur (e.g. *Stoos*) and professional (e.g. *Grimm*, *Schwerin-619*) sources. See Chung 1997, 1:100.

28. For a detailed discussion of the seventeenth-century harpsichord texture, see David Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music in 17th-Century France* (London: Macmillan, 1987), 87–141.

29. The setting with three variations attributed to 'D.B.H.' (i.e. Buxtehude) (Beckmann no. 21), is among the finest examples of the kind. In contrast, the piece titled "La belle Iris" in *Brussels-27220*, no. 29 is unidentified and is not derived from Lully's tune. See *Pièces de clavecin ca 1670–1685: fac-similé du manuscrit, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal/Koninklijk Conservatorium, Bruxelles, Ms 27220* (Geneva: Minkoff, 2003), VIII; cf. Gustafson 1979, 2:16.

(2) Copies of D'Anglebert. Some 20 arrangements from the following sources are derived from D'Anglebert's versions: *Babell, Couperin-Turin, LaBarre-11, Menetou, Parville, Regensburg, Rés-F-933*, and *Schwerin-619*.[30] Some are close enough to suggest that they were copied from *D'Anglebert-1689*, whereas others are sufficiently different to suggest the possible role of aural transmission. It is also possible that some of the versions with simplified ornaments could be copied from manuscript versions before the print.

(3) *Menetou*'s vocal items make up their own category. Some are solo airs with or without continuo, and are thus not arrangements. However, as many as twenty-five have the appearance of idiomatic harpsichord music, with verbal text inserted between the staves. Of these vocal settings, four have a distinctive three-part texture with a duo on top (nos. 8, 52, 54, 55), two of which are figured (nos. 54, 55). As Fuller suggests, these airs could have been performed in a variety of ways, such as the harpsichordist accompanying him or herself while singing, a commonly documented practice at the time.[31] The rendering of these airs as solo harpsichord music is equally possible, given that apart from the text some of the pieces are virtually indistinguishable from other harpsichord arrangements in the same collection.

Repertory

The repertory of keyboard arrangements includes overtures, dances of various types, and other instrumental and vocal items drawn from Lully's ballets and operas (*tragédies en musique*) between 1655 and 1687. The overtures alone account for nearly seventy settings of twenty-one pieces, including all of the overtures from Lully's operas save *Thésée*, *Acis et Galatée*, and *Achille et Prolixène*.[32] The overture was regarded by Le Cerf as Lully's significant contribution to the French orchestral style, and it is not surprising that many musicians took on the challenge of rendering it for the keyboard. Statistically, the overtures to *Isis* and *Bellerophon* count among the most popular Lully overtures.[33] Chaconnes and passacailles equal the overture in popularity, with a total of forty-nine arrangements of twelve pieces (12/49). They are outnumbered only by the menuets (43/68), but one must take into account that Lully wrote many more menuets (over 90) than either chaconnes (21) or passacailles (4). Chaconnes and passacailles were

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30. For a study of D'Anglebert's derived arrangements, see David Chung, "Lully, D'Anglebert and the Transmission of 17th-Century French Harpsichord Music," *Early Music* 31, no. 4 (2003): 592–603.

31. Fuller, "Les arrangements pour clavier des oeuvres de Jean-Baptiste Lully," 4. The practice of accompanying oneself while singing has a definite link with the *air de cour* repertory, and during the second half of the seventeenth century, the technique seems to have been transferred to the keyboard, as well as other mainstream continuo instruments such as the viol and the theorbo. The practice was common in both professional and amateur music-making. See Chung 1997, 1:31–32.

32. See the List of Concordances for an updated list. The statistical data given here and in the following sections could well become invalidated by a new source discovered in the future, but the essential story should stay the same.

33. Le Cerf de la Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française* (Brussels: François Foppens, 2/1705–06), 1:56: "Nous avons d'abord les ouvertures de Lulli, genre de simphonie presque inconnu aux Italiens, en quoi leurs meilleurs Maîtres ne seroient auprés de lui que de bien petits garçons. Les ouvertures de Lulli ont des beautés qui seront nouvelles & admirables dans tous les siécles, qui se sont sentir sur toutes sortes d'instrumens."

developed by Lully in his operas as large-scale orchestral dances, the longest of which (the Chaconne from *Roland*) is over 800 bars long. Judging by their concordances, the Chaconne from *Phaéton* (11), the Chaconne from *Acis et Galatée* (9), and the Passacaille from *Armide* (7) appear to have been most popular with arrangers. The remaining dances comprise one allemande, one courante, a few sarabandes, and gigues, bourrées, canaries, gavottes, lourés, marches, passepieds, rigaudons, and some unspecified *entrées*. D'Anglebert appears to have had exclusive access to Lully's non-stage music. His Lully Gigue, published in *D'Anglebert-1689*, is a *unicum*. His Lully Courante, found in both *Rés-89ter* and *D'Anglebert-1689*, was copied, more or less verbatim, into *Parville*, *Menetou*, and *Regensburg*. The instrumental version of the Courante survives only in a Philidor manuscript that is dated six years later than D'Anglebert's print.[34] It is possible that these dances originated as keyboard pieces.

The rest of the repertory consists of a variety of instrumental and vocal pieces. These include a great many airs (over 100 settings of some 70 pieces), which can be vocal or instrumental, and other *préludes*, *ritournelles*, *rondeaux* and *symphonies*. Of the instrumental varieties, several free, descriptive pieces proved extremely popular among arrangers, notably "Les Songes agréables" from *Atys* and "Les Sourdines" from *Armide*. Their popularity was confirmed by Lecerf who wrote that "*rien n'est au dessus du Sommeil d'Atys & des Sourdines d'Armide*."[35] It should be remembered that the terms *ritournelle*, *rondeau*, *symphonie*, *entrée,* and *air* do not necessarily imply distinct genres. For instance, the *symphonie* in *Roland* (LWV 65/78) is also a *ritournelle*. Indeed, both words are often used as generic terms to designate the instrumental portions of an act.[36] Similarly, *rondeaux* are often dances, such as the menuets in *Ballet des Plaisirs de l'Île enchantée* (LWV 22/4) and *Persée* (LWV 60/73) and the gavotte in *Phaéton* (LWV 61/28), to name but a few. Further, many airs are also *entrées* (and vice versa), such as the "Air des vents" from *Cadmus et Hermione* (LWV 49/8) and the Air from *Phaéton* (LWV 61/25). Some *entrées* are characterized by pompous and often dotted rhythms (for example the "Entrée d'Apollon" from *Le Triomphe de l'Amour* (LWV 59/58)). However, a significant number of titled dances (for example gigues, bourrées, gavottes, and menuets) are often *airs* or *entrées*. Although an *air* can be either vocal or instrumental, an *entrée* usually refers to an instrumental piece, frequently a dance.[37]

Relationship with "original" harpsichord music

Lully pieces are ubiquitous in French harpsichord music sources.[38] In some cases, they make up an anthology of their own. The largest single collection in which works by Lully

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34. *F-Pn* Rés. F-533 (1695).

35. Le Cerf de la Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française*, 2:59.

36. See Michaud-Praedeilles, *Dictionnaire de la musique en France aux XVIIe et XVIII siècles*, ed. Marcelle Benoit (Paris: Fayard, 1992), s.v. "Ritournelle."

37. In *ballets de cour*, *entrées* refer to scenes with both dancing and singing, as opposed to the spoken *récits*. In the later *opéra-ballets* (from Campra's *L'Europe galante* of 1697 onward), an *entrée* became an autonomous act.

38. Almost all major French harpsichord sources contain arrangements from Lully. A major exception is the so-called Bauyn Manuscript, *F-Pn* Rés. Vm7 674–5 (1676–1731). The repertory therein is largely retrospective, and the source may have originated from a conservative, perhaps anti-Lully, circle to preserve a beloved repertory on the wane. See Gustafson 1979, 1:96–7; Gustafson 1990, 356; Gustafson,

are ordered by work in largely chronological order is *Menetou*, but smaller collections can be found elsewhere, as in *Schwerin-619*, *Parville*, *RésF-1091*, and *Brussels-27220.* In addition, pieces from different works by Lully are sometimes compiled to form self-contained orchestral-type suites that begin with an overture and end with a chaconne or passacaille, with smaller dances and descriptive pieces in between. This second category of arrangements can be found in sources such as *D'Anglebert, Rés-89ter, Parville,* and *Babell.* Not infrequently, however, the Lully pieces are integrated into conventional suite-like sequences of prelude/overture—allemande—courante—sarabande—other dances, resulting in a composite suite containing works of more than one composer. Lully pieces in this last category are in fact most numerous, and appear in such sources as *D'Anglebert-1689, Rés-89ter, Parville, LaBarre-6, Babell, and Brussels-27220.* The way in which the Lully pieces fit in with original compositions depends on what materials the composer or scribe had at hand. Many sources contain examples of different categories.

Conclusion

Keyboard arrangements of Lully's music constitute a large part of the seventeenth-century French keyboard repertory, and their omnipresence in French harpsichord sources has been emphasized by many scholars. These arrangements contributed new genres to the keyboard repertory, notably the overture and the orchestral-type chaconne and passacaille. More significantly, they rubbed shoulders with original harpsichord pieces, as demonstrated by the way in which they are sequenced into suite-like groupings in most major sources. Some of the creative ways in which this integration was achieved are demonstrated by D'Anglebert, and by professional musicians such as Charles Babel and others whose identities remain hidden. Publishing these fine pieces gives modern day performers, like their counterparts from the past, access to a reservoir of works from which they can obtain ideas for performance and teaching.

Music of This Edition

Selection criteria

This edition brings together a repertory of some 250 hitherto unpublished keyboard arrangements of Jean-Baptiste Lully's music from around twenty manuscripts. The pieces chosen for this edition are summarized in the List of Sources and listed individually in the Critical Commentaries that follow. Publishing all of the surviving pieces from this repertory would not help the reputation of either Lully or the practice of arrangement, past or present. The editorial choice has been based on several criteria. Pieces have been selected from sources of French provenance or from those with strong French credentials, where the scribe was either French, or, on evidence of the language, the notation, and the repertory contained in the source, had access to central Parisian sources. In addition, the pieces themselves needed to have sufficient coherence and musical value to be worthy of presentation to the public without the need for major intervention or possible distortion on the part of the editor. In general, the editor has excluded pieces that have already been published, or are manifestly incomplete, musically inept, or not meant for the keyboard. All vocal and instrumental melodies found in keyboard sources belong to this last

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Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 2nd ed., ed. Ludwig Finsher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2000), s.v. "Bauyn" and *The Bauyn Manuscript*, ed. Bruce Gustafson (New York: The Broude Turst, forthcoming).

category and are thus omitted. It is this rationale that explains the inclusion the six pieces by Hand A of *Lüneburg-1198* and the exclusion of the remaining seven by Hand B, four of which are in fact only melodies. Pieces appearing to be vocal or instrumental but with a developed, idiomatic keyboard texture have been included, as their rendering as solo keyboard music is at least a viable option (e.g. *Menetou*, no. 62). A few dances not from Lully's stage works have also been included, as it would be difficult to publish them elsewhere.

Performance practice
Suite formation
Three categories of ordering arrangements into longer sequences are common in seventeenth-century sources. In the first category, arrangements are sequenced into self-contained orchestral-type suites, beginning with an overture and closing with a chaconne or passacaille, with shorter dances and descriptive pieces in between. Pieces in the same key are usually drawn from diverse sources, depending on the materials available to the compiler. Examples of this category can be found in sources compiled by D'Anglebert and Babel, as well as in *Parville* and several French sources. In the second category, arrangements are integrated with original harpsichord pieces into composite suites containing works of more than one composer, with pieces unified by key. An overture may take the place of a prelude, and sometimes a Lully piece (such as a sarabande) forms a contrasting pair with another piece. Lully arrangements in this category are most numerous, and the clearest are most evident in *D'Anglebert-1689, Rés-89ter, Parville, LaPierre, LaBarre-6, Paignon, Babell, Brussels-27220*, and *Humeau*. In the third category, arrangements in the same or different keys constitute an anthology of pieces from the same ballet or opera. The largest single collection in which works by Lully were ordered in largely chronological order is *Menetou*, but smaller collections can be found elsewhere, such as in *Schwerin-619, Parville, RésF-1091*, and *Brussels-27220*.

Repetition schemes
The majority of this repertory consists of pieces in binary or rondeau form. Major exceptions are the Lullian chaconnes and passacailles which, unlike original harpsichord pieces, are all through-composed. *Petites reprises*, indicated by a pair of ⁊⁊, frequently add length and variety to the pieces in binary form. In some pieces, the presence of extra, opening notes at the end of a piece or explicit instructions (e.g. "*p[ou]r recommencer*" in *Parville* no. 108) suggests AABBAB, or even AABBAABB. A few scribes freely added repeats that are lacking in Lully's orchestral version. One striking example is the *Amadis* Chaconne in *Parville* (no. 66), which consists of 292 bars and is the longest piece in the entire French harpsichord repertory, even without repeats.

    Evidence from the Lully repertory supports Bruce Gustafson's view that in the seventeenth century, repetition schemes were more varied than in later usage, and repeat barlines were less prescriptive than their modern counterpart.[39]

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    39. *Harpsichord Music Associated with the Name La Barre*, in The Art of the Keyboard 4, ed. Bruce Gustafson and Peter Wolf (New York: The Broude Trust, 1999), xvii.

The musical text

All of the pieces in this edition are taken from manuscript sources. Most cry out for further elaboration to render a convincing performance, such as the decoration of the melody with a variety of ornaments, the enrichment of the texture (sometimes with points of imitation), the elaboration of the cadences, and the addition of rhythmic fillers, according to the player's creativity and dexterity. The modern performer can take lessons from D'Anglebert, who re-edited a selection of his autograph pieces for publication in 1689.[40]

While every effort has been made by the editor to present a critical text that is faithful to the original, the performer should read the text loosely and should not adhere too closely to the notation. The performance attitude and elusive nature of the seventeenth-century French repertory has been exhaustively discussed by David Fuller, Ronald Broude, Bruce Gustafson, and others.[41]

Ornamentation

Chambonnières's "Demonstration des Marques" in his *Livre Premier* (Paris, 1670) contains essentially all ornament types found in manuscript sources. Many scribes expressly notate only the *tremblement* and the *pincé*, almost obliging the performer to add and fill in the remainder. Both ornaments are rendered in several different ways. The *tremblement* is most commonly denoted by a wavy line (⌣). Exceptions to this include the "*tr*" sign in two German sources (*Lüneburg-1198* and *Schwerin-619*) and Babel's double-stroke symbol in Tenbury (⟍⟍), which is clearly linked to the English tradition.

The *pincé* is commonly expressed by a stroke across a wavy line (⌣). D'Anglebert's lute-derived comma sign (⸒) is not widely used by others (Marc Roger Couperin is the one major exception). Three sources (*Parville, RésF-933* and *Cecilia*) make use of the "+" sign for this ornament.

The scribe of *Rés-476* and Hand A of *Brussels-27220* both use a wavy line above a note (i.e., ⌣) to indicate the *tremblement* and the same wavy line below a note to indicate the *pincé*.

Symbols for the *port de voix* include a comma sign (( ) or an oblique line before the note (∕ or ∖), although it is more frequently expressed by a *petite note* or written out in full-note values. *Menetou* and *Brussels-27220* offer many examples of pre-beat *ports de voix*, reminding us of the divergent views at the time on how this ornament should be interpreted. D'Anglebert himself provides written-out examples of both on-the-beat and pre-beat varieties.

The *double cadence* (turn), the *coulé* (a slide or a third upwards or downwards) and the *harpegement* make up the remaining ornament types in this repertory, and their interpretation, as suggested in the table below, is relatively straightforward and uncontroversial.

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40. See Chung, "Lully, D'Anglebert and the Transmission of 17th-Century French Harpsichord Music," 586–92.

41. For example, see Ronald Broude. "Composition, Performance, and Text in Solo Music of the French Baroque," *Text: An Interdisciplinary Annual of Textual Studies* 15 (2002): 25.

Notes inégales

The literature on inequality is huge.[42] Written-out inequality is more common in non-French sources, such as *Babell* (Overture to *Isis*), *Brussels-926,* and *Madrid-1360. Menetou* offers some examples of written-out inequality, but in all cases, the dotted notes are not consistently applied to whole sections or even phrases. In fact, the issue of inequality underlines the idiomatic differences between orchestral and keyboard styles. Lully's orchestra was famous for its unanimous bowing and fine ensembleship, as Muffat pointed out "even if a thousand of them play together."[43] In contrast, the solo style, as elaborated by Jean Rousseau (1678) and Hotteterre (1719), affords more freedom in bowing patterns and rhythmic interpretation. In many keyboard settings, written-out dotted rhythms can only be explained as the result of the arranger's whim. The different settings of the Passacaille d'Armide are a case in point, in which the different arrangers or copyists give a somewhat different rendering of Lully's notation, with the dotted eighth notes in measures 133–35 being freely transformed into equal eighths and vice versa. Arrangements provide only scant evidence for overdotting in overtures. Consistent dotted sections in the orchestral version are often replaced by a variety of rhythms. The shortening of quick upbeat notes to produce a sharp overdotted effect is found in only one eighteenth-century German source (*Schwerin-619*). Sources close to Paris unequivocally

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42. For a comprehensive survey, see Stephen H. Hefling, *Rhythmic Alteration in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Music* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1993); but see also David Fuller's review in *Performance Practice Review* (1994), 120–32. For a recent discussion, see David Harris, "Performing D'Anglebert's Works for Keyboard," in Harris 2009, 2:123–27.

43. Kenneth Cooper and Julius Zsako, "Georg Muffat's Observations on the Lully Style of Performance," *Musical Quarterly* 53 (1967): 224.

vote against sharp overdotting in Lully's overtures. Indeed, the flexible dot in French music leaves the degree of overdotting, ranging from mild to strong, open to the player. In all likelihood, the extent of dotting should be considered on a piece-by-piece basis.

EDITORIAL POLICIES

Each piece in this edition is based on a single source. While any editorial change or modernization is bound to have ramifications beyond the printed score, the editor has attempted to balance scholarly concern with the needs of the modern musician. Aspects of seventeenth-century notation that could be significant to interpretation have been retained, including time signatures, key signatures, beamings, ornaments, and division of notes between staves, in addition to tempo and other markings. Aspects of the original text that are obsolete have been modernized. This includes the modernization of clefs, the elimination of *guidons*, the normalization of first and second endings, and the adjustment of incomplete bars between staves. Cautionary accidentals accompanying clef changes, customary for the time, are not duplicated in this edition. All other emendations and editorial changes are shown in smaller print, square brackets, or dotted lines.

Titles
The standardized title (from LWV) and the title furnished by the source with its original spelling (in brackets) are centered on top of the page. The work of Lully from which the piece is taken is placed immediately under the title. The source of the piece and the LWV number which identifies the piece are indicated on the right below, above the first system.

Clefs, stemming, and layout
The use of treble (G2) and bass (F4) clefs conforms to modern conventions. In most cases, this policy renders the retention of original stemmings untenable. In some situations, however, original stemmings are preferred when a less customary appearance would better reflect the spirit of the music, or impart to the performer some useful information, such as voice-leading. The original disposition on staves has been generally respected. Exceptions to this rule occur in the manuscripts *Babell* and *Lüneburg-1198*, where the gap between the two staves is so close that notes "in between" could possibly belong to either. The discretion taken by the editor is illustrated by the following example, taken from the opening of *Babell*, no. 57.

Babell: *This edition*:
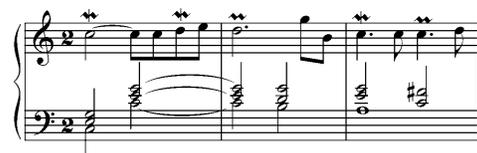
Time signatures
Time signatures are original.

Key signatures
Key signatures are original, except that the seventeenth-century practice of the octave duplication of accidentals has been suppressed.

Accidentals
All accidentals from the source are reproduced, including those that are redundant in modern notation, except for the tacit conversion of sharps and flats used to cancel

accidentals to natural signs. This edition respects the prevailing usage at the time of applying accidentals that are valid for the note and its immediate repetition(s) at the same pitch. However, this is by no means an unbendable rule, and by reproducing all of the accidentals from the source, the usage of the individual scribe is still discernable. For the convenience of modern musicians, accidentals that are needed to bring the music in line with modern practice are placed, in cue size, above or below the notes, and are not reported in the commentary. In contrast, accidentals entered on the editor's own initiative are placed within square brackets next to the notes affected, and are reported in the critical commentary.

Beaming
This edition preserves all original beamings. The reader is encouraged to interpret the possible significance of each beaming individually in matters such as articulation and phrasing.

Barlines and repeats
All barlines are reproduced. Superfluous ones (e.g. *GB-Cu* Add. 9565, no. 13) are broken through staves. Editorial barlines are shown in dotted lines, and are not reported in the commentary. Repeat signs are modernized. The reader is reminded that repeat signs did not carry the same restrictive meaning in the seventeenth century. Sections may be repeated once, or twice, and the entire piece could be repeated all over again. For evidence of such varied repeat schemes, the reader may refer to Bruce Gustafson's introduction to *Harpsichord Music Associated with the Name LA BARRE* (New York: The Broude Trust, 1999), xvii and more recently Arthur Lawrence's introduction to *Elisabeth-Claude Jacquet de La Guerre: Harpsichord Works* (New York, The Broude Trust, 2008), xlv–xlvi.

Ties and slurs
All ties and slurs from sources have been reproduced, and editorial ones are represented by dotted lines.

Note values
The rhythmic irregularities frequently found in manuscripts (e.g. a quarter note followed by three sixteenths) are respected. Editorial dots and rests, which are enclosed within square brackets, have been added in cases where their absence might lead to confusion. The dots of dotted notes are tacitly adjusted next to the notes, instead of on the note values, as in the majority of the manuscripts at the time. Note values that extend beyond the barlines have been conventionalized by breaking the affected notes into two tied notes.

Ornamentation
All ornaments are reproduced as they appear in the sources. The reader is alerted to the fact that in the manuscript tradition, the opportunities for ornaments are more often than not only partially realized. The section on performance practice gives further advice on the interpretation of ornaments, whether indicated in the score or not.

Markings: All original tempo markings and written indications, such as "*Reprise,*" "*1er fois*," "*2e fois*," and "*fin*" have been reproduced. The marking "𝄋𝄋" for *petites reprises* and for indicating sections to be repeated is also reproduced. Editorial markings, placed within square brackets, are sometimes added to clarify the structure (e.g. pieces *en rondeau*). Symbols from a version of Lully's original, which are always placed within square brackets [ ], are sometimes introduced and reported in the commentary.

CRITICAL COMMENTARY

The commentary lists the sources consulted for individual pieces with their original titles, the hand(s) entering the arrangements, and the key. The Lully original from which each work is derived is identified in square brackets by the title, the work of Lully (in *italics*), the date of composition/publication (in brackets), the LWV number, and the key (in brackets). This commentary reports all editorial emendations, except for the changes described in the Editorial Policies. Variants are listed by measure number, followed by part and symbol number (including both notes and rests). Incomplete measures, including pick-up measures at the opening, are counted individually. The following abbreviations are used.

rh	right hand
lh	left hand
s(s)	symbol(s) (note(s) or rest(s))
U	upper part (if more than one part in each staff)
M	middle part (if more than two parts in each staff)
L	lower part (if more than one part in each staff)
LULLY	A version of Lully's music consulted
Source	The principal source on which each piece is based

The pitch, in *italics*, is denoted using the Helmholtz system:
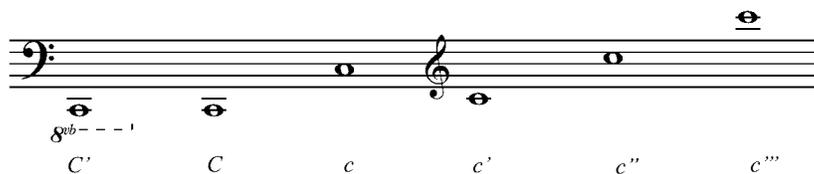
For each staff, where a single voice part appears in a measure that contains a varying number of parts, notes with stems pointing upwards are counted as upper-part symbols, and vice versa. For example, in the opening measure of *Menetou* no. 56, the two notes bracketed are counted as lower-part symbols, as their stems are pointing downwards. Note *a*, which is marked beneath with an asterisk, would then be "lhL2", as it is the second symbol of this part.

lower part