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A Second Refuge
French Opera and the Huguenot Migration, c. 1680 – c. 1710

By

Rebekah Susannah Ahrendt

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Kate van Orden, Chair

Professor Richard Taruskin

Professor Peter Sahlins

Fall 2011

A Second Refuge
French Opera and the Huguenot Migration, c. 1680 – c. 1710

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Rebekah Susannah Ahrendt

Abstract

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This dissertation examines the brief flowering of French opera on stages outside of France around the turn of the eighteenth century. I attribute the sudden rise and fall of interest in the genre to a large and noisy migration event—the flight of some 200,000 Huguenots from France. Dispersed across Western Europe and beyond, Huguenots maintained extensive networks that encouraged the exchange of ideas and of music. And it was precisely in the great centers of the Second Refuge that French opera was performed.

Following the wide-ranging career path of Huguenot impresario, novelist, poet, and spy Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée, I construct an alternative history of French opera by tracing its circulation and transformation along Huguenot migration routes. This history attributes the lack of a sustained tradition beyond *la France* not to the genre’s musical or dramatic forms or its allegiance to French politics, but rather to the changing social and religious pressures on its primary foreign audience.

My primary argument is that only after they left France did the Huguenots—and French opera—become identifiably “French,” for one of the most significant effects of this migration event was the contesting and reconfiguration of the nature of Frenchness itself. Once abroad, the Huguenots were viewed by their hosts first and foremost as *French*. Similarly, the appearance of French opera outside of its place of origin contributed to distinctions between various “national” styles of composition precisely because of its placement in comparison with other forms of spectacular entertainment.

Engaging questions of translation, performance, mobility, and reception, I show that the nostalgia for French cultural products experienced by these displaced persons, as well as the

received opinion amongst host societies that French spectacle was of a higher order, created opportunities for entrepreneurs and contributed to the canonization of Lully and the codification of the French style. And French opera, because of its associations with Paris and its focus on spectacle and group expression, became an important instrument in discourses of identity and cultural competence abroad. However, the shifting status of French immigrants during this period limited the usefulness—and indeed the feasibility—of actual productions. In sum, I argue that the opera was itself a site of refuge that could exist only as long as the French community abroad remained culturally distinct.

Acknowledgments

It seems somehow fitting that I write these words with a view of Amsterdam's Westerkerk from the window. The view—perhaps because I enjoy it at this time—stirs both happiness and melancholy. The area around the Westerkerk was called *Le Jardin* by the Huguenot community—today we call it the *Jordaan*. Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée (the “hero” of this narrative) once lived at the end of the Bloemstraat, just a few steps away from where I sit. The Bloemstraat ends at the Prinsengracht, directly opposite the Westerkerk; thus, each time Quesnot left the building he would be confronted by this beautiful church. And it is in the graveyard of the Westerkerk that his wandering feet finally came to rest.

The cross-border nature of my project has entailed a mobility nearly as expansive as Quesnot's. My wanderings across the bibliographic landscape of Western Europe would not have been possible without the support of an academic year research grant from the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the Utrecht University – North America Exchange Fellowship, the American Musicological Society Eugene K. Wolf Travel Grant, and a departmental fellowship from the Music Department of the University of California Berkeley. In its last stages, this dissertation (and I) was supported by an Andrew W. Mellon/American Council of Learned Societies Dissertation Completion Fellowship. I am most grateful to all of these institutions.

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Quite a few of these connections date back to my days as a displaced Californian at the Royal Conservatory of The Hague, and to the international community of early musicians I owe a great debt in terms of collegiality and musical experiment. I would especially like to thank the members of my ensemble, *Les grâces*—Jonathan Rhodes Lee, Jennifer Paulino, and Annette Bauer, the viol players of Berlin, the students in Jed Wentz's class at the Conservatorium van Amsterdam, and the ever-willing Ambrož Bajec-Lapajne.

An international community of scholars have kept me honest, provided unflagging support, and willingly shared ideas and materials with me. John S. Powell has been a great aid ever since we first met at a *colloque* in northern France in 2003. My conversations with musicologists Michael Burden, Antonia Banducci, Rebecca Harris-Warrick, Graham Sadler, Shirley Thompson, and Bruce Gustafson (whenever we meet in transit) have all been extremely rewarding. Very special thanks go to Karl Kügle for his unwavering support in many matters, and to Jed Wentz for always being there (and not being there—which is why

I'm enjoying this view). For their invaluable commentary from afar, I thank literary scholars Buford Norman and William S. Brooks. On the history side, Wijnand Mijnhardt and Maarten Prak both appeared at exactly the right time. My comrades-in-Huguenot-arms David van der Linden and Lionel Laborie have been a "permanent spring" of advice, sources, and excellent companionship.

Closer to home (in Berkeley), I could not have imagined a more stimulating, challenging, and loving group of faculty, staff, and graduate students than what I experienced in my years here. Seminars with Jocelyne Guilbault, Inez Hollander-Lake, Alan Nelson, Anthony Newcomb, Nicolas Paige, John H. Roberts, Mary Ann Smart, Richard Taruskin, Kate van Orden, and the late (and much lamented) Wye Jamison Allanbrook literally changed my scholarly life. Kris Albert and Melissa Hacker were always there when I needed last minute paperwork. My fellow graduate students—especially my "brother" Eliot Bates, Esther Criscuola de Laix, Sean Curran, Scott Edwards, Lisa Jakelski, Anna Nisnevich, and Adeline Mueller (who saw me through the end)—were a constant source of support and comfort. For their help in setting the musical examples, I thank Jonathan Rhodes Lee and Daniel Cullen.

Kimberly Parke checked in on me nearly every day over all these years, no matter where in the world she was (whether Tennessee, New Zealand, or Thailand). And my family, both in California and Pennsylvania, were kind enough to stop asking questions after awhile.

The members of my ever-patient committee were outstanding in every way (and are not to be blamed for any of my errors). Peter Sahlins always knew exactly what to say to make me work harder, and how to say it with enough good humor that I actually did it. Richard Taruskin was forever willing to push paper back and forth; his candid comments, superlative teaching, and immense musical knowledge have truly been inspiring. Mere words cannot describe my fabulous committee chair, Kate van Orden. She has been practically perfect in every way, from her astute reading (which often divined a meaning that I had obscured), to her excellent editorial skills, her musicianship, her scholarship, and her humanity. She has been a role model in so many ways, and I am most grateful to have been able to work with her.

There are two other people in particular to whom I owe an enormous debt. The first is my younger sister, Amy. She has cooked and cleaned for me, put up with some of the wilder phases of my life, bailed me out of bad situations (thanks also to her partner Rob Stone), read my prose, and listened to my stories with the brain of a scientist and the heart of a humanist. The second is Daniel Heartz, who has been patron, mentor, model, and (at last) dear friend. To them I dedicate this work.

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NL-DHna, *Secrete Notulen*, 1.01.03 nr. 4127

Library and Archival Sigla

B – Belgium

B-Ga Stadsarchief Ghent

D – Germany

D-Bsb Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussische Kulturbesitz

D-Dl Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
Dresden

D-Ha Staatsarchiv, Hamburg

D-Hs Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg

D-Mbs Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich

D-W Herzog-August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel

F – France

F-G Bibliothèque municipale d'étude et d'information, Grenoble

F-Pn Archives nationales, Paris

F-Pae Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Paris
CP = *Correspondance politique*

F-Pa Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris

F-Psg Bibliothèque de Sainte-Geneviève, Paris

F-Pshp Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français,
Paris

F-Po Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, Paris

F-Pn Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

GB – United Kingdom

GB-Lbl The British Library, London

GB-Lna The National Archives, London

NL – The Netherlands

NL-Ai International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam

NL-Aa Stadsarchief, Amsterdam

NL-Dhna Nationaal Archief, The Hague

NL-DHk Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague

NL-Dhga Haags Gemeentearchief, The Hague

NL-Ra Geementearchief, Rotterdam

NL-Ur Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht

NL-Uu Universiteitsbibliotheek, Utrecht

A note on translations

All translations are my own unless otherwise stated. I thank David van der Linden, Lionel Laborie, and Louis Verschoor for their aid with a few particularly tricky passages. In transcribing source documents (in French, Dutch, German, and Italian), I have retained the original orthography and capitalizations, since these can serve as indicators of the writers' origins and training. I have modernized punctuation, especially in my translations, because the chaotic nature of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century punctuation affects the legibility of texts for modern readers.

Introduction

French opera and the Huguenot migration

“French Baroque Opera.” The genre calls to mind fabulous costumes, elaborate machinery, befeathered principals, a stage crowded with extras, the grandest orchestral ensemble in Europe, and the *corps de ballet* that for many set French works apart. Musically, “French Baroque Opera” conjures strains of regal overtures, endless recitatives, the occasional charming air, and the pleasant dance music that became the “pleasures of all the courts of Europe.”¹ For French Baroque Opera, at least in modern scholarship and performance, has been conjured as an art form inextricably linked with courts, and one court in particular—that of Louis XIV. French Baroque Opera does not, for most people, entail troupes of traveling musicians laboring to get from place to place, sets small enough to fit on narrow barges, or performances designed on a budget. Second-rate performers, singers who did not speak French, machines that did not quite work, musicians unfamiliar with the style, the sheer labor that went into performances for audiences who might have been less than impressed hardly come to mind. “Commercial” is rarely a term related to the genre, and “economical”—in the modern sense of the word—seems inconceivable.

Yet both of those possibilities inhere in the formative years of French opera, and as we shall see, both options were exercised in performances of French opera outside of France. Though the genre codified by Jean-Baptiste Lully has gone down in music history as being preeminently “courtly,” that was not necessarily how it was conceived. As sociologist Victoria Johnson has most substantively shown, French opera was not originally designed for the court, but for the public. Unlike any other “academy” in France, whose labors generally consisted of groups of experts theorizing and codifying artistic activities behind closed doors, the primary goal of the Académie d’Opéra was to present public performances. From the very beginning, those performances were to be funded not by the king, but by the proceeds of ticket sales.²

This public orientation, and the decree to sell tickets, was written in to the founding charter approved by Louis XIV in 1669, even though the original request to establish an “Académie d’Opéra” had included no commercial component. Pierre Perrin, the unfortunate initiator of the operatic revolution in France, had instead imagined a group of theorists similar to the other French academies that the king was busily establishing. But when the king finally approved his request, the opera academy was in no uncertain terms into a public,

¹ The phrase comes from the dedication to Johann Sigismund Cousser, *Composition de Musique Suivant la Méthode Française contenant Six Ouvertures de Théâtre accompagnées de plusieurs Airs...* (Stuttgart: Treu, 1682).

² Victoria Johnson, *Backstage at the Revolution: How the Royal Paris Opera Survived the End of the Old Regime* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2008), Chapter 5. Johnson’s book is a welcome addition to the literature, and nicely complements Jérôme de La Gorce, *L’Opéra à Paris au temps de Louis XIV: Histoire d’un théâtre* (Paris: Éditions Desjonquères, 1992).

commercial enterprise. As decreed by the charter, no one was exempt from paying, not even the officers of the king's own household:

In order to compensate the presenter for the great expenses that he will have to incur for the said performances ... We grant him permission to exact from the public whatever sums he deems necessary; & to this end, to establish guards, & other necessary persons, at the door of the place where said performances will be held; expressly forbidding all persons, regardless of their quality and condition, even the Officers of our House, to enter without paying...³

While the author of the charter is unknown, the ultimate authority to determine its final form resided with the king himself. That authority determined that the most appropriate model for the Académie d'Opéra was "a commercial theater in academic clothing."⁴

As Johnson demonstrates, the charter of the Académie d'Opéra fundamentally altered how the project would be received in France. The designation "Académie" intrinsically linked the opera to the rarified spheres of the Académie Française and the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. This association, no matter how superficial, implied that the new Académie d'Opéra would concern itself with the maintenance of Louis's *gloire*—all without costing the king a penny. Aiding in that cause was the model that the charter offered for imitation: the Italian academies that presented opera, established by and for the nobility. Nobles even sang there, or so the charter Louis XIV approved would have us believe. In fact, nobles in Italy only ever sang in private, and when they were involved in public performances, it was usually as patrons or managers. The noble fiction of Louis XIV's charter guaranteed not only the preservation of his own reputation against charges of commercialism, but also ensured that the performers of the company could retain any noble titles bestowed upon them. The nobility of the new Paris opera could be guaranteed, without it ever having to come to court.

The 1669 charter thus engineered a curious hybrid: a courtly commercial opera.⁵ That this creature came to reside at court, and indeed became nearly exclusively associated with it,

³ Translated in Johnson, *Backstage at the Revolution*, 112.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 116.

⁵ Analogous cases for the "courtly-commercial" model of opera production include the house opened at Brunswick in 1692 (founded by Anton Ulrich of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel), the Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels (1700, founded by Maximilian II Emanuel of Bavaria), Max Emanuel's theater in Munich (after 1716), and the Teatro Regio in Turin (first planned 1713 and opened in 1740). Houses in other regions of Italy enjoyed varying degrees of patronage, and it is often difficult to determine who benefitted most (in terms of either real or symbolic capital) from the arrangement. For example, the Teatro Tordinona in Rome was initially founded by Queen Christina of Sweden in 1670 and later controlled by the Pope, but what these patrons gained from supporting the theater is unclear. On the range of possibilities between "public," "commercial," and "courtly" opera in Venice, see Beth L. Glixon and Jonathan E. Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera: The Impresario and His World in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 315ff. On the relationship between *opera seria* and notions of sovereignty in the later eighteenth century, see Martha Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

was mostly thanks to the machinations of the savvy Florentine Giovanni Battista Lulli and celebrations of his maneuvers in subsequent historiography.⁶ Lulli—who changed his name to “Jean-Baptiste Lully” upon receiving letters of naturalization in 1661—organized a takeover of the Opera Academy in 1672 that transformed it into the “Académie Royale de Musique.” Lully’s *privilège*—the adaptation of the 1669 charter—tied his efforts more closely to the court, giving the court the right to all operatic premieres, after which the production would move on to the public theater in Paris.⁷ Perrin and his efforts were soon forgotten, erased by the sheer magnificence of the grand narrative that Lully offered. The monopoly Lully acquired over all major musical productions in the kingdom in 1672, his close relationship to the king, and the composer’s quest throughout the later 1670s to assure the grandeur and magnificence of his productions through forging a symbolic relationship to the court fundamentally shaped the later historiography of his career.⁸ In short, Lully’s operas have primarily been received as “the courtiest court operas that ever were.”⁹

An understanding of Lully historiography is necessary here in order to articulate why the image of Parisian opera as exclusively courtly—or indeed exclusively French—is misleading. Since the work of Robert M. Isherwood and Peter Burke in particular, Lully’s operas have been seen as an instrument of the French state, and Lully himself as one of the king’s most skillful propagandists.¹⁰ Much has been made of the fact the Louis XIV personally

⁶ Such celebrations began to appear shortly after Lully’s death in 1687, reaching their first fever pitch with the publication of Jean-Laurent Lecerf de la Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française* (Brussels: Foppens, 1704).

⁷ Special circumstances, such as periods of mourning or the absence of the king while on campaign, meant that the new opera did not premiere at court, but in Paris. Special circumstances seem to have occurred regularly, for only six of Lully’s thirteen *tragédies en musique* were actually premiered at court, and a mere two of those premieres occurred at Versailles (*Phaëton* in 1683 and *Roland* in 1685). Of the remaining seven, three received no court performance during Lully’s lifetime: *Psyché* (1678), *Armide* (1686), and *Achille et Polixène* (1687). *Armide* was eventually performed in the apartments of Versailles in 1710 with the king in attendance; see Gabriel-Jules de Cosnac and Édouard Pontal, eds., *Mémoires du Marquis de Sourches sur le Règne de Louis XIV*, 13 vols. (Paris: Hachette, 1882-93), 12:138.

⁸ Johnson very neatly addresses the question of Lully’s transformation of the Opéra into the most deluxe entertainment in Paris, through his co-opting of spectacular forms already popular in Paris (from the *ballet de cour* to the machine tragedy), to the use of Italianate dedicatory prologues, to his effective innovation of recitative. Johnson, *Backstage at the Revolution*, Chapter 6. See also Manuel Couvreur, *Jean-Baptiste Lully: musique et dramaturgie au service du Prince* (Brussels: M. Vokar, 1992), Part V, “La naissance d’un genre nouveau”.

⁹ Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 6 vols. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), II:86.

¹⁰ This historiographical trend came to dominate Anglo-American scholarship in particular after the publication of Robert M. Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973). Isherwood’s book was one of a pair of works first published in 1973 that helped set the course for Anglophone studies of French baroque music; the second is James R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau*, 1st ed. (London: Batsford, 1973). Isherwood’s important book did much to bring scholarly attention to French music; however, it also established a tradition of associating French opera in particular with the court and policies of Louis XIV, perhaps obscuring other paths of inquiry. It is also very

chose the subjects of many of the operas.¹¹ The king's personal interest went further than just the subjects of the operas, however. He had so begun to "love" the *tragédie en musique* as codified by Lully and his librettist Philippe Quinault—and to understand, undoubtedly through the wisdom of Colbert, its potential as an instrument to magnify his *gloire*—that after 1675 he required Quinault to submit all librettos to the Petite Académie for approval before Lully set them.¹² While some scholars have seen this as another manifestation of the complete artistic control exercised by Louis XIV, the fact was that Quinault himself was a member (since 1674) of the very organ charged with the oversight of his works—thus calling into question the idea put forth in some scholarship that Quinault and Lully were unduly constrained by French monarch and his machine of state.¹³

much a product of Cold War mentalities; see, for example, his comments in the 'Coda' to the book (349-50), which seem to imply an equation of absolutism and authoritarianism. Isherwood's thesis was expanded in the widely-read work of historian Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992). These two books combined have had a profound impact on all studies of Lully's operas that followed, including Herbert Schneider, *Die Rezeption der Opern Lullys im Frankreich des Ancien Regime* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1982); Couvreur, *Jean-Baptiste Lully*; Jérôme de La Gorce, *Jean-Baptiste Lully* (Paris: Fayard, 2002); Georgia Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure: Louis XIV and the Politics of Spectacle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008). For a particularly perceptive critique of Isherwood, see Couvreur, *Jean-Baptiste Lully*, esp. 22-23. A similar line to Isherwood's, but with quite different results, was developed in Jean-Marie Apostolidès, *Le Roi Machine: Spectacle et politique au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris: Minuit, 1981); idem, *Le Prince sacrifié: Théâtre et politique au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris: Minuit, 1985). For Apostolidès, the ultimate result of the intricate construction of Louis XIV's image was the transformation of the king from ultimate controller into ultimately controlled.

¹¹ The literature on the *tragi-comédie et ballet* of *Psiché* (1671), seen as the main precursor to the *tragédies en musique*, invariably mentions the king's choice of the subject. Similarly, scholarship on *Amadis*, *Armide*, and *Roland* does not fail to mention the king's selection. Even if he chose all the subjects for all the operatic texts that Quinault ever wrote (which might seem likely), it would not be surprising, because his treasury subsidized the creation of these works. La Gorce makes this point as well; La Gorce, *Jean-Baptiste Lully*, 317. New evidence suggests that the king personally approved the subjects of prologues as well; see further in Chapter 3.

¹² According to a manuscript history of the Académie des Inscriptions written in 1694: "Ce fut environ en l'année 1676 [*recte*: 1675] que Le Roy commençâ d'aimer les Tragedies en musique, ou Monsr Quinault qui avoit un talent particulier pour le Lyrique, et qui avoit desja composé Cadmus et Alceste, fut choisy par sa Majesté pour travailler à ces sortes d'ouvrages, mais à condition de les consulter dans la Petite Academie. Il commençâ par Thesée; on examinoit d'abord le sujet, on en regloit les Actes, les Scenes, les Divertissemens, et Monsr QUINAULT à mesure que la piece avançoit, monstroit tout au Roy qui luy demandoit toujours si cela avoit esté veu à la Petite Academie." Text transcribed in Josèphe Jacquot, *Médailles et jetons de Louis XIV, d'après le manuscrit de Londres, Add. 31.908*, 4 vols. (Paris: Impr. nationale, C. Klincksieck, 1968), xcii.

¹³ On Quinault's involvement in the Petite Académie, see Josèphe Jacquot, "Philippe Quinault, membre de la Petite Académie," in *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire (XVIe-XVIIe siècle). Offerts à Raymond Lebègue par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis*, 305-20 (Paris: Nizet, 1969); Buford Norman, *Touched by the Graces: The Libretti of Philippe Quinault in the Context of French Classicism* (Birmingham, AL: Summa Publications Inc., 2001), 132. See also Couvreur, *Jean-Baptiste Lully*, esp. Chapter 2, "La 'Petite Académie': Hochet du roi ou machine de guerre?". Couvreur was perhaps the first musicologist to seriously consider the role played by the Petite Académie in the creation of French opera. At that time, he lamented that no history had yet been written of the many and diverse activities of the Petite Académie. The case is the same as I write this.

The construction of the grand narrative of Lully was aided in no small part by the publishing scheme that Lully embarked upon with the house of Ballard, which held a royal monopoly within France on printing music from moveable type. The first work to be printed was Lully and Quinault's *Isis* (1677), issued as a set of partbooks. Beginning with *Bellérophon* in 1679, full scores of Lully's operas were issued in monumental folio editions by the Ballard firm. The relationship between Lully, Quinault, and Ballard was formalized in 1680, with an agreement that gave the Ballards control over the publication of Lully's operas, publications that were overseen by the composer himself until his death in 1687.¹⁴ Even though the actual circulation of Ballard's scores may have been quite limited, with print runs of around 750 copies, their symbolic value as *objets de luxe* to be desired, collected, and imitated contributed to the construction of Lully's music as an exponent of the French court.¹⁵ To add to this "courtly" image, each of Ballard's full scores contains an elaborate dedication to the king, almost surely not written by the composer, explaining how the heroes of the opera can be seen as representations of royalty.¹⁶ The deluxe material nature of Ballard's folio full scores has proven tempting to modern scholarship, which has focused almost solely on these deluxe prints, thus largely ignoring the "domesticated," engraved short-score versions of Lully's works that began to be printed in Paris 1708.¹⁷

Combined with the extended celebrations of the king's *gloire* in the prologues to the operas and filtered through a political tradition in music scholarship, these features have resulted in Lully's operas being discussed almost solely in terms of their role in the glorification of Louis XIV. The apotheosis of Lully as the pre-eminent composer of the *Grand Siècle* has resulted in a distinct lack of interest in the generation of composers who followed

¹⁴ For a concise overview of Ballard's Lully editions, see Schneider, *Die Rezeption der Opern Lullys*, 22-28. More comprehensive source data for individual works may be found in idem, *Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Werke von Jean-Baptiste Lully (LWV)* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1981).

¹⁵ Lully's 1680 publishing agreement with the house of Ballard allowed for first runs of 750 exemplars. Ibid., 27. The Ballards were notoriously resistant to selling their music outside of France. Amsterdam publisher Estienne Roger repeatedly attempted to conclude a distribution agreement with Ballard in the first decade of the eighteenth century, only to be denied time and again. Even Roger's threats of being forced to pirate Ballard's editions could not sway the Parisian publisher. See Rudolf Rasch, "Brossard, Ballard et Roger," in *Sébastien de Brossard, musicien*, ed. Jean Duron, 239-59 (Paris: CMBV/Klincksieck, 1998).

¹⁶ La Gorce, *Jean-Baptiste Lully*, 635-37.

¹⁷ Engraved scores including vocal parts and a figured bass were produced by Henri de Baussen at the instigation of the composer's son Jean-Baptiste de Lully, who obtained a royal *privilège* in 1707. Ballard attempted to sue, but was unsuccessful in preventing the publications. The project was continued by Pierre Guyenet (the new director of the Paris Opéra) in 1709. On Guyenet's death in 1711, Christophe Ballard obtained the plates and reissued them under his own imprint. He also hired Baussen to complete the engraving of further short scores. For a brief overview of a topic that deserves much further study, see La Gorce, *L'Opéra à Paris*, 138-39. On the domesticating work of operatic short scores, see Thomas Christensen, "Public Music in Private Spaces: Piano-Vocal Scores and the Domestication of Opera," in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, ed. Kate van Orden, 67-93 (New York: Garland, 2000).

him on the Paris stage, as well as in other forms of French music and spectacle.¹⁸ Composers like Pascal Collasse, André Cardinal Destouches, or André Campra have been largely dismissed as derivative, uninspired, or unclassical—attitudes that are encapsulated in James R. Anthony’s term for them: *pré-ramiste* (as if nothing of worth could exist between Lully and Rameau). Such judgments have perhaps prevented a sustained investigation (particularly in Anglo-American scholarship) of the Paris Opéra that moves away from seeing the works premiered after Lully’s death as being either products of the “stranglehold of Lully” (Anthony’s phrase) or mere precursors to Rameau.¹⁹ It should be noted that the 1690s in particular saw a great variety of new operas produced under the directorship of Jean-Nicolas de Francine (Lully’s son-in-law), to the extent that there were few Lully revivals in that decade.²⁰ Recent scholarship has attempted to reclaim this generation by applying narratives of resistance, linking the use of musical *italianisme* by composers like Campra to discourses of subversion.²¹ But this discourse of resistance and subversion still posits Versailles as the sun around which all French opera orbited. The real historical picture, as I will show in this dissertation, was far less centralized.

¹⁸ These gaps are beginning to be filled, particularly in the realms of vocal chamber music and the music of other stages. On the French *air*, see Lisa Perella, “Mythologies of Musical Persuasion: The Power and Politics of Song in France, 1653-1673” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2003); Anne-Madeleine Goulet, *Poésie, musique et sociabilité au XVIIe siècle: Les Livres d’airs de différents auteurs publiés chez Ballard de 1658 à 1694* (Paris: H. Champion, 2004); Catherine Gordon-Seifert, *Music and the Language of Love: Seventeenth-Century French Airs* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2011). On the comédie-ballet, see Rose Pruiksma, “‘Dansé par le Roi’: Constructions of French Identity in the Court Ballets of Louis XIV” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1999); Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*. On the *foire* theaters, see especially Isabelle Martin, *Le théâtre de la foire: des tréteaux aux boulevards*, Studies in Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, vol. 2002:10 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2002). The most important work on theatrical music outside the Paris Opéra is John S. Powell, *Music and Theatre in France, 1600-1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). Instrumental chamber music, beyond the long-standing interest in keyboard music and the work of individual composers, has received much less attention recently. I should note, however, that all of this scholarly work shares a confined geographical focus, and does not account for the transmission of French music across the boundaries of the kingdom.

¹⁹ One could wish for a supplement to Jérôme de la Gorce’s important institutional history, providing a detailed discussion of the works that were performed. See La Gorce, *L’Opéra à Paris*.

²⁰ According to the calendar provided by La Gorce, there were no Lully revivals at all in 1693 and 1694. In 1695, two Lully revivals joined three new operas. 1697 and 1698 saw only one Lully opera apiece, a situation that was repeated in 1701 and 1702. See *ibid.*, 197-203. A more complete calendar for the Paris Opéra is currently being completed by William Brooks and Buford Norman under the aegis of the Centre de la Musique Baroque de Versailles.

²¹ Most notably, Georgia Cowart. See Georgia Cowart, “Of Women, Sex and Folly: Opera under the Old Regime,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 6 (1994); *idem*, “Watteau’s ‘Pilgrimage to Cythera’ and the Subversive Utopia of the Opera-Ballet,” *The Art Bulletin* 83, no. 3 (2001); *idem*, “Carnival in Venice or Protest in Paris? Louis XIV and the Politics of Subversion at the Paris Opera,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 54 (2001); *idem*, “Muses of Power and Pleasure: The Opera-ballet as Modernist Icon,” in *Theatre, Fiction, and Poetry in the French Long Seventeenth Century*, ed. William Brooks and Rainer Zaiser, 91-95 (Oxford and Bern: Peter Lang, 2006); *idem*, *The Triumph of Pleasure*.

Most germane to my own work is the hitherto uncontested belief that any performances that might have occurred of Lully and Quinault's works beyond Paris or Versailles must have been directly influenced by either Louis XIV or by Lully himself. Between 1682 and 1714, French baroque opera, in particular the operas of Lully and Quinault, experienced a brief but significant flowering outside of France. In some cases, the operas of Lully in particular were produced outside of France before they were ever revived in Paris. Indeed, the evidence points to a much greater interest in Lully as a "classic" outside of France than in Paris. In the first edition of his influential *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau*, James R. Anthony observed that, "the geographical spread of Lully's operas in the closing years of the seventeenth century is remarkable considering the relative lack of mobility of opera at the time."²² Anthony's comment inspired Carl B. Schmidt to undertake a comprehensive survey of evidence for performances of Jean-Baptiste Lully's works outside of the French court or the Académie Royale de Musique in Paris, resulting in an important article and an indispensable catalogue raisonné of surviving *livrets*, documenting performances as far away as Stuttgart and Rome.²³ Thanks to this important work, when Anthony revised and expanded his volume in 1997, he retained the sentence quoted above, but emended it with the phrase, "but Versailles swept Europe"—which seems to imply that the French court flooded Europe with its musical productions.²⁴

Schmidt offers a slightly different interpretation. Addressing Lully's turn to publication in 1677 and the proliferation of provincial opera academies in France after 1684 (established with Lully's permission), Schmidt notes that Lully's "immediate posthumous reputation rested on these works, and because of them the name 'Lully' remained on the tongues of countless opera enthusiasts for many decades."²⁵ Schmidt thus attributes the vehicles of dissemination and reception to the composer himself—a model that, given Lully's monopoly within the kingdom, certainly holds some truth.

But the case was very different outside of France, where the composer had few connections, no publishing or distribution agreements, and no control over public

²² James R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau*, rev. ed. (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1978), 109.

²³ Carl B. Schmidt, "The geographical spread of Lully's operas during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: new evidence from the livrets," in *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the Music of the French Baroque: Essays in Honor of James R. Anthony*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer, 183-211 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); idem, *The Livrets of Jean-Baptiste Lully's tragédies lyriques: A catalogue raisonné* (New York: Performers' Editions, 1995). Schmidt conveniently provides five tables of materials for (potential) performances in and around Marseille; in Lyon; elsewhere in the French provinces (by city); in The Hague and Amsterdam; Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent; and finally, Germany, England, and Italy. His thoroughness is admirable; my own efforts have yielded only one previously unknown libretto (for *Armide* in The Hague in 1701, discussed in Chapter 3), and only a few additional copies of librettos already catalogued by Schmidt. I should note, however, that some of the librettos Schmidt views as performance documents are actually not.

²⁴ James R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau*, Revised and expanded ed. (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1997), 141..

²⁵ Schmidt, "Geographical spread," 207.

performances. Added to this lack of direct control was the fact that nearly all of the lands in which Lully's operas were enjoyed were perpetually at war with Louis XIV. And yet, somehow, Lully's works traveled widely in Western Europe, contributing to a construction of the Florentine as a French composer whose name and style became essentially synonymous with French music. Jérôme de La Gorce and others have attributed the international interest in Lully to the composer's overwhelming success within France, which drew foreign (read: German) pupils to the composer, thus spreading his style.²⁶ La Gorce also gestures toward the prestige that French culture enjoyed elsewhere, mentioning in particular the "mini-Versailles-es" that have become a trope in studies of German lands at the time.²⁷

While the personal taste of a sovereign could impact repertoire choice in the courts of the Holy Roman Empire, the situation was quite different in the Dutch Republic, where opera was first and foremost a public affair. The Republic—the land where French opera was most successful—has posed a particular problem to researchers, as this land was France's primary adversary between 1672 and 1713, and yet was home to the most extensive publishing project of Lully's works outside of France, not to mention the longest-running French opera companies outside of French-dominated territories. Frits Noske noted the seeming paradox, explaining it in terms of the lack of native Dutch opera, the fondness of the Dutch for cultural imports, and the lack of strong musical institutions in the Dutch Reformed Church and the Stadholder's court.²⁸ While these may have been contributing factors, they hardly seem to account for the quite sudden appearance of French opera on the Dutch scene in 1682, nor do they explain why the stages of the Dutch Republic were dominated by French and not Italian productions.

Though some scholars have begun to challenge the appeal of the absolutist paradigm, what no one has yet attempted to explain was why performances occurred when and where

²⁶ La Gorce, *Jean-Baptiste Lully*, 295-302. For an overview of the adoption of Lullian orchestral practice in German lands, see John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650-1815* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), Chapter 7. On the popularity of the Lully-inspired orchestral suite, see Michael Robertson, *The Courtly Consort Suite in German-speaking Europe, 1650-1706* (Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009). Robertson signals the 1680s as the crucial decade, but does not attempt to explain why. For some possible reasons, see my Chapter 1.

²⁷ On all of these points, Anthony, Schimdt, and La Gorce echo a tradition of scholarship that stretches back to the first years after the Second World War, a crucial juncture in the restructuring of French identity. See, for example, Bernard Champigneulle, "L'influence de Lully hors de France," *La revue musicale* 22 (1946); Eugène Borrel, *Jean-Baptiste Lully: le cadre, la vie, l'oeuvre, la personnalité, le rayonnement, les oeuvres, bibliographie* (Paris: La Colombe, 1949). In Anglophone scholarship, the trend was picked up by C. L. Cudworth, "'Baptist's Vein': French Orchestral Music and Its Influence, from 1650 to 1750," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 83 (1956).

²⁸ Frits Noske, "L'influence de Lully en Hollande (1670-1700)," in *Jean-Baptiste Lully: actes du colloque Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Heidelberg 1987*, ed. Jérôme de La Gorce and Herbert Schneider, 591-98 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1990). These are traditional lines in Dutch scholarship. The writings of Rudolf Rasch have done much to counteract them, but much more work remains to be done, particularly on the patronage of the Stadholders (and especially William III).

they did.²⁹ One rarely reads or hears about performers or entrepreneurs of French opera who worked outside of French-dominated territories.³⁰ While there has been some previous scholarship on individual locales, no one has yet attempted a coherent and international study of French opera in the decades around the turn of the eighteenth century. The mechanisms of dissemination, as well as social explanations for performances of French opera, have not been considered.

It is to these largely unanswered questions that this dissertation responds. I wish to move away from the conventional expression of the “influence of Lully outside of France,” one that presupposes the power of French authorship without ever asking what it meant to be French.³¹ I would also like to call into question the notion that performances of French opera in foreign lands “redounded to the glorious image of France itself,” as one scholar recently stated.³² The Lully narrative did become set in stone when Louis XIV himself finally intervened in the affairs of the Opéra in 1714, leading to a complete reorganization and a firm attachment to the court—and hence to France.³³ But by that time, Lully’s style, most spectacularly exhibited in his operas, had become an international movement, liable to be

²⁹ The dominant paradigm was first challenged by Buford Norman in Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, esp. 33-35.. See also Rebecca Harris-Warrick, “Lully’s on-stage societies,” in *Opera and Society in Italy and France from Monteverdi to Bourdieu*, ed. Victoria Johnson, Jane F. Fulcher, and Thomas Ertman, 53-71 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 67; Catherine Kintzler, “Representations of *le peuple* in French opera, 1673-1764,” in *Opera and Society in Italy and France from Monteverdi to Bourdieu*, ed. Victoria Johnson, Jane F. Fulcher, and Thomas Ertman, 72-86 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 72. All three scholars concern themselves with readings of the works, however, and not necessarily with historical and social environments.

³⁰ Scholarship on the Low Countries is a notable exception. See Manuel Couvreur, ed., *Le théâtre de la Monnaie au XVIIIe siècle*, Cahiers du Gram (Brussels: Université libre de Bruxelles, 1996); Henri Liebrecht, *Histoire du Théâtre Français à Bruxelles au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1923; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1977); Jan Fransen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: H. Champion, 1925); Rudolf Rasch, “A Venetian goes north: Pietro Antonio Fiocco in Amsterdam, Hanover and Brussels,” *Revue belge de Musicologie Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 56 (2002): 177-207. However, it should be said that at times the Low Countries were administrated by France (for example, Louis XIV was Regent between 1700 and 1706), and the linguistic and cultural ties between One of the few articles to put a number of locales into dialogue is Jérôme de La Gorce, “Contribution des Opéras de Paris et de Hambourg à l’interprétation des ouvrages lyriques donnés à La Haye au début du XVIIIe siècle,” in *Aufklärungen: Studien zur deutsch-französischen Musikgeschichte im 18. Jahrhundert—Einflüsse und Wirkungen*, ed. Wolfgang Birtel and Christoph-Helmut Mahling (Heidelberg: Winter, 1986), 90-104.

³¹ An early articulation of this idea is found in Bernard Champigneulle’s “L’influence de Lully hors de France,” *La revue musicale* 198 (1946): 26-35. Note the date; this was a crucial juncture in the restructuring of French identity after the Second World War.

³² Pruiksma, “‘Dansé par le Roi’: Constructions of French Identity in the Court Ballets of Louis XIV”, 281. Pruiksma here echoes the opinions of her sources, including Schmidt and Noske.

³³ This was largely because of the severe financial problems of the Opéra. The house had scarcely ever turned a profit since the death of Lully and was beginning to become an embarrassment to the court, which depended on the house for the entertainment of important foreign visitors. Undoubtedly, the general peace established by the Treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Rastatt and Baden (1714) encouraged the king’s intervention.

forgetful of its French origins. It therefore became a matter of French national pride to reclaim the Opéra, to bring it into the bosom of the king, to render it once again authentically French. For, in the words of Richard Taruskin, this style “did not merely define an art form, it defined a national identity.”³⁴

The identification of Lully’s works, and Lully himself, as quintessentially French was largely forged outside of France. For it was by no means obvious that the *tragédie lyrique* was French in anything but language, at least at the beginning. Louis XIV naturalized Lully in 1661, but the process by which the Florentine Lully became a Frenchman was sooner tied to the ways in which he and his works were perceived by others. And far more effective in defining Frenchness, both in music and as a national identity, than any action of the French king were the interactions between those who considered themselves French and everyone else.

In examining performances of French opera outside of France, my curiosity was piqued by the fact that the primary audiences for these performances—and the primary reason why interest in them rose and fell so quickly—were French by birth, language, and culture, but living *ex patria*. These were the Huguenots. Between c. 1680 and c. 1710, French Calvinists established communities-in-exile in lands across Europe and beyond, and it was precisely the great centers of the Huguenot migration that experienced the brief flourishing of French opera that I study here.³⁵ The relatively short duration of this exodus and its great magnitude, particularly in the early 1680s, has led to it being termed *le Grand Refuge*, the Second Refuge (as opposed to the First Refuge of the sixteenth century) or simply *le Refuge*.³⁶

³⁴ Richard Taruskin, “Of Kings and Divas,” *The New Republic*, December 13 1993, 38.

³⁵ The exception here is London, though even that city heard Lully and Quinault’s *Cadmus et Hermione* in 1686. The reasons for the lack of interest in French opera in Britain are many and varied and deserve a detailed study of their own. I believe that it has much to do with the nature of the refugees’ reception there. Integration was much swifter in Britain than anywhere else (for a variety of reasons). To give but one example, Pierre Antoine Motteux of Rouen was granted letters of denization in London in early 1686 (around the same time that *Cadmus* was performed). By 1691, he had started a journal in English and soon became one of the major librettists of the London stage—as Peter Anthony Motteux. See Robert Newton Cunningham, *Peter Anthony Motteux, 1663-1718. A Biographical and Critical Study* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1933); Robert Wieder, *Pierre Motteux et les Débuts du Journalisme en Angleterre au XVIIe siècle. Le Gentleman’s Journal (1692-94)* (Paris: Legrand, 1944); Henrik Knif, *Gentlemen and Spectators: Studies in Journals, Opera and the Social Scene in Late Stuart London* (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1995); Kathryn Lowerre, *Music and Musicians on the London Stage, 1695-1705* (Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009).

³⁶ The term “refuge” was employed by Huguenots themselves to describe their places of settlement. Historian Charles Weiss was the first to use the term to refer to the totality of the Huguenot migration: “Le mot refuge appliqué à l’ensemble des réfugiés établis dans les pays qui leur servirent d’asile n’est pas français, nous le savons. Nous l’empruntons à ces écrivains expatriés qu’une situation nouvelle contraignit plus d’une fois à créer des mots nouveaux.” Charles Weiss, *Histoire des réfugiés protestants de France depuis la révocation de l’Édit de Nantes jusqu’à nos jours*, 2 vols. (Paris: Charpentier, 1853), I:10. The qualifier “second” distinguishes this period from the Huguenot migration of the sixteenth century. As Bertrand Van Ruymbeke points out, this was “the third largest one-shot migration in early modern Europe after the expulsion of the Jews and the Moriscos from Spain in 1492 and 1609, respectively.” Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, “Minority Survival: The Huguenot Paradigm in

Though actual numbers of the refugees are difficult to estimate, partly because of a lack of empirical data, most scholars today generally agree on a number somewhat over 200,000 for the period 1680-1710.³⁷ Even though the actual number of refugees may have been much smaller than estimates made in their own publications, the impact that they had on the European imagination was disproportionately large, thanks to their effective use of patronage, print, and performance—a campaign that effectively began in 1682, just at the moment when the first performances of French opera occurred outside of France.³⁸

One of the most significant (and under-researched) effects of this great migration event was the contesting and reconfiguration of the nature of Frenchness itself in the lands of the Huguenot Refuge. In the spaces of dispersion, the Huguenots (as we call them today) were named many names, including *fugitive*, *exilé*, and *étranger*, but the most common term was *réfugié*, anglicized as “refugee.”³⁹ It was indeed thanks to the Huguenots of the Second Refuge—and their publicity campaigns—that the word “refugee” first entered the English language. Such terminology had the effect of both constructing the diverse Huguenot communities as a global group, while simultaneously implying that this group was only in temporary exile. The long-lasting hope of someday returning to France made many Huguenots reluctant to integrate into local communities, which, as a result, viewed them first and foremost as *French* (a topic that we will revisit in greater detail in Chapter 4). At the same time, those refugees who were able to successfully negotiate local identities provided an alternative model of Frenchness, one that had little to do with the French state. Thus, cultural products originating in France, including music, literature, art, clothing, and manners, were able to be internationalized—even at a time when the French state was generally despised.⁴⁰

France and the Diaspora,” in *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*, ed. Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, 1-25 (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 6.

³⁷ Estimates from within the Huguenot community at the time tended to exaggerate the numbers greatly. For example, in 1706 Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée estimated “cinq ou six cent mille personnes.” Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée, *Le parallèle de Philippe II et de Louis XIV* (Cologne: Jaques le Sincere, 1709), 49. For an excellent overview of recent demographic research, see Eckart Birnstiel, “Introduction,” in *La Diaspora des Huguenots: Les réfugiés protestants de France et leur dispersion dans le monde (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, ed. Eckart Birnstiel, 15-25 (Paris: Champion, 2001).

³⁸ The pamphlet war begun in 1682 helped set the tone for the reception of the refugees. The most important works of that year include Pierre Bayle, *Critique générale de l’Histoire du Calvinisme de Mr. Maimbourg* (Ville-Franche [Amsterdam]: Pierre le Blanc [Abraham Wolfgang], 1682); Pierre Jurieu, *Les derniers efforts de l’innocence affligée* (Amsterdam: Du Fresne, 1682). Jurieu’s work was immediately translated into English.

³⁹ See the entry in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. For more on the word’s quick adoption in common English parlance, see Nevzat Soguk, *States and Strangers: Refugees and Displacements of Statecraft* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 58-61.

⁴⁰ Peter Burke has called the rise of French as the *lingua franca* of the period an “unintended consequence of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes”—undoubtedly because many of the refugees found employment as tutors. See Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 85-88.

The Frenchness of the refugees made them desirable at first because of the prestige attached to French language and culture—a prestige that was no doubt reinforced by the fact that the first wave of refugees in the early 1680s were of the higher social classes. The fact that they were both French and *Protestant* made the Huguenots extremely useful in the European struggle against Louis XIV organized by William of Orange (particularly during the Nine Years War). And in fact, Louis XIV's treatment of the Huguenots can be seen as the single greatest public relations disaster of his reign. For a court that had been preoccupied with the projection of a glorious image (manifested in part by the lavish court performances of Lully's operas for diplomatic assemblies), the tales that escaped with the refugees were disastrous.⁴¹

Histories produced by the Huguenots of the Second Refuge emphasized the fact that they had been forced to migrate due to religious persecution in France since the early sixteenth century, and especially after the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre in 1572.⁴² The limited toleration legislated by the Edict of Nantes in 1598, which guaranteed Protestants the right to worship—so long as it should please the king to enforce the edict—ended the worst of the confessional violence for a time, but it provided no permanent resolution of the Wars of Religion. Matters worsened in the 1620s, culminating in the reduction of the Protestant stronghold of La Rochelle. By the Treaty of Alais (1629), the Calvinists were required to disarm and swear fidelity to the king. Though Cardinal Richelieu once more guaranteed their freedom of worship, he demolished the remaining Protestant-held fortresses and forbade the members of the "Réligion Prétenduë Reformée" from engaging in political assemblies.⁴³

⁴¹ The campaign against France would preoccupy William's entire political life, both as Stadholder of the Dutch Republic and as William III of England (after 1689). Recent scholarship on William, his campaigns, and his concern for the Protestant religion includes Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Matthew Glozier, *The Huguenot Soldiers of William of Orange and the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688: The Lions of Judah* (Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2002); Wouter Troost, *William III the Stadholder-king: A Political Biography*, trans. J.C. Grayson (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005); Matthew Glozier and David Onnekink, eds., *War, Religion and Service: Huguenot Soldiering, 1685-1713* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

⁴² The classic example is Élie Benoist, *Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes*, 5 vols. (Delft: Berman, 1693-95). Portions of the work were published in English in 1694. The Dutch version includes a series of fifteen engravings by Jan Luyken and was subsidized by the States General of the Dutch Republic: Benoist, *Historie der Gereformeerde kerken van Vrankryk*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Jan ten Hoorn, 1696). On Huguenot historiography, see Elisabeth Labrousse, "Les guerres de Religion vues par les huguenots du XVIIe siècle," in *Historiographie de la Réforme*, ed. Philippe Joutard (Paris: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1977); Myriam Yardeni, *Repenser l'histoire: aspects de l'historiographie huguenote des guerres de religion à la Révolution française* (Paris: Champion, 2000); Viviane Rosen-Prest, *L'historiographie des huguenots en Prusse au temps des Lumières: entre mémoire, histoire et légende* (Paris: Champion, 2002); Bernard Cottret, "Frenchmen by Birth, Huguenots by the Grace of God: Some Aspects of the Huguenot Myth," in *Memory and Identity*, ed. Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, 310-324 (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003).

⁴³ The work of Elisabeth Labrousse has done much to increase our knowledge of France during the period of the Edict of Nantes. A recent volume that carries her scholarship further in enlightening ways is Keith P. Luria,

A slow diminishing of privileges over the next decades would greatly accelerate in the early years of Louis XIV's personal reign, culminating in the revocation of the "perpetual" Edict of Nantes in October 1685. The 1660s saw a trickle of declarations eroding Protestant freedoms, including an edict of 1669 forbidding migration to other lands without the approval of the king. Though this edict was directed at all of the king's subjects, it seems to have been inspired by awareness of increasing Protestant migration.⁴⁴ It was in the king's best interests to try to keep his Reformed subjects in the country, especially those of the merchant and artisan classes. Skilled tradesmen and merchants, with their many connections abroad, were much more likely to disappear. And the trickle, both of Huguenot emigrants and of royal measures against them, soon became a flood. After only seven royal decisions against the Protestants between 1662 and 1676, there were suddenly sixty-nine between 1679 and 1684 and forty-five in 1685 alone. Growing unrest in the largely Protestant regions of France (including the Poitou, the Languedoc, the Dauphiné, and Normandy) was met with ever more violent policies from the French state.⁴⁵ Fears of violence coupled with the loss of property and livelihoods encouraged many Huguenots to exit the French kingdom in any way they could, even though escape was strictly forbidden by the king. Capture resulted in harsh penalties, including confinement in convents for women and a life sentence on the king's galleys for men.

By the time the Edict of Fontainebleau (revoking the Edict of Nantes) was handed down, Louis XIV appears to have been convinced that his conversion campaigns had been effective, rendering his entire kingdom Catholic.⁴⁶ Such attitudes had a resoundingly negative impact on France's relations with her neighbors, for in truth, many of his Protestant subjects had already departed for more accommodating lands abroad, and many others would follow over the next decades.⁴⁷ The vast majority headed for the Protestant lands neighboring France, with the greatest centers of immigration being the Dutch Republic and England.⁴⁸ The Dutch Republic counted between 50,000 and 70,000 refugees among its total population

Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-Modern France (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005).

⁴⁴ The relevant documents are transcribed in Léon Pilatte, ed. *Édits, Déclarations et Arrests concernant la Religion P. Réformée 1662-1751. Précédés de l'Édit de Nantes* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1885).

⁴⁵ The worst violence occurred in 1683 and 1684, with continued actions against insurrection in various parts of France throughout the 1690s. See Roy L. McCullough, *Coercion, Conversion and Counterinsurgency in Louis XIV's France*, *History of Warfare* 42 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), Chapter 4.

⁴⁶ Why Louis XIV decided to revoke the Edict of Nantes is still a matter of debate. For a view from 1686 on the new "completely Catholic" France, see Pierre Bayle, *Ce que c'est que la France toute catholique, sous le règne de Louis le Grand* (St. Omer [Amsterdam]: Jean Pierre [Abraham Wolfgang], 1686; reprint, edited by Elisabeth Labrousse, Hélène Himelfarb, and Roger Zuber, Paris: Vrin, 1973).

⁴⁷ On the widespread view that France was indeed closed to all Protestants after 1685, and the measures the French state to counteract that opinion, see Peter Sahlin, "Fictions of a Catholic France: The Naturalization of Foreigners, 1685-1787," *Representations*, no. 47 (1994), 93ff.

⁴⁸ For an overview, see Myriam Yardeni, *Le refuge protestant* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1985), 49-53.

of around two million in the last decades of the seventeenth century, with a peak reached in 1686.⁴⁹ To accommodate the new arrivals, thirty-three new French churches were founded between 1682 and 1689.⁵⁰ England, which saw immigration begin in the early 1670s and reach a peak in 1687, provided homes for a similar number of refugees.⁵¹ By 1700, around 13,000 had found a place in Brandenburg-Prussia, with other Protestant regions of the Holy Roman Empire accommodating smaller, yet still significant populations.⁵²

Where the refugees went did not always follow geographical logic, however, because of the various—and sometimes quite fantastic—means of escape employed by the refugees. From the Languedoc alone, for example, Huguenots traveled by sea to England, over the mountains to Switzerland, across Catalonia by way of Marseille, through Nice to Genoa or Geneva.⁵³ And many kept on moving. For example, Hans Bots found that between 1681 and 1690, more than twenty percent of the more than 6000 new members of the French Church

⁴⁹ Hubert P. H. Nusteling, “The Netherlands and the Huguenot émigrés,” in *La Révocation de l’Édit de Nantes et les Provinces-Unies, 1685: Actes du Colloque international du tricentenaire*, ed. Hans Bots and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (Amsterdam and Maarssen: APA/Holland University Press, 1986).

⁵⁰ Hans Bots, “Le Refuge dans les Provinces-Unies,” in *La Diaspora des Huguenots*, ed. Eckart Birnstiel, 63-74 (Paris: Champion, 2001), 68.

⁵¹ The English peak in 1687 was largely due to the promulgation of a Declaration of Indulgence by James II in the spring of the year. Prior to that move, Huguenot immigrants were only allowed to set up new congregations if they embraced the Anglican communion—a condition that was reinstated with the Glorious Revolution. See Robin Gwynn, “Conformity, Non-conformity and Huguenot Settlement in England in the Later Seventeenth Century,” in *The Religious Culture of the Huguenots, 1660-1750*, ed. Anne Dunan-Page, 23-41 (Aldershot, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 24-25. For a good overview of the situation in Britain, see Fabienne Chamayou, “Le Refuge dans les îles Britanniques,” in *La Diaspora des Huguenots*, ed. Eckart Birnstiel, 43-62 (Paris: Champion, 2001).

⁵² The extremely insular nature and rich documentation of the French “colony” in Brandenburg Prussia has inspired much research. Recent studies include François David, “Refuge Huguenot et assimilation: Le cas de la Colonie française de Berlin,” in *La Diaspora des Huguenots*, ed. Eckart Birnstiel, 75-97 (Paris: Champion, 2001); Manuela Böhm, Jens Häsel, and Robert Violet, eds., *Hugenotten zwischen Migration und Integration: Neue Forschungen zum Refuge in Berlin und Brandenburg* (Berlin: Metropol, 2005); Matthias Asche, “Glaubensflüchtlinge und Kulturtransfer: Perspektiven für die Forschung aus der Sicht der sozialhistorischen Migrations- und der vergleichenden Minderheitenforschung,” in *Kultureller Austausch: Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeitforschung*, ed. Michael North, 89-114 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2009); Manuela Böhm, *Sprachenwechsel: Akkulturation und Mehrsprachigkeit der Brandenburger Hugenotten vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2010). For other regions of the German lands, see especially Sabine Beneke and Hans Ottomeyer, eds., *Zuwanderungsland Deutschland: Die Hugenotten* (Berlin: Edition Minerva, 2005); Guido Braun and Susanne Lachenicht, eds., *Hugenotten und deutsche Territorialstaaten: Immigrationspolitik und Integrationsprozesse* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007); Ulrich Niggemann, “Hugenotten als wirtschaftliche Elite. Wahrnehmung und Selbstwahrnehmung in den immigrationspolitischen Auseinandersetzungen in Deutschland und England, 1680-1700,” in *Religiöse und konfessionelle Minderheiten als wirtschaftliche und geistige Eliten*, ed. Markus A. Denzel, Matthias Asche, and Matthias Stickler, 201-27 (St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae, 2009).

⁵³ See Charles Bost, “Les routes de l’exil. Itinéraires suivis par les fugitifs du Languedoc à la révocation,” *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme français* 47 (1898).

of Amsterdam moved on, mostly for other lands.⁵⁴ Such a high percentage of continued migration indicates that even the Dutch Republic was not the promised land that it seemed to be in the propagandistic works emanating from Amsterdam.

Nor were the *réfugiés* themselves what they were made out to be, both at the time and in later historiography. Recent scholarship has re-examined the cultural and intellectual life of Huguenots during the Second Refuge, and has called into question the myths of happy integration fostered by Huguenot historiography.⁵⁵ As has now been demonstrated, the French *émigrés* were hardly the model minority they were made out to be.⁵⁶ While tales from within the Huguenot camp emphasized their entrepreneurial abilities and refined skills, complaints from their hosts as well as actual data show that they did not bring the riches and craft prowess many expected of them. Returning to the example of Amsterdam, only about fifteen percent of the new members of the French Church in the 1680s had any specific trade; the majority had no qualifications and often no resources.⁵⁷ The situation was similar in the German lands: as early as 1686, a court official of Brandenburg-Bayreuth complained that most of the immigrants were of the lower classes and were far needier than they were actually useful.⁵⁸

By the end of the seventeenth century, the special status accorded to Huguenots by their hosts, including exemption from taxation, free land and building materials, and retention of noble titles, was diminishing. Being Protestant no longer could excuse being French, and negative feelings toward the *réfugiés* began growing in cities like Amsterdam and Hamburg. Such attitudes were perhaps to be expected, as many Huguenots fully

⁵⁴ Bots, "Le Refuge dans les Provinces-Unies."

⁵⁵ One of the first of such accounts was Jean-Pierre Erman and Pierre Chrétien Frédéric Reclam, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des Réfugiés François dans les États du Roi*, 9 vols. (Berlin: J. Jasperd, 1782-1799). This study was conceived to celebrate the centennial of the Edict of Potsdam, the response of the Elector of Brandenburg to the Edict of Fontainebleau. Viviane Rosen-Prest has recently reexamined the construction of this triumphalist Huguenot narrative and its impact on nineteenth-century historiography. See Rosen-Prest, *L'historiographie des huguenots en Prusse au temps des Lumières: entre mémoire, histoire et légende*. The celebratory vein of Erman and Reclam was continued by Eugène and Emile Haag, *La France protestante; ou, Vies des protestants français qui se sont fait un nom dans l'histoire depuis les premiers temps de la réformation jusqu'à la reconnaissance du principe de la liberté des cultes par l'Assemblée nationale; ouvrage précédé d'une notice historique sur le protestantisme en France, suivi de pièces justificatives, et rédigé sur des documents en grand partie inédits*, 10 vols. (Paris: Joël Cherbuliez, 1846-59). The study of the Haags accompanied the foundation in 1852 of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, at a time when Protestant academics dominated the Sorbonne.

⁵⁶ Yardeni was one of the first to pose such questions; recent scholarship following the lines of inquiry she established include Eckart Birnstiel, ed. *La Diaspora des Huguenots: Les réfugiés protestants de France et leur dispersion dans le monde (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris: Champion, 2001); Susanne Lachenicht, "Huguenot Immigrants and the Formation of National Identities, 1548-1787," *The Historical Journal* 50 (2007); Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, eds., *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003).

⁵⁷ Bots, "Le Refuge dans les Provinces-Unies," 71.

⁵⁸ Niggemann, "Hugenotten als wirtschaftliche Elite," 211.

expected to return to France. But these hopes were dashed when the European peace concluded at Ryswick in 1697 failed to include French guarantees of religious freedom. The outcome of this was a reinvigoration of Protestant activists, who claimed that the restoration of the Protestant religion in France was interdependent with Allied aims during the subsequent War of the Spanish Succession. Such claims were aided by the Protestant rebellion in the Cévennes (a mountainous region in the south of France) that broke out in 1704.⁵⁹ But to no avail. Though the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 was celebrated loudly across Europe, it signaled the utter defeat of the Protestant interest. The reality of that Treaty, like the one signed at Ryswick, was that the exile thought to be temporary by so many of the refugees was in fact permanent. At that point, it no longer became a question of waiting to return to France, but one of integration into the host societies, a transformation from *émigré* to *émigrant*.⁶⁰

More importantly, the presence of the refugees put pressure on local cultural identities and fostered growing recourse to the rhetoric of “nation.” For only after they left France did the Huguenots—and the *tragédie en musique*—become identifiably “French.”⁶¹ Legislation and privileges aimed at the entire Huguenot community abroad erased regional ethnic identities. No longer were they “of Nîmes” or “from the Languedoc”; rather, they were assimilated into “the French nation” as a whole. This alternative model of the “French nation” was especially important during a period when the relationships of other Western European states (particularly Protestant ones) with France were especially complicated. By taking in the *réfugiés*, the Protestant states were able to demonstrate not only their commitment to the Protestant international, but also to partake in aspects of French culture that were otherwise denied to them because of trade and travel restrictions.

It should be remembered that when diplomatic relationships with most of Western Europe broke off, as they did between 1689 and 1697 (the Nine Years War) and again between 1702 and 1713/14 (the War of the Spanish Succession), travel to France and the importation of French goods (including music) was nearly impossible. And it was precisely within these periods when access to the Paris Opéra was impossible to outsiders that French opera flourished in other lands. The tendency, however, for Huguenots (particularly in the German lands and the Dutch Republic) to remain a society apart inspired anxiety amongst

⁵⁹ On this episode, known as the War of the Camisards, see esp. McCullough, *Coercion, Conversion and Counterinsurgency*, Chapter 5. The international efforts of the Camisard leaders (known as the “French Prophets”), whose wanderings took them as far away as Constantinople, are currently being studied by historian Lionel Laborie. For their activities in England, see Lionel Laborie, “The French Prophets: A Cultural History of Religious Enthusiasm in Post-Toleration England (1689-1730)” (Ph.D. diss., University of East Anglia, 2010).

⁶⁰ For an overview of the assimilation process in various lands, see Yardeni, *Le refuge protestant*, Part III.

⁶¹ Richard Taruskin has made a similar argument for the “Russianness” of the Ballets Russes in early twentieth-century Paris, with implications for Igor Stravinsky’s own position as a Russian abroad. See Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works through Mavra*, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

their hosts, who feared being overwhelmed by a sort of French cultural imperialism. These factors resulted in the vigorous search for distinctive national cultural identities.⁶² And, as we shall see, such factors also limited the repertoire choices and very viability of French opera productions in other lands.

The Huguenot migration thus contributed not just to the establishment of French national identity, but of German, Dutch or English identity in the early modern period. Other recent scholarship has raised some of the same issues about the construction of a “national” identity that I tackle here. The rise of migration, diaspora, and identity studies in the 1980s and 1990s has served as inspiration for a rethinking of the cultural work done by artistic productions.⁶³ For example, literary scholar Timothy Hampton has examined the lyric construction of French nationhood in the engagement of sixteenth-century French literature with notions of territorial Others.⁶⁴ In these moments of encounter, Hampton sees sites where the borders of French identity become legible, for “new relations of identity and difference require new words, new images of the body and community, new forms of representation.”⁶⁵ Rose Pruiksma’s dissertation focused on the representation of different ethnicities in French court ballet between 1654 and 1662, situated within a discussion primarily of Franco-Italian relations.⁶⁶ Informed by the work of Homi Bhabha in particular, Pruiksma makes the point that a nation cannot be defined without cultural hybridity—

⁶² On this search in the Dutch Republic, see especially Wijnand W. Mijnhardt, “Dutch Culture in the Age of William and Mary: Cosmopolitan or Provincial?,” in *The World of William and Mary: Anglo-Dutch Perspectives on the Revolution of 1688-89*, ed. Dale Hoak and Mordechai Feingold, 219-33 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996). For England, the problem is perhaps best described by Daniel Defoe, “The True-Born Englishman,” in *A True Collection of the Writings of the Author of the True-Born Englishman, corrected by himself*, ed. Henry Morley (London: 1703).

⁶³ The literature on these topics is vast. Many significant contributions to the fields may be found reprinted in Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, eds., *Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism*, International Library of Studies on Migration (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA: Elgar, 1999). For an excellent overview of diaspora studies, as well as an insightful critique of the use of “diaspora” in scholarship, see Stéphane Dufoix, *Diasporas*, trans. William Rodarmor. With a foreword by Roger Waldinger (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008). Besides the individual contributions I cite in this text, my own critical perspective has especially benefitted from Stuart Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford, 222-37 (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990); Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson, “Beyond ‘Culture’: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference,” *Cultural Anthropology* 7 (1992); Rina Benmayor and Andor Skotnes, eds., *Migration and Identity*, International Yearbook of Oral History and Life Stories (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Robin Cohen, “Diasporas and the Nation-State: From Victims to Challengers,” *International Affairs* 72 (1996); James Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999); Thomas Turino, *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Peter Jackson, Phil Crang, and Claire Dwyer, eds., *Transnational Spaces* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).

⁶⁴ Timothy Hampton, *Literature and Nation in the Sixteenth Century: Inventing Renaissance France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁶⁶ Pruiksma, “‘Dansé par le Roi’: Constructions of French Identity in the Court Ballets of Louis XIV”.

without bringing together two or more cultural practices, genres, or styles in order to articulate a new sense of identity.⁶⁷ As she demonstrates, “the foil of Italian musical style was necessary to the construction of French identity through French musical style,” on a court ballet stage that was conceived as a space for displaying and developing French national identities.⁶⁸ The contrast between balletic characters identified as French and those clearly marked by costume, gesture, and music as being “other” helped solidify notions of the nature of French national character.

While both Pruiksmas and Hampton focus primarily on the representation of Others from within France, my own interest is in how those Others could define France from outside and along her borders. By working from the inside out, this dissertation pushes further recent scholarship that has questioned the top-down construction of French nationhood. Historian Peter Sahlins, for example, has argued in his study of the Catalan borderlands that the sheer proximity of the Other across the Franco-Spanish boundary “structured the appearance of national identity long before local society was assimilated to a dominant center.”⁶⁹ In his final analysis, a definition of national identity does not necessarily depend on national boundaries, nor is it defined by components of social or cultural characteristics. Rather, it is a “socially constructed and continuous process of defining ‘friend’ and ‘enemy,’ a logical extension of the process of maintaining boundaries between ‘us’ and ‘them’ within more local communities.”⁷⁰

This point becomes especially crucial when examining the intermingling of “us” and “them” in studies of immigrant groups.⁷¹ My own focus on the Huguenots in the lands of the Second Refuge belongs to this type of scholarship. The Huguenots looked, acted, and spoke French, and yet they interacted on daily basis—both face-to-face and through the networks of correspondence and print—with non-French others. Such interactions helped to produce clear distinctions, defining not just French identities but the identities of their hosts. Similarly, the appearance of French opera outside of its places of origin contributed to its construction as “French,” precisely because of its placement in comparison with other forms of spectacular entertainment.

With these considerations in mind, I construct an alternative history of French opera by tracing its circulation along the routes of Huguenot migration, a history that attributes its

⁶⁷ Pruiksmas signals as particularly fruitful to her line of inquiry Homi Bhabha, “DissemiNation: Time, narrative and the margins of the modern nation,” in *The Location of Culture*, 139-70 (London and New York: Routledge, 1994). See 42ff. in her dissertation.

⁶⁸ Pruiksmas, “‘Dansé par le Roi’: Constructions of French Identity in the Court Ballets of Louis XIV,” 36.

⁶⁹ Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 9.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 270-71.

⁷¹ On the reception of foreigners in France in this period, see especially Jean-François Dubost, *La France italienne: XVIe-XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Aubier, 1997); Jean-François Dubost and Peter Sahlins, *Et si on faisait payer les étrangers? Louis XIV, les immigrés et quelques autres* (Paris: Flammarion, 1999); Peter Sahlins, *Unnaturally French: Foreign Citizens in the Old Regime and After* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004).

lack of a sustained tradition beyond *la France* not to its musical or dramatic forms or its allegiance to French politics, but rather to the changing social and religious pressures on its primary foreign audience. Engaging issues of translation, performance, and reception, I show that the nostalgia for French cultural products experienced by these displaced persons, as well as the received opinion amongst host societies that French spectacle was of a higher order, created opportunities for entrepreneurs and contributed to the canonization of Lully and the codification of the French style. And French opera, because of its associations with Paris and its focus on spectacle and group expression, became an important instrument in discourses of identity and cultural competence abroad. However, the transformations in the reception of French immigrants during this period limited the usefulness—and indeed the feasibility—of actual productions. In sum, I argue that the opera was itself a site of refuge that could exist only as long as the French community abroad remained culturally distinct. Ultimately, the sorts of negative reactions from the locals provoked by performances of French opera abroad inextricably linked the genre to France, thus creating a space for the construction of Lully as the ultimate model of French music and the Paris Opéra as an extension of the French court.

My work in this dissertation is largely a response to archival materials that illuminate the actions of the sometimes unexpected mediators whose own mobilities enabled the circulation of French spectacular practice. The presence of the same groups or individuals in very different places highlights the shared goals and fluid demographics of local music scenes, demonstrating that the route was often just as important as the destination. One route was that of Huguenot impresario, merchant, writer, and spy Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée. Quesnot was born in Sommières, in the province of Languedoc, in 1663 or 1664 and died at Amsterdam in 1708.⁷² In the early 1680s, the largely Protestant Languedoc suffered greatly as a result of the *dragonnades* instituted by Louis XIV. Facing forcible conversion, Quesnot and his family fled to Geneva, the birthplace of his mother, Louise Baccuet.⁷³ As with many Huguenots, this was not be his final destination. His wanderings carried him to Berlin, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Hamburg, various cities in the Dutch Republic, Brussels, Ghent, Bruges, London, and possibly Warsaw and Moscow. At some point he became interested in the theater, probably in either Copenhagen or Hamburg in the late 1680s or early 1690s, and decided to become an impresario. He would go on to stage the works of Jean-Baptiste Lully, André Campra, and André Cardinal Destouches (among others) in The Hague, Ghent, Bruges, and Rotterdam, and there is some indication that he organized

⁷² I assume that Quesnot was born in the same village as his sister Bernardine, who on 5 September 1709 reported that she was from Sommières. Amsterdam: Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsarchief (GAA), 5028/594. His birth year can be inferred from a letter he wrote to the Archbishop of Grenoble, Etienne Le Camus, dated 26 December 1687, in which he says, “Si vôtre Eminence daigne jeter les yeux dans ses prisons, elle y trouvera un jeune homme de 23. à 24. ans.” Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée, *L’innocence accablée, ou Le prisonnier trahi* (Cologne: Guillaume Forbenius, 1689), 37.

⁷³ See *ibid.*, 85–86. Louise Baccuet’s brother Augustin immigrated to the Dutch Republic in 1671, where he became a preacher of the French Church in Delft.

performances in London as well. Despite the fact that his competence in French spectacle was most certainly acquired abroad, he was considered an “expert” by the people for whom he worked—because he was French, a fact that he did not hesitate to mention in his requests to the authorities of the cities where he worked, as we shall see.

Quesnot’s wide-ranging geographical trajectory establishes the boundaries not only of French operatic production abroad, making him an ideal case study for this dissertation. His shifting identities within the Huguenot diaspora become emblematic of the strategies refugees employed for survival. I describe the environments and networks with which he engaged across Europe in order to answer questions not only to establish the mechanisms of musical exchange, but also about the stakes of performance in this time of rapid change.

As we shall see, this dissertation focuses almost solely on revivals of older operas. Previous scholarship has primarily considered operatic premieres, relating the works to the moment of conception and to social, historical, and aesthetic concerns of the moment of composition. But how should one view these works once released from both their geographical and temporal environments of origin? The term “revival” is in one sense misleading, for it tends to imply that the work has undergone a process of revivification that is akin to resurrection in the original, perfect form intended by its creators. Resurrection, however, does not necessarily mean that the original forms, intentions, or effects of works remain the same—one might say that even Jesus looked different on the third day. In the chapters that follow, I would like to press on this aspect of revival: that it is a transformative process. New productions of old works looked, sounded, and meant differently for the diverse audiences who attended them in places far removed from the point of origin, both geographically and temporally.

And yet, as has become apparent from my study of the available performance materials, what is truly remarkable about the performances of French opera outside of France is the very stability of the works (with the exception of the dedicatory prologues). The five acts of the operatic drama were far more likely to be significantly altered on the Paris stage than they ever were in The Hague, Hamburg, Wolfenbüttel, or Ghent (for example). While it was not uncommon to cut whole acts, replace entire scenes, or insert Italian arias in Parisian productions, such alterations to the drama were quite rare on other stages, as we have seen.⁷⁴ This was on the whole completely unusual in the operatic world at the time, and points to a tendency to “classicize” the works of Lully in particular long before such projects became a concern within France.

⁷⁴ Significant studies of single operas on the Paris stage that richly illustrate the sorts of transformations to which operas were prone are Lois Rosow, “Lully’s *Armide* at the Paris Opéra: A Performance History, 1686-1766” (Ph.d. diss., Brandeis University, 1981); Antonia L. Banducci, “*Tancredi* by Antoine Danchet and André Campra: Performance History and Reception (1702-1764)” (Ph.D. dissertation, Washington University, 1990); Pascal Denécheau, “*Thésée* de Lully et Quinault, histoire d’un opéra. Étude de l’oeuvre de sa création à sa dernière reprise sous l’Ancien Régime (1675-1779)” (Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, 2006). On the whole, however, these operas were less susceptible to alteration than Italian operas of the time.

What might account for the stability of these works, beyond the prologues? While it might rightly be assumed that source materials and the abilities of local personnel contributed to the avoidance of significant alteration of the dramas, one might go a step further and question whether the very solidity of the *tragédies* did not have more to do with concerns for preservation of the works' authenticities, or perhaps the opportunity to access an aesthetic idealism that promoted a view of the operas of Lully and Quinault in particular as classics. Though the French canon would not be completely solidified until the Third Republic, it was already being formed in the late seventeenth century, a phenomenon that has recently been explored in detail by literary scholars Guy Spielmann and Alain Viala.⁷⁵ Lully's works, together with those of Molière (d. 1673) and Racine (who gave up tragedy after *Phèdre*, 1677), became the foundation for "l'Age Classique," a mythical time in which French drama was practically perfect in every way, and the *galante* operas of Lully became a European obsession.⁷⁶ Sociologist William Weber, on the other hand, has questioned the classic status of Lully in a seminal article that is part of his long-standing inquiry into the development of the classical canon.⁷⁷ He disputes the idea that admiration for Lully as expressed in the writings of Charles Perrault⁷⁸ and Jean-Laurent Lecerf de la Viéville⁷⁹ had anything to do with the reverence for antiquity in French thought. Rather, Weber sees the "eulogy of the operas as one of the many aspects of the court of Louis XIV," as "essentially a courtly, not a philosophical tendency, a matter of nostalgia rather than aesthetics."⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Guy Spielmann, *Le jeu de l'ordre et du chaos: Comédie et pouvoirs à la fin de règne, 1673-1715* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002); Alain Viala, *La France galante: Essai historique sur une catégorie culturelle, de ses origines jusqu'à la Révolution* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2008). On the Third Republic apotheosis of seventeenth-century writers, see Ralph Albanese, *Molière à l'École républicaine: de la critique universitaire aux manuels scolaires (1870-1914)*, Stanford French and Italian studies (Saratoga, CA: Anma Libri, 1992); idem, *La Fontaine à l'école républicaine: du poète universel au classique scolaire* (Charlottesville: Rookwood Press, 2003).

⁷⁶ On the intrinsically conservative nature of the *galant* by the turn of the eighteenth century, see Viala, *La France galante*.

⁷⁷ William Weber, "Lully and the Rise of Musical Classics in the 18th Century," in *Jean-Baptiste Lully: Actes du colloque Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Heidelberg 1987*, ed. Jérôme de La Gorce and Herbert Schneider, 581-90 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1990). Weber contrasts Lully with Purcell; a later article details further the classicizing of Purcell in the first decades of the eighteenth century: William Weber and Donald Burrows, "Henry Purcell and *The Universal Journal*: The Building of Musical Canon in the 1720s," in *Music and History: Bridging the Disciplines*, ed. Jeffrey H. Jackson and Stanley C. Pelkey, 181-99 (Jackson, MI: University Press of Mississippi, 2005). It seems to me, however, that the elevation of Purcell had much to do with the specter of Lully, especially given the extremely uneasy relationship between the English and their numerous French refugees; but that thought will have to wait for another time.

⁷⁸ In particular, Perrault's staunch defense of *Alceste*: Charles Perrault, *Critique de l'opéra, ou Examen de la tragédie intitulée Alceste, ou le Triomphe d'Alcide* (Paris: Claude Barbin, 1674).

⁷⁹ Lecerf de la Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française*. This polemic was expanded to three volumes in 1706-06, appearing with the same publisher.

⁸⁰ Weber, "Lully and the Rise of Musical Classics," 583.

The picture begins to look quite different when we glance beyond the borders of France. While Weber may be correct that in Paris, at least, the revivals of Lully's operas had something to do with a mere need for repertoire, that cannot explain the sudden interest in French opera, particularly the works of Lully, outside of France. Indeed, nostalgia may have played a greater role in the explosion of productions in the 1680s and 1690s than has hitherto been accounted for.⁸¹ One might ask if the very liminality of these works—and the people who performed, produced, and enjoyed them—their ability to cross borders of time and space, did not provide the opportunity to recapture a past experience, a prior journey, a lost identity, to indulge in the nostalgia for a world of classic French musical drama that real circumstances denied them. Unfortunately, few records exist for such emotional responses to productions outside of France. But the very fact that these performances occurred, were successful for a time, and then died away, might suggest that their primary audiences did see them as such.

Chapter 1 considers the identification of “French” opera through its confluence with both Italian opera and native spectacle in the public theaters of the Low Countries and various Protestant courts of the Holy Roman Empire between 1682 and 1689. The sudden interest in French productions, I contend, had much to do with the appearance of the Huguenot refugees. While both French opera and the refugees were at first received with great enthusiasm, particularly in The Hague and Amsterdam, friction between natives and *émigrés* were already becoming clear, manifesting in suspicion toward the refugees and calls for “nationally”-oriented spectacle.

This picture becomes clearer in Chapter 2, which explores Hamburg's brief affair with opera in French. Between 1689 and 1695, French operas were staged in Hamburg three times. These performances, which ran the gamut from an all-French version, to a bilingual version (likely performed in French), to an all-German version, coincided with the shifting status of Huguenot refugees in the area during this time. As diplomatic relationships fluctuated between the “Free Imperial City,” Denmark, and France, so did the popularity of French cultural products. And as conflicts over “pure” Lutheranism escalated, the Huguenots and the brand of entrepreneurial Calvinism that they represented became increasingly unwelcome. After 1695, the pressures on Germanness exerted by Hamburg's newest immigrant community rendered performances of French opera, even in German translation, undesirable. For new ideas about the moral uniformity carried by language and cultural expression were on the rise.

Chapter 3 moves on to The Hague to consider the first production mounted there by Quesnot's new opera company, Lully and Quinault's *Armide* and considers more fully the status of the operatic prologue. Because Quinault and Lully's original prologue to *Armide* celebrates Louis XIV and denigrates the Dutch, their allies, and the Huguenots, the prologue

⁸¹ I am thinking here in particular of the “restorative” nostalgia described by Svetlana Boym, which masquerades as truth and tradition and serves as the foundation of national cultural myths. See Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), Chapter 4.

(but not the rest of the opera) was unperformable in The Hague in 1701. In order to bring *Armide* to the stage, the company not only needed to assemble requisite stage materials and bring in competent performers ultimately decided to create an entirely new prologue for their production of *Armide*, one that effectively celebrates the international coalitions sponsored by the Dutch Republic and William III. The text of the new prologue, written by the company's impresario, Quesnot, carefully highlights the difficult situation faced by the *réfugiés* and looks to William III as a (potential) savior, just at the moment that Europe was poised for war with France once more.

The porous borders between geographical locations, genres, and local, national, and confessional identities are the subject of Chapter 4. It was Quesnot's marginal, stateless identity that allowed his opponents at the Opera of The Hague to question his fidelity to the Dutch Republic in 1702. His own crossing of confessional boundaries some years earlier enabled him to embark on a career in international espionage. It was perhaps the sympathetic resonance that Quesnot found with theater folk, whose own identities were necessarily flexible, that ultimately determined his insistence on remaining an impresario despite all the challenges that the theater presented. At a time when the differences accentuated by mobility resulted in questions of fidelity and accusations of impropriety, it was no easy matter to be a Huguenot or an itinerant performer. However, as I stress here, there were also important differences between the two groups. Even though both Huguenots and entertainers shared the experience of travel, the emergent Huguenot diaspora—in the sense of an established community-in-residence—incorporated a strong political element that was never a feature of theatrical networks.

Quesnot's emergent political goals played out on the stage in a series of operatic works that he based on the great battles of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713/14). Chapter 5 examines these works and their performances. By alluding to the history of the Huguenots in his works, Quesnot encouraged his readers and his audiences not only to contemplate the horrors of war and the importance of a swift end to hostilities, but also to remember that the European future of the Protestant religion hung in the balance. At the same time, the difficulties he encountered in attempting to produce these works demonstrate the way in which Quesnot's entire career was shaped by the political circumstances within which he worked. Ultimately, both Quesnot and French opera failed entirely, as did the hopes of the Huguenots to return to France. After the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, all dreams and illusions about a return "home" dissipated.

Despite the fact that this dissertation ultimately describes the rise and fall of a genre, it provides necessary background for previous studies of the circulation of French music and has wide-ranging implications for future research. For, despite their failure to gain a foothold in the lands of the Huguenot migration, the operas and operatic practices examined here had long-term effects on local spectacular and musical practices. This dissertation thus provides insight into the "Frenchification" of Dutch and German theater in particular, which after the 1680s tended to include much more music and spectacular effects than previously. Similarly, the obvious "Frenchness" of London theatrical practices in the later seventeenth and early

eighteenth century is a topic that deserves much further investigation. The appearance of French operas abroad also helped create greater demand for publications of operatic excerpts and orchestral suites, volumes that were largely produced by the Huguenot music publishers of Amsterdam. More significantly, perhaps, the anxieties provoked by performances of French opera can be seen as preparing the way for the positive reception of Italian opera abroad. For the Italians as a “nation” posed far fewer cultural risks than the French.

1

Defining French opera

In “Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology,” a foundational work for migration studies, Arjun Appadurai defined “ethnoscape” as “the landscape of persons who make up the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guestworkers, and other moving groups and persons constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of and between nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree.” Appadurai acknowledges the ongoing presence of “relatively stable communities and networks,” but observes that “the warp of these stabilities is everywhere shot through with the woof of human motion, as more persons and groups deal with the realities of having to move or the fantasies of wanting to move.”¹ Appadurai describes migratory configurations in the age of late twentieth-century globalization, when such border crossings were largely construed as a productive move toward a post-national context. My own interest is Western Europe at the end of the seventeenth century, a time that saw the rise of absolutism, the invention of constitutional monarchy, and the institutionalization of global trade. Appadurai’s mobile individuals and groups had their counterparts in nobles on the Grand Tour, merchants settled abroad, Huguenot refugees, political exiles (like the great opera hater, Saint Evremond), mercenary soldiers, and itinerant performers. In both eras, awareness of the global led to a new emphasis on—and new definitions of—the national.²

The intersection of such mobilities with attempts to institutionalize, and thus stabilize, spectacular entertainment led to the creation of a new discursive configuration in the seventeenth century: the opera-going public. The genre that most immediately comes to mind when considering “public opera” is the *dramma per musica* of Venice. After all, it was Venice that witnessed the opening of the first-ever “public” opera house in 1637.³ Many

¹ Arjun Appadurai, “Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology,” in *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*, ed. Richard G. Fox, 191-210 (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1992; reprint, in *Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism*, ed. Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA: Elgar, 1999), 463-83), 192.

² A similar perspective is elucidated by Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). See esp. Chapter 3, “Betterton’s Funeral,” which describes the appropriation of Betterton’s marginalized actor’s body as a new icon of Englishness in the early eighteenth century. Roach traces this cultural need to slavery and the colonial project; however, I might add that migrations of closer origin, like the Huguenots or indeed William of Orange, greatly necessitated the revision of Englishness at that time. On the new nationalism and the birth of “cultural intimacy” in the late twentieth century, see Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), Chapter 12, “On Diasporic Intimacy”.

³ The authority on opera in Venice is Ellen Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-Century Venice: The Creation of a Genre* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press). For an enlightening overview of the travels of

seventeenth-century Europeans indeed received their first taste of fully-sung entertainments in Venice while on the Grand Tour, and it was Venetian opera that tended most often to appear outside of the Peninsula. Some of the first public opera houses established outside of Italy—in Hamburg (1678), Amsterdam (1680), and Brussels (1682)—were modeled after Venetian theaters and utilized organizational structures similar to those developed in Venice.⁴

What exactly came to be performed in Europe's new opera houses depended on the audience, for "public opera" may best be defined as "opera designed to satisfy the tastes of the public."⁵ How those tastes were defined depended to a certain extent on the availability of materials and the training of performers, for it would seem reasonable that an audience could only learn to enjoy something it had already heard. But is that necessarily true? Perhaps it is more useful, as Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker have demonstrated, to question "the attitude of the public towards opera, its cultural horizons, its expectations," the "cultural premises" that made one genre of spectacle more successful than another.⁶ For the *dramma per musica* was hardly as universal a genre of public musical theater as it has often been made out to be. It too had its failures, which did not seem to depend on governmental structures; Italian opera was rejected by both republic and absolute monarchy alike.⁷ When imported to the new public theaters, it had to contend with native genres of spectacular entertainment (like the German *Singspiel* or the Dutch *zangspel*). Its stiffest competition came from another imported genre—the *tragédie lyrique* of Paris.

This genre, codified by composer Jean-Baptiste Lully and librettist Philippe Quinault, first met the public with *Cadmus et Hermione* in 1673. Nine years later, Lully's operas quite suddenly found legs. In Amsterdam, publisher Joan Philip Heus produced the first in a long line of instrumental suites drawn from Lully's operas with a publication of airs from *Cadmus et Hermione*—even though that work would not be published in France until 1719.⁸ In

Italian opera, see Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, "Production, Consumption and Political Function of Seventeenth-Century Opera," *Early Music History* 4 (1984).

⁴ The operations of the Venetian theaters are described most thoroughly in Beth L. Glixon and Jonathan E. Glixon, *Inventing the Business of Opera: The Impresario and His World in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 322. See especially their comments on the blurry distinctions between "public," "commercial," and "courtly" models at 315ff.

⁶ Bianconi and Walker, "Production, Consumption and Political Function," 244.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 260. This situation changed over the course of the eighteenth century, when Italian *opera seria* became ever more closely associated with notions of sovereignty, as shown by Martha Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

⁸ On the Amsterdam editions of Lully's music, see Herbert Schneider, "The Amsterdam editions of Lully's orchestral suites," in *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the Music of the French Baroque: Essays in Honor of James R. Anthony*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer, 113-30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Carl B. Schmidt, "The Amsterdam editions of Lully's music: a bibliographical scrutiny with commentary," in *Lully Studies*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer, 100-65 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Schmidt provides a complete bibliography. The Amsterdam prints are largely instrumental suites or selected airs. Unlike Ballard's air prints of the early eighteenth century, which appeared in conjunction with Paris revivals, the Amsterdam

Stuttgart, Johann Sigismund Cousser published a handbook on composition in the style of Lully, together with six of his Lully-inspired suites. The court at nearby Ansbach began collecting Lully scores and hiring French musicians in quantity. And for the first time, one could see public performances of Lully's operas outside of France—in both Brussels and The Hague—given by troupes of mixed ethnicity. Lully himself had nothing to do with the sudden phenomenon of his works appearing in various places, nor could he prevent it. His monopoly over musical theater could not be enforced beyond the borders of the French kingdom.

One fact elided in accounts of operas from Italy or “Versailles” sweeping across Europe in general (and German lands in particular), is that most places experimented with both genres before settling on one, the other, or neither. The opera-going audience, whether at court or in the commercial theater, had tastes that evolved in reaction to the intersection of imported spectacles—a confluence that occurred most significantly in the 1680s. But it was by no means obvious that the *tragédie lyrique* was French in anything but language, at least in the beginning. Pierre Bayle, an early and enthusiastic supporter of the Paris Opéra, observed of Lully and Quinault's *Atys* in 1676 that “this is quite beautiful to hear and see; all the verses are sung there by musicians who are students of the famous Baptiste Lully, Italian of nation.”⁹ The identification of Lully's works, and Lully himself, as quintessentially French was largely forged outside of France. Louis XIV naturalized Lully in 1661, but the process by which the Florentine Lully became a Frenchman was sooner tied to the ways in which he and his works were perceived by others.¹⁰

It is perhaps in the fate of some other escapees that we can begin to understand why Lully's opera—French opera—suddenly became an international phenomenon in 1682. By that time, Bayle had fled to Rotterdam, seeking a refuge from the persecution he experienced in France on account of his Protestant faith. The early 1680s indeed saw a flurry of legislation and proclamation restricting the livelihood and movement of Louis XIV's Protestant subjects. After only seven such regulations issued between 1662 and 1676, there were suddenly forty-four between 1679 and 1682.¹¹ Most shocking to Protestant Europe—and it was Protestant Europe that most enjoyed French opera—was the fact that the confrontations were beginning to become violent. The populations of large swathes of Poitou were forcibly converted in 1681, followed by growing unrest throughout the Protestant

publications do not relate to contemporaneous performances. For that reason, I will not discuss them here. On Ballard's airs and Parisian revivals, see Herbert Schneider, *Die Rezeption der Opern Lullys im Frankreich des Ancien Regime* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1982), 29.

⁹ “Cela est fort beau à voir et à ouïr: tous les vers s'y chantent par des musiciens qui sont des élèves du fameux Baptiste Lully, Italien de nation...” Letter of Bayle to his younger brother, 25 August 1676, quoted in Jérôme de La Gorce, *Jean-Baptiste Lully* (Paris: Fayard, 2002), 219.

¹⁰ On the many fictions surrounding letters of naturalization, see Peter Sahlins, *Unnaturally French: Foreign Citizens in the Old Regime and After* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), Chapter 2.

¹¹ See the transcriptions in Léon Pilatte, ed. *Édits, Déclarations et Arrests concernant la Religion P. Réformée 1662-1751. Précédés de l'Édit de Nantes* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1885).

regions of France in 1682. While the *Grand Dragonnades* were still on the horizon, the possibility of another all-out war of religion was frightening indeed.¹² That fear encouraged many “Huguenots,” as they became known, to exit the French kingdom in any way they could.

Only after they left France did the Huguenots—and the operas of Lully—become identifiably “French.” Legislation and privileges aimed at the entire Huguenot community erased regional ethnic identities. No longer were they “of Nîmes” or “from the Languedoc”; rather, they were assimilated into “the French nation” as a whole. Similarly, the meeting of operas in Italian and French outside of their places of origin contributed to the solidifying of generic notions, taste formation, and ideas of “national” origin. Surveying the “ethnoscape” of French operatic performances in the 1680s, this chapter focuses on the people necessary to produce, perform, patronize, and appreciate them (or not). I begin with a brief visit to the first public theaters to conduct this experiment, in Amsterdam and Brussels. I then explore the meeting of “French” and “Italian” traditions at various Protestant courts of the Holy Roman Empire. These court performances directly affected what occurred on the only non-courtly stage in German lands in the 1680s—that at Hamburg. At the end of the chapter, I will return briefly to Amsterdam to explore the more pressing concerns of choosing French opera over Italian. For what is truly at stake here is how French opera could become synonymous not just with Lully, but with the French state.

Opera—Italian and French—between Amsterdam and Brussels

Amsterdam’s brief affair with Italian opera was initiated by Theodoro (Dirck) Strycker, the son of the Dutch consul to Venice.¹³ Undoubtedly inspired by the theaters he knew from growing up in the Serenissima, Strycker determined to bring Venice to Amsterdam in 1679. To do it right, he invested in the construction of Amsterdam’s first purpose-built opera house. The theater was designed by the famous architect Girolamo Sartorio, on loan from Hanover, who had already designed the Hamburg Gänsemarkt Oper in 1677 and would go on to build Leipzig’s house in 1693. Strycker also imported singers from Italy, including a number of castrati.¹⁴ After successfully responding to protests from the church, the Amsterdam opera finally opened on 31 December 1680 with a production of *Le fatiche d’Ercole per Deianira* (a libretto of Aurelio Aureli, set by Pietro Andrea Ziani and

¹² The worst violence occurred in 1683 and 1684. See Roy L. McCullough, *Coercion, Conversion and Counterinsurgency in Louis XIV’s France*, History of Warfare 42 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), Chapter 4.

¹³ The most complete account of this tale is H. J. Westerling, “De oudste Amsterdamsche Opera, geopend Dinsdag 31 December 1680, en de Opera te Buiksloot van 1686,” *De Gids* 83 (1919), 279–88. Rudolf Rasch provides a fascinating account of Pietro Antonio Fiocco’s role in this venture, and the wide-ranging connections of the enterprise. Rudolf Rasch, “A Venetian goes north: Pietro Antonio Fiocco in Amsterdam, Hanover and Brussels,” *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 56 (2002).

¹⁴ Bianconi and Walker report an advertisement for personnel that Strycker placed in a Venetian newspaper in September 1680. Bianconi and Walker, “Production, Consumption and Political Function,” 259.

adapted by Pietro Antonio Fiocco).¹⁵ Strycker's theater attracted some notable guests in 1681, including Princess Mary II Stuart and her husband, Prince William III of Orange, as well as the famous man of letters Constantijn Huygens.

Huygens' son-in-law Philips Doublet left the most complete account of this "first time that there has been opera in Holland since the Deluge," as he called it.¹⁶ Writing to his brother-in-law Christiaan Huygens (then in Paris), Doublet judged the opera favorably, though the immodest costumes of the female singers apparently shocked the audience and some of the stage machinery malfunctioned. He praised the singers, including the castrati, but expressed a certain reservation about seeing "these Messieurs, who are only good for this and for guarding the seraglio," in the guise of heroes. Even though he was assured that this was commonly the case in Italy, Doublet's personal opinion was that "these sorts of persons are more suited to the music of the church or the chapel, where one cannot see them."¹⁷

Doublet's reservations about castrati are the first indicator that his operatic ideals were not Italian, but French, for the Paris public stage never used castrati.¹⁸ And indeed, despite his enjoyment of *Le fatiche d'Ercole*, it could not compare to what he had seen in Paris:

But those who have seen French operas, including myself, even though I have only seen *Atys*, must admit that there is a certain charm in them, and a beautiful appearance in the staging and all the ornaments, in the costumes and in other things, characteristic of the French nation, which other nations do not know how to attain. Especially with regard to the beautiful *entrées de ballet*, to which Italians are not suited and which are not of their genius. For one says that in the most beautiful operas of Venice, and throughout this land [Italy], there are never, or only very rarely, beautiful dances, even though they could adorn and greatly diversify these sorts of spectacles.¹⁹

¹⁵ Ziani's version had first appeared in Venice in 1662. Fiocco's revision of the score was identified by Rasch, "A Venetian goes north."

¹⁶ The full text of the letter from 6 February 1681 is given in *ibid.*, 180-81. Translation mine.

¹⁷ "...ces Messieurs, qui ne sont bons qu'à cela et à la garde du serrail, et ont des fort bonnes voix, mais je ne sçaurois voir ces creatures-là représenter un héros ou quelque chose de pareil... Cependant, ceux qui ont fréquenté les opéra [sic] d'Italie dissent qu'on en use là de la sorte sans scrupule; c'est pourquoy, à mon avis, ces sortes de gens sont plus propres pour les musiques d'église et de chapelle, où on ne les voit point..."

¹⁸ Castrati were employed by the French court, however, and some early court performances of Lully's operas included castrati singing minor roles. Lionel Sawkins, "For and against the Order of Nature: Who Sang the Soprano?" *Early Music* 15 (1987).

¹⁹ "Mais ceux qui ont veu les opéra de France et moy aussi ... il faut avouer qu'il y a un certain agrément [sic] en ces derniers, et un bel air en toutes les representations et ornemens, tant des habits que d'autres choses, particulier à la nation Française, où les autres ne sçauroient atteindre. Surtout pour ce qui regarde [sic] ces belles entrées de balet, qu'à quoy les Italiens ne sont pas propres, et qui ne sont pas de leur genie, mesme à ce qu'on dit dans les plus belles opéra de Vénise et de partout en ce pays-là il n'y a jamais, ou fort rarement, des belles dances, ce qui pourtant orne et diversifie beaucoup ces sortes de spectacles."

Doublet apparently did not learn much about the scientific method from his famous father-in-law, for he bases his conclusions on an extremely limited sample size. After having seen only one Italian opera and one French opera, Doublet made sweeping distinctions between the two. Moreover, he attributes the spectacular differences between French and Italian operas to national characteristics. Doublet signals the dance as a particularly strong delimiter of the two styles, but for him, it is the totality of the spectacle that defines its “Frenchness.”

Le fatiche d’Ercole and *Atys* become metonyms of entire traditions, symbolic not only of the work of Ziani in Venice or Lully in Paris, but of “Italian” or “French” opera as a whole. Swirling around Doublet’s judgments are the currents of public opinion and his own lived experience. Five times in the letter he refers to the discussions of others: “those who have visited the operas of Italy say...” “one is very satisfied here...” “many people who have been in Italy assure...” “those who have seen the operas of France...” “one says that.” His references to external authority give credence to the opinions he expresses to his brother-in-law, for they are not just personal prejudices, but the judgments of society. Against these discussions, Doublet balances his own experience of the Italian opera in Amsterdam. But more important than the conversations that he had on the barge back to The Hague, perhaps, were those he had on a longer journey a few years before. Back in the fall of 1678, the peace treaty signed at Nijmegen between France and the Dutch Republic allowed him to see an opera, a French opera—*Atys*—for the first time. That heady occasion forever shaped in his mind what “French” opera was, and what all opera ought to be. Thus did Lully become French.

Strycker’s company performed only one other work, Fiocco’s revision of *Helena rapita da Paride*, which closed by June of 1681.²⁰ By March of 1682, Strycker and his magnificent opera house were a thing of the past, and no Italian opera would again be performed in Holland until 1750.²¹ Instead, it was French opera that would dominate the Dutch stage. Just one month after Strycker closed his theater for good, a “French band of musicians and *opéristes*” took up residence in The Hague, not far from Doublet’s home at Clingendael. The group received permission to perform opera from the town magistrates on 21 April 1682. Though the band was called “French,” they were actually quite diverse, led by Balthazar Chrestien, violinists Guillaume and Charles Martinelli, and another musician, Etienne Ramboire.²² The company moved in to a small theater owned by Pierre van Gool (or de Gole—he was of French Protestant origin). Van Gool’s theater was a great find for the

²⁰ Music by Domenico Freschi, libretto by Aureli (Venice, 1677). Rasch has demonstrated that Fiocco’s revision appeared again in Hanover in the summer of 1681 and in Brunswick in 1708. Rasch, “A Venetian goes north,” 199ff.

²¹ Rudolf Rasch, “De moeizame introductie van de opera in de Republiek,” in *Een muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, ed. Louis Peter Grijp, 311-16 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), 313.

²² Nothing further is known about these entrepreneurs. It is likely that they arrived from the Spanish Netherlands. The episode is detailed most completely in Jan Franssen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: H. Champion, 1925), 165-67.

traveling band, for it was already equipped with a stage and seating.²³ Many itinerant troupes at this time were required to bring their own tents, or go to the ruinous expense of building a theater, as Strycker had. The “French band” seems to have been able to set up quickly, for already on 5 May, William and Mary attended a performance of a French opera there.

Whether they knew it or not, this was the first documented run of a French opera outside of France, beating Brussels by mere weeks.²⁴

For Spanish Brussels, too, was quickly turning from Italian opera to French—with the support of the House of Orange. The city’s first public opera house, the “Opéra du Quai au Foin,” opened on 24 January 1682.²⁵ Founders Giovanni Battista Petrucci and Giovanni Battista Cartelli took Venetian commercial theater as their model, initially finding support in Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma, then governor of the Spanish Netherlands.²⁶ Farnese lent the new house his collection of scenery and machines that had previously been used in court performances of Italian opera. The first production was Antonio Giannettini’s *Medea in Atene* (on a libretto of Aurelio Aureli), a work premiered in Venice in 1676.²⁷ While *Medea in Atene* was successful, the company quickly turned to French opera. The transformation occurred with a production of Lully and Quinault’s *Thésée* (a work that was not published until 1688) “for the joyous entry of her Royal Highness, Madame the Princess of Orange,” who attended on 18 May.²⁸ Princess Mary apparently had acquired a taste for French opera. The fact that all subsequent operas in Brussels for almost forty years hence would be French perhaps demonstrates that the population of Brussels, too, had a taste for French opera.²⁹

²³ Ibid., 165-66. On the dimensions of Van Gool’s theater in 1688, see *ibid.*, 174 and 203.

²⁴ Unfortunately, the repertoire of this company remains obscure, but it undoubtedly included the works of Lully, now synonymous with French opera thanks to his monopoly.

²⁵ This episode of Brussels musical history was first and most thoroughly reported by Henri Liebrecht, *Histoire du Théâtre Français à Bruxelles au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1923; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1977), 91-100.

²⁶ Ibid., 97-98. For more on the personnel of the Brussels house, see Willem Schrickx, “French, Italian, Spanish and German Actors and Other Artists at Ghent (1575-1700),” *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire* 44 (1966), 886ff.

²⁷ Giannettini (or Gianettini) enjoyed great success in German lands, in particular, thanks to his relationship with the Welfic dukes of Hanover and Brunswick—despite the fact that he never left Italy. See Norbert Dubowy, “Gianettini, Antonio,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Personenteil*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel and New York: Bärenreiter, 2002); Thomas Walker and Beth L. Glixon, “Giannettini, Antonio,” in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London and New York: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001).

²⁸ Liebrecht, *Histoire du Théâtre Français*, 98; La Gorce, *Jean-Baptiste Lully*, 295-96.

²⁹ On the later history of the Brussels opera, see esp. Liebrecht, *Histoire du Théâtre Français*; Christiane Stellfeld, *Les Fiocco, une famille de musiciens belge au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1941); Jean-Philippe Van Aelbrouck, *Dictionnaire des danseurs, chorégraphes et maîtres de danse à Bruxelles de 1600 à 1830* (Liège: Mardaga, 1994); Manuel Couvreur, ed. *Le théâtre de la Monnaie au XVIIIe siècle* (Brussels: Université libre de Bruxelles, 1996); Couvreur, “Pietro Antonio Fiocco, un musicien vénitien à Bruxelles (1682-1714),” *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 55 (2001); Rasch, “A Venetian goes north”; Couvreur, “Un théâtre français dans une ville flamande: enjeux politiques et culturels à Bruxelles au XVIIIe siècle,” in *La traduction des livrets. Aspects théoriques, historiques et pragmatiques*, ed.

The embrace of French opera by the House of Orange was formalized in 1683, when William himself approved the more permanent establishment of a French opera company in The Hague in 1683.³⁰ This action created a symbolic association between the Stadholder and the most spectacular exponent of French culture. By embracing French opera, William effectively un-Frenched it, disconnecting the cultural product and its language from associations with the French court. William's support of the opera demonstrated visibly and aurally his embrace of the newest arrivals to the land of his birth: the numerous Huguenots, like Bayle himself, who would never see opera in Paris again. Sponsoring the opera was a way of symbolically providing for the cultural needs of his latest supporters, for a majority of the Huguenots who assembled in The Hague and nearby Voorburg in the early 1680s were of the upper classes.³¹ Many had followed their pastor, Jean Claude, formerly of the temple at Charenton—the center of religious life for Parisian Protestants—who arrived in The Hague after the destruction of his temple in October 1685. A firm believer in the divine right of kings, Claude aided in shaping the support that William would later need in his bid for the British throne.³²

William's actions, and his growing relationship with the *réfugiés*, did not go unnoticed in France. As early as the beginning of 1680, the comte d'Avaux, French ambassador to the Dutch Republic, reported to Louis XIV that William intended to create a "Protestant league" with the Elector of Brandenburg. Affairs had become much more serious in 1681. The defection of powerful leaders like Bayle and his older colleague Pierre Jurieu to the Dutch Republic increased the believability of the daily news that "the Huguenots of France are taking refuge here," as d'Avaux related.³³ By the end of 1681, d'Avaux was convinced that "the design of the Prince of Orange is to wage a war of religion."³⁴ William's

Gottfried R. Marschall, 201-212 (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2004); idem, "Henry Desmarest à Bruxelles: Aperçu sur la vie artistique dans la capitale des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au tournant des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles" in *Henry Desmarest (1661-1741): Exils d'un musicien dans l'Europe du grand siècle*, ed. Jean Duron and Yves Ferraton, 13-29 (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2005).

³⁰ Fransen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande*, 165.

³¹ The noble Robillard de Champagné family made their home there in 1687; see Carolyn Lougee Chapell, "'The Pains I Took to Save My/His Family': Escape Accounts by a Huguenot Mother and Daughter after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes," *French Historical Studies* 22 (1999).

³² Claude was a monarchist through and through. Back in 1676, he delivered a sermon at Charenton in which he vehemently expressed support for the attitude present in the Edict of Nantes, that the king is the sole protector of religious freedoms: "Nous ne pouvons avoir sur la terre d'autre recours qu'à sa justice: elle seule est l'asile qui reste à notre espérance. C'est ce qui nous doit d'autant plus obliger à prier le Roi des Rois que par sa providence immortelle, il veuille le garder et le conserver." Quoted in Elisabeth Labrousse, "Les idées politiques du Refuge: Bayle et Jurieu," in *Conscience et conviction: Etudes sur le XVIIe siècle*, 159-91 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1996), 160. Though he died only about a year after arriving in the Dutch Republic, Claude's ideas were eagerly supported by the Orangist *réfugié* community of The Hague.

³³ Jacques Solé, "La diplomatie de Louis XIV et les protestants français réfugiés aux Provinces-Unies (1678-1688)," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français* 115 (1969), 627. On the political agitations of Bayle and Jurieu, see esp. Labrousse, "Les idées politiques du Refuge."

³⁴ Solé, "La diplomatie de Louis XIV," 629.

support of French opera indicates that he also meant to wage a culture war, one that was well-funded by the wealthy Huguenots in the area.³⁵

Perhaps it was rumors of the goings-on abroad, delivered by diplomats like d’Avaux, which encouraged Lully to rethink the use of his monopoly. For the first (and only) time in his life, Lully granted permission to perform his works to Pierre Gautier of Marseille in July of 1684.³⁶ Marseille was about as far from Paris as one could get, thus Lully did not need to be concerned about competition. Marseille was also the closest major port city to the Protestant heartland in the south of France, a point from which many Huguenots attempted to flee the kingdom. The French state took note, greatly increasing searches and safeguards against illegal exits. Those who were caught were imprisoned. Such was the case for the family of Jean-Jacques Quesnot. In a publication that recalls the title of Jurieu’s sensational *Les derniers efforts de l’innocence affligée* of 1682, Quesnot related that he had been apprehended at Marseille together with his sisters, his uncle, his aunt, and various cousins while trying to escape. Somehow they managed to elude the expected sentences of life imprisonment, confinement to a convent, or servitude on the galleys.³⁷ Bayle’s older brother Jacob was not so fortunate. Jacob Bayle, minister of Carla, was captured and imprisoned for attempting to escape to Rotterdam just as Gautier’s company opened their first production of a Lully opera, to an audience that likely included numerous *nouveaux convertis*. He died in prison just before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.³⁸

³⁵ D’Avaux estimated in 1683 that at least one million *livres* had been deposited by the refugees in the Bank of Amsterdam. *Ibid.*, 632.

³⁶ A royal ordinance of 17 August reaffirmed Lully’s sole privilege, reminding anyone who wished to follow in Gautier’s footsteps that personal permission from the *surintendant de la musique du Roi* was necessary. On the opera of Marseille, see Schneider, *Die Rezeption der Opern Lullys*, Carl B. Schmidt, “The geographical spread of Lully’s operas during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: new evidence from the livrets,” in *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the Music of the French Baroque: Essays in Honor of James R. Anthony*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer, 183-211 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 185-87.

³⁷ Jurieu’s 1682 pamphlet was first published at Amsterdam by Daniel du Fresne; it was quickly translated into English as *The last efforts of afflicted innocence* (London: Magnes and Bentley, 1682). Writing in the spring of 1688, Quesnot claimed, “Il est vrai qu’il y a deux ans que je fût fais prisonnier à Marseille & traduit à Nîmes avec mes soeurs, mon oncle, ma tante, mes cousins & mes cousines qui vouloit désertter le Royaume.” Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée, *L’innocence accablée, ou Le prisonnier trahi* (Cologne: Guillaume Forbenius, 1689). At least part of the story may be true: Members of Quesnot’s family seem to have arrived in Geneva (the hometown of Quesnot’s mother Louise Baccuet). By 1686, a number of them had settled in Amsterdam, including his sister Bernardine and his brother-in-law, minister Pierre Dalbiac of Nîmes. Quesnot himself was in Geneva in July of 1686, recruiting for the Elector of Brandenburg. See Jérôme Sautier, “Politique et Réfuge - Genève face à la Révocation de l’Édit de Nantes,” in *Genève au temps de la Révocation de l’Édit de Nantes 1680-1705*, ed. Olivier Reverdin, 1-158 (Geneva: Droz, 1985), 90.

³⁸ Labrousse, “Les idées politiques du Refuge,” 170. The Edict of Fontainebleau, signed by the king on 17 October 1685, ordered all Protestant ministers to leave the kingdom within forty-eight hours. If Jacob Bayle had been able to wait, he could have freely joined his brother.

Travels in German lands

The House of Orange was not the only noble family to take an interest in the Huguenots, or in French opera, in the early 1680s. The trickle of Huguenot refugees into the Holy Roman Empire that began around 1681 was swiftly becoming a flood. A number of German princes, particularly the clients of William of Orange's uncle, the Elector of Brandenburg, actively encouraged the settlement of French refugees within their territories.³⁹ Many rulers saw responses to the Huguenot plight as a means to establish commercial and entrepreneurial ventures, intended to further personal goals of economic expansion. The new immigrants, it was hoped, would bring new manufacturing techniques and trading connections while simultaneously repopulating lands devastated by the Thirty Years' War. The invitation extended by the Elector of Brandenburg in the Edict of Potsdam (15 November 1685) specifically provided for the establishment of Huguenot manufactures within his dominions; in essence, he codified the tendency of guilds to distinguish on ethnic and religious grounds by making such identification a pre-requisite.

It was also hoped that the Huguenots would enrich the cultural lives of their German hosts. This may owe in part to the fact that many of the first refugees to leave France were wealthy, educated, and self-assured. At a very early stage, the *Glaubensflüchtlinge* capitalized on their connections within the publishing world to produce great numbers of tracts explaining their plight and establishing an image of their "nation" (as they called it) as both needy and desirable. The Imperial diplomats stationed at the great crossroads of Amsterdam, Geneva, or Frankfurt am Main contributed to this image, reporting not only horrific tales of persecution, but also praising the skills and education of the refugees.⁴⁰ For example, in the summer of 1686, minister Jacques Abbadie was instructed by the Elector of Brandenburg to enlist high-level Huguenot workers and merchants in Amsterdam. Abbadie

³⁹ On Huguenot settlement in the Holy Roman Empire, see esp. Eugen Bellon, *Zerstreut in alle Winde, 1685-1720. Wanderwege und Wanderschicksale hugenottischer Familien aus dem Dauphiné in Piemont und der Schweiz, in Hessen und der Pfalz (Langenzell), in Franken (Wilhelmsdorf) und in Brandenburg, in Baden und Württemberg*, Geschichtsblätter Deutschen Hugenotten-Vereins e.V. (Verlag des Deutschen Hugenotten-Vereins e.V., 1977); Meta Kohnke, "Zur Vorgeschichte, Entstehung und Bedeutung des Edikts von Potsdam," in *Hugenotten in Brandenburg-Preussen*, ed. Ingrid Mittenzwei, 13-26 (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Zentralinstitut für Geschichte, 1987); Jürgen Eschmann, ed. *Hugenottenkultur in Deutschland* (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1989); Myriam Yardeni, "Le Refuge allemand et la France. Histoire d'une aliénation," in *Die Hugenotten und das Refuge: Deutschland und Europa. Beiträge zu einer Tagung*, ed. Frédéric Hartweg and Stefi Jersch-Wenzel (Berlin: Colloquium, 1990); Stubenvoll, *Die deutschen Hugenottenstädte* (Frankfurt am Main: Umschau, 1990); Thomas Klingbiel, *Die Hugenotten in den welfischen Landen. Eine Privilegiensammlung* (Bad Karlshafen: Verlag des Deutschen Hugenotten-Vereins e.V., 1994); Sabine Beneke and Hans Ottomeyer, eds., *Zuwanderungsland Deutschland: Die Hugenotten* (Berlin: Edition Minerva, 2005); Barbara Dölemeyer, *Die Hugenotten* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2006); Guido Braun and Susanne Lachenicht, eds., *Hugenotten und deutsche Territorialstaaten: Immigrationspolitik und Integrationsprozesse* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007); Michael Lausberg, *Hugenotten in Deutschland: die Einwanderung von französischen Glaubensflüchtlingen* (Marburg: Tectum, 2007).

⁴⁰ On the role of diplomats in distributing the Edict of Potsdam, see Kohnke, "Zur Vorgeschichte, Entstehung und Bedeutung des Edikts von Potsdam."

reported that, amongst “the poor refugees who throw themselves into the arms of your charity” there were to be found a few “who are neither workers nor merchants, but men of letters, some with nothing, others with money, who wish to know what can be done for them.”⁴¹ Friedrich Wilhelm agreed to accept these *gens de lettres*, and the Académie de Berlin was born.⁴²

It is no accident, then, that the flowering of interest in French music, and the brief flirtation with French opera, in German courts in the early 1680s coincided with the avant-garde of the Second Refuge.⁴³ The first German court to actively cultivate the Lully style—what was now identified as the “French” style—was that of Brandenburg-Ansbach. Margrave Johann Friedrich decided to reform his court musical establishment in a distinctly French manner upon returning from France in 1681. The following year, violinist Christoph Friedrich Anschütz, who had studied in Italy and the Low Countries (and not, as one might expect, France), was ordered to teach the “French manner” to two musicians per year, as well as to organize ballets and musical plays (*Komödien*), composing music as necessary.⁴⁴ Lully’s former copyist Johann Fischer, who had worked in Paris between 1665 and 1670, was hired as a violinist and teacher in 1683.⁴⁵ While such moves have often been interpreted as outright imitation of the French court in order to gain prestige, I would like to stress that the margrave was not alone on his journey back from France in 1681; just at the same time, the *réfugiés* began arriving in his lands. By 1686, they were so numerous that Johann Friedrich developed plans to build a new French quarter of the city.⁴⁶ The margrave’s experiences abroad, combined with the arrival in his lands of natural-born Frenchmen, encouraged him to reorganize his music along French lines.

Efforts to Frenchify the Ansbach court music increased under the leadership of new Capellmeister Johann Georg Conradi (later an important composer for the Hamburg opera),

⁴¹ “Il y a quelques réfugiés qui ne sont ni ouvriers ni marchans mais gens de letters, les uns sans bien, les autres ayans de l’argent qui voudroient savoir ce qu’il y auroit à faire pour eux.” Letter of 13 July 1686, D-Bga I. HA Rep. 122, 6a1 Bd. III, f. 119v.

⁴² For further on this topic, see Conrad Grau, “‘Savans réfugiés’—‘Französischreformierte Gelehrte.’ Über den Beitrag der Hugenotten zur Wissenschaftsentwicklung in Brandenburg-Preussen am Ende des 17. und im 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Hugenotten in Brandenburg-Preussen*, ed. Ingrid Mittenzwei, 230-78 (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Zentralinstitut für Geschichte, 1987), 233.

⁴³ Braun, too, makes this connection, but incorrectly assumes that Huguenots began arriving after 1685. Werner Braun, “*Die drey Töchter Cecrops*. Zur Datierung und Lokalisierung von Johann Wolfgang Francks Oper,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 40, no. 2 (1983), 122. Michael Robertson acknowledges the 1680s as the premier decade for the German *Lullistes*, but does not mention the *réfugiés*. Michael Robertson, *The Courtly Consort Suite in German-speaking Europe, 1650-1706* (Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 117.

⁴⁴ Curt Sachs, “Die Ansbacher Hofkapelle unter Markgraf Johann Friedrich (1672-1686),” *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 9 (1909-10), 127-28, 131.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 135.

⁴⁶ These plans never came to fruition, as the Margrave died of smallpox in March 1686. On the development of French quarters in German towns, see Stubenvoll, *Die deutschen Hugenottenstädte*.

who was hired in early 1683.⁴⁷ Conradi invited a young musician named Johann Sigismund Cousser to further train the instrumentalists of the *Hofkapelle*.⁴⁸ In a most outrageous move—in the opinion of at least one of the violinists—Conradi ordered all the court musicians to exercise daily the techniques in the “French manner, given by the young Cousser from Stuttgart.” The unfortunate Johann Andreas Mayer begged to be released from the obligation, for he feared that practicing the “extremely short bow strokes” prescribed by Cousser would ruin the fine technique he had learned at the Viennese court.⁴⁹ Whatever the case, Cousser was already gaining fame as one of the leading exponents of the “French manner”—in other words, the style associated with Jean-Baptiste Lully.

Just before arriving in Ansbach, Cousser published the first manifesto of the group that would become known as the “German Lullists,” the *Composition de Musique suivante la Méthode Française*.⁵⁰ Cousser’s publication, which includes instructions on how to play and write music *à la française*, as well as six of Cousser’s own “French” overture-suites, confirmed for all who read it that 1) there was such a thing as a French style; 2) the French style was directly attributable to Jean-Baptiste Lully; and 3) it was not only possible, but desirable, to learn it. Cousser explains in his dedication to ducal regent Friedrich Carl of Württemberg that, being obliged to study whatever might best contribute to the regent’s divertissement, “I could think of nothing better than of attaching myself to the imitation of that famous *Baptiste* whose works presently form the pleasures of all the courts of Europe. I disciplined myself to follow his method and to enter into his delicate manner.”⁵¹ It is likely that

⁴⁷ Günther Schmidt, *Die Musik am Hofe der Markgrafen von Brandenburg-Ansbach vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis 1806. Mit Beiträgen zur deutschen Choralpassion, frühdeutschen Oper und vorklassischen Kammermusik* (Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter, 1956), 61ff.

⁴⁸ Hans Scholz, *Johann Sigismund Kusser (Cousser), sein Leben und seine Werke* (Leipzig: Roder, 1911). The recent work of Samantha Owens has greatly contributed to Cousser studies. See Samantha Owens, “The Württemberg *Hofkapelle* c. 1680-1721” (Ph.D diss., Victoria University of Wellington, 1995); idem, “The Stuttgart *Adonis*: a recently rediscovered opera by Johann Sigismund Cousser?” *The Musical Times* 147 (2006); idem, “The Rise and Decline of Opera at the Württemberg Court, 1698-1733,” in *Institutions and Ceremonies*, ed. Melania Bucciarelli, Norbert Dubowy, and Reinhard Strohm, 99-113 (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2006); idem, “Johann Sigismund Cousser, William III and the Serenata in Early Eighteenth-Century Dublin,” *Eighteenth Century Music* 6 (2009). She is currently preparing a monograph on Cousser.

⁴⁹ Likely from the legendary Johann Heinrich Schmelzer. Sachs, “Die Ansbacher Hofkapelle,” 131-32. Cousser seems to have been in Ansbach from May until October of 1683. Hans Rudolf Jung, “Johann Georg Conradi,” *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 13 (1971), 35.

⁵⁰ Johann Sigismund Cousser, *Composition de Musique Suivante la Méthode Française contenant Six Ouvertures de Théâtre accompagnées de plusieurs Airs...* (Stuttgart: Treu, 1682). Cousser’s collection, published by his cousin Paul Treu, may have been intended as both a wedding gift and a job application: Friedrich Carl of Württemberg-Winnental married Eleonore-Juliane of Brandenburg-Ansbach on 14 October 1682. Friedrich Carl is often mistakenly referred to as the “Duke of Württemberg”; he was in fact the regent and guardian of the child Duke Eberhard Ludwig IV from 1677-1693.

⁵¹ “Monseigneur, la reconnaissance que je dois aux grâces que j’ai reçues de V. A. S. m’obligeant de rechercher tout ce qui peut contribuer à son divertissement, j’ai cru n’y pouvoir mieux parvenir qu’en m’attachant à imiter ce fameux *Baptiste* dont les ouvrages font à présent les plaisirs de toutes les cours de l’Europe. Je me suis réglé à suivre sa méthode et à entrer dans ses manières délicates...” *ibid.*

Cousser's expedition to Paris, which supposedly lasted six years, had been funded by Friedrich Carl.⁵² Cousser's comment indicates that to his mind, and perhaps that of his employer, Lully dominated the pleasures of "all" the courts of Europe. Thus was part of the Lully legend born outside of France. Cousser's insistence on regulated discipline, which he attributed to the authority of Lully himself, helped to excuse his own abrasive personality. Perhaps it even made Cousser's rudeness attractive, for was not Lully known to break violins over performers' backs?

While the transmission of Lully's orchestral practice to Ansbach by instrumentalists like Cousser and Fischer is a well-known phenomenon, what has not been considered is how the French manner was learned by singers, and what effect that had on later operatic practice in German lands.⁵³ We can take, as a case in point, one particular family of singers, the Kellner family.⁵⁴ The Kellners likely first encountered Lully's scores—and the French manner of singing—at Ansbach, where they were an integral factor in the transformation of Johann Friedrich's court music. They arrived in Ansbach from Stuttgart in 1674, just crossing paths with Johann Cousser and his son Johann Sigismund, who moved to Stuttgart that same year.⁵⁵ *Pater familias* Paul Kellner brought to Ansbach his numerous children, four of whom—Paulina, Anna, Johanna, and Jonathan Paul—would have musical careers. Just a few years later, then-Kapellmeister Johann Wolfgang Franck (who would later make a splash in both Hamburg and London) supported the unusual appointment of the Kellner daughters to the court music—an occurrence that was by no means common in German lands.⁵⁶ Two daughters were listed on the payroll in 1675 and all three in 1677.⁵⁷ After Franck departed Ansbach in a hurry in January of 1679, Paul Kellner was appointed interim co-director of the

⁵² Cousser claimed to have studied in Paris for six years, but his sojourn is undocumented as of yet. Owens believes that it occurred between 1674 and 1682. Owens, "The Württemberg *Hofkapelle* c. 1680-1721", 19.

⁵³ On the spread of French orchestral practice, see especially John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650-1815* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), Chapter 7; Robertson, *The Courtly Consort Suite in German-speaking Europe, 1650-1706*, Chapters 6 and 7.

⁵⁴ What follows draws upon a variety of sources; for some reason, the Kellners have received little attention. No article exists for any member of the family in either *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* or the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, despite the fact that 1) Paul Kellner attained high positions in Ansbach (vice-Kapellmeister and later court secretary); 2) the Kellner daughters were the first women of German birth to appear on the German public stage; 3) Paulina Kellner, the most famous member of the family, undoubtedly taught singing to Anna Magdalena Bach in Weißenfels. I could go on, but I will save that for a future publication.

⁵⁵ Paul Kellner began his career as a singer in the court chapel of the Dukes of Württemberg (Stuttgart) around 1657, when Samuel Capricornus became Kapellmeister. On Johann Cousser's Württemberg appointment, see Owens, "The Württemberg *Hofkapelle* c. 1680-1721", 19. Young Cousser, who arrived in Ansbach in 1682 from Paris via Stuttgart, may indeed have been recommended by Paul Kellner, who seems to have kept up his old ties with the Württemberg court.

⁵⁶ On Franck, see Richard Klages, *Johann Wolfgang Franck. Untersuchungen zu seiner Lebensgeschichte und zu seinen geistlichen Kompositionen* (Hamburg: [s.n.], 1937).

⁵⁷ Sachs, "Die Ansbacher Hofkapelle," 115.

court music.⁵⁸ Later that year, two of his daughters appeared in a fully-sung opera for the first time: *Die triumphirende Treue* by Johann Löhner, with additional music by Kellner himself.⁵⁹

Thus did German-born women arrive on the German-language operatic stage.⁶⁰ When the *Kellnerinnen* appeared in 1679, it was still highly unusual to see professional women musicians at all, let alone as stage singers. Women (from Italy) arrived on the court stage of Vienna in 1674, against tradition. Antonia Rivani, another Italian, worked in Munich from 1671 until c. 1676.⁶¹ Contrary to common practice in Italy (excepting the Papal States) or France, the process of incorporating professional women in German lands was a slow one. Since most early operatic experiments took place at courts, performers had to be selected from the court musical establishments; as the primary duties of these institutions were primarily sacred in nature in both Catholic and Protestant lands, women were disallowed on grounds of propriety.⁶² Even the famous public opera house that opened at Hamburg in 1678, where Kellner's former colleague Franck was enjoying enormous success, did not yet dare place a woman on the stage. Female roles were instead sung by boys from the local choir school.⁶³ Trained no doubt by their father, and supported by Franck, the young Kellner women entered the courtly stage. And by 1683, their musical roles at the court of Ansbach had clearly defined—they had become full-time opera singers.⁶⁴ Undoubtedly, at least some of those operas were French, for everyone knew that women had always sung at the Paris Opéra.

The conjunction of a sovereign's taste, a growing native French population, a trained instrumental ensemble, and professional women singers resulted in what may have been the first performances of Lully's operas in German lands, probably between 1683 and 1685. Little is known about these potential performances, and some scholars have expressed serious

⁵⁸ Franck was accused of murdering a fellow musician. He found refuge in Hamburg, eventually becoming director of the Hamburg opera.

⁵⁹ Sachs, "Die Ansbacher Hofkapelle," 124.

⁶⁰ On this topic, see esp. Linda Maria Koldau, *Frauen - Musik - Kultur: Ein Handbuch zum deutschen Sprachgebiet der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005), chapter 7, "Professionelle Musikerinnen". Koldau's immense effort, drawing together a comprehensive mass of material on the musical lives of women—as patrons, performers, printers, and more—will surely result in much future work on the topic.

⁶¹ For a brief overview of women on the German stage, see *ibid.*, 580-81n.

⁶² Owens has documented the possibility of women singers in the sacred music of Württemberg around the turn of the eighteenth century, which she attributes in part to the adoption of French practice there. Samantha Owens, "Professional Women Musicians in Early Eighteenth-Century Württemberg," *Music & Letters* 82 (2001).

⁶³ Werner Braun, *Vom Remter zum Gänsemarkt. Aus der Frühgeschichte der alten Hamburger Oper (1677-1697)* (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1987), 140-41. That would change in 1686, as we will see below.

⁶⁴ The records of that year list them as being paid "nur von den Komödien." Sachs, "Die Ansbacher Hofkapelle," 132-33.

doubt as to whether they took place at all.⁶⁵ Given the performers available in Ansbach in the early 1680s and the fact that many of them went on to perform French operas in other German courts and cities, the possibility seems quite probable, but the question of whether or not French operas were performed *in toto* remains unanswerable. There is no external evidence for staged presentations of Lully's operas at Ansbach, yet, as Thomas Betzwieser has recently emphasized, there is also no reason to conclude that excerpts were not performed in some way.⁶⁶

What is clear is that the margrave's music library included performing materials—both scores and parts—for numerous Lully operas. The library's inventory, made after Johann Friedrich's untimely death in 1686, lists a wide array of "French Operas" (all by Lully, of course), distinguishing a number of different material categories.⁶⁷ *Isis* (1677) appears "printed in quarto, in fifteen parts, and bound in blue paper"; it was the only opera that Ballard, *imprimeur du Roy*, ever published in parts. Four additional Ballard prints in the collection—*Belléophon* (1679), *Proserpine* (1680), *Le Triomphe de l'Amor* (a ballet of 1681), and *Roland* (1685)—were evidently acquired in France, for they are described as having French bindings.⁶⁸ Since folio full scores in fancy bindings were not necessarily conducive to performance, all four of these works (and *Isis* as well) also existed in manuscript parts.⁶⁹ These parts were clearly copied from the folio full scores in the Ansbach collection.⁷⁰ A different provenance obtains for the sets of parts to *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673), *Thésée* (1675), and *Psyché* (1678) however, as none of them had yet appeared in print. Ballard eventually published *Thésée* in 1688, but *Cadmus et Hermione* and *Psyché* had to wait until 1719 and 1720, respectively. In the Ansbach inventory, these three operas are listed only as

⁶⁵ Hans Mersmann was convinced they did occur; Hans Mersmann, *Beiträge zur Ansbacher Musikgeschichte (bis zum Tode des Markgrafen Georg Friedrich 1703)* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtle, 1916), 18. Braun acknowledges a Francophile phase at the Ansbach court between 1682 and 1684, but concludes that "Französisch gesungene Bühnenhandlungen sind für Ansbach wohl auszuschliessen." Braun, "Die drey Töchter Cecrops'," 122. He based this opinion on the absence of external evidence and printed libretti.

⁶⁶ Thomas Betzwieser, "Musiktheatrale Geschmacksbildung im 17. Jahrhundert: Ansbach und Bayreuth," in *Barock in Franken*, ed. Dieter J. Weiss, 81-105 (Dettelbach: Röhl, 2004), 92-95. Excerpts of Lully's operas were frequently performed at the French court; the Amsterdam Schouwburg had also enjoyed excerpts from *Isis* back in 1677.

⁶⁷ Transcribed in Mersmann, *Beiträge zur Ansbacher Musikgeschichte*, 11.

⁶⁸ "Diese 4 jede absonderlich in französischem bund *in partitura et in folio*." All but *Roland* could have been acquired by the duke when he visited Paris in 1680/81.

⁶⁹ I disagree strongly with Braun's claim that the "Parthien" of the French operas refer only to instrumental suites drawn from Lully's works. The scribe used similar terminology to describe the German "Musikalische Operen oder Singspiele" in the collection: Löhner's *Lisylla* "in Partitur und Parthien,"; Franck's *Andromeda* "in duplo sampt den Parthien"; J. P. Krieger's *Schleiffers Comoedia* "in Versen, Parthien und Partitura." Yet Braun finds no reason to deny any potential performances of those works at Ansbach. Braun, "Die drey Töchter Cecrops'," 122.

⁷⁰ Betzwieser has recently studied the surviving Ansbach prints. He identifies the many corrections and other markings within the scores as the notes of a copyist. See Betzwieser, "Musiktheatrale Geschmacksbildung," 93-95.

manuscript parts. Apparently, Johann Friedrich of Ansbach had a good connection in Paris that allowed him to acquire these rare materials.⁷¹

While the Frenchification of Ansbach's music troubled the violinist Mayer and some of his colleagues, it created opportunity for Kellner's daughters. Presumably, the singers would have received training from musicians like Fischer, or Cousser, or Anschütz, in how to sing in the French style. Fischer's experience in Lully's circle undoubtedly aided in developing a sense of singing (and acting) styles, which he could have communicated to the young ladies. Or perhaps the singers studied the famous singing treatise of Bénigne de Bacilly, which aimed at codifying the "new" singing practice developed in France in the 1660s.⁷² This new style emphasized clear declamation and the beauty of vocal sound. Ornamentation, while often florid and difficult to execute (like the Italian melismatic style), is never flashy, extravagant, or extroverted. Rather, it is judiciously placed, often scrupulously notated by the composer. Ornaments start suavely off the beat, moving in seemingly offhand sweeps between main melodic tones, emphasizing the elegance and grace of this style.⁷³ One of the major exponents of the new style was Michel de Lambert, Lully's father-in-law, who aided the young Florentine more than any other composer in developing his vocal writing. Lambert utilized an academic understanding of the "natural" accentuations of the French language to inform his melodic approach.⁷⁴ The resultant music is one with an easy atmosphere and a direct melodic declamation in which text is clearly understandable, and therefore ideal for an operatic stage that shared the aesthetic values of the French spoken theater.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Not that the margrave's collection was complete: *Alceste* (1674), *Atys* (1675), *Persée* (1682), *Phaëton* (1683), and *Amadis* (1684) were not part of his collection. *Armide* premiered only shortly before the duke's death in 1686.

⁷² Bacilly largely attributes the new style to singer Pierre de Niert. Bénigne de Bacilly, *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter* (Paris: Ballard, 1668). Bacilly's treatise was expanded and reissued in 1679 as *L'art de bien chanter. Augmenté d'un Discours qui sert de réponse à la critique de ce traité, et d'une plus ample instruction pour ceux qui aspirent à la perfection de cet art. Ouvrage tresutile, non seulement pour le chant, mais même pour la declamation*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1679).

⁷³ See the examples given by Bacilly in his treatise and in the many air collections he published with ornamented *doubles*.

⁷⁴ Lambert's airs appear in numerous manuscript collections compiled outside of France. See the excellent work of Catherine Massip, *L'Art de bien chanter: Michel Lambert (1610-1696)* (Paris: Société française de musicologie, 1999).

⁷⁵ The relationship between operatic recitative and declamation in the spoken theater was codified early on; see, for example, Jean-Léonor Le Gallois, sieur de Grimarest, *Traité du Récitatif, dans la lecture, dans l'Action Publique, dans la Déclamation et dans le Chant. Avec un Traité des Accens, de la Quantité et de la Ponctuation* (Paris: Le Fevre and Ribou, 1707). Grimarest's treatise on syllabic quantity draws heavily on Bacilly. On the shared aesthetic goals of the French stages, see especially Catherine Kintzler, *Poétique de l'opéra français, de Corneille à Rousseau* (Paris: Minerve, 1991). Kintzler pursues a line of inquiry opened to modern scholarship by Cuthbert Girdlestone, *La tragédie en musique (1673-1750) considérée comme genre littéraire* (Geneva: Droz, 1972).

The experiences of the Kellners in the early 1680s provide insight into the shifting landscape of musical entertainment, for when French opera was brought to German lands, it brushed up against both the native *Singspiele* and opera in Italian. Learning to manage all of these repertoires was essential for career musicians like the Kellners. Their ability to sing “in the French manner,” acquired through their experiences at Ansbach, propelled their careers in unmistakable ways, for members of the family were eventually involved in nearly every documented performance of a Lully opera in the Holy Roman Empire.⁷⁶ When Johann Friedrich died in March of 1686, the *Kellnerinnen*, released from Ansbach service, perhaps in fear of the future, followed Franck to Hamburg and became the first women on a public stage in German lands.⁷⁷ While performing there in July, they seem to have been noticed by the House of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, for by August, they were on Wolfenbüttel’s court stage, singing in a fully-staged production of a Lully opera. And as we shall see, once transported to Wolfenbüttel, Lully’s operas indeed became the “courtliest court operas there ever were.”⁷⁸

Arrivals in Wolfenbüttel

On the eve of his departure from Paris in May of 1684, August Wilhelm, the somewhat spoiled first-born son of Duke Anton Ulrich of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, received a letter from his father. Anton Ulrich imagined that his son would be leaving France with regret, “but you must console yourself and hope to return some day, just as I continuously nourish myself with the hope of seeing once again my dear Venice, even though it seems unlikely.”⁷⁹ August Wilhelm’s own “consolation” was presumably aided by the souvenirs he

⁷⁶ Performances of Lully’s works in French at Wolfenbüttel (1685, 1686, 1687), Darmstadt (1687), and Hamburg (1689, 1692) all seem to be related, thanks to the sharing of personnel amongst the Protestant princes of the Holy Roman Empire. This point has not previously been made. See Renate Brockpähler, *Handbuch zur Geschichte der Barockoper in Deutschland* (Emsdetten: Lechte, 1964); Schmidt, “Geographical spread,” 208. Schmidt suggests a performance of *Isis* at Regensburg in 1683, but the surviving livret was clearly just an academic exercise. See Herbert Schneider, “Opern Lullys in deutschsprachigen Bearbeitungen,” *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1981), 2.

⁷⁷ The Ansbach musicians were released on 3 May 1686. Many went to Eisenach, where little Johann Sebastian Bach had recently had his first birthday. Kapellmeister Conradi moved on to Römheld before eventually going to Hamburg. Braun believes—for good reason—that the *Kellnerinnen* appeared in Franck’s last German opera, *Cara Mustapha*. This massive, two-part work on a libretto of Lucas von Bostel portrays the rise and fall of Ottoman leader Kara Mustafa Pasha, who spectacularly lost the Battle of Vienna in 1683, and includes three major female singing roles. See Braun, “Die drey Töchter Cecrops,” 109; idem, “CARA MUSTAPHA oder die zweite Eröffnung des Hamburger Schauplatzes,” *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 35 (1984).

⁷⁸ Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 6 vols. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), II:86.

⁷⁹ “Vous aurez sans doute quitté avec regret la France, mais il faut se consoler et esperer d’en retourner un jour, comme je me nourris toujours avec cette espérance de voir encore une fois ma chère Venise, bien que l’apparence y soit bien petite.” Letter of 4 May 1684, quoted in Etienne Mazingue, *Anton Ulrich, duc de Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1633-1714): Un prince romanicer au XVIIème siècle*, 2 vols. (Bern: Lang, 1978), I:148.

brought home from Paris: French musicians and a dancing master. Anton Ulrich's letter makes clear the prince's intention:

As Mr. Croseck [the court chancellor] has informed me, you wish to send your musicians ahead with your secretary. I will do my best to ensure that they are well received here and that your father-in-law does not scandalize himself that this is no small project of mine, which would cost me much embarrassment and angry reproaches.⁸⁰

Hiring the musicians was obviously the son's idea, and though Anton Ulrich expressed his desire to accommodate them (in order to make his son happy), his letter indicates that there were certain demons that were liable to spring out of their suitcases. Foremost in Anton Ulrich's thoughts was the fear that his elder brother—the father-in-law of his son—would understand the engagement of the musicians as yet another power ploy. Rudolph August, the official ruling Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, did have something to fear. Anton Ulrich had been scheming to magnify his own role at the ducal court and ensure the consolidation of power through his own line; the marriage of August Wilhelm to Rudolph August's daughter was one outcome of this.⁸¹ Due to the economy of prestige operative in German lands, the acquisition of French musicians directly from Paris could certainly be interpreted as a representational power grab.⁸²

A second reservation expressed by Anton Ulrich was the manner in which the new musicians would be received in tiny, backwards Wolfenbüttel—a town that he referred to as being in “her ancient state, and more boring than ever.”⁸³ The court music of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel was similarly in an “ancient state,” as it was still led by one of the greatest

⁸⁰ “Comme Mr. Croseck me mande, vous voulez envoyer vos Musiciens au devant avec vostre Secretaire, je feray mon possible qu'ils seront bien rescues [sic] icy et que votre beau pere ne se scandalize bien que c'est une enterprise de moy non petite et qui me coutera beaucoup de chagrin et de fascheuses reproches.” Ibid.

⁸¹ This was in part a response to the movements of their Welfic cousins in Hanover, whose every effort was directed to strengthening familial alliances, consolidating territory, and gaining new titles (including an electoral crown in 1692 and the British crown in 1714).

⁸² I am here thinking of James English's expansion of a notion first put forth by Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu proposed extending economic calculation to all goods that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after, whether material or symbolic; Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 178. English studied the rise of cultural prizes in the twentieth century through this lens, focusing on the various sorts of capital that inhere in prizes. He observes that the monetary aspects of awards are often veiled because the banality of money detracts from notions of prestige. James F. English, *The Economy of Prestige: Prizes, Awards, and the Circulation of Cultural Value* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005). So it was too in the seventeenth century—audience members might have guessed at how much court productions cost, but they were never allowed to *know*. Bourdieu's own thoughts on symbolic and cultural capital are most fully presented in Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).

⁸³ “...icy vous n'entrouverez plus ny Venise, ny Rome, ny Paris, mais Wolfenbuttel dans son estat ancien, et plus ennuyeux encore que jamais...” Anton Ulrich to August Wilhelm, 30 March 1684, quoted in Mazingue, *Anton Ulrich*, 147-48.

exponents of the previous generation, Johann Rosenmüller, whom Anton Ulrich had hired in Venice in 1682.⁸⁴ As was the case with poor Mayer in Ansbach, new styles and new musicians could cause great angst for older members of the *Hofkapelle*. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the reception of August Wilhelm's musicians, but based on the repertoire of the next few years at court they seem to have been well-employed.⁸⁵ The most distinctive mark is the sudden turn first to French and then to Italian opera. The initial experiments with French opera can be seen as a direct result of August Wilhelm's musicians, and particularly his new dancing master, at a time when a wave of growing concern for the French refugees affected Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel as well.

Jean Nanquer (or Nanquier), *maître à danser*, was engaged for Wolfenbüttel on 8 April 1684.⁸⁶ Since August Wilhelm had received prior approval for his hiring spree in Paris, it may be assumed that Nanquer did not actually arrive in Wolfenbüttel until sometime that summer. Nanquer found there a dancing tradition that had begun nearly thirty years before, when in 1658 Duke August the Younger (after whom the famous Herzog August Bibliothek is named) hired French Protestant dancing master Ulric Roboam de la Marche.⁸⁷ La Marche

⁸⁴ Rosenmüller (1619-1684) had long maintained connections with the Welfs from his exile in Venice. For a concise overview of his long career, see Kerala J. Snyder, "Rosenmüller, Johann," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London and New York: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 21:698-701.

⁸⁵ Margret Scharrer reports that she could find not a single French name amongst the musicians of the ducal chapel; Margret Scharrer, "'Maïor ab arte venit gloria, Marte minor.' Zur Rezeption der 'Tragédie en musique' an deutschen Residenzen des ausgehenden 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel des Wolfenbütteler Hofes während der Regierungszeit Anton Ulrichs," in *Atelier: Vorbild, Austausch, Konkurrenz. Höfe und Residenzen in der gegenseitigen Wahrnehmung*, ed. Anna Paulina Orłowska, Werner Paravicini, and Jörg Wettlaufer, 146-60 (Kiel: Universitätsdruckerei der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, 2009), 156. However, musicians attached to August Wilhelm would not necessarily appear on the official accounts of the ducal chapel; it was also not uncommon for employees of the court to Germanize their names. Scharrer quotes from the same letter of Anton Ulrich, but omits those portions I have included here. Considering that the major thrust of Scharrer's discussion is to prove that Anton Ulrich himself—and not his son—wanted to *be* Louis XIV, the omission is perhaps unsurprising.

⁸⁶ Giles Bennett, "The Dance Book Authors as Transmitters of Dance Practice," in *Barocktanz im Zeichen französisch-deutschen Kulturtransfers: Quellen zur Tanzkultur um 1700 / La Danse Baroque et les transferts culturels entre France et Allemagne: La pratique de la danse vers 1700, à la lumière des sources / Baroque Dance and the Transfer of Culture between France and Germany: Sources on Dance Culture around 1700*, ed. Stephanie Schroedter, Marie-Thérèse Mourey, and Giles Bennett, 449-72 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2008), 451; Marie-Thérèse Mourey, "Danser à la cour de Wolfenbüttel," in *Barocktanz im Zeichen französisch-deutschen Kulturtransfers: Quellen zur Tanzkultur um 1700 / La Danse Baroque et les transferts culturels entre France et Allemagne: La pratique de la danse vers 1700, à la lumière des sources / Baroque Dance and the Transfer of Culture between France and Germany: Sources on Dance Culture around 1700*, ed. Stephanie Schroedter, Marie-Thérèse Mourey, and Giles Bennett, 304-27 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2008), 325. This tri-lingual volume includes editions of two dance manuals published in German lands in 1705, as well as insightful essays from all three editors.

⁸⁷ Mourey, "Danser à la cour de Wolfenbüttel," 315 and 324-25. Mourey's article provides an excellent overview of French dance culture in German lands in the seventeenth century. I cite from the French version of her article, as there are many errors in the English translation.

initiated a long tradition of French ballets at the Wolfenbüttel court, danced by his princely pupils and their noble friends and neighbors.⁸⁸ Nanquer thus encountered a tradition of *ballet de cour* at Wolfenbüttel so persistent that it transformed the performance of opera there, as we shall see.

By early 1685, Nanquer began to make his mark as lead choreographer for court festivities. The first production to which his name is attached is the first French opera performed at Wolfenbüttel—likely the first fully-sung opera ever produced there. Lully and Quinault's *Proserpine* (1680) was given as a court festivity in August of 1685.⁸⁹ Undoubtedly, the sudden turn toward fully-sung opera also had something to do with Wolfenbüttel's new *Kapellmeister*, Johann Theile, who came to Wolfenbüttel in 1685 to take up the position left vacant upon Rosenmüller's death.⁹⁰ The engagement of Theile, a founding father of the Hamburg Oper am Gänsemarkt, was a clear indicator that the house of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel wanted to enter the opera business.⁹¹ More specifically, newly designated coregent Duke Anton Ulrich wanted to enter the opera business. The news that Anton Ulrich would assume equal power with his brother became public in August of 1685, just as *Proserpine* hit the stage of the court.

To give a small indication of what a massive departure *Proserpine* was for Wolfenbüttel, consider the two preceding entertainments, which had been *Singspiele*, or plays-with-music, with music (now lost) likely by Rosenmüller. *Der beständige Orpheus*, a wedding entertainment of 1684, betrays its roots in the past by its heavy use of instruments in consort. For example, the final scene features Orpheus and Eurydice singing a strophic *Lied* in alternation, accompanied by a consort of viols.⁹² The entertainment directly

⁸⁸ La Marche registered with a Calvinist pastor in Wolfenbüttel in 1660 and was buried with honors in the Lutheran Hauptkirche in 1696. At the time of his death, La Marche was *Hofsekretär*. Wilhelm Beuleke, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens* (Hildesheim: Lax, 1960), 103.

⁸⁹ *Proserpine, tragédie. Représentée à VVolffenbützel* (Wolfenbüttel: Bismarck, 1685). No prologue is present in the libretto—a rarity for productions of French opera. My thanks to Dr. Matthias Tischer (Berlin) for examining at my request the only known copy of the libretto at the Leibniz Bibliothek, Hanover.

⁹⁰ On Theile's appointment, see Adam Soltys, "Georg Oesterreich (1664-1735): sein Leben und seine Werke," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 4 (1922), 175ff. Chrysander does not seem to have been aware of Theile at Wolfenbüttel; he is not mentioned in Friedrich Chrysander, "Geschichte der Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttelschen Capelle und Oper vom sechzehnten bis zum achtzehnten Jahrhundert," *Jahrbücher für musikalische Wissenschaft* 1 (1863).

⁹¹ As the music director for the opera's primary patron, Duke Christian Albrecht of Holstein-Gottorp, Theile assumed the position of the opera's first music director in 1678, and the new house opened with one of his compositions. See George J. Buelow, "Opera in Hamburg 300 Years Ago," *The Musical Times* 119 (1978).

⁹² "Nach einer *Music* von Violdigamben singet *Orpheus*." *Der beständige Orpheus. Bey Getroffenem Hoch=Fürstl. Braunsch. Lüneb. Eheverbündniß mit dem Hoch=Gräfl. Schwarzburgischem Hause / In einem Singspiel Vorgestellet / Auf dem Lust=Hause Saltzthalem im Jahr 1684* (Wolfenbüttel: Bismarck, 1684), Act III, scene 11. This and many other librettos from Wolfenbüttel were digitized as part of the project *Festkultur Online*, making this comparison possible. Unfortunately, the copy of *Proserpine* formerly at the Herzog August Bibliothek has gone missing, and so was not digitized.

preceding *Proserpine*, for the Carnival season of 1685, was a *Singspiel* on a biblical theme, much like the works that dominated the early years of the Hamburg opera.⁹³

The printed libretto for *Proserpine* includes the full text of the opera, plus a nearly-complete cast list, a rarity for the time.⁹⁴ Surprisingly, the named singers of the cast were not members of the *Hofkapelle*; in fact, they were not professional singers at all. Instead, the lead roles of the opera were taken by young nobles of the court, including “Madame la Princesse” (likely Elisabeth Eleonore, the talented eldest daughter of Anton Ulrich) in the title role. Similarly, the many *entrées* were danced by the nobles, who undoubtedly thrilled at the opportunity to display their hard-won skills in an opera from distant Paris. There is but one exception amongst the noble names in the cast list: Nanquer himself is listed as the performer of Ascalaphe, a minor role for bass voice.⁹⁵ Unlike most *maîtres à danser*, who were known as instrumentalists, Nanquer was apparently a singer. Thus, all the nobles who produced *Proserpine*, both as singers and as dancers, were potentially Nanquer’s pupils.⁹⁶ The transformation of *Proserpine* into an “*opéra de cour*” demonstrates that the princely values and civility long expressed by dance in the *ballet de cour* could also extend to singing and acting.⁹⁷ A performance by and for the nobility, it is perhaps the “courtliest” manifestation ever of any of Lully’s operas. The inclusion of noble singers at Wolfenbüttel even outdid the performances organized by the Dauphin of France at Saint-Germain-en-Laye and Versailles in 1682 and 1683, in which August Wilhelm may have participated. There, the nobles merely danced.⁹⁸

Proserpine, the outcome of a year’s service for Nanquer and the newly-arrived French musicians of August Wilhelm, a year’s training for the members of the court, and the production experience of new Kapellmeister Theile, was the first in a long stream of operatic productions in Wolfenbüttel. For Anton Ulrich, the operatic stage became a site of competition with his relatives in Hanover, who had begun importing Italian opera singers

⁹³ *Davids und Jonathans Treuer Liebe Beständigkeit / In einem Singe=Spiele Vorgestellet* (Wolfenbüttel: Weissen, 1685). Nothing is known about the music for this work. The libretto bears far fewer indications as to what the music might have sounded like than that of *Der beständige Orpheus*. It is possible that Rosenmüller could have begun its composition before his death in November 1684; the topical similarities to Hamburg *Singspiele* could indicate the participation of either Franck or Theile.

⁹⁴ Cast list transcribed in Carl B. Schmidt, *The Livrets of Jean-Baptiste Lully’s tragédies lyriques: A catalogue raisonné* (New York: Performers’ Editions, 1995), 260-61.

⁹⁵ Pace Mourey, who says that he is listed “only as a dancer.” Mourey, “Danser à la cour de Wolfenbüttel,” 325.

⁹⁶ On the long-standing importance of dance for the training of young noblemen, see Kate van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2005). A more formal relationship between the nobles of the Wolfenbüttel court and the dance would be formalized in July 1687 with the opening of the “Académie Ducale de Wolfenbüttel.” Throughout the existence of the *Ritterakademie*, the language masters were Huguenots. See Beuleke, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, 103.

⁹⁷ On the *ballet de cour* as an expression of princely values and a tool of civility, see Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms*, Chapter 3.

⁹⁸ *Atys* was performed in January 1682 at Saint Germain; *Persée* at Versailles in July of 1682. La Gorce makes a connection between these festive occasions and productions of French opera at Wolfenbüttel but does not discuss the singers. La Gorce, *Jean-Baptiste Lully*, 297-98.

and productions at the end of the 1670s.⁹⁹ Unlike their Hanoverian cousins, who had recently begun producing Italian operas, the Wolfenbüttel Welfs chose to sample French opera first—but in their own manner. Yet it was not yet clear which direction opera would take at the court. Would the Venice of Anton Ulrich be celebrated, or the Paris of his son and heir, August Wilhelm? The next two years saw an important period of experimentation that produced constellations of performers and performance possibilities hitherto unknown in German lands, which may have had repercussions as far away as Modena.

Psyché—dramma per musica?

While the “ladies of the court” would follow their performance of *Proserpine* with the famous *Oronthea* of Antonio Cesti in 1686, what was very different about the other operas in Wolfenbüttel that year was the introduction of professional singers.¹⁰⁰ Professional opera singers first appeared in April of 1686 in a performance of Giannettini and Aureli’s *L’Ermione raquistata* (Venice, 1683), a work originally written for Alessandro Farnese of Parma (he who had supported the Quai au Foin in Brussels). Just four months later, the newly-professionalized court opera dove into the Lully repertoire with *Psyché* (Paris, 1678).¹⁰¹ Particularly notable of their performance of *Psyché*, as we shall see, was its expression of the new singing culture at Wolfenbüttel. For the first time, professional women—the *Kellnerinnen*—appeared at the court. And, unlike any other performance of a French opera outside of France, it included castrati in major roles.

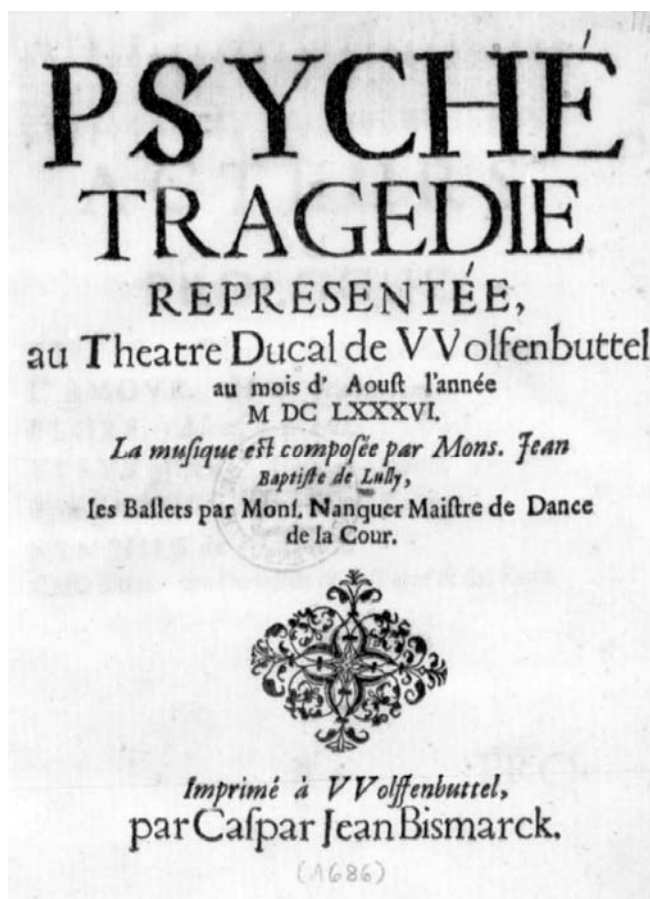
By the time *Psyché* floated on to Wolfenbüttel’s court stage, Nanquer’s position had become important enough to merit mention on the title page of the libretto, just beneath Lully’s (Figure 1.1). Lully is here posited as the “author” of the work, which might at first seem to go against seventeenth-century conventions that attributed authorship to the dramatist, who was responsible for the overall design of the spectacle. However, the complicated genesis of *Psyché* in fact justifies Lully’s position as author.

⁹⁹ On the operatic rivalry between Anton Ulrich and his cousin Ernst August of Hanover, see Dorothea Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte auf der Opernbühne: Barockes Musiktheater in Hamburg im Dienst von Politik und Diplomatie (1690-1745)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 17-28, “Opernkrieg im Welfenhaus”. However, she begins her tale in 1689, and it seems clear that the rivalry already began in 1685.

¹⁰⁰ On *L’Oronthea*, see esp. Jennifer Williams Brown, “‘Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen’: Cesti, *Oronthea*, and the Gelone problem,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 12 (2000).

¹⁰¹ *Psyché, tragedie. Représentée au Theatre Ducal de VVolfenbuttel au mois d’Aoust l’année MDCLXXXVI. La musique est composée par Mons. Jean Baptiste de Lully, les Ballets par Mons. Nanquer Maistre de Dance de la Cour* (Wolfenbüttel: Bismarck, 1686). Available online.

Figure 1.1



D-W, Textbuch 365

LWV 78, as it is known today, was one of Lully's least successful operas. It was prepared in a hurry in 1678, when Lully, having temporarily lost the services of Quinault due to a scandal, turned to Thomas Corneille to aid in revising *Psiché, tragi-comédie et ballet* (1671). This hugely popular work originated as a court entertainment designed and largely written by Molière (the "author"), with additional dramatic verse by Pierre Corneille, and lyric verse by Quinault set to music by Lully. The extensive *intermèdes* of *Psiché*, particularly the closing blockbuster, are generally considered to be a response to the threat of Perrin and Cambert's wildly successful Académie d'Opéra.¹⁰² Though Lully successfully shut

¹⁰² For ease, I use *Psyché* to refer to the opera (LWV 78), and *Psiché* for the play-with-music-and-ballet (LWV 45). The revisions are discussed in Michael Turnbull, "The Metamorphosis of *Psyché*," *Music & Letters* 64 (1983); idem, "The Sources for the Two Versions of *Psyché* (1671 & 1678)," in *Jean-Baptiste Lully: actes du colloque Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Heidelberg 1987*, ed. Jérôme de La Gorce and Herbert Schneider, 349-56 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1990); Marie-Claude Canova-Green, "*Psyché*: From *tragédie-ballet* to opera," *Nottingham French Studies* 33 (1994); John S. Powell, "The Metamorphosis of *Psyché*," in *Les Métamorphoses de Psyché*, ed. Carine Barbaferi and Chris Rauseo, 227-51 (Valenciennes: Presses Universitaires de Valenciennes, 2004).

down that operation, Molière's *Psiché*—performed by the Troupe du Roy at the Palais Royal—remained a threat, and prompted Lully to strengthen the terms of his monopoly on musical spectacle within the French kingdom. Eventually, Lully managed to remove the threat of Molière's troupe (and move the Opéra into their former performance space), but because Molière was the author, *Psiché* remained a part of their repertory, not his. Perhaps LWV 78 can be seen as an attempt by the composer not only to channel some of the success of the earlier work to his latest effort at the Paris Opéra, but also to reclaim his music. Lully recycled the overture, the prologue, and the extensive *intermèdes* (texts by Quinault) *in toto*, providing new music only for the new recitatives, written by the younger Corneille. Though mostly in keeping with Molière's original plot, Corneille's new text transformed Venus into a true villain and largely toned down the comedy present in the original play. The results—and the reviews—were mixed at the premiere in 1678, precisely because the play was such a respected part of the repertory.

Psyché was indeed a bit of an odd choice for Wolfenbüttel in 1686—unless one recognizes the long and happy life that her sister of the spoken theater enjoyed outside of France. Most recently, the play with its grand *intermèdes* had been performed at Hanover in 1684, a performance that the court of Wolfenbüttel might have attended, and surely would have heard about.¹⁰³ Unlike Ernst August of Hanover, however, Anton Ulrich maintained no French actors and so could not stage *Psiché* himself. Choosing to produce the opera *Psyché*, though, could potentially be interpreted as a way to one-up his rival Ernst August. The score of the opera would have been difficult to obtain, as it was not printed until 1720. The opera would also have been a grander spectacle, since it is likely that the version of the *tragi-comédie et ballet* performed at Hanover was the greatly reduced score of the 1682 Parisian revival.¹⁰⁴ The terms of Lully's monopoly forced the Comédie Française to adapt the *intermèdes* of *Psiché* for a 1682 revival to a mere two singers and six instrumentalists.¹⁰⁵ Additionally, as the cast list provided in the libretto demonstrates, some of the singers involved in the Wolfenbüttel performance of *Psyché* had been spirited away from Hanover. At least two of the four castrati in the performance, Vincentino (or Vincenzo) Antonini of Rome and Giuliano Giuliani of Venice, had formerly worked for Ernst August.

¹⁰³ Georg Fischer, *Opern und Concerte im Hoftheater zu Hannover bis 1866*, 1st ed. (Hanover and Leipzig: Hahn'sche Buchhandlung, 1899), 20; Gerhard Vorkamp, "Das französische Hoftheater in Hannover (1668-1758)," *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 29 (1957), 170-72.

¹⁰⁴ I base this on the program for a performance of *Psiché* in The Hague in 1697 that had evident Hanoverian connections. Extensive cuts were made to the *intermèdes* in order to accommodate the reduction in personnel.

¹⁰⁵ Lully cracked down on the Comédie Française multiple times for violating the terms of his monopoly. See H. Carrington Lancaster, *The Comédie Française 1680-1701: Plays, Actors, Spectators, Finances* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1941); John S. Powell, *Music and Theatre in France, 1600-1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). But at other times—particularly with regard to productions sponsored by the House of Orléans—he was rather more lenient. See Patricia Ranum, "Lully plays deaf: rereading the evidence on his privilege," in *Lully Studies*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer, 15-31 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

The casting decisions for this performance reveal the talents and ranges of the singers assembled in Wolfenbüttel (see Table 1.1). Paulina and Anna Kellner (listed as “Pauline” and “Antoinette” in the libretto) take the two principal female roles. Paulina in particular must have been a talented singer, for the following year she would sing the demanding role of Médée in Wolfenbüttel’s production of *Thésée*. Her sister Anna was presumably a good actress—the role of villainous Venus certainly requires one. Dancing master Nanquer again appears in a minor singing role as Psyché’s father (Act I only). Casting three men as the Furies is nothing novel, for it follows the practice at Paris. Cross-casting in operas of Lully and his successors at the Paris Opéra generally occurred for magical characters, like the Furies in *Alceste* and *Isis* or the Gorgons in *Persée*.¹⁰⁶ In *Psyché*, Lully originally scored the Furies for a trio of *haute contre* (the very high male tenor favored in French opera), tenor, and bass.

Table 1.1
The cast of *Psyché* (Wolfenbüttel, 1686)¹⁰⁷

<i>Role</i>	<i>Voice Type</i>	<i>Performer</i>
Psyché	Soprano	Paulina Kellner
Venus	Soprano	Anna Kellner
L’Amour	Soprano + haute contre	Johanna Kellner
Flora, Aglaure	Soprano	Alberti
Cidippe	Mezzo-soprano	Giacomo
Vertumne, Un Zephir, Une Furie	Tenor	Aurenti ¹⁰⁸
Palemon, Vulcain, Une Furie	Bass	Paul Kellner
Jupiter	Bass	Jonathan Paul Kellner
Mercure	Soprano	Vincentino Antonini
Un Zephir	Mezzo-soprano	Giuliano Giuliani
Le Roy	Bass	Jean Nanquer
Lychas	Tenor	Sölner
Le Dieu d’un Fleuve	Tenor	Crause ¹⁰⁹
Une Furie	Tenor	Gasper ¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Julia Prest, *Theatre Under Louis XIV: Cross-casting and the Performance of Gender in Drama, Ballet and Opera* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 52-3.

¹⁰⁷ The unpaginated 1686 libretto includes two cast lists—“Acteurs du Prologue” and “Acteurs de la Tragedie”—as was customary in Parisian librettos. I have conflated the two lists here. The distribution of singing roles in the final *intermède* is not given. I provide full names for the singers I have been able to further identify; otherwise, I list single names as they appear in the libretto.

¹⁰⁸ Sartori gives only one appearance for “Aurenti,” in Wolfenbüttel’s 1688 performance of *Medea in Atene*. He was apparently unaware of Wolfenbüttel’s 1686 *L’Ermione*, in which Aurenti sang Pilades. Claudio Sartori, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800. Catalogo analitico con 16 indici*, 6 vols. (Cuneo: Bertola and Locatelli, 1990-1994), vol. 6.

¹⁰⁹ Likely Johann Georg Krause, an alumnus of the Leipzig Thomasschule who joined the Dresden court chapel around 1680. K. J. Kutsch, Leo Riemens, and Hansjörg Rost, *Grosses Sängerlexikon*, 3rd ed., 7 vols. (Munich: Saur, 1997-2002), 3:1905.

What is surprising (to us) is the appearance of castrati in major female roles. Psyche's evil sisters Aglaure and Cidippe were sung by "Giacomo" and "Alberti," who seem to have made a specialty of *travesti*.¹¹¹ In Wolfenbüttel's *L'Ermione*, Alberti sang the title role, while Giacomo appeared as her confidante Andromacha. Choosing two castrati to perform Psyche's sisters might have been due in part to the exigencies of personnel—professional female singers still being a rarity—but it might also be indicative of a tendency to see cross-casting in a comic light. Audience members familiar with the original play might have remembered the comic element in Molière's Act I. Molière made the sisters out as ridiculous, scheming shrews, so ridiculous that they surely must have inspired laughter. Though Thomas Corneille softened the portrayal of the sisters in his own poetry, the comic potential of the roles remains and is played up here by the use of castrati before an audience that might still have been somewhat unfamiliar or uncomfortable with eunuch singers (as Doublet had been).

Most surprising of all is the casting of Amour, sung by Johanna Kellner (listed in the libretto as "Mademoiselle Jeanneton"). While appearing *en travesti* might have been common for castrati, even necessary in a place like Rome, it was by no means usual for women. Trousers roles were still extremely uncommon at this point in operatic history, and were basically unheard of north of the Alps.¹¹² Yet there was a certain ambiguity about the role of Amour that might have contributed to choosing Johanna instead of one of the many men available. In Paris, the role had been double-cast: when appearing in his true form, Amour was sung by a (boy) soprano; in his "mortal costume," the god was instead performed by an *haute contre*. Ambiguity also lurks in the *haute-contre* range, however. How high was it? Was it sung in falsetto or not? Despite the flood of musicological literature on the subject, no one has ever posed the question: Was the *haute contre* ever sung by a woman?¹¹³

Perhaps Johanna Kellner and her castrato colleagues have a lesson for us. Some common thoughts about French opera—that cross-casting was always male-to-female and always for magical characters, that women never sang in pants—might need to be set aside,

¹¹⁰ Possibly Antonio Gaspari, a tenor employed by the Vienna court chapel between 1666 and 1676. *Ibid.*, 2:1275.

¹¹¹ I have found no further information on these singers.

¹¹² The earliest securely documented pants role was that of Valentiniano in P. A. Ziani's *L'innocenza risorta, ovvero Etio* (Venice, 1683), sung by Francesca Sarti Cottini. The research of Beth Glixon indicates that it was possible to envision a woman in a trouser role as early as 1669, when impresario Romoaldo Vialardi suggested that a woman sing the part of a page in Mantua in 1669 (a boy sang it in the end). For a discussion of these examples, see Kordula Knaus, *Männer als Ammen, Frauen als Liebhaber: Cross-Gender Casting in der Oper 1600-1800* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2011), 80-81. My sincere thanks to Dr. Knaus for sharing this reference.

¹¹³ The floodwaters were unleashed by Neal Zaslaw, "The Enigma of the Haute-Contre," *The Musical Times* 115 (1974). Like Zaslaw's initial contribution, subsequent literature was primarily aimed at making an "authentic" performance of French opera possible. More recently, Prest has discussed the ambiguously gendered *haute-contre*; see Prest, *Theatre Under Louis XIV*, 148-49.

or at least qualified by the words “in Paris.”¹¹⁴ Lully assembled his company from amongst the best singers in France, a land not known for its high proportion of castrati. What France was known for was a long tradition of female theater singers.¹¹⁵ A concern for “verisimilitude”—the reason most often given for the lack of castrati and cross-dressing on the French stage—may have had something to do with Lully’s own casting practices, for it is certainly true that he could have opted to employ the court castrati on a more regular basis or import his own. But in Wolfenbüttel, where for a short time French and Italian opera crossed paths, imaginary boundaries of gender on the stage were crossed. For it was this court production that briefly transformed a French opera into “a prima donna circus with a lively transsexual sideshow”—except one of the transsexuals was wearing pants.¹¹⁶

Besides the casting decisions, the ballets of Nanquer danced by the local nobles (whose names proudly feature in the libretto), and minor adjustments to the prologue, the Wolfenbüttel production of *Psyché* includes a striking insertion that may betray a more direct relationship to Italy. A comic scene in Italian appears at the beginning of Act II. Comic scenes were commonplace in Venetian opera at this time, but were basically unheard of in the *tragédie en musique*. Lully had abandoned the practice after flirting with comic characters at an early stage, most notably Arbas in *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673). In the new scene for *Psyché*, Vulcan (sung by Paul Kellner) appears, berating his Cyclops servants in a refrain aria, “Pigri et lenti Ministri” (Lazy and slow servants). Three of the Cyclops, called Bronte, Sterope, and Pircamone, startle out of sleep and immediately begin calling Vulcan names: “Vecchio rabioso / Nume bilioso / Orso baccoso” (Old, angry, / Biliious god, / Rotten bear). Vulcan, irritated, bellows “Taccia la lingua ed operi la mano” (Shut your mouths and get to work), at which point the Cyclops start making dirty remarks about Venus and Mars. Promised gold by Vulcan, they finally get down to work, and the original Act II, scene 1 commences. The new music for the Italian scene (if it were not borrowed from somewhere else) could have been written by Kellner himself, who had worked on operatic compositions before, or even Theile.

¹¹⁴ A recent example of this scholarly vein: “French baroque opera was established in opposition to the Italian musical tradition. Italian opera rejoiced in the striking voice and gender ambiguity (and therefore flexibility) of the castrato and demonstrated a marked preference for the upper voices, particularly that of the soprano, both male and female. French opera, on the other hand, rejected the ambiguity and flexibility of the castrato and exhibited its own preference for men’s voices, notably that of the naturally high tenor, known as the *haute contre*. While cross-casting was rife in Italian opera, the French taste for verisimilitude, combined with the fact that, throughout French operatic history, women had been permitted to sing on stage, meant that very few roles were cross-cast.” Prest, *Theatre Under Louis XIV*, 155.

¹¹⁵ Virginia Scott’s recent, fascinating study addresses both the difficulties and triumphs that a life on the stage presented to the women of the theater. Virginia Scott, *Women on the Stage in Early Modern France, 1540-1750* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹¹⁶ A comment that Taruskin makes about the (Italian) public theater. Richard Taruskin, “Of Kings and Divas,” *The New Republic*, December 13 1993, 34.

Such antics would play no part in Wolfenbüttel's third and last French opera, *Thésée*, performed in 1687.¹¹⁷ The opera company of Wolfenbüttel had apparently decided to play by the "rules," as they began to understand them. No cross-casting occurs, and beyond a new prologue (set in Venice), the *tragédie* is left untouched. By that time, the court had found a good high tenor in the person of Georg Oesterreich (who sang Thésée), best-known to music historians as a composer and collector of sacred works in German.¹¹⁸ Oesterreich had been hired from Hamburg at the recommendation of Theile, and would remain with the court music until being spirited away by the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp in 1689. Strikingly, the new adherence to gender-true casting played out in the company's 1688 production of Giannettini's *Medea in Atene* as well. Once women—the *Kellnerinnen*—had appeared on the German stage, they were there to stay.¹¹⁹

The experiments at Wolfenbüttel between 1685 and 1688 may have had wider-ranging connections than the obvious links to Stuttgart, Ansbach, Hamburg, and Holstein-Gottorp. It is more than likely that the Kellners, and possibly other singers of Wolfenbüttel, sang Lully's *Acis et Galatée* at Darmstadt in 1687 for the wedding of Ernst Ludwig of Hesse-Darmstadt and Dorothea Charlotte of Brandenburg Ansbach. For by that time, these singers were known for their performances in French.¹²⁰ The fact that *Thésée* in 1687 was followed by *Medea in Atene* in 1688 strongly suggests a Brussels connection, for those were the two works that opened the Quai au Foin back in 1682, a connection made even more convincing by the Wolfenbüttel performance of *L'Ermione raquistata*, which had been written for Alessandro Farnese.¹²¹ Giannettini's *Medea in Atene* lived on, at Anton Ulrich's new public theater in Brunswick in 1692, and at Hamburg (but in German) in 1695. It may indeed have been through Giannettini's connections to Wolfenbüttel that one of Lully's works was

¹¹⁷ Two text books were produced for this performance: one with the complete French text, the other with summaries and scene descriptions in German.

¹¹⁸ On Oesterreich, see esp. Soltys, "Georg Oesterreich." Oesterreich was the principal scribe and collector for the famous Bokemeyer collection, now in the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin. Undoubtedly, he copied many of the works of Rosenmüller and Theile while in Wolfenbüttel. Harald Kümmerling, *Katalog der Sammlung Bokemeyer*, Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970).

¹¹⁹ Two additional women appeared in *Thésée*: Elisabeth Ursel von Santen (as love lead *Æglé*) and Anna Ursula Voges (as Cléone). Voges apparently departed the stage quickly; she does not appear again. In court records from 1688 on, there is an additional "Kellnerin" named Elisabeth, suggesting that von Santen married Jonathan Paul Kellner.

¹²⁰ A libretto for the performance existed at one point, but was unfortunately destroyed (along with most of Darmstadt) in 1944. Hermann Kaiser was able to examine it. He gives an account of the new prologue added to the work, but does not mention if the libretto included a list of personnel. Hermann Kaiser, *Barocktheater in Darmstadt: Geschichte des Theaters einer deutschen Residenz im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt: Roether, 1951), 81-83.

¹²¹ A further connection to Brussels might be found in a singer called "Jany" who first appeared in Wolfenbüttel in April of 1687 and subsequently sang in *Thésée*. The name is similar to some alternate spellings of "Joanny." The Joanny clan was involved in French opera in Brussels, Ghent, and Amsterdam from the 1680s on. For a brief survey of Joanny activity in the Low Countries, see Schrickx, "French, Italian, Spanish and German Actors."

performed in Italy—a rare occurrence. Giannettini became *maestro di capella* at Modena in 1686, and in 1687, Lully's *Psyché*—"in French with Italian interpolations"—appeared at the court theater there.¹²²

Amsterdam goes "French"

1687 was a banner year for French opera in Amsterdam as well, for it marked the first time that a fully sung French work appeared on the stage of the Amsterdam Schouwburg, the venerable city theater at the center of theatrical life in the Dutch Republic.¹²³ The move to the Schouwburg was somewhat unexpected, considering the negative attitudes of the theater's regents toward opera in particular and foreign performers in general. The Regents of the Almshouses (*Godshuizen*) controlled the Schouwburg, for the city's orphanage and alms houses were financed by levies placed on the theater. It was therefore in their best interests, and part of their godly duty, to ensure that the theater was successful.

At the same time, however, certain moves of the Regents were politically motivated, like the pressure they applied to the burgomasters of Amsterdam back in 1683, leading to a resolution that would alter the city's future operatic history. On 2 September 1683, the burgomasters resolved that "no foreign performers [*vreemde Commedianten*] shall ever more be permitted to perform within this city, either at the Schouwburg, or anywhere else, nor shall any such group be tolerated in the future, but must be absolutely rejected."¹²⁴ These strong words from the burgomasters were prompted in part by Strycker's Italian opera experiment, but were more directly related to the success of a troupe of French actors who began performing at the Schouwburg in June of 1683. The French actors were simply too successful, making proponents of Dutch-language theater (like the Regents and the burgomasters) extremely uncomfortable.¹²⁵

¹²² This connection has not been suggested before. The performance is reported in Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597-1940. Compiled from the original sources*, 2nd, rev. and corr. (by Frank Walker) ed., 2 vols. (Geneva: Societas Bibliographica, 1955), I:64. Unfortunately, Loewenberg never cited his sources, and I have been unable to discover anything further about this *Psyché*. This tempting possibility deserves further exploration.

¹²³ The best short account of the rise and fall of opera in Amsterdam is Rasch, "De moeizame introductie." Other recent works that treat spectacle at the Schouwburg include Ton Amir, "Kunst- en vliegwerken in het Nederlandse drama van 1665 tot 1720" (PhD diss., Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1989); Natascha Veldhorst, *De perfecte verleiding: muzikale scènes op het Amsterdams toneel in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004); Kornee van der Haven, *Achter de schermen van het stadstoneel: Theaterbedrijf en toneelpolemiek in Amsterdam en Hamburg, 1675-1750* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2008).

¹²⁴ "Den 2en Septemb. 1683 voorz, mede in deliberatie geleit zijnde, is goedgevonden en verstaan, dat'er geen vreemde Commedianten meer binnen deze Stadt en zullen vermogen te speelen, 't zij op 's Schouburg, ofte daarbuiten, nogte dat Een zulks in toekomstige oijt meer zal toegestaan, maar absolutelijk geweert moeten worden." Transcribed in C. N. Wybrands, *Het Amsterdamsche Toneel van 1617-1772* (Utrecht: Beijers, 1873), 232.

¹²⁵ Fransen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande*, 164-65.

So how was French opera able to appear at the Schouwburg in 1687? Simply because the Regents realized that the profits were simply too good to deny. The trend toward French opera had been started by David Lingelbach, former hairstylist at the Amsterdam Schouwburg, who opened a small opera theater in Buiksloot—just outside Amsterdam’s jurisdiction—in the summer of 1686, the same year that the Huguenot migration to Amsterdam reached its peak.¹²⁶ There, his small band of *opéris* performed Lully and Quinault’s *Atys*, and probably other Lully operas as well. The Regents, annoyed, tried to shut Lingelbach down at first, but they had no power in Buiksloot. Finally, in January of 1687, they resolved to join forces with the enemy and permit French opera at the Schouwburg. It seems their rules could be bent, and it probably did not hurt that Lingelbach was Dutch.

At first, Lingelbach and his partner Jan Koenerding alternated performances of Lully and Quinault’s *Amadis* (1684) with spoken theater in Dutch. The positive response to the opera was so overwhelming, however, that they made the radical decision to fire all of the Dutch actors in May.¹²⁷ From that point until the end of the season in September, the Amsterdam Schouwburg offered only French opera. Nineteen performances of *Amadis* were followed by twenty of *Cadmus et Hermione*, and the company rounded out the season with eleven performances of *Atys*.

The “Opera,” as it became known, quickly became an important meeting place for the locals and destination for travelers. Joan Huydecoper III, future burgomaster of Amsterdam and member of one of the city’s most powerful families, was a regular spectator. After seeing *Amadis* just once, he attended *Cadmus* five times and *Atys* three times.¹²⁸ The opera turned into a center of his social world, the place where he “found the friends,” as he wrote in his diary on 8 March 1687. At the Opera he met with his father, his brothers, his extended family. He spoke with important people of the city, like Burgomaster Corver or Regent Pluimer. He met poets too, like Govert Bidloo, a part-time dramatist and eventual personal physician of William of Orange. A frequent companion at the opera was Huydecoper’s new wife, Maria Temmink, who saw *Cadmus* twice in June of 1687, even though she was seven months pregnant at the time. One month after giving birth Maria Temmink was back at the “Opera” for *Atys*.

The opera in Amsterdam attracted more than just Dutch patricians. Architect, artist, and engineer Nicodemus Tessin saw *Cadmus* on 22 June, as part of an assignment from the King of Sweden to learn about the latest artistic developments in Western Europe. Tessin was already well acquainted with the opera houses at Hamburg and Paris. On a first trip through France and Italy in the 1670s, he had befriended Jean Berain, lead set designer for

¹²⁶ Hubert P. H. Nusteling, “The Netherlands and the Huguenot émigrés,” in *La Révocation de l’Édit de Nantes et les Provinces-Unies, 1685: Actes du Colloque international du tricentenaire*, ed. Hans Bots and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (Amsterdam and Maarssen: APA/Holland University Press, 1986), 22-23.

¹²⁷ J. A. Worp, *Geschiedenis van het drama en van het tooneel in Nederland*, 2 vols. (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1908), I:142; Rasch, “De moeizame introductie,” 314.

¹²⁸ See Huydecoper’s diary entries for 1687: 8 March; 7, 10, 14, 17, 25 June; 9, 13, 16 September. NL-Ur, Huydecoper 67/109.

the Paris Opéra. It was therefore not without experience that Tessin wrote in his Amsterdam travelogue, “I saw the opera of *Cadmus* performed in French; it was really not bad. Some of the voices were quite good, the machines were very bad, the theater much smaller than that at Hamburg, but some of the decors were really well painted.”¹²⁹ Even though Tessin’s official travel notes (to be shared with the King of Sweden) are not overly-enthusiastic about the Amsterdam Opera, the artisan did feel it was something to write home about. In a letter to his mother, Tessin reported the most important details of his journey so far: his good health, the conditions of his journey, the magnificent gardens of the Prince of Orange—and the opera he had seen. “The day before yesterday I saw here the new opera of *Cadmus* sung in French; it was not at all bad.”¹³⁰ Tessin’s accounts stress the language of the opera, a detail he felt compelled to include in both the official log and the personal letter to his mother. This seems striking. Did Tessin not expect to find a French opera in Amsterdam? Did he assume that the premier theater in the most powerful Dutch city would naturally perform in Dutch, just as the Hamburg Opera only performed in German?

The Frenchness—or lack of it—of Amsterdam’s opera was similarly commented upon by François Maximilien Misson. The former Parliamentarian of Paris, now a refugee in London who earned his living as a tutor to the ruling class, visited Amsterdam in October of 1687. His comments, published in a travelogue that became a veritable *Lonely Planet* of its day, make an explicit comparison between what he saw in Amsterdam and what he knew French opera ought to be.

We went to see a French opera, where there were neither machines, nor rich costumes, nor good actors. That which we found most pleasant there was a large girl who played the role of a man, and who pronounced so well that which she sang, that one believed her to be French. Yet it is pure routine, she does not understand a single word of French. They say that she was a drummer in the Dutch army for five or six years.¹³¹

¹²⁹ “...die opera vom *Cadmus* habe ich auch sehen in fronzösch repraesentiren, wahr eben nicht zu verachten, ettzliche stienen gingen wohl hin, die machinen wahr sehr schlecht, der theater auch viel kleiner als der in Hamburg, aber ettzliche decorationen wahren recht guht gemahlt.” Tessin’s travel notes are transcribed in Merit Laine and Börje Magnusson, eds., *Nicodemus Tessin the Younger: Sources, Works, Collections. Travel Notes 1673-77 and 1687-88* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2002), 142. Tessin’s German orthography is quite chaotic; he was a native Swedish speaker.

¹³⁰ “I förgårss sog jagh här ett nytt opera utaf *Cadmus* uppå frantzöska siungit, som wahr inthet så helt oäfwent.” Letter of 24 June 1687, in *ibid.*, 424-25. My thanks to Olle Torssander for checking my translation. *Cadmus* was by no means “new”—it had premiered at Paris fourteen years earlier.

¹³¹ “Nous venons de voir un Opera François, où il n’avoit ni machines, ni habits riches, ni bons Acteurs. Ce que nous avons trouvé là de plus plaisant, c’est une grosse fille qui jouë un rolle d’homme, & qui prononce si bien ce qu’elle chante, qu’on la croiroit Française: cependant c’est une pure routine, elle n’entend pas un mot de François. On dit qu’elle a esté Tambour pendant cinq ou six ans dans les troupes de Hollande.” François Maximilien Misson, *Nouveau voyage d’Italie fait en l’année 1688. Avec un mémoire contenant des avis utiles à ceux qui voudront faire le mesme voyage* (The Hague: Henri van Bulderen, 1691), 24.

Most pleasant—or amusing—to Misson was the fact that a woman in pants was singing a man’s role, something that would never happen in Paris. On the stage, it was easy enough for a woman to pull off a man’s role. Trousers on, carry a sword, bluster a bit, sing the *haute contre*... the fiction was transparent enough that everyone knew it was a woman on the stage, but suspended disbelief for the pleasure of the performance.

Misson found the singer so convincing, particularly her excellent declamation, that he apparently wished to compliment her. Great was his surprise when he discovered she was not French at all. In fact, she did not understand a single word of French. Though it might be easy for a trained singer to imitate a native French speaker’s accents while singing the elaborate metrical recitatives of a Lully opera, pulling off a French identity in the real world was another matter entirely. Misson, shocked perhaps that he, a natural-born Frenchman, had been duped by a performer of uncertain origin, felt it necessary to repeat a rumor about the “large girl.” If she were so easily able to make a routine of pronunciation, catching the rhythms of declamation and the nuances of vowels with perfect accuracy, should it not be believable that she, dressed as a boy, was able to speak the language of the military drum?¹³²

Misson’s criticism of the Amsterdam opera came from a position of authority; after all, he had lived in Paris, so wouldn’t he know best? The French Misson knew that a truly French opera would have elaborate machines, spectacular costumes, and the best singing actors to be found. But Misson was not in France anymore. He was one of those “unfortunate banished people from France,” a Huguenot who would never return to his land of birth again.¹³³

The phantom audience

Amsterdam’s French opera continued its successes of 1687 well into 1688. In order to improve the quality, perhaps, members of the French opera troupe of The Hague were invited to perform at the Schouwburg beginning in May of 1688.¹³⁴ There, they produced Lully and Quinault’s *Les fêtes de l’Amour et de Bacchus* (1672), *Persée*, and *Proserpine*, as well as a French “opera” called “*Andromaque*” (likely an error for the great *tragédie à*

¹³² On the “language” of military drumming—one of the first truly “national” styles in sound—see Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms*, 209-10.

¹³³ The phrase comes from a letter of 31 December 1685 written by Great Elector, Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg Prussia. Quoted in Helmut Schnitter, “The Refugees in the Army of Brandenburg-Prussia: ‘those unfortunate banished people from France,’” in *War, Religion and Service: Huguenot Soldiering, 1685-1713*, ed. Matthew Glozier and David Onnekink, 145-59 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 145. Misson, originally from Normandy, became an ardent and early supporter of the “French Prophets,” a visionary rebel group in the early eighteenth century. The Prophets also received support from English court viol player Christian Steffkins. See Lionel Laborie, “The French Prophets: A Cultural History of Religious Enthusiasm in Post-Toleration England (1689-1730)” (Ph.D. diss., University of East Anglia, 2010), 153ff. Believing himself on a prophetic mission, Misson later traveled to see the Sultan in Constantinople and the Pope in Rome in order to seek aid for the Huguenots.

¹³⁴ Fransen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande*, 171-73.

machines Andromède of Pierre Corneille).¹³⁵ Following the precedent set in 1687, no Dutch theater was performed at the Schouwburg in 1688. The audience only had eyes and ears for French spectacle.

But who was in that audience? Beyond the Dutch patricians and the well-traveled foreigners like Tessin or Misson, we cannot account easily for a large portion of the Amsterdam audience. Subscription lists for the loges do not exist. Even less record remains of the lowest-paying, largest segment of the theater's population, those who stood on the floor before the raised stage of the Schouwburg or occupied space in the uppermost balcony. Undoubtedly, most were men. And likely, many were Huguenots like Misson. The Dutch Republic was the first and last stop for many of the *réfugiés*, for there they found support from the Reformed Church, employment in the printing or textile industries, and, for a swiftly-increasing number, a commission in the forces of William of Orange.¹³⁶

William was quietly amassing forces for the most spectacular invasion attempt to date. The *guerre de religion* that d'Avaux had predicted back in 1681 would soon come to pass—or so William and his allies would have it appear. Armed with tales of renewed Catholic atrocities and promises of a return of Protestantism to France, William's recruiters in northwestern Europe successfully attracted numerous *réfugiés* throughout 1687 and 1688. Instrumental in these efforts was William's new second-in-command, Marshal Schomberg, who was sent to the Dutch Republic by the Elector of Brandenburg in 1687 along with his Huguenot regiment.¹³⁷ Further forces, sent by Denmark, Hanover, Brunswick-Lüneburg, and Wolfenbüttel, similarly included numerous French veterans. Once arrived in the Dutch Republic, the French opera at Amsterdam provided a little taste of French culture, a little diversion for the officers and soldiers gathering in the city. This audience was known to be rowdy, anyway. The justice ministers of Amsterdam issued audience regulations on 13 July 1687, forbidding noise, whistling, smoking, removal of advertising posters, cabals, or other disruptions in and around the Schouwburg, on pain of fine or incarceration.¹³⁸

The curious fate of Amsterdam's opera speaks to the disappearance of what may have been its primary audience—William's soldiers. The successful runs of French operas at the Schouwburg continued through the first months of 1688. The proceeds were so good that the Regents of the Almshouses installed themselves as financial overseers of the Opera that summer to ensure that the almshouses were getting all that they were due.¹³⁹ But in October,

¹³⁵ Fransen gives the account books for July-September 1688, which state “de franse opera van Andromache.” Ibid., 172.

¹³⁶ See esp. Matthew Glozier, *The Huguenot Soldiers of William of Orange and the “Glorious Revolution” of 1688: The Lions of Judah* (Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2002); Dianne W. Ressinger, “Au Réfugié: Huguenot Officers in The Hague, 1687,” in *War, Religion and Service: Huguenot Soldiering, 1685-1713*, ed. Matthew Glozier and David Onnekink, 139-54 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

¹³⁷ Glozier, *The Huguenot Soldiers of William of Orange*, 67ff.

¹³⁸ Transcribed in Wybrands, *Het Amsterdamsche Toneel*, 250-51.

¹³⁹ Worp, *Geschiedenis van het drama en van het tooneel in Nederland*, 142; Rasch, “De moeizame introductie,” 315.

proprietors Lingelbach and Koenerding reported that they were running into financial difficulties. Matters soon took a turn for the worse, and on 23 November the Schouwburg closed for the first time since 1677. Koenerding and Lingelbach surrendered the building and its contents to the Regents on 3 December. What happened?

A short answer might be found in the disappearance of the phantom audience. On 1 November 1688, the largest invasion force yet seen embarked from the harbor of Amsterdam. William of Orange had successfully launched the “Glorious” Revolution—in reality, an unprovoked Dutch invasion of England. Some five hundred ships left Amsterdam that day. On those ships were 5,000 gentleman volunteers (many of them Huguenots), 10,692 regular infantry and 3,600 regular cavalry, 9,142 crew members, miscellaneous gunners of the artillery train, and 10,000 or so additional foot soldiers. William had clandestinely assembled and armed these forces without even consulting the Dutch government. The bulk of the manpower was quietly gathered between June and October from across Protestant Europe—exactly at the time when the French opera at the Schouwburg was having its last best run.¹⁴⁰ And on 8 October, William made his intentions clear: any (potential) invasion of England was to preserve the Protestant states from an Anglo-French Catholic union and to further the dynastic interests of himself and his wife Mary, she who delighted in the French opera at The Hague, Brussels, and probably Amsterdam as well. Those days were over, and she knew it. Upon joining William in England in February of 1689, Mary wrote in her diary, “we both shed tears of joy to meet, and of sorrow for meeting in England, both wishing it might have been in Holland, both bewailing the loss of the liberty we had left behind and were sensible we should never enjoy here.”¹⁴¹

The failure of the French opera in 1688 caused the Regents and burgomasters to rethink the use of the theater. A large (and rowdy) part of the opera-going audience had now gone, along with the opera’s most powerful patrons. William would not return to the Dutch Republic until 1691; Mary never would. The foremost issue in the Regents’ minds was whether or not to adhere to the resolution of the burgomasters from back in 1683. Should they continue to allow foreigners, and especially foreign *opéristes*, to perform on the stage of the Schouwburg? They began to consider these questions in earnest in 1689 (a year otherwise

¹⁴⁰ This episode has generated much literature. Here I draw on Jonathan I. Israel and Geoffrey Parker, “Of Providence and Protestant winds,” in *The Anglo-Dutch Moment: Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its world impact*, ed. Jonathan I. Israel, 335–63 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Lisa Jardine, *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland’s Glory* (New York: Harper Collins, 2008), 1–10. Jardine’s is an especially lively and richly-illustrated account.

¹⁴¹ Richard Doebner, ed. *Memoirs of Mary, Queen of England (1689-1693), together with her Letters and those of Kings James II. and William III. to the Electress, Sophia of Hanover* (Leipzig: Veit, 1886). William, and to a lesser extent Mary, have often been blamed by musicologists for “ruining” English music, particularly opera. It seems much more likely that the overtly pious tone that they adopted at the English court was a calculated move, designed to further legitimize their rather illegitimate takeover of Britain. This image hardly tallies with their behavior in Holland. On the “godly” refashioning of William’s image in England, see esp. Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996). The cross-Channel patronage practices of William and Mary deserve much further investigation.

without opera), when Victor Amedée Le Chevalier proposed bringing an opera company to Amsterdam. The Savoyard musician, impresario, and music publisher had been working at the French opera in The Hague, but saw an opening in Amsterdam. In response to his request, the Regents had one very important question: in what language did he intend to perform?¹⁴²

If poet and playwright Thomas Arends had had his way, it would have been Dutch. Around the time that the Regents were considering Le Chevalier's request, Arends delivered a manifesto on the need for opera in Dutch—or, more pointedly, a *Dutch* opera, as becomes clear when one reads through his reasoning.¹⁴³ Arends begins by telling the Regents that he knows they are considering allowing an opera company at the Schouwburg again, but they have not yet decided if it should be in Italian, French, or Dutch. Positioning himself as “a lover of Dutch poetry,” Arends explains that every other important kingdom and city has long had opera in “none other than their own language,” which has contributed to the advancement of poetry and music in Italy and France in particular. As we know, Arends is here stretching the truth, but in his mind it was for a good cause. Since the Regents have “so much love, as they ought to, for the Dutch art of poetry,” then surely they will fulfill their obligations to “the honor of the Dutch Nation [Nederduytsche Natie], Poetry, and, not least the support of the poor” by choosing to produce Dutch opera instead of opera in a foreign language.¹⁴⁴

Arends provides four reasons for why a Dutch opera is necessary, each one revealing with greater clarity the foreign language he feared most, for his argument is designed to build up Dutchness and Dutch opera against a negative model of foreigners, and particularly the French. His first reason assumes that the spectators would better enjoy opera in a language that they understood than one in a foreign language, which ends up sounding like

¹⁴² Transcriptions of the relevant documents, made in the early eighteenth century by Balthazar Huydecoper, may be found in NL-Ur Huydecoper 67/316. I thank Rudolph Rasch for introducing me to this rich collection.

¹⁴³ Arends' “Voorstel op wat wyze een Opera in het Nederduytsch tot genoegen der ingezetenen, groter luyster der Nederduytsche taal, en aanqueeking van der zelve Dichtkunde, daar en boven tot merkelyken meerder nut der Armen, ten tooneele gebragt, en binnen deze stadt gevestigd kan worden” is undated. Jan te Winkel opined that it was written in 1685 or 1686; see Jan te Winkel, “Thomas Arends, Tooneeldichter en Geschiedzanger,” *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde* 9 (1890), 109. Yet the text clearly refers to the Nine Years' War, as observed by Westerling, “De oudste Amsterdamsche opera,” 292. I believe that Arends was more likely inspired by events of 1689 or 1690, including the threat of Le Chevalier and the worsening economic situation in Amsterdam due to war losses. The complete text is transcribed as Appendix 1 in Rudolph Rasch, “Thomas Arends' *Roeland* (1686): Opera of toneel?” in *Hier wordt Musieck gesonghen ende gespeelt: Muziek op het toneel in de Nederlanden tijdens de zeventiende eeuw*, ed. Hubert Meeus and Maartje de Wilde (forthcoming). My sincere thanks to Dr. Rasch for providing the manuscript of his article.

¹⁴⁴ “Indien nu de heren Regenten zoo veel liefde, als zy behoren, voor de Nederduytsche Dichtkunde hebben, zoo zullen zy voorzeker hunne genegenheit veel eer aan een Opera in het Nederduytsch overgeeven, als de zelve hangen aan een Opera in vreemde talen. Alzo hunne plicht, de ere der Nederduytsche Natie, de Dichtkunde, en niet minder het voordeel der armen hen daaraan verschuldigt maaken.” Arends, “Voorstel.”

“mere noise” (*blote klank*).¹⁴⁵ Noise, as “raw sound lacking signification,”¹⁴⁶ plays a curious role in Arends’ evaluation of opera in foreign languages. His argument assumes that sung text was always comprehensible, whereas in reality that was not often the case.

Comprehensibility had as much or more to do with the acoustics of the theater, ambient noise, the training of singers and the style of the music as with the language of the text.

Additionally, Arends presumed that the audience at the Schouwburg was both Dutch and monolingual. Matters could not have been more different in Amsterdam at that time. Large swathes of the population spoke no Dutch at all, and the upper class Dutch patrons that Arends undoubtedly imagined attending his opera were frequently fluent in French.¹⁴⁷ English traveler William Montague remarked in 1695 that many of the Dutch people he associated with spoke excellent French, “which is very common here, and, we think, more universal than *Latin*.”¹⁴⁸ Perhaps realizing the hole in his argument, Arends quickly invents a statistic:

It is true that in this city there are many foreign Nations [vreemde Natien], and that these would love an opera in their own language, and indeed run to it, far more than one in Dutch. But, for every foreigner there come three native-born [ingeborenen], and many more would attend if only they could understand what was being sung.¹⁴⁹

Despite acknowledging Amsterdam’s diversity, Arends’ concocted statistic allows him to mask his xenophobia with economic common sense. Positing a natural relationship between audience and language, and between language and birthplace, Arends assumes that opera in Dutch would attract an ever-increasing number of native-born spectators, who seem to be his ideal audience.

Arends’ second argument for a Dutch opera similarly hangs on birthplace and residency, but this time on behalf of the performers rather than the audience: “It is far more reasonable,” he writes, “to employ residents and Dutch people [Nederlanderen], who have

¹⁴⁵ “...den aanschouweren zekerlyk meer vernoegen moet, iets te hooren, het welke zy kunnen verstaan, als het gene zy niet verstaan, en waar van zy niets mede kunnen draagen, als alleen de blote klank.” Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Charles Dill, “Ideological Noises: Opera Criticism in Early 18th-Century France,” in *Operatic Migrations: Transforming Works and Crossing Boundaries*, ed. Roberta Montemorra Marvin and Downing A. Thomas, 65–83 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 68.

¹⁴⁷ On migrants in Amsterdam, particularly from Scandinavia and the German lands, see Erika Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad: Immigratie en sociale verhoudingen in 17e-eeuws Amsterdam* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2005). On the popularity of the French language amongst Dutch elites, see esp. Willem Frijhoff, “Verfransing? Franse taal en Nederlandse cultuur tot in de revolutietijd,” *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 104 (1989).

¹⁴⁸ William Montague, *The Delights of Holland: or, A Three Months Travel about that and other Provinces, with Observations and Reflections on their Trade, Wealth, Strength, Beauty, Policy, &c. Together with A Catalogue of the Rarities in the Anatomical School at Leyden. By William Mountague, Esq* (London: John Sturton and A. Bosvile, 1696), 165.

¹⁴⁹ “Wel is waar, dat in deze stadt veele vreemde Natien zyn, en die veel meer van een Opera in hunne taal zullen houden, en daar naar loopen, als naar een Nederduytsche doch tegens eenen vreemden komen ‘er wel drie ingeborenen, en daar zouden ‘er merkelyk meer komen, ingevalle zy, het gene ‘er gezongen wordt, verstaan konden.” Arends, “Voorstel.”

here their residences and households and whose income is expended here, than roving foreigners [zwervende vreemdelingen] who take their earnings out of the land.”¹⁵⁰ Since the Schouwburg’s primary obligation was to provide for the poor (the Calvinist excuse for sponsoring public entertainment), it would therefore be wiser to ensure that performers paid taxes within the Dutch Republic. “Roving foreigners” were untrustworthy, far more likely to send their wealth abroad than to contribute to the local economy.

Though the economy may have been a concern in Amsterdam at the time, it does not seem to be at the heart of Arends’ difficulties with opera in a foreign language. The true problem, and the true enemy, comes into view with Arends’ third argument:

One can judge how hateful it must be to Dutch people of good conscience to have to see, in this time of war so unjustly prosecuted against us by the king of France, our stage given over to those people, who in their hearts nourish nothing more than contempt for our way of life, and wish for nothing other than our downfall and destruction.¹⁵¹

The “us”—the Dutch—is here clearly constructed against a powerful “them”—the French. It did not matter to Arends that many of the “French” *opéristes* in the Dutch Republic were not French at all; rather, they originated in the Spanish Netherlands, and thus were subjects of the king of Spain. And Spain was theoretically an ally at the time. It is also quite clear in Arends’ mind that the war with France, no matter how provoked by the actions of William of Orange, was an unjust one. Arends here creates an equivalency between language and the present war that necessarily assumes all French speakers to be supporters of Louis XIV, at least “in their hearts.” The implication is that only native-born Dutch could be good patriots. For Arends, language and allegiance were indivisible when it came to French opera, though the same did not hold true of Italian opera. The worst he could say about the Italians was that they were too expensive. But his point was made. No opera of any sort would be heard again at the Schouwburg until 1750.

The anti-French feelings expressed so clearly by Arends resulted in a revision of the privileges extended toward the *réfugiés* in Amsterdam. In 1690, the city magistrates limited aid to those arriving *directly* from France, thus ending the support of the “roving foreigners” who circulated throughout the lands of the Refuge, searching for a convenient place of settlement. Particularly problematic were those refugees who had lost everything in France—or those who had had nothing to begin with.¹⁵² Despite the dependence of such

¹⁵⁰ “...het veel redelyker is ingezetenen en Nederlanderen te gebruyken, die hier hunne woninge en huyshoudinge hebben, en welkers winninge hier wederom verteert wordt, als zwervende vreemdelingen, die de hunne buytens lands brengen....” Ibid.

¹⁵¹ “Men kan oordelen, hoe hatelyk het aan Nederlanders van een goet gemoedt behoort te weezen, in een tydt van oorlogh, ons door den koning van Vrankryk zoo onrechtmatigh aangedaan, ons toneel overgegeeven te zien aan menschen, die in hunne harten niet anders voeden als verachtinge voor onzen Landaart, en niet anders wenschen als onze ondergang en verderf.” Ibid.

¹⁵² Hans Bots, “Le Refuge dans les Provinces-Unies,” in *La Diaspora des Huguenots*, ed. Eckart Birnstiel, 63-74 (Paris: Champion, 2001), 70-71.

groups on charity, contemporary observers noted that generosity was often rewarded with indifference toward the Dutch and continued support for the French king. On a visit to Amsterdam in 1695, Montague observed,

We met abundance of *French* in this Place [Amsterdam], both Ministers and others, (most of the *Reform'd Religion*) the *Dutch* are very generous to them in their Alms for their Support; here are many Thousands, ten for one in *England* or *Ireland*. This Remark we made (not once but often,) when we or any others, occasionally spoke against the *French* King, they seem'd concern'd, tho' he has so bitterly persecuted them; and, as we were inform'd by those who knew it well, they us'd to rejoyce at his former Successes in *Flanders*, *Piedmont*, and *Catalina* [Catalonia], and say upon all Occasions, *Nôtre Grand Monarque est invincible*, which Note now is chang'd; the *Dutch* were offended at their Vanity and Weakness, because from them they receiv'd their Bread.¹⁵³

Such attitudes were perhaps to be expected, as many Huguenots fully expected to return to France. The period of the Edict of Nantes, when their religious freedom was solely dependent on the pleasure of the king, had turned them into unapologetic absolutists. But their emigration and the experiences of exile called those political attitudes into question, leading to divisions within the community.¹⁵⁴ French Calvinist beliefs that affirmed the divine right of kings were difficult to forget; if Louis XIV were truly ordained by God, would he not surely come to his senses someday and revive the Edict of Nantes, thus once more incorporating his prodigal subjects who saw themselves as the Elect? On the other hand, since the king had broken what was beginning to be seen as a social contract with his Protestant subjects, would it not be appropriate to transfer allegiance to the lands of the Refuge? Love for Louis XIV was still strong, but belief in the contractual nature of sovereignty was growing, as may be seen in minister Abbadie's words of 1693: "The refugees still love him just as he will love them two hours before death, if God gives him the grace to recognize the ill he has done to us."¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Montague, *The Delights of Holland*, 184-5.

¹⁵⁴ An overview of this topic is provided in Myriam Yardeni, *Le refuge protestant* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1985), 42-45. For a fuller treatment of the shifts in political consciousness in the Refuge, particularly the debates between arch-monarchist Bayle and committed republican Jurieu, see Joseph Dedieu, *Le rôle politique des protestants français (1685-1715)* (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1920); Labrousse, "Les idées politiques du Refuge."; Myriam Yardeni, "The birth of political consciousness among the Huguenot refugees and their descendents in England (c. 1685-1750)," in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550-1750*, ed. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton, 404-11 (Brighton and Portland, UK: The Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland and Sussex Academic Press, 2001).

¹⁵⁵ "Les réfugiés, l'aiment comme il s'aimera lui-même deux heures avant que mourir, si Dieu luy fait la grace de reconnaître le mal qu'il nous a fait." Quoted in Myriam Yardeni, "Problèmes de fidélité chez les protestants français à l'époque de la Révocation," in *Le Refuge huguenot. Assimilation et culture*, 39-57 (Paris: Champion, 2002), 47. The line comes from Abbadie's *Défense de la nation britannique, où les droits de Dieu, de la nature et*

The cultural differences stirred by the presence of the refugees similarly affected German lands.¹⁵⁶ Even Christophe de Dohna, himself of Swiss Calvinist descent and the commander of a Huguenot regiment in Brandenburg, was beginning to lose patience. His memoirs of 1690 express frustration with the foreign attitudes of these “young people, newly arrived in Germany and elsewhere, who furiously decry their nation and render themselves odious by their atrocious manners toward the people from whom they expect to receive their bread.”¹⁵⁷ It made his blood run cold, he related, to hear these ungrateful refugees say things like, “This isn’t France—what barbaric people these are!”—as if “the rest of the human race were nothing compared to them.”¹⁵⁸ Dohna’s irritation with the separatism and self-ascribed cultural superiority of the refugees was felt by many, especially considering the ongoing war against France.¹⁵⁹ As the war dragged on, it became ever more difficult to excuse Frenchness with Protestantism, and negative feelings toward the unenlisted *réfugiés* grew.

Around the same time that the comte de Dohna complained about the refugees and Arends delivered his xenophobic manifesto, Bayle arranged the printing of one of the first encyclopedic dictionaries in the French language: Antoine Furetière’s *Dictionnaire universel* appeared simultaneously in Rotterdam (Bayle’s home since 1681) and The Hague.¹⁶⁰ The work was banned in France. Its author had sadly died in 1688, after having lost his seat in the Académie française for daring to publish extracts from his dictionary before the Académie could finish its own. Furetière’s dictionary was no doubt a welcome tool for the many Huguenots who made their livings as language teachers and for their wealthy students curious about the “French manner.” For the *Dictionnaire universel* not only defined words, it provided them with a cultural background. No definition demonstrates this better, perhaps, than that of “Opéra”:

Opera. Public spectacle, a magnificent representation on the stage of some dramatic work in which the verses are sung and are accompanied by a large instrumental

de la société sont clairement établies au sujet de la Révolution d’Angleterre contre l’auteur de l’Avis important aux Réfugiés (The Hague, 1693). This was part of a series of polemics directed against Pierre Bayle.

¹⁵⁶ On the transferral of allegiance amongst Huguenots in the German lands, see especially Yardeni, “Le Refuge allemand.”

¹⁵⁷ “...de jeunes gens nouveau débarqués en Allemagne, et ailleurs, qui décrient furieusement leur nation et qui se rendent odieux par leurs manières méprisantes envers des peuples chez lesquels ils viennent chercher du pain pour la plupart.” Christophe Dohna, comte de, *Mémoires originaux sur le règne et la cour de Frédéric I. roi de Prusse* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1833), 94. Note that Dohna here uses “nation” to refer to the nation of France, not the internationalized Huguenot nation.

¹⁵⁸ “L’intérêt que je prends en eux m’a fait suer sang et eau plus d’une fois en les entendant dire sans façon: Ce n’est pas ici la France; quel villain peuple est ici! Voilà qui sent bien son Allemand! et vingt autres pauvretés qu’ils débitent d’un air de confiance, comme si le reste du genre humain n’étoit rien au prix d’eux.” Ibid., 95.

¹⁵⁹ Such attitudes contributed to one aspect of the Huguenot myth in particular—that they were responsible for the renewal of culture and industry in the lands of the Refuge. See Bernard Cottret, “Frenchmen by Birth, Huguenots by the Grace of God: Some Aspects of the Huguenot Myth,” in *Memory and Identity*, ed. Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, 310-324 (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003).

¹⁶⁰ Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel, contenant généralement tous les mots françois tant vieux que modernes...* 3 vols. (The Hague and Rotterdam: Leers, 1690). The preface was written by Bayle himself.

ensemble, by dances, by ballets, with superb costumes and decors and amazing machines. The *Opera* of *Atys*, of *Bellerophon*. The Venetians give many *Operas* every year; it is from them that we take *Opera*.¹⁶¹

Furetière's definition is perhaps the first time that "public"—in the modern sense of the word—was used to modify the word "spectacle."¹⁶² The result is a notion of a "theater-going public," with all of its attendant discussions, judgments, and criticisms, conducted in the spirit of (more or less) open debate. And yet this definition loads the term with preconceptions of the quality of the spectacle, creating in its readers' minds an image of a perfect opera with a "large" orchestra, "superb costumes and decors," "amazing machines," and not just "dances," but "ballets." A better short description of French opera would be hard to find, as it includes exactly those characteristics that we today associate with the Lully operas that Furetière's definition highlights. Lully's name does not even need to be mentioned; his works had become synonymous with French opera—especially to the outsiders for whom the *Dictionnaire universel* was destined. And French opera, at least for some, had become synonymous with France.

¹⁶¹ "Opéra: Spectacle public, représentation magnifique sur la scene, de quelque ouvrage dramatique, dont les vers se chantent, & sont accompagnez d'une grande symphonie, de danses, de ballets, avec des habits & des decorations superbes, & des machines surprenantes. L'*Opera* de Athis, de Bellerophon. Les Venitiens font tous les ans plusieurs *Opera*, c'est d'eux que nous tenons l'*Opera*."

¹⁶² As pointed out by Bianconi and Walker, "Production, Consumption and Political Function," 243.

2

The *Verdeutschung* of French opera in Hamburg

Jean-Jacques Quesnot, *marchand réfugié*, hated Berlin. Recalling the episode a little over a year later while in a Grenoble prison, Quesnot declared that he had only departed Geneva for Berlin because he had been “solicited by a Prince and tricked by his Ministers.”¹ One might have guessed that Quesnot could have succeeded in his quest to find “more honor and riches” than he had at Geneva: in August of 1686, he received 200 thalers from the Elector of Brandenburg to establish a manufactory of gold and silver ribbons.² Shortly thereafter, he took an oath of fidelity to the Great Elector, proudly signing his name “Quesnot, *marchand*.”³ He soon ran into some kind of trouble, and sometime after January 1687, he left “with pleasure” to try his luck in Sweden in order to escape “the perfidy, ingratitude, and bad faith” of certain persons in Berlin.⁴ Sweden, too, was a disaster.

Then he made a move that was becoming common for young entrepreneurial Huguenots in the mid-1680s—he traveled to Denmark. “After having considered the beauty of this kingdom,” Quesnot recalled, “I resolved to establish myself there, despite my persecutors.”⁵ It was early 1687. He was twenty-three years old. Quesnot quickly rose in the esteem of the King of Denmark-Norway, Christian V, for by the end of the year, he could call himself a *domestique* of the king.⁶ He received funding to establish a lace business with a partner named Jean Larguier, as well as permission to travel to the Dutch Republic, Switzerland, and England to engage workers.⁷ From Switzerland, Quesnot decided to journey

¹ Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée, *L’innocence accablée, ou Le prisonnier trahi* (Cologne: Guillaume Forbenius, 1689), 85-86. I have examined the two known copies, located in F-G and F-Pshp.

² D-Bga, I.HA Rep. 122 6a1, vol. III, decree of 31 August 1686. Quesnot had been in Geneva in July of 1686, recruiting refugees for the Elector of Brandenburg. Reported by Jérôme Sautier, “Politique et Réfuge - Genève face à la Révocation de l’Édit de Nantes,” in *Genève au temps de la Révocation de l’Édit de Nantes 1680-1705*, ed. Olivier Reverdin, 1-158 (Geneva: Droz, 1985), 90.

³ D-Bga, I.Ha Rep. 122 7bI nr. 1, f. 71, 12 October 1686.

⁴ Quesnot de la Chenée, *L’innocence accablée*, 86. Quesnot drops off the record in Berlin after an act of 27 January 1687. The act is indexed in D-Bga I.HA Rep. 122 44 nrs. 1 and 2; unfortunately, this register gives no information as to the contents of the act, which is nowhere to be found.

⁵ “...après avoir considéré la beauté de ce Royaume, je resolu de m’y établir malgré mes persécuteurs.” Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., 19.

⁷ Louis Bobé, *Charlotte-Amélie, reine de Danemark, princesse de Hesse-Cassel, et les origines des églises réformées allemande et française de Copenhague* (Copenhagen: Einer Munksgaard, 1940), 37 and 168n. By 4 November 1687, Quesnot was certainly in Geneva, equipped with a commission from the king of Denmark. However, the local authorities were not happy with Quesnot’s actions of the summer of 1686; they ordered his host to throw him out on 9 November. The relevant documents from the Archives d’État of Geneva are summarized in Sautier, “Politique et Réfuge,” 90n118.

into France to collect his wife's inheritance in Grenoble. There he was arrested on 2 December 1687 and accused of attempting to transport Huguenots out of the realm.⁸

Quesnot published his experiences as a pamphlet entitled *L'innocence accablée, ou Le prisonnier trahi*, a series of twenty-four letters from prison. A letter of early April 1688, addressed to an associate in Hamburg, Guillaume L'Huillier, makes clear that Quesnot's true interests did not lie in Denmark, but in Hamburg.⁹ Quesnot informed L'Huillier that as soon as he was released, he would depart not for Copenhagen, as might be expected for a servant of the Danish king, but for her Hanseatic neighbor—the real attraction for young entrepreneurs like Quesnot.

L'innocence accablée can be seen as Quesnot's public attempt to establish himself within the Hamburg community. It begins with a printer's foreword defending the publication of Quesnot's adventures against the protests of a Hamburg minister, Coing.¹⁰ A "Response to the Letter of Monsieur Coing, minister of the French Church of Hamburg" follows, in which a "P. V." narrates Quesnot's life story and defends his character. The bulk of the publication serves to distance the young man from his questionable father, lapsed minister Daniel Quesnot.¹¹ It also emphasizes his entrepreneurial potential, demonstrates his literacy and culture, highlights his connections to powerful people (most notably, the Danish ambassador to France, who arranged for his release), and eloquently articulates his religious persecution.

This combination of factors—literacy, wealth, culture, and victimization—made Huguenots as a group a most dangerous threat to the Lutheran clergy of Hamburg.¹² It also made them a target audience for the Hamburg opera. In Quesnot's case, the connections he

⁸ At least, that is Quesnot's story. Despite the friendly assistance of the archivists at the Archives Départementales de l'Isère in Grenoble, no evidence was forthcoming. I have not yet examined the correspondence of Henning Meyercron, Danish ambassador to France, who supposedly freed Quesnot in May of 1688.

⁹ L'Huillier was still in the Hamburg area as late as July 1690, when he married Éléonore d'Erais. D-Ha 521-3 nr. 24, Register of the French Church at Altona, 1685-1730.

¹⁰ Likely Jean Coing, originally from Bourg d'Oisans in the Dauphiné, the hometown of Quesnot's first wife. In *L'innocence accablée*, Quesnot accused a number of people from the town, including notary Crespin Giraud, of having betrayed him.

¹¹ Young Quesnot needed distance from his father in 1689, because Daniel Quesnot had recently left France for Geneva (he arrived there in 1689 with his Genevan wife, Louise Baccuet). Word tended to travel fast in the Huguenot diaspora, and Jean-Jacques had already had enough of his own troubles in his mother's hometown. For further on Daniel Quesnot, who has been called a "Judas," see especially Charles Bost, *Les Prédicants Protestants des Cévennes et du Bas-Languedoc, 1684-1700*, 2 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1912); Samuel Mours, "Les pasteurs à la révocation de l'édit de Nantes," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français* 114 (1968). Letters of the primary French diplomatic representative in Geneva reveal a plot that Daniel Quesnot hatched there in the spring of 1690. See Laurence Vial-Bergon, ed. *Charles François d'Iberville, Résident de France à Genève. Correspondance, 1688-1690*, 2 vols., vol. 2, Publications de l'Association Suisse pour l'Histoire du Refuge Huguenot (Geneva: Droz, 2003), letters 164, 165, 170, 174.

¹² See especially Joachim Whaley, *Religious Toleration and Social Change in Hamburg, 1529-1819* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 112-16.

made in and around Hamburg would shape his life and career in significant ways, for it is undoubtedly within Hamburg that the future impresario got his first taste of opera. No other place he had previously lived had had an opera company. Thanks to his acquaintance with Gerhard Schott, co-founder and (by 1685) sole director of the Oper am Gänsemarkt, Quesnot ultimately decided to become an impresario himself.

Hamburg's famous Oper am Gänsemarkt (Goosemarket Theater) has often been touted as the "first public opera house" outside of Italy or France.¹³ While that designation is somewhat debatable, it was certainly the first public house in German lands to perform French opera. Between 1689 and 1695, French operas were staged in Hamburg three times. These performances, which ran the gamut from an all-French version, to a bilingual version (likely performed in French), to an all-German version, coincided with the shifting status of Huguenot refugees in the area during this time. As diplomatic relationships between the "Free Imperial City," Denmark, and France fluctuated, so did the popularity of French cultural products. And as conflicts over "pure" Lutheranism escalated, the Huguenots and the brand of entrepreneurial Calvinism that they represented became increasingly unwelcome. After 1695, the pressures on Germanness exerted by Hamburg's newest immigrant community rendered performances of French opera, even in German translation, undesirable.

Difference and the opera in Hamburg/Altona

Hamburg might seem an odd choice for Huguenots. While the city offered excellent commercial opportunities, the political and social conditions for Calvinists there were nearly as bad as they were in France.¹⁴ After all, and above all, Hamburg was a Lutheran city.

¹³ It is true that the Gänsemarkt (opened in 1678) was the first house outside of Italy or France to establish a reputation as an "opera" house. However, spoken theater also appeared on the Gänsemarkt stage at times. Both Hellmuth Christian Wolff and Werner Braun have strongly suggested that early Hamburg "operas" (*Singspiele*) had spoken recitatives—i.e. they were essentially musical machine plays or "semi-operas." Hellmuth Christian Wolff, *Die Barockoper in Hamburg (1678-1738)*, 2 vols. (Wolfenbüttel: Möeseler, 1957), I:226-28; Werner Braun, *Vom Remter zum Gänsemarkt. Aus der Frühgeschichte der alten Hamburger Oper (1677-1697)* (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1987). Adopting a flexible definition of "opera" (as was common in northern lands in the late seventeenth century), one could just as easily claim that the Amsterdam Schouwburg was the "first public opera house" outside of Italy. The Schouwburg reopened in November 1677 after a major renovation to improve stage machinery for musical plays (*Zangspel*). The grand reopening was celebrated with a performance of excerpts from Lully's *Isis*, and musical plays formed a major part of the repertory for the next two decades. Ton Amir, "Kunst- en vliegwerken in het Nederlandse drama van 1665 tot 1720" (PhD diss., Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1989); Anna de Haas, *De wetten van het treurspel: Over ernstig toneel in Nederland, 1700-1772* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1998), 29-44. See also Rudolf Rasch, "De moeizame introductie van de opera in de Republiek," in *Een muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, ed. Louis Peter Grijp, 311-16 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001). Rasch explores the Dutch tendency to label plays-with-music as "operas," but makes no claims for the Schouwburg as the first public opera house.

¹⁴ Klaus Weber, "La migration huguenote dans le contexte de l'économie atlantique: L'exemple de Hambourg (1680-1800)," in *Hugenotten und deutsche Territorialstaaten: Immigrationspolitik und Integrationsprozesse*, ed. Guido Braun and Susanne Lachenicht, 125-136 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007), 127.

Unlike most major mercantile centers, Hamburg was exceedingly intolerant of non-Lutherans, for Lutheranism had been at the core of Hamburger identity since the creation of the city's first constitution in 1529.¹⁵ Time and again, the leaders of Hamburg refused to allow religious minorities to build places of worship, procure land for cemeteries, or obtain full citizenship rights.¹⁶ Of greatest concern to the religious leaders of Hamburg were dissenting Protestant religions, for they were seen as potentially seductive to unwary Lutherans. Calvinism was especially troubling, largely due to the fact that the largest groups to immigrate to the region in the seventeenth century were Dutch, Walloon, and French Calvinists. In 1647, the *Oberalten* of Hamburg (the spokesmen for the Lutheran guildsmen) determined that Calvinists were actually more threatening than Jews, for "one need fear no seduction on the part of the Jews, while Calvinism always takes root."¹⁷ The great fear was that any concessions made to Calvinists on account of their wealth and power might ultimately undermine the purely Lutheran constitution of the city.¹⁸

But such limitations could only be effected within the boundaries of the city. What happened beyond the walls of Hamburg was of little concern to the city's leaders, as long as the religious purity on which they based their reputation and identity could be superficially maintained. What was outside of Hamburg's walls was Danish territory, and it was largely thanks to a Danish city named Altona that Hamburg was able to become the greatest commercial center of northern Germany by 1700, while still remaining an impenetrable bastion of Lutheran orthodoxy.

Altona was literally a stone's throw away from the gates of Hamburg, just slightly to the north and west. Figure 2.1, a view of the area from a northerly perspective, illustrates the geographical proximity of the two cities.¹⁹ In every other respect, they differed. Imposing Hamburg, with the grand fortifications that helped the city escape the Thirty Years' War unscathed, completely dwarfs the tiny burg of "Altona" on the map. Yet both port towns are shown as active trading centers, with merchant ships pulling in to both harbors.

¹⁵ Whaley, *Religious Toleration*, 15.

¹⁶ Hans-Dieter Loose, "Das Zeitalter der Bürgerunruhen und der grossen europäischen Kriege 1618-1712," in *Hamburg: Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Bewohner*, ed. Hans-Dieter Loose, 259-350 (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, 1982), 266; Weber, "La migration huguenote," 127.

¹⁷ "Wegen der Juden sei keine Seduction zu befürchten, aber der Calvinismus reißt ein." Quoted in Franklin Kopitzsch, *Grundzüge einer Sozialgeschichte der Aufklärung in Hamburg und Altona*, 2 vols. (Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1982). See also Whaley, *Religious Toleration*, 116; Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 327.

¹⁸ Whaley, *Religious Toleration*, 115-16.

¹⁹ Visscher's map includes the Sternschanze fortifications to the north of Hamburg, which were completed in 1682, and features a detailed portrait of the city as seen from the north. According to Hermann Hipp, maps of Hamburg produced at Amsterdam often reproduced northern views of the city, whereas maps sponsored by the city herself always offered a perspective from the south—unsurprising, perhaps, given the city's complicated relationship with her northern neighbors. See Hermann Hipp, "Hamburg," in *Das Bild der Stadt in der Neuzeit 1400-1800*, ed. Wolfgang Behringer and Bernd Roeck, 235-244 (Munich: Beck, 1999).

Figure 2.1



Nicolaus Visscher II, *NOBILISSIMI ALBIS FLUVII OSTIA, nec non HAMBURGENSE et alia Territoria adjacentia* (detail)
Amsterdam, after 1682

Just a few years before this map was made, all of those ships might have docked at Hamburg. For Altona was specifically designed to attract commerce away from Hamburg by encouraging the settlement of non-Lutheran merchants, who could live and worship in peace in the Danish city. The Huguenots were seen by Denmark as especially desirable immigrants, given their reputation of wealth and mercantile expertise. Thus, in 1682, as the *dragonnades* were wreaking havoc on Calvinists in France, Christian V declared complete religious freedom in the swiftly-growing town. He cemented his contract with the Huguenots in his lands in early 1685 by becoming only the second sovereign to issue invitations and privileges specifically aimed at them.²⁰

However, Denmark's plans to make Altona greater than Hamburg by encouraging the immigration of skilled laborers backfired. Certainly, large numbers of Huguenots and other

²⁰ The first prince to offer special privileges was Georg Wilhelm of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (6 August 1684). His wife, Éléonore Desmier d'Olbreuse, was herself a Huguenot. Christian V's edicts were issued on 3 January and 14 April 1685. The most famous set of privileges is the Edict of Potsdam, issued by Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg (29 October 1685), which was modeled on the document prepared for the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel (18 April 1685). Bobé, *Charlotte-Amélie*, 28-29.

religious dissenters did come to Altona—but it was simply too close to Hamburg. The result was that dissenters worshipped in Altona in dignity and comfort, and perhaps lived there as well, but conducted their business in Hamburg.²¹ Much to the Danish king's chagrin, Altona basically became a suburb of Hamburg—in 1937, it actually became a part of Hamburg. The symbiotic relationship between Hamburg and Altona is in fact the reverse of *Auslauf*, a practice in which religious groups migrated from their places of residence to their places of worship.²² But the result was similar: Hamburg was able to maintain a superficial uniformity of religion while still enjoying the proceeds of dissenting groups.

The Huguenots of the Second Refuge who settled in Altona in the 1680s found a Calvinist community that had existed in the area since 1602.²³ But their arrival caused dissent within the community that finally erupted in the summer of 1685.²⁴ The central issue was one of language. Previously, the French-, Dutch-, and German-speaking Calvinists of Altona had shared a church, a governing body, and a communion. As the French community grew, disagreements about privileges and the true language of worship arose. In July of 1685, the French appealed directly to the Danish king, while the Germans turned to their compatriot, Danish queen Charlotte Amalie of Hesse-Kassel.²⁵ Matters grew progressively more contentious, until finally Christian V decreed in March of 1686 that the French Calvinists could separate from the Dutch and Germans.²⁶

Christian V's action legalized and codified the separatism of the Huguenots of Altona. It also demonstrated the partiality of Christian V to the Huguenots, which became of especial concern to Hamburg in 1686 as Danish troops beleaguered the city. Many of Christian V's principal military commanders were Huguenots.²⁷ The siege of Hamburg was shocking

²¹ Charles Weiss, *Histoire des réfugiés protestants de France depuis la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes jusqu'à nos jours*, 2 vols. (Paris: Charpentier, 1853), II:290-91; Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, 169.

²² Kaplan sees *Auslauf* as a form of limited toleration, for as long as religious minorities were allowed to travel freely, they could also worship freely. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, 171.

²³ Théodore Barrelet, *Zur Geschichte der französisch-reformierten Gemeinde in Hamburg*, vol. 12, *Geschichtsblätter des Deutschen Hugenotten-Vereins* (Magdeburg: Verlag der Heinrichshofen'schen Buchhandlung, 1904).

²⁴ Kopitzsch, *Grundzüge*, 247-49; Franklin Kopitzsch and Ursula Stephan-Kopitzsch, "Franzosen in den Hansestädten und in Altona zwischen 1685 und 1789," in *Deutsche in Frankreich, Franzosen in Deutschland, 1715-1789: Institutionelle Verbindungen, soziale Gruppen, Stätten des Austausches = Allemands en France, Français en Allemagne, 1715-1789: contacts institutionnels, groupes sociaux, lieux d'échanges*, ed. Jean Mondot, Valentin Jean-Marie, and Jürgen Voss, 283-95 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1992), 286-87.

²⁵ Charlotte Amalie of Hesse-Kassel was the first cousin of the Great Elector of Brandenburg, and known as a defender of the Calvinist faith.

²⁶ H. Roehrich, "L'Eglise réformée française de Hambourg. Histoire de ses origines," (Bibliothèque de la Société du Protestantisme Français, MS 807/1-2, 1922), 154ff; Stubenvoll, *Die deutschen Hugenottenstädte* (Frankfurt am Main: Umschau, 1990), 185. The Calvinist church in the area would not be reunited until 1831.

²⁷ Denmark had signed a treaty of alliance and assistance with France in 1683. According to this treaty, Louis XIV sent a number of Calvinist officers to Denmark, thus paying respect to their service while simultaneously ridding himself of a Calvinist element in his military. See Bobé, *Charlotte-Amélie*, 31-33.

enough to merit an engraving by Jan Luyken in a contemporary history book. Undoubtedly, some of the fine officers portrayed here at the side of Christian V were *réfugiés*.

Figure 2.2



Jan Luyken, “Hamburg besieged by the King of Denmark in 1686”
 from Lodewijk Sylvius, *Historien onses Tyds, Behelzende Saken van Staat en Oorlogh*, vol. II (Amsterdam:
 Hoorn and Bouman, 1689)

As Danish forces knocked at the fortifications, religious conflict within Hamburg escalated, with disagreements between Hamburg’s Orthodox Lutheran pastors and newly-arrived Pietists reaching a head. To make matters worse for the Lutheran pastors, “Great Elector” Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg personally petitioned the Senate of Hamburg to allow private worship for Huguenots in the city. He enlisted the support of the Welf dukes of Celle, Hanover, and Wolfenbüttel, who at the time were providing troops for Hamburg’s

defense against Denmark. The Senate wished to comply, but in a move that was unusually coordinated for the time, the clergy of the city bonded together to block the motion.²⁸

The religious unrest in Hamburg also endangered the existence of its opera company, as the Orthodox-Pietist conflict largely played out in debates over the worldliness of the opera.²⁹ There is no doubt that the theological strife regarding the opera in the 1680s—and the somewhat xenophobic forms the opera’s defense would take—was also related to the substantial increase in the French Calvinist community around Hamburg in those years. The theological debates that had begun even before the opera house opened were briefly quelled in 1682 by a letter of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz.³⁰ They arose again in 1685/86 as the internal discord of the city encouraged the Danish assault. The opera house was closed on 28 January 1686, with brief openings in July. The opera attempted to reopen in late 1686 and early 1687, but was again blocked.³¹ Finally, at the wishes of resident diplomats, the opera opened once more on 14 April 1687, with the house’s principal funder, Duke Christian Albrecht of Holstein-Gottorp, in attendance.³² The reopening set off a firestorm of Pietist criticism. In order to put out the flames, the Senate asked the ministers of the church to decide definitively whether or not opera had the theological status of *res adiaphora*, a thing that was in itself neither good nor bad. Since a local decision was not sufficient, Gerhard Schott, the sole proprietor of the opera, asked the theological and legal faculties of leading

²⁸ Loose, “Zeitalter der Bürgerunruhen,” 336. A more detailed explication of Brandenburg-Prussia’s involvement may be found in Whaley, *Religious Toleration*, 122-26.

²⁹ The most complete account of the theological battles may be found in Hermann Rückleben, *Die Niederwerfung der hamburgischen Ratsgewalt. Kirchliche Bewegungen und bürgerliche Unruhen im ausgehenden 17. Jahrhundert*, Beiträge zur Geschichte Hamburgs (Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1970), 59-71. See also Hans Joachim Marx, “Geschichte der Hamburger Barockoper: Ein Forschungsbericht,” *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 3 (1978), 10-13; Gisela Jaacks, *Hamburg zu Lust und Nutz. Bürgerliches Musikverständnis zwischen Barock und Aufklärung (1660-1760)* (Hamburg: Verlag Verein für Hamburgische Geschichte, 1997), 80-92. The dispute is neatly summed up in English by David Yearsley, “The Musical Patriots of the Hamburg Opera: Mattheson, Keiser, and *Masaniello furioso*,” in *Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism, and National Culture: Public Culture in Hamburg 1700-1933*, ed. Peter Uwe Hohendahl, 33-53 (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2003), 35-37.

³⁰ Gloria Flaherty, *Opera in the Development of German Critical Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 85-87; Jaacks, *Hamburg zu Lust und Nutz*; Yearsley, “The Musical Patriots of the Hamburg Opera,” 36-37. Jaacks provides the entire text of the letter.

³¹ It was necessary for the musicians of the Hamburg opera to find other work while the house was closed. Accordingly, composer and director Johann Wolfgang Franck and a few of his singers performed *Die drei Töchter des Cecrops* in Ansbach in 1686. See Braun, *Vom Remter zum Gänsemarkt*, 153. On the possibility that some of them also appeared in Wolfenbüttel in 1686 and 1687, see my Chapter 1. Franck left the Hamburg opera for good in 1687, moving on to London in 1690. Günther Schmidt, *Die Musik am Hofe der Markgrafen von Brandenburg-Ansbach vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis 1806. Mit Beiträgen zur deutschen Choralpassion, frühdeutschen Oper und vorklassischen Kammermusik* (Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter, 1956), 58.

³² Marx, “Geschichte,” 12. Christian Albrecht had financed the building of the opera house back in 1677/78, and was a constant supporter.

Lutheran universities to answer the question in the summer of 1687. Schott found especially strong support from the influential pastor of Hamburg's St. Jacobi, Johann Friedrich Mayer.³³

Another Hamburg pastor supportive of Schott was the Orthodox pastor of St. Catherine's, Heinrich Elmenhorst. One of the opera's co-founders, composer Johann Adam Reinken, was the organist at St. Catherine's, and Elmenhorst himself had written libretti for the Gänsemarkt. In early 1688, Elmenhorst published a lengthy defense of the opera.³⁴ The pastor traced the long history of spectacular entertainments, emphasizing throughout their salutary effects. His conclusions supported the possibility that, as *res adiaphora*, the opera could indeed promote Christian ethics, and therefore serve as a tool that aided spectators in living an upright life.³⁵ More importantly, Elmenhorst qualified the opera of Hamburg as an essential tool in promoting a German identity.

Elmenhorst's primary arguments underscore the very *Germanness* of the opera in Hamburg. For Elmenhorst, the three main goals of the opera were the "seemly delight of the laborer, the practice of German poetry, and the advancement of music."³⁶ To support his position, Elmenhorst drew upon Athanasius Kircher's observations (from the *Musurgia universalis* of 1650) concerning the relationship between national origin and musical style. He quotes Kircher's statement that "the style of the Italians and French pleases the Germans very little and that of the Germans hardly pleases the Italians or French."³⁷ Kircher had given two reasons for this stylistic difference. Firstly, "out of patriotism and inordinate affection to both nation and country, each nation always prefers its own above others." Secondly, Kircher explained that the combination of innate character and habit leads to each nation enjoying only the music to which it is accustomed.³⁸

Elmenhorst's own explanation of divergent tastes placed an inordinate amount of emphasis on *belonging* to a particular nation:

³³ Ibid. The opinions were published by Schott in 1693 as Gerhard Schott, ed. *Vier Bedencken Fürnehmen Theologischen und Juristischen Facultäten, Wie auch Herrn Doct. Johann Friederich Mayers / P.P. und Königl. Schwedischen Ober=Kirchen=Raths / Was doch von denen so genandten Operen zu halten* (Frankfurt am Main: Oehrling, 1693). See Flaherty, *Opera in the Development of German Critical Thought*, 23-24; Jaacks, *Hamburg zu Lust und Nutz*, 87-88.

³⁴ Heinrich Elmenhorst, *Dramatologia antiquo-hodierna, Das ist: Bericht von denen Oper-Spielen...* (Hamburg: Georg Rebenl[ein] Wittwe, 1688).

³⁵ Flaherty, *Opera in the Development of German Critical Thought*, 25.

³⁶ "Auff die *Operen* wider zu kommen/ haben dieselbe ihre End=Ursachen/ nemlich: Geziemender Ergetzlichkeit der Gemühter/ Ausübung teutscher *Poesie*, und Fortsetzung der *Music*." Elmenhorst, *Dramatologia*, 114.

³⁷ "Hiervon hat sein feines Bedencken auffgezeichnet *P. Kircherus* in seiner *Musurgia Universalis* im 7. B. part. I. erto. 5. Ferner/ schreibt er/ halte dafür/ es habe unterschiedliche Uhrsachen/ daß den Teutschen der Italiäner oder Frantzosen *stylus*, Setz=Art/ hingegen die Teutsche Art den Italiänern und frantzosen nicht eben wollgefalle." Ibid., 92-93. This passage from Kircher is well-known in music scholarship.

³⁸ I use here Margaret Murata's translation from Kircher's Latin, in Oliver Strunk and Leo Treitler, eds., *Source Readings in Music History*, Revised ed. (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1998), 708-11; at 710. *ibid.*, 710.

...how one has experienced it [music] in *one's Fatherland* and with *one's own*; how it has been maintained in *one's city and land of birth*; such affections determine that each nation *or race* prefers its own to that of foreigners in all ways.³⁹

For Elmenhorst, belonging to a nation means having been born there. His form of biological determinism similarly implies that even those who migrate can only truly enjoy the music of their native land. Thus Elmenhorst excludes immigrants, like the Huguenots, from his vision of the “German” nation and “German” music.

For these reasons, it should follow that the German opera at Hamburg was naturally enjoyed by a German audience. But opera was a genre first developed in Italy. To respond to the objection that opera must therefore promote Italian morals, Elmenhorst felt obligated to emphasize the Germanness of Hamburg's opera company: “German people work at the Opera; one uses the German mother tongue, German commerce and exchange, and consequently good, decent, German manners.”⁴⁰ Even though some of the “good Germans” working at the opera had traveled and studied abroad, Elmenhorst remarked that such experiences did not necessarily lead to the acquisition of bad (i.e. foreign) habits, whether those travels had occurred to Italy, France, Spain, or even the East or West Indies.⁴¹

Unified by natural birth, a mother tongue, and inborn morals, Elmenhorst's vision of his compatriots at the Hamburg opera begins to resemble a cultural construction of nascent nationalism.⁴² It leaves no room for the works of foreign-born composers or productions in foreign languages. It is unsurprising that Elmenhorst's writings were later taken as proof that the Hamburg opera was “entirely a product of the Fatherland,” that it was not just the first public opera house in German-speaking lands, but that it was the first *German* opera.⁴³

Elmenhorst's emphasis on the moral uniformity carried by language clarifies the sorts of cultural values underpinning the work of translation—an issue that would come to the forefront on the Hamburg stage over the next few years. For, ironically, the very year after

³⁹ “... wie mans im Vaterland und bey den seinigen gewohnt; wie es bey seinem Volke/ in seiner Gebuhrts Stadt und Lande gehalten worden; Solche Zuneigung verursacht es/ daß jede *nation* oder Geschlecht das seinige dem Fremden in allwegen vorziehet.” Elmenhorst, *Dramatologia*, 93. Emphasis mine.

⁴⁰ “Bey den Oper-Spielen [in Hamburg] üben sich teutsche Leute/ man gebraucht die teutsche Mutter=Sprache/ teutschen Umgang und Wandel/ folgbar auch gute/ ehrbare/ teutsche Sitten.” *Ibid.*, 113.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² For further comments on the darker side of Kircher's position, which Elmenhorst seems to have channeled, see Richard Taruskin, “Nationalism,” in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (New York: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), esp. 690.

⁴³ “Aus diesen Bermerkungen [von Elmenhorst] ist deutlich zu entnehmen, wie die hamburgische Oper so recht eigentlich ein vaterländisches Product war.” Ernst Otto Lindner, *Die erste stehende Deutsche Oper* (Berlin: Schlesinger'sche Buch- und Musikhandlung, 1855), 25. A similar tendency is already to be found in Mattheson's first “history” of the Hamburg opera from 1728. Johann Mattheson, *Der Musicalische Patriot* (Hamburg: [s.n.], 1728; reprint, Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1975), 177-200. On this publication, see Friedrich Chrysander, “Matthesons Verzeichnis Hamburgischer Opern von 1678 bis 1728, gedruckt im ‘Musikalischen Patrioten,’ mit seinen handschriftlichen Fortsetzungen bis 1751, nebst Zusätzen und Berichtigungen,” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 12 (1877); Yearsley, “The Musical Patriots of the Hamburg Opera.”

Elmenhorst's defense was published and the opera reopened on a full-time basis, a foreign work took the stage in Hamburg for the first time. That opera was not Italian, as might have been expected, but French. In order to explore how this happened, we must first get to know a little bit about Hamburg's relationships with her neighbors, particularly Denmark, home to so many of the "others" against whom Elmenhorst defined a Germanic, Hamburger identity. Precisely because of the special relationship of the Huguenots to Denmark, the "French Churches of Hamburg, who gather in Altona" came to be viewed as a source of opportunity for the Hansastadt over the next few years.⁴⁴

Acis et Galatée, 1689

Though *Acis et Galatée* takes its place in most histories of the Hamburg opera as the first performance of any foreign work on the most German of stages, few have tried to explain why that work occupies this place of honor.⁴⁵ *Acis et Galatée*, a *pastorale héroïque* in three acts with text by Jean Galbert de Campistron and music by Jean-Baptiste Lully, was originally composed for the entertainment of the Dauphin of France at his hunting lodge of Anet.⁴⁶ Premiered on 6 September 1686, it proved to be Lully's last completed stage work. The opera tells the story of Acis, a simple shepherd who loves the water-nymph Galatea. Galatea returns the shepherd's love, but Polyphemus, the cyclopean son of Neptune, interferes, wanting Galatea for himself. Polyphemus kills his rival just as Acis and Galatea are preparing to celebrate their union. Galatea pleads for divine intervention; her prayers are answered by Neptune, who to make amends for his son's crime resurrects Acis as an immortal river deity.

Acis et Galatée was a popular entertainment, but it was by no means the most famous of Lully's operas, and therefore not the most obvious candidate for the first appearance of a French opera in Hamburg.⁴⁷ Uncommon outside of France, its first foreign performance occurred just a few months after its Parisian premiere, when Ernst Ludwig of Darmstadt

⁴⁴ It was customary for the French community in the Hamburg area to refer to itself as such.

⁴⁵ On Lully's works in Hamburg, see especially Dorothea Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte auf der Opernbühne: Barockes Musiktheater in Hamburg im Dienst von Politik und Diplomatie (1690-1745)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 175ff. One notable exception in the literature on the Hamburg opera, which makes no reference to any foreign work, is Walter Schulze, *Die Quellen der Hamburger Oper (1678-1738). Eine bibliographisch-statistische Studie zur Geschichte der ersten stehenden deutschen Oper* (Hamburg/Oldenburg: Stalling, 1938). Considering the date of that study, the omission is unsurprising. What is surprising is the absence of Lully's works in Braun, *Vom Remter zum Gänsemarkt*.

⁴⁶ According to David M. Powers, the *pastorale héroïque* combines pastoral features—shepherds, shepherdesses, plots based on amorous intrigues in rustic settings—with the appearance of legendary heroes, deities or other supernatural beings. See David M. Powers, "The *Pastorale héroïque*: Origins and Development of a Genre of French Opera in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1988), 8-10; John S. Powell, *Music and Theatre in France, 1600-1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 249n17.

⁴⁷ If one agrees with Georgia Cowart's reading of the opera as a celebration of *libertinage*, conservative Hamburg's choice of *Acis et Galatée* might seem even more unusual. See Georgia Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure: Louis XIV and the Politics of Spectacle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 140-42.

requested its performance as part of his wedding celebrations in December 1687.⁴⁸ The bride, Dorothea Charlotte of Brandenburg-Ansbach, came from a court that had seen numerous performances of French operas sponsored by her brother, Margrave Johann Friedrich (d. 1686). The 1689 performance in Hamburg may indeed have some relationship to Darmstadt; it is possible that some of the same performers appeared in both places, as Darmstadt borrowed performers from the courts of Brandenburg-Ansbach and Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel.⁴⁹ Besides the Darmstadt and Hamburg performances, *Acis et Galatée* was produced only in Stuttgart in 1698 (in the German translation from Hamburg, 1695) and in Brussels in 1695 and 1705.⁵⁰

Herbert Schneider surmised that Hamburg's choice of *Acis et Galatée* had more to do with the "Bürgerlichkeit" of the Hamburg opera than any other factor. The pastoral genre, being "less strict and sophisticated" than the *tragédie en musique*, naturally held more appeal for Hamburg's public opera house, for the types of characters represented in the courtly *tragédie* "departed too extremely from the reality of bourgeois life."⁵¹ Schneider's words echo the judgments of Helmuth Christian Wolff, who mentioned French opera at Hamburg only in a section of his monograph entitled "Comic One-Acters and Intermezzi." Wolff concluded that *Acis et Galatée* was suitable for Hamburg because "the blustering Polyphemus, the rural celebrations, the burlesque marches with piccolo, etc. must have held special appeal for Hamburgers."⁵²

⁴⁸ For a summary of the work's travels, see Carl B. Schmidt, "The geographical spread of Lully's operas during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: new evidence from the livrets," in *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the Music of the French Baroque: Essays in Honor of James R. Anthony*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer, 183-211 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). See also Renate Brockpähler, *Handbuch zur Geschichte der Barockoper in Deutschland* (Emsdetten: Lechte, 1964), 127; Herbert Schneider, "Opern Lullys in deutschsprachigen Bearbeitungen," *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1981), 72. Somewhat ironically, perhaps, Darmstadt would be overrun by the French in 1688, driving Ernst Ludwig into exile. Ernst Ludwig is best known in music history for refusing to release his house composer Christoph Graupner to Leipzig in 1723, thus clearing the way for J. S. Bach to become Thomaskantor.

⁴⁹ I have no direct evidence for the relationship, as materials related to the performance were destroyed in 1944, but it is likely that the *Kellnerinnen* participated in both performances. The fact that Georg Oesterreich (who had sung at Wolfenbüttel in the summer of 1687 and probably at Darmstadt as well) was hired by the Duke of Holstein Gottorp shortly after the performance of *Acis et Galatée* suggests that Oesterreich was singing in Hamburg in 1689. See Adam Soltys, "Georg Oesterreich (1664-1735): sein Leben und seine Werke," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 4 (1922). See also my Chapter 1.

⁵⁰ On the 1698 Stuttgart performance, which included additions by Johann Sigismund Cousser, see Josef Sittard, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Württembergischen Hofe*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1890), I:249-55; Schneider, "Opern Lullys in deutschsprachigen Bearbeitungen," 73.

⁵¹ "Das weniger strenge und anspruchsvolle Genre der Pastorale eignete sich für Aufführungen in einem bürgerlichen Rahmen besser als die *Tragédie en musique*, deren Darstellung des Menschen zu sehr an der Wirklichkeit des bürgerlichen Lebens vorbeiging." Schneider, "Opern Lullys in deutschsprachigen Bearbeitungen," 72.

⁵² "Der polternde Polyphem, die ländlichen Feste, die burlesken Märsche mit Piccolo=Flute u. ä. dürften den Hamburgern besonders zugesagt haben." Wolff, *Die Barockoper in Hamburg*, I:109.

Such conclusions betray a number of assumptions, mostly related to assumed national characteristics of Hamburg's audience and French opera. As the first "bourgeois opera house" in Germany, the audience at the Gänsemarkt must have been made up of "bourgeois," middle-class, German-speaking, native-born Hamburgers, who because of their social station must have had little taste for serious tragedy. While the *tragédie en musique* is judged to be too heavy—and too courtly—for this assumed audience, French opera is simultaneously constructed as light and inconsequential. These ideas answer little to the fact that *Acis et Galatée* is hardly all fun and games: Polyphemus brutally (and visibly) crushes Acis with a rock in Act III.⁵³ Additionally, one of the most tragic of all *tragédies en musique* of the period was produced at Hamburg in 1692.⁵⁴ *Achille et Polixène* is a work that is far closer to classic French tragedy—which, by the way, Hamburg audiences seem to have appreciated—than perhaps any other French opera. That work ends abruptly with the on-stage suicide of Polyxena—no final chorus, no concluding dance, not even a single note breathed after her last sigh of "I die."⁵⁵

While some audience members may have been exponents of "Hamburgerness," it seems that the majority was not. Schott himself made this point in 1693 in the preface to a printed volume collecting the defenses of the opera written in 1687.⁵⁶ Schott writes that few inhabitants of Hamburg frequent the opera; rather, "these performances are mostly attended by strangers [*Fremden*]." Because the opera attracts outsiders (*Auswärtigen*) to the city, the city stands to gain not only a good reputation, but also the financial benefits of providing food, lodging, and services to visitors. The opera's foreign audience provides employment to Hamburg's "many poor students," enabling them to save money for college.⁵⁷ Poor craftsmen and residents of the city similarly benefit from the foreign investment enjoyed by the opera.⁵⁸ Schott's construction of the opera as a tourist attraction, work-study scheme, and poor-relief institution was obviously designed to respond to protests from the religious

⁵³ Cowart reads this act "of unsurpassed violence" as "an autobiographical account of Lully as the shepherd Acis, crushed under the cruel authority of Louis XIV." Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*, 141. She fails to mention that Polyphemus's next speech blasphemes Jupiter.

⁵⁴ The work, again on a text of Campistron, was begun by Lully (prologue and Act I) and finished by his pupil and assistant Pascal Collasse after Lully's death in 1687.

⁵⁵ See further below.

⁵⁶ Schott, ed. *Vier Bedencken*, [6-7]. See also Jaacks, *Hamburg zu Lust und Nutz*, 87-88.

⁵⁷ Braun has suggested that these "Studiosi" sang female roles at the Gänsemarkt between 1678 and 1684. Women did not appear at the opera until 1686, and city regulations prevented men from donning women's clothing. Children, as not-yet-gendered creatures, could easily slip into *travesti* without any travesty. Braun, *Vom Remter zum Gänsemarkt*, 140-41.

⁵⁸ "Wenig Einwohner...solche Spiele frequentieren, sondern meist von Fremden besucht/ wodurch der Stadt bey Auswertigen nicht nur guter Ruff/ sondern auch/ durch ihre Ankunfft Nahrung und Auffnehmen erwecket/ und zugezogen werde. Daneben erhalten sich nicht allein davon viele arme Studiosi, sondern acquiriren auch dabey guten Theils so viel/ davon sie nachgehends einige Jahre länger auff Universitäten subsistieren und ihr Studium absolvieren können/ zu geschweigen vieler nothdürfftigen Handwerker/ und armer Einwohner/ die ihren Verdienst und Nahrung darvon haben." Schott, ed. *Vier Bedencken*, [6-7].

community, but it must have held at least some grain of truth. The many visits by foreign dignitaries over the course of its existence are but one proof of the attractions of the Gänsemarkt.⁵⁹ The idea that opera brought necessary prestige to the city was an argument that would be used over and over again in the history of opera, especially in Protestant lands, and particularly in the efforts of Schott's later associate, Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée.

As we shall see, the performance of *Acis et Galatée* may in fact owe to the presence of various "foreigners" in Hamburg in 1689. Though a secure date of performance has not emerged, evidence present in the libretto indicates that *Acis et Galatée* belongs to the summer of 1689, in celebration of the Accord of Altona that was signed by Denmark and Holstein-Gottorp on 30 June.⁶⁰ That a French opera was chosen to honor the peace deal can be seen as a concession to the Huguenots who by this time had become extremely important to the political and economic goals of both Denmark and Hamburg.

The Accord of Altona restored Christian Albrecht, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, to his possessions.⁶¹ The territories of his duchy had long been contested by Denmark, twice forcing the Duke into exile at Hamburg. His first sojourn, from 1673-79, resulted in the founding of the Gänsemarkt Opera, which he largely financed.⁶² His second exile, which began in 1684, resulted in an alliance with his brother-in-law, the King of Sweden. By early 1689, his restoration was seen as a matter of European concern in order to avoid war between Denmark and Sweden.⁶³ The negotiations at Altona in the late spring of 1689

⁵⁹ Collected in Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte*, 321-26. See further Dorothea Schröder, "Baroque Opera, Politics and Ceremony in Hamburg," in *Italian Opera in Central Europe I: Institutions and Ceremonies*, ed. Melania Bucciarelli, Norbert Dubowy, and Reinhard Strohm, 193-202 (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2006).

⁶⁰ This suggestion has not previously been made. Loewenberg believed the production dated to December 1689. Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera, 1597-1940. Compiled from the original sources*, 2nd, rev. and corr. (by Frank Walker) ed., 2 vols. (Geneva: Societas Bibliographica, 1955), 81. No doubt Loewenberg's "original source" in this case was Mattheson's 1728 "chronology" of the Hamburg opera. Mattheson lists *Acis et Galatée* as the last work of 1689. Mattheson, *Der Musicalische Patriot*, 180. Mattheson's calendar is full of inaccuracies, some of which have been corrected in Hans Joachim Marx and Dorothea Schröder, *Die Hamburger Gänsemarkt-Oper. Katalog der Textbücher (1678-1748)* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1995). Marx and Schröder do not attempt to date the 1689 *Acis*, however.

⁶¹ Christian Albrecht, a long-time supporter of the Hamburg opera, was personally celebrated in 1689 with the operatic prologue *Die berrübte und erfreute Cimbria* (text by Christian Heinrich Postel, music by Johann Philipp Förtsch). *Cimbria* marked the first time that a sovereign was honored on the stage of the Hamburg opera. See Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte*, 83.

⁶² Marx, "Geschichte," 8-10.

⁶³ Agitation in the North was a constant concern of the powers of Western Europe throughout the period, largely for fear that they would be drawn into a northern conflict. The Anglo-Dutch alliance and France were especially anxious, and constantly flirted with Denmark, Sweden, or both. When the Northern War finally did break out in 1700 (with Russia and Denmark allied against Sweden and Holstein-Gottorp), the other powers did everything they could to stay out of it. They mostly succeeded. On this topic, see Margery Lane, "The Relations between England and the Northern Powers, 1689-1697. Part I. Denmark," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Third Series* 5 (1911); Preben Torntoft, "William III and Denmark-Norway, 1697-1702," *The English Historical Review* 81 (1966); J.S. Bromley, "The North Sea in Wartime (1688-1713)," *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 92 (1977). For an account of the brief intersection

included representatives from all the local powers, as well as the English and the Dutch. France was not directly involved in the peace conferences, but her might lurked behind Christian V of Denmark.

What was truly at stake was the position of Hamburg and Denmark in the wider European war against France (known as the Nine Years' War, the War of the Grand Alliance, or King William's War).⁶⁴ Denmark was allied with France in 1689 and neutral with regard to the Grand Alliance; Hamburg also desired neutrality, and toyed with a Danish alliance—because both wished to remain trading partners with France. After France's invasion of the Holy Roman Empire in September 1688, Emperor Leopold I forbade all commerce with France and ordered French diplomats to leave Imperial territories.⁶⁵ Hamburg ignored Leopold's decree and refused to dismiss Étienne Bidal, the French *résident*.⁶⁶ Perhaps to encourage the “free” city to obey the Emperor, the English and Dutch, now united under the stewardship of King William III, began blocking Hamburg's trade with France in early 1689.⁶⁷ Pressured by the alliances of Leopold I, yet still desiring freedom of trade, Hamburg toyed with the idea of a Danish alliance, for the Allied embargo on French products and French ports could not apply to Denmark.⁶⁸ This move upset many, considering the claims to the city that the Danish crown continued to make all the way up until 1768, when Hamburg finally obtained full recognition as a “Free and Imperial City.”⁶⁹

Denmark's French trade boomed in this period, thanks to her neutrality and the Allied embargo. Danish ships supplied not only themselves but their neighbors as well with

of the Great Northern War and the War of the Spanish Succession, see Andrew Rothstein, *Peter the Great and Marlborough: Politics and Diplomacy in Converging Wars* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986).

⁶⁴ The moniker for the war is largely a matter of perspective; see John Childs, *The Nine Years' War and the British Army, 1688-1697: The operations in the Low Countries* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1991), 5. See also George Norman Clark, “The Nine Years War, 1688-1697,” in *The New Cambridge Modern History, Vol. 6: The Rise of Great Britain and Russia, 1688-1715/25*, ed. J.S. Bromley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

⁶⁵ Klaus Malettke, “La France, l'Empire et l'Empereur à l'époque de la Guerre de la Succession Palatine et de la Paix de Ryswick (1697),” in *Monarchies, noblesses et diplomaties européennes*, ed. Jean-Pierre Poussou, Roger Baur, and Marie-Catherine Vignal-Souleyreau, 301-18 (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2005).

⁶⁶ On Bidal, see Johann Martin Lappenberg, “Listen der in Hamburg residirenden, wie der dasselbe vertretenden Diplomaten und Consuln,” *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 3 (1851), 433; Rückleben, *Niederwerfung*, 31-32. The Hamburg Senate finally sought to dismiss Bidal in June of 1690; under threat of arrest, he secretly fled the city on 11 July.

⁶⁷ William and Mary were jointly crowned on 11 April 1689. In September 1689, William legalized the seizure of Hamburg ships caught on the Channel route to France.

⁶⁸ In early 1690, Denmark would briefly take the Allied side, offering troops to the Empire. However, that situation would change yet again on 27 March 1691, when Christian V signed a pact of neutrality with France that would last the duration of the war. Simultaneously, the Danish king renewed hostilities against Hamburg. Rückleben, *Niederwerfung*, 42-47.

⁶⁹ With the Treaty of Gottorp. Like many other aspects of the city's history, its status as a “free” city is somewhat mythical. *Ibid.*, 180-81; Whaley, *Religious Toleration*.

French wine, salt, brandies, and other luxury goods.⁷⁰ Yet much of this “Danish” commerce was actually conducted on Hanseatic account. Hamburg-based merchants exploited both commercial networks and accidents of geography to their advantage. The narrow and at times shallow estuary of the Elbe did not allow the passage of the largest merchant ships. A most practical solution was to unload at the Danish town of Altona—just outside the city walls (see Figure 2.1). There, cargo was transferred into lighter vessels capable of reaching Hamburg, simultaneously acquiring Danish passports. Thus, by the time the goods reached interested parties in Hamburg, it was thrice-over neutral: shipped from France on a merchant ship with neutral colors, unloaded in a neutral city, and given neutral papers. All a Hamburg merchant needed to do was reach through the city’s gates for a fence in Denmark.⁷¹ Greatly aiding the newly-expanded trade between Hamburg, Denmark, and France were those mercantile-minded Huguenots, like Quesnot, who settled in and around Danish Altona.⁷²

Due to their role as intermediaries in the (illicit) French trade, the Huguenots were seen as *the* community to impress during the negotiations at Altona in 1689. The refugees were actively courted by representatives of William III, now the King of England as well as Stadholder of the Dutch Republic.⁷³ The hope was that drawing them away from Altona would help end the French trade. The Dutch and English had a good opening, for Hamburg’s ability to maintain Huguenot support was debatable, especially considering the renewed opposition to their presence expressed by the Lutheran pastors of the city in early 1689. A Huguenot pastor of Berlin reported to a colleague in Geneva that the Lutherans of Hamburg had protested “against the collections made for the refugees, and the liberty of conscience that the magistrates have accorded them. They have preached that we are rogues, unworthy of charity; that our religion is diabolical and that the God of Calvin is the Devil, that we worship the Devil, etc.”⁷⁴ Word traveled far and fast along Huguenot networks of communication. As a result of such reports, Hamburg was beginning to acquire a negative reputation in Europe, which could affect her position as the gateway to the North.

⁷⁰ The northern trade with France would be restricted in 1691 and 1693, when the Imperialists expanded the embargo to apply to Glückstadt, Altona, and the Swedish town of Stade—but this action only proves that between 1688 and 1690 the French trade must have been lucrative. See George Norman Clark, *The Dutch Alliance and the War against French Trade, 1688-1697* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1923), 103-05; Bromley, “North Sea in Wartime,” 273-74.

⁷¹ By 1691, Glückstadt and Altona were described as actually owning half a dozen ships, though over two hundred ships flew their colors. *Ibid.*, 281.

⁷² See Weber, “La migration huguenote.”

⁷³ See especially Lane, “England and the Northern Powers.”; Torntoft, “William III and Denmark-Norway.”

⁷⁴ “...à l’occasion des collectes qu’on y a demandées pour les réfugiés, et de la liberté de conscience que les magistrats leur ont accordée. Ils ont prêché que nous sommes des scélérats, indignes de la charité; que nôtre religion est une religion diabolique et que le Dieu de Calvin est le Diable, que nous adorons le Diable, etc.” Letter of Gaultier de Saint-Blancard to L. Tronchin, Berlin, 26 January 1689. Quoted in Sautier, “Politique et Réfuge,” 246.

To the aid came—France. Louis XIV made a singular concession to the *réfugiés* in an ordinance of 12 March 1689. Noting that his subjects who had fled to England or Holland were now faced with the difficult choice to bear arms against their “veritable sovereign” or lose their Allied incomes, he offered a solution that would save them from this “crime, which has always been a horror to the French nation.”⁷⁵ If these absent subjects were to settle in Denmark or in Hamburg, they would be allowed to enjoy the proceeds of goods and property that they had left behind in France—to which they otherwise had no right. The only condition was that they report once every six months to the French ambassador in Copenhagen or the *résident* in Hamburg.⁷⁶ Besides being the only time that the French king moved in favor of *réfugiés* who continued to resist conversion, the declaration of 1689 established a special relationship between his representatives and the Huguenots, one that would later directly affect Quesnot.⁷⁷ It also implied a cooperation between Hamburg and Denmark that must have delighted the Danish king, as well as those members of the Hamburg *Bürgerschaft* (the less illustrious and larger branch of Hamburg government) who favored a Danish alliance.

All sides, therefore, saw the Huguenots as significant players, whether because of their mercantile connections (Hamburg and Denmark), the good reputation that supporting them could bring to Protestant powers (England, Brandenburg, and the Dutch Republic), or the hopes that their wealth, even if gathered abroad, would continue to enrich their homeland (France). The various powers present in Altona needed at least to appear accommodating to their needs. And one of those needs was appropriate entertainment.

Considering the importance of the French refugee community in the area at the time, what better way to celebrate the Altona Accord than with a French opera? Catering to an audience of dignitaries and *réfugiés*, the title page of *Acis et Galatée* immediately announces that there was something special about this production. The title and genre of the work are given bilingually, as had never occurred at Hamburg previously:

⁷⁵ “Sa Majesté ayant été informée que plusieurs Officiers de ses troupes et autres ses Sujets...se trouvent présentement embarrassés dans l’appréhension qu’ils ont d’être obligés à l’occasion de la présente guerre, ou de porter les armes contre leur véritable Souverain, ou de perdre la subsistance qu’ils tirent dans lesdits païs; Et Sa Majesté voulant bien leur donner moyen de ne point tomber dans un pareil crime, qui a toujours été en horreur à la nation Française....” The declaration takes a swipe at the English and the Dutch, who had a habit of bearing arms against their sovereigns. The full text of the declaration is reproduced in Léon Pilatte, ed. *Édits, Déclarations et Arrests concernant la Religion P. Réformée 1662-1751. Précédés de l’Édit de Nantes* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1885), 327-28.

⁷⁶ Schickler saw this event as Louis XIV entering into direct competition with William III. See Fernand de Schickler, *Les Églises du Refuge* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1882), 90. It is not clear how long this declaration remained in effect. In Hamburg, it was presumably nullified with Étienne Bidal’s dismissal in June 1690. Denmark’s brief alliance with the Empire in 1690 undoubtedly changed the terms with France as well, though I have no evidence for that, nor for the possibility of a reinstatement of the agreement when Denmark signed a pact of neutrality with France in 1691.

⁷⁷ See Chapter 4.

Figure 2.3



(Hamburg: s.n., 1689)

D-Hs, MS 639/3 : 3, nr. 35

The original French text of the *pastorale héroïque* itself is unchanged; for those very few audience members who might not have understood French, the libretto includes a brief synopsis of every scene in German.

The prologue, the only site of alteration, features a new décor and some adapted text. The premiere of *Acis et Galatée* actually occurred within the Dauphin's favorite hunting lodge of Anet; when the work was transported to the Paris Opéra in late 1686, the stage set was designed to represent the charming château. In Hamburg, the libretto informs the reader that the set represents "the environs of the city of Hamburg" (Le Théâtre Represente les Environs de la ville d'Hambourg/ Der Schau-Platz stellet vor die Gegend der Stadt Hamburg). Dorothea Schröder has identified this scene description as the first time that the city of Hamburg herself appeared on the Gänsemarkt stage—notably, in the prologue to the first "foreign" opera to appear in Hamburg.⁷⁸ She identifies two potential outcomes of the prologue's new setting. In her assessment, the depiction of Hamburg strengthened the "patriotic feelings and self-confidence of audience members by presenting them with a shiningly idealistic representation of the city during a time of economic crisis." Further, the

⁷⁸ See Dorothea Schröder, "Die Politisierung der Barockoper—ein französisches Phänomen?" in *Französische Einflüsse auf deutsche Musiker im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Friedhelm Brusniak and Annemarie Clostermann, 63-76 (Köln: Studio, 1996), 67-68. Her discussion was expanded in idem, *Zeitgeschichte*, 175-76.

depiction of something familiar contributed to the acceptance of something new—an opera in a foreign language—by rendering it “homely.”⁷⁹ However, Schröder does not address the composition of the audience. Would the representation of the city appeal only to burghers of Hamburg? What effect might it have had on the foreigners who, according to Schott, were in the majority at the opera? Additionally, Schröder does not address what seems to be a central question: if the representation of Hamburg were really a matter of strengthening “patriotic feelings,” why should it be appended to a *French* opera? Would it not have seemed more obvious to use a homegrown operatic work?

Moreover, it seems clear that the prologue décor did *not* depict the city of Hamburg. The preface to the libretto for the opera’s 1695 revival at Hamburg indicates that the 1689 prologue set included a representation of “a certain hunting lodge.”⁸⁰ Though this was certainly not the château at Anet, it could have been one of the many hunting lodges or castles belonging to the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp or the King of Denmark that dotted the countryside around Hamburg. For, if one takes the scene description literally, the set does not provide a “shiningly idealistic representation” of Hamburg itself. Rather, it depicts the *environs* of Hamburg.⁸¹ The city herself may have been at the center, but the emphasis in the scene description falls on the area outside of the city’s walls. It was that area *around* Hamburg that was contested so hotly by the King of Denmark and the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. Until the negotiations at Altona, the entire area had been occupied by Danish forces. As can be seen on this map of 1710 depicting the territorial agreements reached in 1689 (Figure 2.4), the environs of Hamburg to the west belonged to the King of Denmark (“au Roy”); those to the east belonged to the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp (“au Duc”). Hamburg, in the center, was Hamburg—and in 1689, that meant catering to both sides.

⁷⁹ “Mit dieser noch vergleichsweise moderaten Verherrlichung Hamburgs schlug der Operndirektor zwei Fliegen mit einer Klappe: Zum einen stärkte die Darstellung den patriotischen Stolz und das Selbstbewußtsein der Zuschauer, indem sie ihnen zur Zeit einer bedrohlichen Wirtschaftskrise ein leuchtendes Idealbild ihrer Stadt präsentierte, zum anderen wurde die Akzeptanz des Neuen, d.h. der vollständig fremdsprachigen Operaufführung, durch den Effekt der ‘Verheimatlichung’ gefördert.” Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte*, 176. See also idem, “Hamburg und sein Opernhaus—drei Jahrhunderte städtischer Selbstdarstellung,” *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 16 (1999), 238-39.

⁸⁰ “Dieses aber [the prologue]/ dieweil es auff ein gewiß Jagt=Haus ziehlet/ allwo unser Schau=Spiel sich zum ersten hat sehen lassen...” Preface to *Acis und Galatée*. In *einem Singe=Spiel/ auff dem Hamburgischen Theatro vorgestellt* (1695).

⁸¹ The setting of the 1695 *Acis* prologue is much more specific: “The stage represents the prospect of the City of Hamburg.” See further below.

Figure 2.4

Guillaume de L'Isle, *Carte du Royaume de Danemarck* (Paris: de L'Isle, 1710), detail⁸²

The only instance of new text written for this performance further reveals the connection to Hamburg's newly-peaceful neighbors. Diana, goddess of the hunt, opens the work with the following lines (here placed alongside Campistron's text of 1686):

Campistron, 1686

Qu'avec plaisir je reviens en ces lieux
 Que jadis mon séjour rendit si glorieux,
 Où regnoient la splendeur & la magnificence!
 Le Fils du plus puissant, du plus juste des Roys
 Leur redonne aujourd huy par sa seule presence
 plus d'éclat qu'ils n'eurent autre fois.

Anonymous, 1689

Qu'avec plaisir je reviens en ces lieux,
 Pour avoir un séjour charmant & glorieux,
 Ou la tranquile paix regne en magnificence!
 Le plus aimable don des Cieux & de leur Roy
 Qui leur donne aujourd huy par sa seule presence Encore
 Encore plus d'éclat qu'ils n'eurent autrefois.⁸³

On a purely textual level, the changes are slight, and do not affect Lully's music. The second line of the example retains the key words "séjour" and "glorieux." In the original 1686 text, Diana's past visit had rendered (*rendit*) the place glorious—a reference to Diane de Poitiers, for whom Henri II had built the lodge at Anet; in 1689 the short visit itself becomes charming and glorious. The third line similarly preserves "magnificence" (in part to save the

⁸² I have inserted an approximation of Altona's location.

⁸³ I have preserved the orthography and punctuation as found in the librettos of 1686 and 1689. Schröder includes the 1689 text, but implies that it is unchanged from Campistron's original: "in Hamburg übernahm man den französischen Text unverändert..." Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte*, 177-78. This assumption is perhaps what led her to an error regarding "newly composed music" for the 1695 version of *Acis und Galathée* (see further below). The only other alteration to the 1689 prologue is the elimination of eighteen lines of recitative for Apollo (celebrating Louis XIV and the Dauphin). Apparently, the organizers of the performance did not feel compelled to provide new text for this section.

rhyme with “presence”), but inserts an allegorical reference to “tranquil peace” who “reigns in magnificence.” Line 4 eliminates the reference to the Dauphin and Louis XIV, referring instead to “tranquil peace” as the “most loveable gift” of what is clearly the Christian god. Lines 5 and 6 describe how peace (and not the Dauphin) brings more glory to “this place” than it has ever experienced before. A prose rendition of the 1689 text might look like this: “With what pleasure I return to this place, to enjoy a charming and glorious visit where tranquil Peace reigns in magnificence! The most loveable gift of the heavens and their King, Peace here today gives to this place more glory that it has ever had.”

At a time when smoke was still rising from the ashes of the Palatinate, the emphasis on peace in the *Acis* prologue further distances the rebellious city from the Empire.⁸⁴ No earthly sovereign is named; the sole “king” mentioned is the Christian god (line 4), reminding the audience that Hamburg was a thoroughly Christian city. The omission of a worldly sovereign underscores not only the construction of Hamburg as a “free” city, but also gestures to the possibility that there may have been multiple sovereigns—or their representatives—in the audience. The negotiations at Altona included the Imperial ambassador (who was treated as a bodily representative of the Emperor), the King of Denmark, the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, the Dukes of Braunschweig-Lüneburg and Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, and representatives from the Kings of England and Sweden, the States General of the Dutch Republic, and the Electorates of Brandenburg and Saxony. Honoring the wrong one would have been a diplomatic disaster.⁸⁵

In short: The 1689 performance of *Acis et Galatée* directly relates to the peace agreement between Denmark and Holstein-Gottorp. It underscored Hamburg’s goals of neutrality at a time when the city was defying the Emperor in order to retain trade connections with France. These connections were only possible via the mediation of Denmark—and especially the Huguenot community of Hamburg/Altona, who had received permission from Louis XIV himself to establish themselves in the area. *Acis et Galatée* in 1689 simultaneously flattered the French community and represented Hamburg as a neutral space in which trade could readily be conducted. Hamburg’s role in these matters can perhaps best be described as that of “a belligerent, doing its best to be treated as a sheep,” hence making the choice of a pastoral opera full of frolicking shepherds and shepherdesses even more appropriate.⁸⁶

The performance of *Acis et Galatée* in 1689 was a success, at least according to a comment in the preface to a 1695 libretto for the opera. Even though the opera was

⁸⁴ Louis XIV’s newly-adopted scorched earth policy leveled Heidelberg, Mannheim, Speyer and numerous other towns and villages in the spring of 1689. On this gruesome phase, see John A. Lynn, *The Wars of Louis XIV, 1667-1714* (London and New York: Longman, 1999), 195ff.

⁸⁵ On diplomatic incidents at the Gänsemarkt, see Schröder, “Baroque Opera, Politics and Ceremony in Hamburg.” A similar tactic of avoidance was used in performances at The Hague during the Ryswick negotiations in 1697. See my forthcoming article “*Psiché* in The Hague, 1697.”

⁸⁶ Bromley, “North Sea in Wartime,” 280.

performed in a “foreign language,” it met with “great satisfaction” from the audience.⁸⁷ Perhaps partly for this reason, the opera was remounted six years later. But the 1695 production of *Acis et Galatée* differed in one essential aspect: the entire production was translated into German.

Opera in translation?

While metrical translation of operas—preserving the original music, but not the original text—became commonplace over the course of the eighteenth century, they were by no means a self-evident choice in 1695.⁸⁸ The most obvious reason for translating an opera in order to retain its music is the fame of a work and/or its composer, a choice most closely associated with early entries into the Canon of Western Music, like Georg Friedrich Händel (or George Frederick Handel, if you will), whose operas were translated and retranslated from and into both German and Italian for performances at London and Hamburg.⁸⁹ Handel’s operas, though performed in Italian on the London stage, were generally accompanied by a translated English libretto for audience members to read and study. As Pierre Degott has recently emphasized, such “Englishing” of the Italian texts, in a manner that often diverged entirely from the original poetry, established a more direct means of communication with the audience by exhibiting norms and values more often associated with English society than with Italian opera, despite being marketed as “literal” translations.⁹⁰

The history of opera performed in a translation designed to preserve the original music did not begin with the appearance in 1715 of Handel’s *Rinaldo* in German on the Hamburg stage. It actually began a generation before, in Rome, when Lully and Quinault’s *Armide* became *Armida* in 1690. The title page of the bilingual libretto boldly proclaims that the work has been translated from the French, “without changing the notes of the famous Giovanni Battista Lulli” (tradotta dal Francese, senza mutar le note del Famoso Gio: Battista

⁸⁷ “Weil dieses Schau=Spiel vor einiger Zeit/ ob schon in frembder Sprache/ jedoch aber mit grosser *Satisfaction* der herrn Zuschauer auffgeführt worden...” Preface to *Acis und Galatée* (1695).

⁸⁸ For a concise overview of translation practices in vocal music, see Herbert Schneider, “Übersetzung,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Supplement*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel and New York: Bärenreiter, 2008).

⁸⁹ Recent work on libretto translation has primarily focused on the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See, for example, the essays in Gottfried R. Marschall, ed. *La traduction des livrets. Aspects théoriques, historiques et pragmatiques* (Paris: Presses de l’Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2004); Herbert Schneider and Rainer Schmusch, eds., *Librettoübersetzung: Interkulturalität im europäischen Musiktheater* (Hildesheim: Olms, 2009). This is largely due to a trend that sees operatic translation as a product of an “Enlightenment” desire for clarity, a position outlined in Klaus Kaindl, “Normes et conventions dans la traduction des livrets d’opéra,” in *La traduction des livrets*, ed. Gottfried R. Marschall, 43-54 (Paris: Presses de l’Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2004). Few studies indeed have examined the earliest manifestations of opera translations, particularly at Hamburg.

⁹⁰ Pierre Degott, “Early English translations of Italian opera (1711-1750),” in *Cultural Transfer through Translation: The Circulation of Enlightened Thought in Europe by Means of Translation*, ed. Stefanie Stockhorst, 185-207 (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2010). Degott repeats Kaindl’s “Enlightened” hypothesis at 186.

Lulli).⁹¹ No mention is made of the French poet, Philippe Quinault; rather it is the fame of the recently-deceased composer that is traded upon. Noting that it was already common in Italy to sing various airs from Lully's operas in Italian translation, the preface indicates that a Frenchman undertook the arduous task of translating the entire work because of its beauty—and for the benefit of various “Signori Francesi.”⁹²

Surprisingly, this statement seems to indicate that the primary audience for this translation was not Italian, but French. Appealing to the displaced French community in Rome, the preface briefly outlines the biography of the composer: “The music departed from a great subject, born in Italy, but raised from his youth in Paris, who is the famous Giovanni Battista Lulli, ornament of Tuscany, and savior of harmony in France.”⁹³ Lully's Italian origins may have rendered him the ornament of Tuscany, but his Parisian upbringing and status as a naturalized subject of the French king rendered him French. The double construction of Lully as natively Italian but culturally French extended to the performance of *Armida* as well—sponsored by the French ambassador to Rome, the performance was designed to communicate the beauty of French opera to a group of Italian cardinals and their entourages. The project did not succeed.⁹⁴

While the experiment in Rome can be deemed a failure, it exemplifies one reason for translating a text. Translating a work into the local language could make it more understandable, and thus more palatable, for an audience unfamiliar with the original language. Translating texts for music presents special challenges, because of the need to adapt poetic forms to fit the music. A “pure,” word-for-word translation is often impossible, though the translator may still strive toward the illusory goal of fluency—of “naturalness.” Inevitably, however, the translation becomes marked by values, beliefs, and representations that are employed to make it intelligible to the target audience.⁹⁵ Translation implies negotiation—between different world views, expectations, and purposes—and can result in

⁹¹ The libretto (Rome: Angelo Bernabò, 1690) was first identified by Fausto Torrefranca, “La prima opera francese in Italia? (L' *Armida* di Lulli, Roma 1690),” in *Musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge: Festschrift für Johannes Wolf zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Walter Lott, Helmuth Osthoff, and Werner Wolffheim, 191-97 (Berlin: Breslauer, 1929). Torrefranca includes a reproduction of the title page. A transcription of the preface may be found in Carl B. Schmidt, *The Livrets of Jean-Baptiste Lully's tragédies lyriques: A catalogue raisonné* (New York: Performers' Editions, 1995), 418-19.

⁹² “La vaghezza del Componimento Musicale gli ha fatto poi tentare di tradurre Opere intiere: ed ora il farne cantare, e stampare una in Roma, è stato atto di compiacenza per questi Signori Francesi.” Arnaldo Morelli identifies the translator as Jacques d'Alibert, who was associated with the French diplomatic community in Rome. Arnaldo Morelli, “‘Alle glorie di Luigi.’ Note e documenti su alcuni spettacoli musicali promossi da ambasciatori e cardinali francesi nella Roma del secondo Seicento,” *Studi Musicali* 25 (1996), 165.

⁹³ “La musica è parto d'un gran soggetto, nato in Italia, mà allevato da giovane in Parigi, ed è il famoso Giovanni Battista Lulli, ornamento di Toscana, e restauratore dell' Armonia in Francia.”

⁹⁴ According to Morelli, *Armida* was performed at the palace of the Cardinal de Bouillon on 25 February 1690—without much success. Morelli, “Alle glorie di Luigi,” 165.

⁹⁵ For a much more detailed consideration of these issues, see Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 5 and 17-18. Venuti provocatively defines the goal of translation as bringing back “a cultural other as the same, the recognizable, even the familiar.” *Ibid.*, 18.

the domestication of foreign cultural products.⁹⁶ The practice of translating a work in a way that emphasizes local conventions and local norms transforms the work into an expression of the target culture, not the source culture.⁹⁷ Translations, after all, are made by (and for) people with their own sets of loyalties, goals, and ideals.⁹⁸

For Hamburg in the 1690s, a perceived need to reinforce native, Lutheran, Germanic culture seems to have been at the heart of a sudden profusion of operas in translation. The reworking of French operas best demonstrates this trend, for translating French into German would have rendered the works less intelligible for a large portion of the audience. As we have already seen, the opera audience in Hamburg was largely made up of foreigners and outsiders, many of whom knew French better than German (if they knew German at all). Additionally, it can be assumed that the native upper classes certainly knew French, the *lingua franca* of the age.⁹⁹ That it was deemed necessary to translate French operas therefore cannot be related to a lack of linguistic ability on the part of the audience.

***Achille et Polixène*, 1692**

Christian Heinrich Postel's metrical translation of *Achille et Polixène*, a *tragédie en musique* on a text of Campistron with music by Lully and Pascal Collasse, was the first such effort ever undertaken for the Hamburg house.¹⁰⁰ Postel was a close associate of Gerhard Schott and a librettist himself, as well as a frequent translator of literary texts, and he has been seen as a forerunner of a German literary movement that established Hamburg as a

⁹⁶ On these points, see Peter Burke, "Cultures of translation in early modern Europe," in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia, 7-38 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 9-10. Burke structures his essay around the following useful questions: "Who translates? With what intentions? What? For whom? In what manner? With what consequences?" Ibid., 11.

⁹⁷ Linguist Ian Mason prefers to use "ideology," defined as "the set of beliefs and values which inform an individual's or institution's view of the world and assist their interpretation of events, facts and other aspects of experience." Ian Mason, "Discourse, Ideology and Translation," in *Language, Discourse and Translation in the West and Middle East*, ed. Robert de Beaugrande, Abdulla Shunnaq, and Mohamed H. Heliel, 23-34 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1994; reprint, *Translation Studies*, ed. Mona Baker (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 3:141-156). Mason's seminal article greatly aided my thinking about translation, particularly in his attention to the underlying motivations of translators and how their work is shaped by cultural considerations.

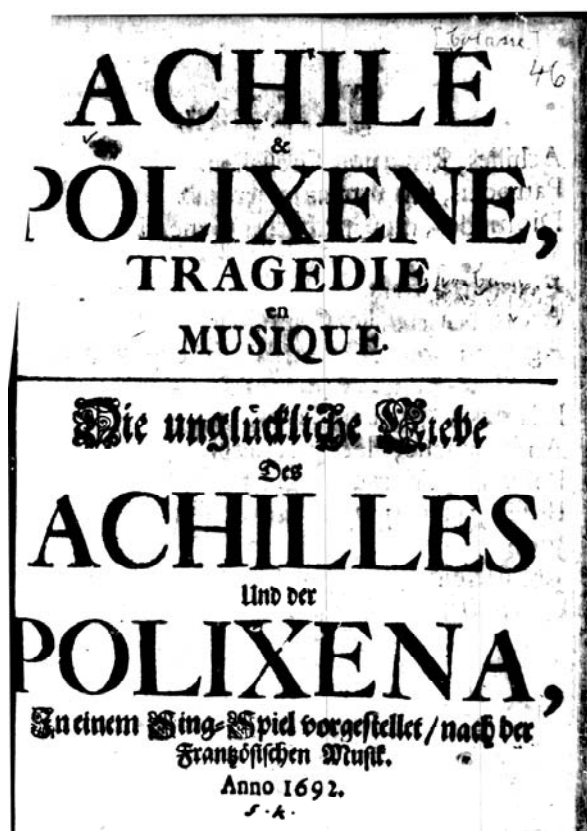
⁹⁸ André Lefevere was instrumental in bringing the translator back into translation studies. See the introduction to his collection of historical positions on translating, André Lefevere, ed. *Translation/History/Culture: A Sourcebook* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).

⁹⁹ Peter Burke, for one, describes the overwhelming turn toward French in Europe at the end of the seventeenth century as "an unintended consequence of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes." Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 87.

¹⁰⁰ Lully finished only the overture and the first act before his death; the rest was completed by his pupil and assistant Pascal Collasse. See Jérôme de La Gorce, *Jean-Baptiste Lully* (Paris: Fayard, 2002), 702-05. Postel's translation has been discussed by Solveig Olsen and Herbert Schneider; both scholars give useful examples of his process. See Solveig Olsen, *Christian Heinrich Postels Beitrag zur deutschen Literatur. Versuch einer Darstellung*, Amsterdamer Publikationen zur Sprache und Literatur (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1973), 100-07; Schneider, "Opern Lullys in deutschsprachigen Bearbeitungen," 74-76.

center of German culture.¹⁰¹ The preface to Postel's work provides an overview of the challenges posed by translation. It opens with an acknowledgment that this "unusual" piece might seem "somewhat strange," if one did not first read the entire preface.¹⁰² The bilingual title page cannot have been the source of strangeness, for we have already seen a similar technique applied to *Acis et Galatée* in 1689:

Figure 2.5



(Hamburg: s.n., 1692)

D-Hs, MS 639/3 : 3, nr. 46

¹⁰¹ For an overview of Postel's career, see Olsen, *Christian Heinrich Postel*. She discusses Postel's close friendship with Schott at 10-12. Wolff declared that Hamburg was recognized as the "wichtigsten Vorkämpferin für eine selbstständige deutsche Kultur, und, um das Jahr 1700, zur geistigen Führerin der deutschen Nation." Wolff, *Die Barockoper in Hamburg*, 9. While that might be overstating the case, it is true that Hamburg was home to one of the first German literary societies, most importantly the Teutsch-Übende Gesellschaft, founded in 1715. Some of the first members (like Michael Richey and Barthold Heinrich Brockes) were associated with the Hamburg opera.

¹⁰² "Es wird dir gegenwärtig auff unserm Opern=*Theatro* ein sonderbahres Stück vorgestellt/ dessen Verse und Redens=Ahrten manchem frembd [somewhat strange] werden vorkommen/ der/ ohn diesen Vorbericht zu lesen/ dieselben ansiehet." Foreword to *Achille & Polixene, tragedie en musique/ Die unglückliche Liebe des Achilles und der Polixena, in einem Sing-Spiel vorgestellt/ nach der französischen Musik* (Hamburg: s.n., 1692).

The only difference is that this title page states that the “Sing=Spiel” has been prepared “after the French music,” immediately establishing a relationship between German text and French music. The preface further explains this connection, revealing that the true “*Intention*” of this translation was to retain the music of the French original, and structure the German translation so that “it can be sung to the same music without any alterations.”¹⁰³

What the preface does not clarify is what the language of the 1692 performance might have been. Johann Mattheson, who sang in the opera’s chorus as an eleven-year-old treble, reported in 1728 that the language had been French.¹⁰⁴ But Mattheson is not always a reliable source; for example, he wrote in 1722 that all of *Achille*’s music was by Lully, only to change his mind in favor of pure Collasse in 1728.¹⁰⁵ A few years later, Johann Christian Gottsched expressed a belief that it had been sung in German and that Postel’s translation was such a mixture of metrical feet that it could please no one, resulting in the abandonment of further French translations at the Hamburg opera.¹⁰⁶ More recently, scholars such as Solveig Olsen and Herbert Schneider have similarly concluded that *Achille et Polixène* was performed in German.¹⁰⁷

The layout of the libretto might in fact support Mattheson’s account. The libretto employs a facing-page bilingual structure, with the original French text on the left and the German translation on the right (Figure 2.6). While this format had not been used at the Gänsemarkt before, it was quickly becoming the norm for bilingual librettos. The librettos for the first Italian opera in Amsterdam (1681) and the Roman *Armida* (1690) employed this structure.¹⁰⁸ Closer to Hamburg, a metrical translation of Antonio Giannettini and Aurelio

¹⁰³ “So dienet demnach zur Nachricht/ daß man die Musick/ welche auff dieses/ in Frantzösischer Sprach geschriebenes Stück/ gesetzt ist/ behalten/ und nach derselben die Teutsche Übersetzung also eingerichtet hat/ daß sie auff eben dieselbe Musick unveränderlich kann gesungen werden.”

¹⁰⁴ Mattheson, *Der Musicalische Patriot*, 181.

¹⁰⁵ Mattheson, *Critica Musica* (Hamburg, 1722), I:284; *ibid.*

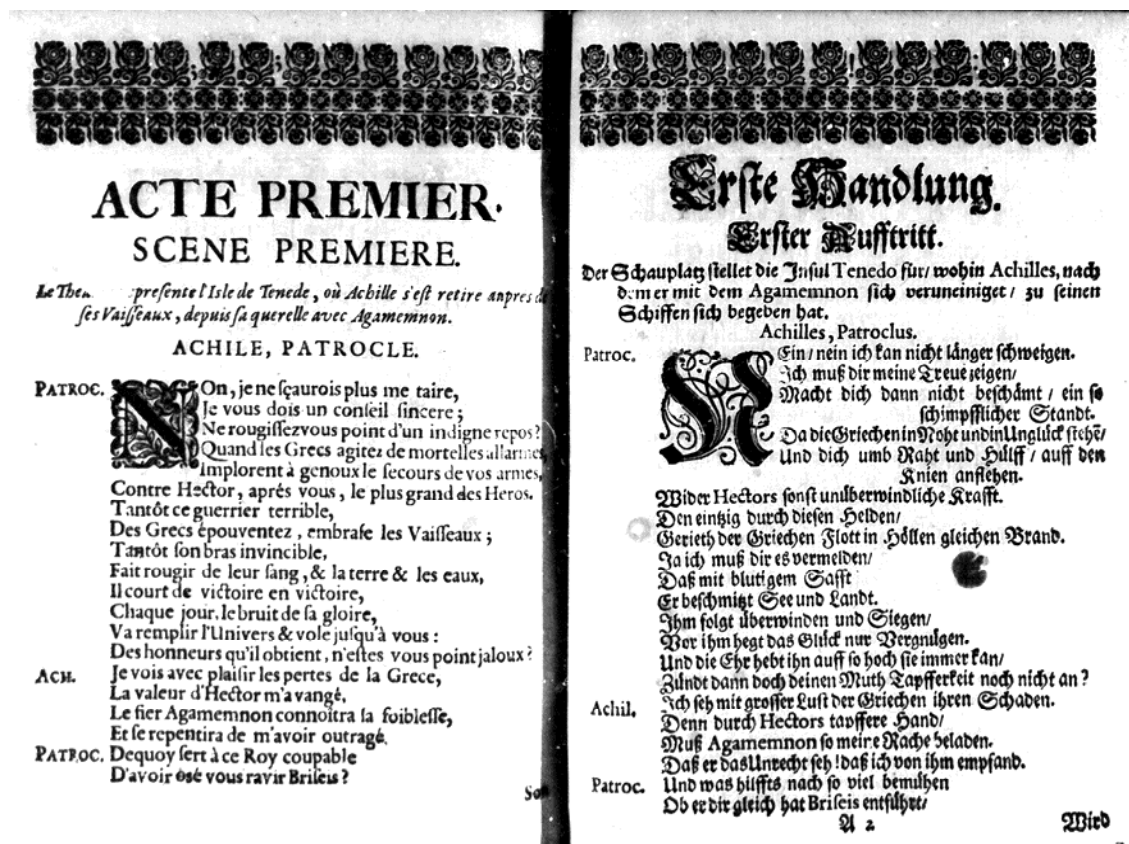
¹⁰⁶ “...eine Vermischung von allen Arten der Füsse haben. Es wollte aber niemandem gefallen.” Gottsched’s comments appear in his 1741 *Verdeutschung* of Saint-Evremond’s *Les Opéra*. See Wilhelm Seidel, “Saint-Evremond und der Streit um die Oper in Deutschland,” in *Aufklärungen: Studien zur deutsch-französischen Musikgeschichte im 18. Jahrhundert—Einflüsse und Wirkungen*, ed. Wolfgang Birtel and Christoph-Helmut Mahling, 46-54 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1986), 48-49.

¹⁰⁷ Olsen, *Christian Heinrich Postel*, 106-07; Schneider, “Übersetzung,” 986. Betzwieser follows Schneider; Thomas Betzwieser, “Le parcours germanique de l’oeuvre lyrique d’Henry Desmarest,” in *Henry Desmarest (1661-1741): Exils d’un musicien dans l’Europe du grand siècle*, ed. Jean Duron and Yves Ferraton, 309-20 (Sprimont, Belgium: Mardaga, 2005), 316.

¹⁰⁸ On the bilingual Amsterdam libretto for *Le fatiche d’Ercole per Deianira*, see Rudolf Rasch, “A Venetian goes north: Pietro Antonio Fiocco in Amsterdam, Hanover and Brussels,” *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 56 (2002). Schmidt describes the structure of the Roman *Armida* libretto; Schmidt, *Catalogue*, 418. The bilingual libretti for Handel’s London operas adopt a different strategy. There, each leaf had the same language on both sides, meaning that an opening with Italian on the left and English on the right is followed by an opening with English on the right and Italian on the left. I heartily thank Handel expert John H. Roberts for explaining this to me.

Aureli's *Medea in Atene* appeared in Wolfenbüttel in 1688 in the same format.¹⁰⁹ In all of these examples, in which the language of performance is securely documented, the sung text was on the left, indicating that *Achille et Polixène* was indeed sung in French at Hamburg.

Figure 2.6



First opening of bilingual text

Postel's choice to create a performable translation entailed a departure from normal poetic practices on the Hamburg stage. Postel explains that if he had wanted to prepare a translation "according to current conventions" (nach hiesigem Gebrauch), the length of the lines would have been regular. But unlike a "normal" translation—or *Verdeutschung*, as he

¹⁰⁹ Friedrich Chrysander, "Geschichte der Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttelschen Capelle und Oper vom sechzehnten bis zum achtzehnten Jahrhundert," *Jahrbücher für musikalische Wissenschaft* 1 (1863), 201-02. There may indeed be a Wolfenbüttel connection for *Achille et Polixène* that has not previously been noted. In September 1692, Bernhard I of Meiningen noted seeing a "großen französischen Oper" at Wolfenbüttel in his diary. Reported in Margret Scharrer, "'Maior ab arte venit gloria, Marte minor.' Zur Rezeption der 'Tragédie en musique' an deutschen Residenzen des ausgehenden 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel des Wolfenbütteler Hofes während der Regierungszeit Anton Ulrichs," in *Atelier: Vorbild, Austausch, Konkurrenz. Höfe und Residenzen in der gegenseitigen Wahrnehmung*, ed. Anna Paulina Orłowska, Werner Paravicini, and Jörg Wettlaufer, 146-60 (Kiel: Universitätsdruckerei der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, 2009), 152. Scharrer provides no information on what Bernhard might have seen at that time.

called it—Postel had to retain the line lengths, rhythms, and rhyme schemes of the original text, for if one had “intended nothing other than a *Verdeutschung*, one would have been guilty of mistakes in many places”—those mistakes being musical, rather than literary.¹¹⁰ As can be seen in Figure 2.6, the line lengths are uneven, with Alexandrines untypical of Hamburg opera librettos. An ordinary Hamburg libretto would have also arias that were clearly labeled and typographically set off from passages of recitative, but *Achille*, like many other French operas, has no real arias. Postel also defended the sometimes clumsy poetry of the lengthy recitatives, for German texts for the Hamburg stage included much shorter passages of recitative, structured in regular lines.¹¹¹

But it was not a *Verdeutschung* that Postel attempted; rather, he calls it an *Übersetzung*. Postel thus places himself in the midst of contemporary translation debates with the distinction he draws between *verdeutschen* (literally, “to make German”) and *übersetzen*. *Verdeutschung* is a deliberately vague term, similar to “Englishing,” which, according to Peter Burke, tends to “license a free or domesticating approach.”¹¹² A *Verdeutschung* would have allowed the translator to work freely with the text, adapting the poetry to local conventions, but departing vastly from the original work.¹¹³ To call his work an *Übersetzung* implies that Postel has been faithful to the original text, respecting the meanings and word choices of the original poet (*sinn- und worttreu*). However, Postel’s concept of *übersetzen* clearly allows room for adaptation. He explains that “not all of this *Version* is given word-for-word,” a type of translation that for some had been the gold standard, but which at the end of the seventeenth century was quickly losing popularity.¹¹⁴ In some cases, he has had to deviate from the original meaning (*Sinn*) of the French text, but “at the very least, a similarly valid [meaning] has been inserted, that does not disrupt the integrity [*Connexion*] of the work.”¹¹⁵ Postel’s translation is not *sinn-* or *worttreu*—it is *musiktreu*.

¹¹⁰ “...hätte man aber nichts anders al seine Verdeutschung *intendiret*/ so würde man an sehr vielen Ohrten einiger Fehler zu beschuldigen sein...”

¹¹¹ “Dann wann man es nach hiesigem Gebrauch hätte wollen einrichten/ müsten beyderley auff gantz andere Manier heraus kommen/ nemlich die Verse recht *regulier* mit ordentlichen *Arien* dazwischen/ und die Redens=Arten nicht so hart/ wie sie bißweilen seyn...”

¹¹² Burke, “Cultures of translation,” 26.

¹¹³ For example, the widely popular free translations into French of the Classics in the seventeenth century gained the appellation *belles infidèles*.

¹¹⁴ Burke summarizes the positions; Burke, “Cultures of translation,” 30.

¹¹⁵ “...wann nicht der rechte Sinn deß Frantzösischen behalten; doch zum wenigsten ein gleich gültiger/ der die *Connexion* des Stückes nicht *tourbiret*/ davor gesetzt ist.” Postel’s translation principles in fact seem to anticipate the famous statement of Anne Dacier in 1699. She argued for a translation that is not servile (or “word-for-word”), because a servile translation “ruins the spirit by trying to save the letter.” Her ideal was a “generous translation, a noble translation that clings closely to the ideas of its original, tries to match the beauty of its language, and renders its images without undue austerity of expression.” From the preface to her 1699 translation of the *Iliad*; translated in Lefevere, ed. *Translation/History/Culture: A Sourcebook*, 12.

Why *Achille et Polixène* was chosen for this experiment is rather mysterious.¹¹⁶ Unlike the Roman *Armida*, no mention of the composers or of the original French poet is made anywhere in the libretto of *Achille*. While it is true that it is the last opera on which Lully worked, he was not its primary composer, a fact that was well known at the time. Both of the early prints of the score clearly attribute the division of authorship. Christophe Ballard's 1687 Paris score gave pride of place to Pascal Collasse on the title page.¹¹⁷ The print prepared in 1688 at Amsterdam by Huguenot Antoine Pointel inverts the order of authorship in the title, placing Lully's name first.¹¹⁸ The work was not a success at its Parisian premiere, and the production at Hamburg in 1692 is the only known performance of the work outside of France.¹¹⁹ What did not make it to Hamburg (or to the opera's only Parisian revival, for that matter) was Collasse's prologue, even though the prologue is included in both of the early printed scores.¹²⁰ Unlike the prologues to Lully's operas, which are all preceded by the grand bipartite overture so closely associated with the composer, Collasse begins his prologue with a simple, short orchestral prelude.¹²¹ But the "real" overture is not missing, it is simply in the wrong place.¹²² Collasse clearly delineated "his" prologue and Acts II through V from

¹¹⁶ Schneider, for one, found no merit in the music: "Es ist kaum anzunehmen, daß die Verantwortlichen der Hamburger Oper gerade dieses Werk aus musikalischen Gründen ausgewählt haben, denn *Achille et Polixène* ist musikalisch gesehen ein schwaches Werk..." Schneider, "Opern Lullys in deutschsprachigen Bearbeitungen," 73-74.

¹¹⁷ *Achille et Polixène, Tragédie: Dont le Prologue & les quatre derniers Actes ont esté mis en Musique par P. Collasse, Maître de Musique de la Chapelle du Roy. Et le premier Acte par feu M.re J. B. de Lully, Conseiller Secrétaire du Roy & Sur-Intendant de la Musique de la Chambre de Sa Majesté* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1687).

¹¹⁸ *Achille et Polixène, Tragédie. Mise en Musique, Le Premier Acte, Par Feu Monsieur de Lully, Le Prologue, & les quatre autres Actes, Par Monsieur Collasse, Maître de la Chapelle du Roi* (Amsterdam: Antoine Pointel, 1688). On Pointel's edition, which was the first full score of a French opera published outside of France, see Carl B. Schmidt, "The Amsterdam editions of Lully's music: a bibliographical scrutiny with commentary," in *Lully Studies*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer, 100-65 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 133-34. Pointel innovated the inclusion of an index of individual airs for singing and playing, a practice that was later imitated by Ballard. Both scores of *Achille* have been digitized and are available online.

¹¹⁹ La Gorce, *Jean-Baptiste Lully*, 702-05; Schmidt, "Geographical spread." Fittingly, perhaps, Hamburg was recently the site of the work's first performance since its only Parisian revival (1712). A concert version was performed at the Bucerius Kunst Forum in 2007, under the direction of Rudolf Kelber. No commercial recording has yet been produced.

¹²⁰ The prologue is included in both of the early printed scores, so it was not for lack of preservation that it was absent in Hamburg.

¹²¹ Manuel Couvreur, who likened the presence of the overture to the presence of the king, viewed the absence of a proper overture at the outset of *Achille et Polixène* as symbolic of Louis XIV's renunciation of the opera. Manuel Couvreur, *Jean-Baptiste Lully: musique et dramaturgie au service du Prince* (Brussels: M. Vokar, 1992), 402.

¹²² Couvreur's overstatement was transformed into outright error when Cowart claimed that "the overture—the component of the tragédie en musique most associated with the power of the king—is missing in this work." Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure*, 156. She also incorrectly identifies 1687 as the beginning of the War of the League of Augsburg; *ibid.*, 157. The League had been formed in 1686, hostilities more or less began in 1688, but war was not officially declared until 1689.

Lully's overture and Act I. At the end of the prologue, a note in both printed scores reads, "On jouë l'Ouverture qui suit pour Entre-Acte." The first page of Act I, which begins with Lully's overture (a pompous affair in C major), is clearly marked "Acte Premier. Mis en Musique par feu Monsieur de Lully." Because Lully had already written an overture for *Achille*, Collasse did not feel the need for a full second overture; rather, the short prelude was deemed sufficient. Such a move might also be seen as Collasse paying his respects to the acknowledged master of the "French" overture. To have inserted his own overture to *Achille* would perhaps have made Collasse subject to even more criticism than he was already bound to receive. Because of the displacement of the overture, some might view the "Entr-Acte" as the true beginning of the opera. That seems to have been the case in Hamburg in 1692, for the libretto contains not a trace of Collasse and Campistron's prologue. In fact, it contains no prologue of any sort, which places the 1692 performance of *Achille et Polixène* in a category all its own: it is the only documented example of a French opera performed publicly without a prologue before Jean-Philippe Rameau abandoned the practice with *Zoroastre* (1749).

Considering Gerhard Schott's great interest in stage machinery—he designed many machines for the Hamburg stage himself—it may have been the spectacular potential of *Achille et Polixène* that brought it to Hamburg. Campistron's action-packed text provided many opportunities to both Lully and Collasse, as well as Parisian set designer Jean Berain, to develop intricate musical and scenic effects.¹²³ Based on various stories of the Trojan War (but not necessarily the *Iliad*), the opera tells the story of the ill-fated love of Polyxena, youngest daughter of King Priam of Troy, for the hero Achilles. Ending with the death of Achilles and Polyxena's on-stage suicide, the wide-ranging libretto also touches on: the death of Achilles' beloved Patroclus, the death of Hector, the dispute over Hector's body, the dispute between Agamemnon and Achilles over the slave girl Briseis, and the interrupted wedding of Achilles and Polyxena.

Or perhaps it was the myth—and the reality—of Hamburg that brought it to the stage. According to what Peter Burke calls the "principle of confirmation," works that "support ideas or assumptions or prejudices already present in the culture" are chosen for translation.¹²⁴ At the level of the story, Achilles was the son of Thetis, the river goddess that many Hamburg poets used as a personification of the river Alster.¹²⁵ Campistron's text itself bears more similarity to French classical tragedy than it does to French opera. Considering the fact that audiences outside of France tended to be far more familiar with French spoken tragedy than French sung tragedy, *Achille et Polixène* can therefore be seen to confirm a further idea about French culture.

The *divertissements*, which in this opera are only loosely connected to the main actions of the plot, are yet another stereotype of French entertainments, whether spoken or sung. The poetry in the *divertissements* is in general more regular than that of the tragedy, and it

¹²³ La Gorce, *Jean-Baptiste Lully*, 703.

¹²⁴ Burke, "Cultures of translation," 20.

¹²⁵ Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte*, 176n9.

is here that Postel's translations tend to be the most faithful. Additionally, the tricky moral issues confronted by the main characters of the work do not extend to the joyous celebrations of these delightful scenes. The *divertissement* of Act III, scene 9, for example, is a rustic revival of peaceful hopes, sung and danced by a group of shepherds.¹²⁶ The simple *ariette* for a shepherd that opens the scene is scored for two flutes, emphasizing the pastoral setting. In mellow B-flat major and gently rocking 6/4 time, the shepherd sings of the return of peace (Example 2.1). The limited range of the simple melody emphasizes the ease and relief expressed by the text. Few ornaments are indicated, though the ornamentation increases with text repetition. The two flutes (not included in the example) largely double the rhythms of the vocal line, reinforcing the unity of the pastoral world. Harmonically, the *ariette* contains no surprises: the second half of the text inspires a conventional move from B-flat to F, with subsequent iterations of the last lines bringing the harmony back home to B-flat.

Postel faithfully reproduces the major images of the French text. After a time of great pain, peace brings calm; therefore, celebrate the hero who has brought about this new era of happiness and enjoyment. The translation handily avoids errors of syllable stress and emphasizes the few instances of expressive writing contained in the music, like the static repetition of the first scale degree at "Un doux repos/ Macht Fried und Ruh." The displacement of *Held* (for *vainqueur*) to line 3 allows Postel to place *Glück* at the highest point of the melody (measures 11 and 15 of the example), thus further emphasizing the joyfulness of this passage.

¹²⁶ I choose this scene because it later inspired a portion of Quesnot's *La Bataille de Ramélie*. See Chapter 5.

Example 2.1

8 A - près tant de trouble et de lar - mes, Un doux re - pos suc - cède à nos al - lar - mes,
Nach viel tau - send Ver - drieß - lich - kei - ten, Macht Fried und Ruh die an - ge - neh - me Zei - ten,

5 Un doux re - pos suc - cède à nos al - lar - mes. Bé - nis - sons à ja mais Le gé - né - reux vain -
Macht Fried und Ruh die an - ge - neh - me Zei - ten. Ey so rüh - met den Held Der wie - der - um in

9 - queur, qui nous don - ne la paix. Bé - nis - sons à ja mais Le gé - né - reux vain queur, qui nous don - ne la
Glück und Ver - gnü - gen uns stellt. Ey so rüh - met den Held Der wie - der - um in Glück und Ver - gnü - gen uns

13 paix. Bé - nis - sons à ja mais Le gé - né - reux vain queur, qui nous don - ne la paix. —
stellt. Ey so rüh - met den Held Der Wie - der - um in Glück und Ver - gnü - gen uns stellt. —

from *Achille et Polixène* (1687), Act III, scene 9
 Music by Pascal Collasse, French text by Jean-Galbert de Campistron
 German text by Christian Heinrich Postel (1692)

The song of the shepherd presents no musical—or moral—difficulties. But in other sections of the opera Postel was confronted by material that diverged widely from the morality that the Hamburg opera was reputed to uphold. Besides the conflict of love and duty—a common theme in French opera—the plot of *Achille et Polixène* turns on another central moral issue: the opposition between fate and free will. Both protagonists die tragically, doomed by a fate predicted by unfortunate Cassandra and engineered by Juno. Free will is a common theme in Postel’s own librettos. According to Olsen, Postel consistently resisted the idea that a blind fate determined the course of people’s lives.¹²⁷ Any death in his librettos clearly results from sin. The deaths of evil-doers only serve to bring about the expected *lieto fine*—the happy ending to which Hamburg audiences were accustomed. Goodness received reward, and evil punishment, just as Pastor Elmenhorst had declared back in 1688. For, according to Elmenhorst, Hamburg operas do not violate the Lutheran religion, celebrate heathen gods, teach “shameful voluptuousness, sodomy, invidious dances,” nor do they perpetrate “strangling and bloodshed.”¹²⁸ Elmenhorst might as well have been describing *Achille et Polixène*. The opera departs from Postel’s works and Elmenhorst’s ideals in nearly every way. The protagonists are doomed to death by unknowable fate. Heathen goddesses Juno and Venus are worshipped enthusiastically. All sorts of sodomy are implied in the various loves of Achilles. Invidious dances abound.

But it is the final scene of the opera (Act V, scene 7)—Polyxena’s heart-wrenching last monologue and shocking on-stage suicide—that best encapsulates the moral issues at the heart of the opera.¹²⁹ Torn by her love for Achilles and her duty to her native Troy, Polyxena wrestles with anger and despair. Should she avenge Achilles by pursuing her brother Paris, thus betraying her duty to her love? Or should she rather take her own life and hope to join Achilles in the afterlife? Polyxena’s sudden vision of Achilles’ shade drives her closer to the brink. She laments her fate, crying out,

Campistron, 1687

Quel sort d’une Amour si tendre!
J’éprouve enfin tous les malheurs
Que Cassandre cent fois pleine de ses fureurs
Voulût en vain me faire entendre:

Postel, 1692

Ist dieses das Glück im Lieben!
Nun spühr ich recht das Herzeleid
Das Cassandra umbsonst offtmahls geprophezeyt
Wie es nun kommt mich zu betrüben/

¹²⁷ This point is made by Olsen, *Christian Heinrich Postel*, 100-01.

¹²⁸ “Lehren keine Abgötteren/ schändliche Wollüste/ Unzucht/ ärgerliche Tänze/ begehen kein Würgen und Blutvergiessen.” This is the last in a list of eight reasons as to why the Hamburg opera is acceptable in the eyes of God. Elmenhorst, *Dramatologia*, 184.

¹²⁹ The role of Polixène (like that of Galatée) is extremely demanding and would have required an excellent singing actress. There is a very good chance that Paulina Kellner sang these roles—she was a fixture in Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel at the time, and certainly knew Schott, who often cooperated with the opera in Braunschweig. In September 1691, Duke Anton Ulrich invited Schott to direct the opera in Braunschweig and offered Kellner’s services to Hamburg. See Chrysander, “Geschichte der Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttelschen Capelle und Oper,” 190; Joachim R. M. Wendt, *Materialien zur Geschichte der frühen Hamburger Oper 1: Eigentümer und Pächter* (Hamburg: Edition digitus modius, 2002), 27.

[What a fate for a love so tender! I feel at last all of the misfortune That Cassandra a hundred times, full of her furies, Wished in vain to make me hear.]	[Is this fortune in love? Now I truly feel the heart pain That Cassandra often prophesied in vain How it now comes to torment me]
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While suicide might at first seem the ultimate expression of free will, Polyxena's reference to Cassandra's prophecy (described in Act IV, scene 3) dooming her to disaster should she ever fall in love, implies that she has no choice. She seizes the arrow that killed Achilles, and stabs herself in the breast.

Polyxena's suicide may have been acceptable to some for a character from antiquity, but others in the Hamburg audience might have found it improper. Contemporary thought on suicide was in a state of transition; while a belief that it stemmed from demonic possession persisted, developing medical theory saw it as an outcome of mental illness.¹³⁰ The general populace, however, still believed that suicides went straight to hell. Unless, that is, they converted at the last moment—a possibility held out by Lutheran writings on the topic.¹³¹

Campistron's original text emphasizes Polyxena's satisfaction with her violence. Killing herself brings contentment. Rather matter-of-factly, she declares:

C'en est fait, le sucez répond à mon attente,
Je n'ay plus guère à souffrir;
Je sens que je vais mourir,
Et c'est assez pour me rendre contente.

[It is done, the success responds to my expectation. / I no longer have to suffer; / I feel that I am going to die, / And that is enough to render me content.]

Postel's translation adds a moral cast that is not present in Campistron's text. He displaces responsibility for the suicidal action to external forces:

Es ist aus! nun erreichen die Geister ihr Verlangen/
Es kommt das Ende der Noth/
Es kommt der geliebte Tod/
Den ich mit sehnlichen Wunsch wil umbfangen.

¹³⁰ The most complete study of suicide in German lands at this time is Vera Lind, *Selbstmord in der frühen Neuzeit: Diskurs, Lebenswelt und kultureller Wandel am Beispiel der Herzogtümer Schleswig und Holstein* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1999). She discusses the changing attitudes toward suicide in the later seventeenth century in detail.

¹³¹ For a summary of Lutheran belief, see Kathy Stuart, "Suicide by Proxy: The Unintended Consequences of Public Executions in Eighteenth-Century Germany," *Central European History* 41 (2008), 415-18. The Calvinist take on suicide (with a focus on Geneva) has been studied by Jeffrey Watt; see Jeffrey R. Watt, "Calvin on Suicide," *Church History* 66 (1997); idem, *Choosing Death: Suicide and Calvinism in Early Modern Geneva* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2001).

[It is done! now the spirits achieve their wishes, / So comes the end of want / So comes beloved death / That I will welcome with eager desire.]

In the German text, Polyxena is moved to act by spirit forces beyond her control. She is not responsible for her actions. At the same time, death is not just approaching, it is beloved and welcomed, for it puts an end to mortal cares and promises happiness in the world beyond. Postel's translation thus seems colored by theories of suicide emphasizing mental instability, while still hinting at the possibility of demonic possession. Polyxena's vision of death as "beloved" similarly indicates Postel's Lutheran worldview.

The last few lines of the opera in Postel's translations move away from the outright Christian imagery, but are still inflected by a concern for the Hamburg audience. As Polyxena slowly bleeds to death, she delivers an impassioned accompanied recitative (see Example 2.2).

Campistron, 1687

Reçois mon Sang après mes pleurs
Achille; c'est à toy que je me sacrifie;
Sans toy je deteste la vie,
Ouy, je le jure, hélas!
je frissonne, je meurs.

[Receive my blood after my tears
Achilles; to you I sacrifice myself;
Without you I detest life,
Yes, I swear it, alas! I tremble, I die.]

Postel, 1692

Schau an wie ich umb dich verderb/
Achilles nur umb dich wil ich mich itzt ergeben...
Ohn dich gleicht der Hellen mein Leben....
Ja ja ich schwere, Ach weh!
ich erzittre, ich sterb.

[Behold how I perish for you,
Achilles, only to you will I now yield myself
Without you my life is like Hell...
Yes, yes, I swear, alas! I tremble, I die.]

Collasse used the orchestra to great effect in this passage. The silences in Polyxena's line, often mirrored in the accompaniment, remind the listener that she draws her last painful breaths. The chain of fifths in the first three bars of the example, D-flat⁶ – G-flat – c⁶ – F – B-flat⁶, finally resolving to B-flat in the second half of bar 4 at the cry of "Achille," heightens the sense that Polyxena's death is inexorably tied to Achilles. The movement into B-flat major comes as a surprise: the sudden appearance of a D-natural in the bass startles the ear, considering the unrelenting D-flats of the previous bars. But it is a pleasant meeting; after the tortured harmonies, finding resolution in the name of Achilles is welcome.

Polyxena's decision to take her life, her resolve in death, is emphasized by the rhythmic doubling of the accompaniment in contrary motion (measure 4 of the example). But that resolve seems weakened as her life drains away. The resolutely minor measure 6 aptly portrays both her hatred of life and her diminishing strength. She makes a final rally with the rhythmically interruptive "Yes, I swear it" (measure 7), reaching up for the high F, which reduced by an octave will be her last utterance. But she is nearly finished. Alas—she trembles, she dies. Her last breath, fittingly, is the root of the ultimate harmonic goal of F major. And the curtain falls after the final, brief, quarter-note murmur.

Example 2.2

Polixena

Re - çoy mon sang a - près_ mes pleurs A - chil - le; c'est à
 Schau an wie ich umb dich_ ver - derb A - chil - les nur umb

toy que je me sa - cri - fi - e; Sans toy je de - tes - te la
 dich wil ich mich itzt er - ge - ben; Ohn dich gleicht der Hel - len mein

vi - e, Ouy, je le ju - re, he - las! je fris-son - ne, je meurs.
 Le - ben, Ja, ja ich schwe - re, Ach weh! ich er - zit - tre, ich sterb.

(6) (6) 6 6

6

6

6

from *Achille et Polixène* (1687), Act V, scene 7

Music by Pascal Collasse

Postel's musically-true translation captures most of the sense in Campistron's text, but certain features are significantly altered. Given Postel's predilection elsewhere in the opera to emphasize body parts at every opportunity, the omission of "blood" and "tears" in the first line of the example is surprising.¹³² Instead, Polyxena addresses herself to her departed lover, asking him to see how she dies for him. But her death is not a "sacrifice," as Campistron had it. Rather, Postel avoids the term *aufopfern*—with its connotation of pagan human sacrifice—by using the less loaded (*sich*) *ergeben* (to give oneself up, to yield). More significantly, Postel does not allow Polyxena to detest life—a first-class sin in the Lutheran worldview. Instead, she proclaims that without Achilles, her life is like hell. The natural conclusion is that she can look forward to a heavenly afterlife.

The oblique references to Lutheran beliefs on suicide and redemption calls to mind another assumption or prejudice about the only French community left in Hamburg in 1692.¹³³ One of the most contentious theological issues dividing Lutheranism and Calvinism was predestination. Calvinists believed that humans had no free will in any matter and that God predestined his creatures either to damnation or to salvation (double predestination). Double predestination was a defining facet of Calvinist belief—and a stereotype for outsiders' constructions of Calvinist identity. Lutherans, on the other hand, believed in only a limited form of predestination, and that only to life, and only through belief in Christ's redemption of sin. They held that humankind did have limited free will in worldly matters, while spiritual matters were decided by the grace of God. Morally, suicide was not an unforgivable sin in Lutheran or Calvinist belief; in fact, some critics of Calvinism saw the double-predestination of the belief system as an incitement to suicide. If one were damned anyway, one might as well kill oneself.

Reclaiming the "German" opera

Postel's efforts with *Achille et Polixène* demonstrated that it was possible to create a musically-true *Übersetzung* that reflected the prevailing ideology in Hamburg. In other words, it was a *Verdeutschung*. By 1695, such a possibility may have been not only desirable, but necessary. For the fate of the opera was again in doubt. Vehement protests against the institution were delivered in late 1694 from the pulpit of Schott's one-time supporter, Pastor Mayer, who by now had allied himself with the guilds and lower classes of Hamburg. Mayer condemned the Gänsemarkt for daring to perform during Advent. He demanded that the Senate prohibit performances during such a holy time, and blamed the opera not only for misappropriating funds that would be better used for the church, but also for contributing to strife in the city government. "One should have already stopped supporting the Opera with subsidies; it would be a wonder if church money had not been demanded for this purpose.

¹³² On this feature of Postel's work, which Olsen refers to as "sensualization," see Olsen, *Christian Heinrich Postel*, 105-06.

¹³³ The French *résident* and his entourage were dismissed in the summer of 1690. From this point on, Hamburg was officially at war with France and subjects of the French king were not welcome in the city.

The opera ought to be abolished so that this nuisance can be controlled; the Senate should make every effort together with the Bürgerschaft to abolish the Opera, so that peace can be achieved.”¹³⁴

Such disparaging words made a bad year for Schott even worse. As a Senator of Hamburg since 1693, Schott was directly involved in the acrimonious disputes between Senate and Bürgerschaft that resulted in street riots in 1694. His duties limited the amount of time he could devote to the opera, leading him to lease the house and its company to a singer, Jakob Kremberg.¹³⁵ Disagreements between the two arose almost immediately and resulted in a series of lawsuits in the fall and winter of 1694.¹³⁶ At one point, Schott poached music director Johann Sigismund Cousser and a number of singers in order to set up a rival company that performed in the refectory of Hamburg’s Dom.¹³⁷ Though the dispute would eventually extend to Kremberg’s supposed mistreatment of singers, the misuse of stage properties, and the mounting debts of the opera, what started the conflict was Kremberg’s decision to allow a troupe of “Italian” actors to use the Gänsemarkt stage. Kremberg’s original contract did not state that such an action was forbidden; in fact, Kremberg defended himself by stating that Schott had recommended troupes of Dutch and German actors who might perform in Hamburg.¹³⁸

When traveler Louis-Armand de Lom d’Arce de Lahontan visited Hamburg in the summer of 1694, he made no mention of the Dutch or German troupes that Schott had recommended to Kremberg. Instead, he observed that, “One ordinarily finds troupes of French or Italian actors here, as well as a German opera, of which the house, the stage, and the décors are comparable to the most beautiful in Europe.”¹³⁹ But the troupe of “Italian”

¹³⁴ “Man hätte bereits zur Unterhaltung der Opern um Subsidien angehalten, es wäre ein Wunder, wenn man nicht dazu Kirchengelder verlangte. Man sollte die Oper abschaffen, damit dem Aergerniß gesteuert werde; der Rath solle nur Mühe anwenden, die Oper mit der Bürgerschaft abzuthun, damit Friede geschafft werde.” Quoted in Johann Gustav Gallois, *Hamburgische Chronik von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Jetztzeit*, vol. 2 (Hamburg: s.n., 1862). See also Jaacks, *Hamburg zu Lust und Nutz*, 90.

¹³⁵ Kremberg was born in Warsaw around 1650 and worked as a singer at the Dresden court between 1682 and 1691. He came to Hamburg around 1693, where he became involved in the opera. Peter Holman, “Kremberg, Jakob,” in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London and New York: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001), 13:893.

¹³⁶ The surviving documents are transcribed in Schulze, *Quellen der Hamburger Oper*, 139-58. The original lease was signed on 14 March 1694. For further on this episode, see the commentary in *ibid.*, 135-39; Braun, *Vom Remter zum Gänsemarkt*, 127-28; Kornee van der Haven, *Achter de schermen van het stadstoneel: Theaterbedrijf en toneelpolemiek in Amsterdam en Hamburg, 1675-1750* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2008), 157-58, 185-87.

¹³⁷ Cousser’s *Porus* was certainly premiered there. The existence of rival companies explains the high number of operas that season—thirteen in total. See Schulze, *Quellen der Hamburger Oper*, 138; Braun, *Vom Remter zum Gänsemarkt*, 128-29.

¹³⁸ See Kremberg’s response of 12 September 1694, transcribed in Schulze, *Quellen der Hamburger Oper*, 144-45.

¹³⁹ “On y trouve ordinairement des Troupes de Comédiens François ou Italiens, et même un *Opera* Allemand dont la Maison, le Théâtre et les décorations ne cèdent en rien aux plus beaux de l’Europe.” Quoted in André

actors hired by Kremberg and enjoyed by the Baron de Lahontan was not necessarily Italian in origin or performing in Italian; it is much more likely to have been a French-speaking troupe performing Italian repertoire in French translation. Hamburg was part of the normal circuit of French-speaking companies, like the troupe that Christian V released from his service in Copenhagen in March of 1694, or the one nominally based in The Hague that included actors originally from the Comédie Italienne in Paris.¹⁴⁰ Italian was not a language commonly spoken by residents of or visitors to Hamburg in 1694; French was.

Perhaps due to the unrest in the city and the complaints of powerful preachers like Mayer, Schott's very public dispute with Kremberg became an issue of language and Germanness.¹⁴¹ The dispute was also closely related to Schott's political position in the city. His 1693 election to the Senate, the most powerful branch of Hamburg government, was largely the result of his own reputation, for his parents were not native Hamburgers, and his wife was the daughter of one of the *Oberalten*, not a Senator.¹⁴² It was therefore no accident that he published the 1687 defenses of the opera in the same year he was elected.¹⁴³ Schott's testimony against Kremberg returned to the very arguments that were at the heart of the opera's defense in 1687 and 1688. His desire to restore the "greatness" of the opera, as well as his own "good name," turned on the necessity of proving that the Gänsemarkt was a purely German stage that inspired good German morals. What horror he must have felt, then, when "his" stage became the platform for "Italian"—more likely French—morals.

Mayer was not only preaching against the opera in 1694. That year also saw a renewed attack on Calvinists, who again became the scapegoats of the Orthodox/Pietist

Pirro, "Remarques de quelques voyageurs, sur la musique en Allemagne et dans les pays du Nord, de 1634 à 1700," in *Riemann-Festschrift. Gesammelte Studien* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1909; reprint, Tutzing: Schneider, 1965), 340.

¹⁴⁰ The Danish king's troupe received their final payment on 12 March 1694, "because they were leaving" (da de afgaaer). Reported in Louis Bobé, *Operahusets Brand paa Amalienborg den 19de April 1689* (Copenhagen: Bergmann, 1889), 9. It is highly likely that this troupe then moved on to Hamburg, where they could have been engaged by Kremberg, who received control of the opera on 14 March. For an overview of traveling French troupes, see Georges Mongrédien and Jean Robert, *Les comédiens français du XVIIe siècle: Dictionnaire biographique, suivi d'une inventaire des troupes, 1590-1710, d'après des documents inédits*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1981). The travels of various Franco-Italian troupes are touched on in Émile Campardon, *Les Comédiens du Roi de la troupe italienne pendant les deux derniers siècles. Documents inédits recueillis aux Archives nationales*, 2 vols. (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1880).

¹⁴¹ Van der Haven reads this episode differently. He suggests that Schott's complaints had to do with a negative perception of low-class comedy on the Gänsemarkt stage, interpreting *Komödie* quite literally as "comedy." He then interprets the insertion of the *Iustige Person* in Hamburg operas of the 1690s as a way to please the public while keeping the "comedians" away. Haven, *Achter de schermen*, 185-91. However, *Komödie*, like its French counterpart *comédie*, could mean either a comic or a tragic work. Traveling "comedians" were nearly as likely to perform tragedies as they were comedies, and many popular works of the late seventeenth century were in fact mixtures of the two. The *Iustige Person*, a convention adopted from Venetian opera, existed on the Hamburg stage both before and after the Kremberg episode.

¹⁴² Rückleben, *Niederwerfung*, 298.

¹⁴³ Schott, ed. *Vier Bedencken*.

dispute. The attacks on Calvinism extended toward the evils of foreigners in general, since “real” Hamburgers were good Germans and good Lutherans.¹⁴⁴ The situation grew so bad that Elector Friedrich III of Brandenburg, like his father a great protector of the Huguenots, protested to the Senate. A Senate inquiry into the safety and security of the Calvinists followed. Remarkably, both the German and French Calvinists insisted that they did not feel personally attacked or even threatened by the condemnations raining down from Lutheran pulpits.¹⁴⁵

Schott himself was not opposed to foreigners, Huguenots, or French opera, as his later partnership in The Hague with Jean-Jacques Quesnot suggests.¹⁴⁶ But he was keenly aware of what was possible—and necessary—in Hamburg. His first season after regaining control of the opera in early 1695 signals that Schott felt obliged to transform the Gänsemarkt into a purely German-language opera house. In a climate opposed to foreign influence, with his reputation and that of the opera on the line, Schott developed a season that differed from recent years in one significant respect: no foreign-language operas were presented.¹⁴⁷ Instead, he offered ten operas in German. Four works had their origins in Hamburg: two older works of Johann Philipp Förtsch and two newly-composed operas by Cousser. The rest of the season included no fewer than six translations of older works, performed wholly in German, though no translation had ever been performed at the Gänsemarkt before.¹⁴⁸ One of those was *Acis et Galatée*, transformed into *Acis und Galatée*.

Acis und Galatée, 1695

The primary reason given for the reappearance of *Acis et Galatée* in 1695 was its success in 1689, for the work met with “great satisfaction,” even though it was in a “foreign language,” as the preface tells us.¹⁴⁹ In case there should be any doubt that the opera might please less now that it has been translated into “our German language,” the author of the preface assures the reader that “the meter has been adapted to the music throughout, and

¹⁴⁴ A controversial pamphlet on religious education by the Huguenot (with strong Pietistic leanings) Pierre Poiret was at the root of the disputes of 1693 and 1694. Rückleben, *Niederwerfung*, 137 and 214ff.

¹⁴⁵ Whaley, *Religious Toleration*, 125.

¹⁴⁶ See Chapter 3.

¹⁴⁷ Between 1689 and 1694, there was usually at least one foreign-language work per season. Van der Haven observes that Schott had something to prove in 1695, but he does not discuss the issue of language. Instead, he focuses on comic aspects of works from that season. Haven, *Achter de schermen*, 187.

¹⁴⁸ Five were translations of Italian operas written for German courts: two works by Steffani (both composed for Hanover), two by Giannettini (composed for Wolfenbüttel), and one by Carlo Pallavicino (composed for Dresden). Pallavicino’s *Armida* (Dresden, 1687) had been performed in Hamburg in 1694 in Italian. But that still meant six of the ten operas that year were new productions in Hamburg, making it hard to believe van der Haven’s claim that Schott was trying to save money by performing older works. *Ibid.*, 191. For the repertoire of the 1695 season, see Marx and Schröder, *Die Hamburger Gänsemarkt-Oper*.

¹⁴⁹ “Weil dieses Schau=Spiel vor einiger Zeit/ ob schon in frembder Sprache/ jedoch aber mit grosser *Satisfaction* der herrn Zuschauer auffgeführt worden...” Preface to *Acis und Galatée*. In *einem Singe=Spiel/ auff dem Hamburgischen Theatro vorgestellet* (1695). This is yet more evidence for a performance in French in 1689.

therefore everything, except the prologue, has remained as it was found, unchanged.”¹⁵⁰ The preface draws a clear distinction between “foreign” languages and “our German,” implying that the audience for this opera was German first and foremost. Implied, too, is that the opera will now be even more successful.¹⁵¹

What is not stated, or even implied, is that this opera was originally French. No mention is made of the composer or librettist, nor does the title page announce that the music was French, as had the libretto of *Achille et Polixène* in 1692. Rather, the title page gives the name of the opera in German only.

Figure 2.7



(Hamburg: s.n., 1695)
D-Hs, MS 639/3 : 5, nr. 68

¹⁵⁰ “Als zweiffelt man umb so viel desto weniger/ daß es anitzo/ nach dem es in unsere Teutsche Sprache übersetzt/ unangenehm fallen würde/ zumahlen das *Metrum* durchgehends nach der *Musique* eingerichtet/ und sonst alles/ ausser das Vorspiel/ wie es sich befunden/ ohn verändert blieben ist.”

¹⁵¹ Schneider makes a similar point: “Aufgrund dieser Erfahrung versprochen sich der Leiter der Oper, J. S. Kusser, und der anonyme Übersetzer noch mehr Erfolg von der deutschen Übersetzung.” Schneider, “Opern Lullys in deutschsprachigen Bearbeitungen,” 72. The primary purpose of Schneider’s discussion of the German translation in this article is to show its weakness in comparison to Postel’s triumph with *Achille et Polixène*. More recently, he has attributed *Acis und Galatée* to Postel as well; see idem, “Übersetzung,” 986.

The phrase, “Auff dem Hamburgischen *Theatro* vorgestellet,” clearly locates the opera in Hamburg. Additionally, the print throughout labels the arias in the work (such as there are) in accordance with Hamburg libretto conventions. The libretto has been fully naturalized, as it were.

Changes to the prologue further emphasize the “Hamburgerness” of *Acis und Galatée*. While the prologue had been set “in a certain hunting lodge” the first time it appeared in Hamburg, certain unknown forces “desired it to reflect upon our city much more,” according to the preface. Therefore, the hunting goddesses and forest nymphs were replaced by Thetis—often mentioned in German poetry as an incarnation of Hamburg’s Alster river—and her water nymph followers, a substitution was deemed to better demonstrate the “opportunity of this place.”¹⁵²

The prologue featured a new décor as well. Whereas the 1689 décor featured a hunting lodge in the contested environs of Hamburg, in 1695 the décor represented “the prospect of the city of Hamburg on the Elbe.”¹⁵³ The “prospect” of the city refers to Hamburg’s “official portrait,” the view of the city from the southern, Elbe side. The southern prospect enjoyed renewed popularity in the 1680s and 90s, and was often included in official maps of the city printed elsewhere—at exactly the time when the city herself was so unstable.¹⁵⁴ Presenting this image at the opera in 1695 not only reinforced the idea of the city as a well-ordered place, but also demonstrated Schott’s commitment to repairing the damage done by Kremberg. This was *Hamburg’s* opera house, after all, and Hamburg deserved only the best. In order to realize this vision, and thanks to his long-standing relationship with Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Schott was able to lure one of the most famous set designers of the period to Hamburg, Johann Oswald Harms.¹⁵⁵ Harms had made cityscapes one of his specialties. His designs for Cousser’s *Cleopatra* (1690)—the premiere production of the new Braunschweig opera house—included “prospects” of the cities of Braunschweig and

¹⁵² “Dieses aber [the prologue]/ dieweil es auff ein gewiß Jagt=Haus ziehlet/ allwo unser Schau=Spiel sich zum ersten hat sehen lassen/ hat man vielmehr auff unsre Stadt *reflectiren* wollen/ und wird daher verhoffentlich nicht übel auffgenommen werden/ wenn man an statt der Jagt=Göttin und Wald=Nymphen/die *Thetis* mit ihrer gehörigen *Suite* einführet/ indem solches mehr die Gelegenheit des Orts/ als eine andere Uhrsache erfordert.”

¹⁵³ “Der Schau=Platz stellet vor den Prospect der Stadt Hamburg an der Elbe.” Schröder states that the décor of 1689 was reused and that the description was simply made more specific. Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte*, 178.

¹⁵⁴ Schröder was the first to make this connection; *ibid.* On the portraits of the city, see especially Hermann Hipp, “Das Ansehen der ‘Stadt Gottes’—Politische und heilgeschichtliche Perspektiven in Hamburger Stadtansichten der frühen Neuzeit,” *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 83/1 (1997), 238-40; *idem*, “Hamburg.” Hipp’s 1999 article includes a reproduction of Johann Baptist Homann’s “Prospect und Grundris der Keiserl. Freyen Reichs und Ansee [sic] Stadt Hamburg, samt ihrer Gegend” (c. 1710). The bottom of the map shows the profile of the city; the “*gegend*” clearly demonstrates that Altona was just outside of the city walls. *Ibid.*, 238.

¹⁵⁵ Duke Anton Ulrich had asked Schott to manage the new house at Braunschweig in 1691; letter transcribed in Chrysander, “Geschichte der Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttelschen Capelle und Oper,” 190. Schott declined, but never ceased availing himself of the resources in Braunschweig. Harms arrived in Hamburg in the summer of 1695. Horst Richter, *Johann Oswald Harms. Ein deutscher Theaterdekorateur des Barock* (Emsdetten: Lechte, 1963), 128.

Wolfenbüttel, as well as the castles of Celle and Hanover.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, Schott could be assured that the “prospect” of Hamburg would be magnificently executed.

The German text of the prologue is largely a free translation of the original French text. However, there are a few instances where wholly new poetry is inserted, most of it directly related to the new framing of the opera as Hamburgian. It celebrates the opportunities of Hamburg, with only a sidelong glance at the city’s problems. The prologue opens with Thetis (instead of Diana) descending on a machine (new to this version, and probably designed by Schott), extolling the virtues of the city:

Mit was vor Lust und angenehmer Ruh
Sprech ich doch diesen Ort und Sitz der Freuden zu/
Wo man mein Hamburg sieht in Fried und Wohlsyn prangen/
Nachdem der Himmel es vor andern so beglückt/
Daß/ was ein Sterblicher auff Erden kan verlangen/
In höchstem Überfluß hier Aug’ und Hertz erblickt.

[With what joy and pleasant calm / Do I adjudge this place and home of sweetness, / Where one sees my Hamburg resplendent in peace and good health; / Since heaven has so blessed it above others, / That whatever a mortal can wish for on earth, / Appears to eye and heart in greatest abundance.]

The recitative of Thetis emphasizes the peace and prosperity of the city, attributing its success to the blessings of heaven. Her followers similarly celebrate the return of Thetis as the beginning of a new age of happiness. A Triton sings:

Nun aber wird durch deinen Schein
Der Himmel sich mit uns zu stetem Glück verbinden;
Und/ was man hoffen kan/ vergnüglich stellen ein/
So soll/ was allen den zuwider ist/ verschwinden/
Und diese schöne Stadt der Freuden Wohn=Hauß seyn.

[But now, through your appearance, / Heaven will enjoin us with constant bliss, / And pleasurably appoint whatever one can hope for. / So shall whatever is abhorrent disappear, / And this beautiful city shall be the home of delight.]

The personification of the Alster brings the promise of heavenly intervention against all negative forces, thus increasing the bliss of the city.

One instance of new text that drives home both the moral aspect of the opera and the myth of Hamburg returns to music that had not been included back in 1689. For the 1689 performance, eighteen lines of recitative for Apollo, celebrating the Dauphin and Louis XIV,

¹⁵⁶ These designs are reproduced in Richter, *Harms*, plates DE 27-DE 32.

were simply cut, but the full passage reappears in the 1695 prologue.¹⁵⁷ Rather than Apollo, however, Jupiter himself descends on a cloud machine. The chief of the gods proclaims himself a supporter of the city, and then explains the “moral” of the opera that follows. According to Jupiter, the story of *Acis und Galatée* illustrates how Acis realizes his dreams of love. Envy and distrust are defeated, demonstrating that constancy and fidelity always triumph.¹⁵⁸ No shadow of a moral had been present in Campistron’s original text. The need to insert one in 1695 speaks again to the moral issues that Hamburg often had with opera.

The last eight lines of Jupiter’s recitative outline a foundation myth for Hamburg, establishing the city as a god-fearing place that relishes the fruits of labor. The majestic accompanied recitative, largely in G minor, was originally written for a high tenor, as was standard for characterizations of Apollo in French opera. The transformation of Apollo into Jupiter at Hamburg suggests that the role may have been taken by a bass, as was the convention for Jupiter at the Gänsemarkt (and in Paris).¹⁵⁹ The new text easily fits the pre-existing music, with only a few slight rhythmic alterations in order to avoid incorrect syllable stress, marked by asterisks in Example 2.3.

Du aber/ hochbeglückte Stadt/
 So die *Gambrivier* zu ihrer Burg erkohren/
 Die meinen Nahmen stets mit Ruhm geführet hat
 Und welche nur zum Sitz des Wolseyns schien gebohren:
 Geneuß in stiller Ruh der Arbeit süsse Frucht/
 Womit nach langer Müh der Himmel dich beglücket:
 Schau an/ was seine Gunst und Hand dir zugeschicket;
 Du findest bey dir selbst/ was man sonst weit gesucht.

[But you, most fortunate city, / Chosen as the fortress of the *Gambrivii*, / Who have always maintained the glory of my name, / And which seems to have been born only as the seat of prosperity: / Enjoy in calm repose the sweet fruits of labor/ With which heaven blesses you after long travail: / Behold, what his favor and hand has given to you. / You find within yourself what is otherwise far sought.]

¹⁵⁷ Schröder incorrectly assumed that the passage required new composition, which she attributed to Cousser. Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte*, 177. Apparently, she never checked a score of the opera, nor was she aware of Schneider’s earlier article, which clearly states that the prologue was uncut in 1695. See Schneider, “Opern Lullys in deutschsprachigen Bearbeitungen,” 73.

¹⁵⁸ “Wie Acis, was er liebt und sucht/ gewünscht erreicht/ Wie Neid und Mißgunst unterliegt/ Und wie/ wenn auch so gar der Hoffnungs Strahl erleicht/ Zuletzt Beständigkeit doch sieget.”

¹⁵⁹ Though not much is known about the singers at Hamburg, the company must have included a very good bass in the late 1690s, for the roles of Polyphemus in *Acis und Galatée* and Adonis in Reinhard Keiser’s *Venus und Adonis* (1697) are extremely demanding.

Example 2.3

Du a - ber, hoch - be - glück - te Stadt, So die Gamb - ri - vi er zu ihr - er Burg er -
 koh - ren, Die mei - nen Nah - men stets mit Ruhm ge - führ - ret hat Und wel - che nur zum
 Sitz des Wohl - seyns schien ge - boh - ren: Ge - neuß in stil - ler Ruh der Ar - beit sü - sse
 Frucht, Wo - mit nach lang - er Müh der Him - mel dich be - glü - cket Schau an, was sei - ne
 Gunst und Hand dir zu ge - schi - cket; Du fin - dest bey dir selbst, was man sonst weit ge - sucht.

Musical notation includes: Treble and Bass clefs, 4/4 time signature, key signature of one flat (B-flat), and various ornaments (trills, asterisks) and fingerings (6, 6#, 6b, 5b, 4, 3, 5b, 6, 6#, 5b, 6, 6#, 5b, 6, 6#, 6#).

from *Acis et Galatée* (1686), prologue

Music by Jean-Baptiste Lully; German text (by Postel?) from *Acis und Galatée* (Hamburg, 1695)

The new text bears no relationship to Campistron's original in subject, imagery, or word choice. All that remains is the skeleton of rhythm and rhyme. The anonymous translator was obviously working from the score, using the shape of the vocal line as inspiration for the new text. Thus, "hochbeglückte Stadt" rises melodically, with the greatest emphasis on the subject, "Stadt." Particularly effective is the descent through B-flat major in measures 4 and 5 of the example. The solidity of both Jupiter's name and his glory seems assured by the steady progression downwards, rhythmically doubled and magnified by the accompaniment. The register shift and rocking half-step motion in the vocal line at measure 8 inspire the "calm repose" of the text. The repose quickly transforms into a new feeling of resolve with the introduction of G major, then C, then F, cycling through the "sweet fruits of labor." All in all, the new text is well-crafted and in line with poetic conventions of the time.

The text was also in line with the concerns of the city. Jupiter's recitative refers to the popular legend that Hamburg was founded by the ancient Germanic tribe of the *Gambrivii*, who worshipped Jupiter Ammon (or Hammon, thus Ham-burg). What was somewhat unique about this foundation myth is that it does not highlight the relationship to antiquity; rather, the emphasis falls on the existence of a pre-Christian monotheistic religion. Hamburgers were good Christians even before they knew Christ.¹⁶⁰ On the whole, this text is saturated with references to Christianity: the glory of the one god is maintained, gifts rain down from heaven, the good works that Lutherans believed to be the "fruits" of faith are enjoyed in peace. Particularly striking, then, is the implication of the last line in this example, that Hamburg is so blessed that she need not look outside of her walls—she is a completely self-sufficient city.

The striking emphasis on peace, self-sufficiency, and renewed happiness is enough to make one suspicious that all was not quite right in Hamburg. In fact, Hamburg was threatened with the possibility of an Imperial takeover at the time. By the end of 1694, the Senate had lost all credit with the Bürgerschaft.¹⁶¹ The Bürgerschaft rebelled against the Senate, inflamed by Mayer's preaching against the Senate's foreign connections and ungodly handling of the city's finances. Fearing the outbreak of armed strife, the Imperial resident asked the Emperor to intervene. Leopold I handed down a mandate on 21 April 1695, ordering the various branches of the city government to make peace or he would be forced to send an Imperial commission to take control of the city.¹⁶² Imperial threats of interference in city affairs never sat well with Hamburg, and after months of negotiation, the two branches of the city government finally reached an agreement in November 1695. That agreement, however, severely limited the power of the Senate. The Bürgerschaft was well on its way to bringing the Senate down. Of greatest import to the citizenry was limiting the

¹⁶⁰ As pointed out by Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte*, 177-78.

¹⁶¹ The episode is discussed in Rückleben, *Niederwerfung*, 251-56.

¹⁶² An Imperial commission was installed in 1699, bringing the Senate to its knees, and again in 1712, resulting in a total overhaul of the city's constitution.

Senate's openness to foreigners and external influences in order to focus on "the freedom and privileges of the citizens of Hamburg," for the "good of the city."¹⁶³

It is likely that *Acis und Galatée* celebrated the new-found peace in the city—the fruit of "long travail," no matter how superficial it was. The new prologue to *Acis und Galatée*, by portraying a beatific vision of the independent city, reassured audiences that the citizens of Hamburg could enjoy a stable future on their own terms. The *citizens* of Hamburg that is—outsiders excluded from full citizenship, like the Huguenots, faced very uncertain futures there. In 1695, Hamburg was a distinctly unfriendly place for the Huguenots. Indeed, many had left the area by then. Even Denmark was no longer so interested in the *réfugiés*—Christian V of Denmark-Norway ended his trade relations with France in March of 1695 in order to obtain aid from William III.¹⁶⁴ He had already sent most of his Huguenot officers to William in early 1690 (shortly after the French-language performance of *Acis et Galatée*).¹⁶⁵ Just after their departure, the Danish king gave in to the protests of various Lutheran theologians and restricted the privileges of the French Calvinists of Denmark. His actions resulted in commendations from the pastors of Hamburg and great disappointment from the Huguenot community. Many departed for safer ground in Brandenburg, the Dutch Republic, and England.¹⁶⁶ Those who remained closed ranks, finding refuge within the diplomatic community, as Quesnot seems to have done.¹⁶⁷ Perhaps their insulation from everyday life in Hamburg was the reason for the mild Huguenot response to the Senate inquiry of 1694; they were so far removed from the populace that they did not feel threatened by the condemnations of Mayer and his followers.

The *Verdeutschung* of *Acis und Galatée* can be seen as a result of the general suspicion toward the French, and particularly those "French" people who still lingered in the area despite all the signals for them to go.¹⁶⁸ For if one had not been at the opera in Hamburg in the summer of 1689, it would have been difficult to determine that *Acis und Galatée* had ever been a French opera. The libretto looks and feels like a Hamburg libretto. The composer and original poet are never named. The prologue celebrates Hamburg. The text reads like good German poetry of the age. The words "France" and "French" never appear; the preface

¹⁶³ Rückleben, *Niederwerfung*, 256. The Senate (unlike the *Bürgerschaft*) had long been concerned with at least keeping up an appearance of tolerance toward strangers; see Kopitzsch, *Grundzüge*, 144.

¹⁶⁴ Lane, "England and the Northern Powers," 181.

¹⁶⁵ Annaliese Zuschlag, *Die Rolle des Hauses Braunschweig-Lüneburg im Kampfe um Hamburgs Reichsfreiheit gegen Dänemark 1675-1692*, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens (Hildesheim and Leipzig: Lax, 1934), 96; Bobé, *Charlotte-Amélie*, 34; Rückleben, *Niederwerfung*, 42.

¹⁶⁶ Weiss, *Histoire des réfugiés*, II:290; Bobé, *Charlotte-Amélie*, 56-59.

¹⁶⁷ Kopitzsch, *Grundzüge*, 205. Quesnot had a child born at Copenhagen in 1694; I have no further information on his movements until 1699, when he reappears in Hamburg. See Chapter 4 for further on that part of his story.

¹⁶⁸ By all accounts, the community of Hamburg-Altona was small (some 1500 souls), but it remained influential on an international level through the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, there are few records surviving from the late seventeenth century, due in part to the twice-over destruction of the Hamburg city archives and the division of Altona's archives between Copenhagen and Hamburg.

merely explains that it was translated from “a foreign language.” This seems all the more odd when one considers that the five Italian operas that were performed in translation 1695 all proudly proclaimed their origins as being “in Italian,” or “after the Italian,” or “written by the famous Italian master Steffani.” On a stylistic level, the music of *Acis und Galatée* was that which had been branded French by 1695—but it did not sound so different from the pastoral *Erindo* written for Hamburg in 1693 by Lully’s student Cousser. Senator Schott’s point was made. The Hamburg opera could take the best of what was available and transform it into a native product. A foreign language would not be heard again on the Gänsemarkt stage until a year after his death, when Reinhard Keiser’s *Claudius* of 1703 included a few arias in Italian.

This was the climate in which young Johann Mattheson, one of the founding fathers of German musical criticism, was raised. Mattheson began singing at the Hamburg opera in 1690 as Schott’s protégé.¹⁶⁹ He undoubtedly sang the treble part in the choruses of both *Achille et Polixène* and *Acis und Galatée*. Years later, he devoted the third-longest article in his great biographical dictionary to...Giovanni Battista Lulli.¹⁷⁰ And the majority of that article attempts to prove that Lully was not French—but Italian.

¹⁶⁹ Hans Joachim Marx, ed. *Johann Mattheson (1681-1764): Lebensbeschreibung des Hamburger Musikers, Schriftstellers und Diplomaten. Nach der “Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte” und den handschriftlichen Nachträgen des Verfassers* (Hamburg: Karl Dieter Wagner, 1982), 15.

¹⁷⁰ Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte, woran der Tüchtigsten Capellmeister, Componisten, Musikgelehrten, Tonkünstler ec. Leben, Wercke, Verdienste ec. erscheinen sollen* (Hamburg: Mattheson, 1740; reprint, Berlin: Leo Liepmannsohn, 1910). See also Herbert Schneider, “Mattheson und die französische Musik,” in *New Mattheson Studies*, ed. George Buelow and Hans Joachim Marx, 425-42 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 441.

3

Armide, the Huguenots, and The Hague

The years between the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 and the official resumption of war between the European powers in 1702 represented a brief window during which Europe was open for business and cosmopolitan ventures were possible. One such undertaking was a new French opera company in The Hague. The company started as a business venture involving a German Lutheran (Gerhard Schott of Hamburg), a Huguenot refugee (Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée), and a French Catholic couple (Catherine Dudard and Louis Deseschaliers), who proceeded to assemble a group of performers from across Western Europe.¹ The opera chosen to open the first season of the new company in the fall of 1701 was Jean-Baptiste Lully and Philippe Quinault's *Armide*. *Armide* may have been a practical choice for the company, as they were reusing materials that had been prepared for a performance of the opera in Kiel in 1695 or 1696. *Armide* was also a sensible choice to inaugurate this first season because of the opera's renown. By 1701, it was acclaimed as the finest of all Lully's operas. Based on Torquato Tasso's popular classic *Gerusalemme liberata*, Lully and Quinault's last collaboration retells the story of the doomed love affair between Armide, a sorceress and princess of Damascus, and her sworn enemy, Renaud, a Christian crusader. The opera was an instant and enduring success.²

But, considering recent scholarship on the opera, *Armide* might seem a controversial choice to entertain the diverse audience of The Hague in 1701. The not-Frenchness of *Armide*, her origins in the exotic East, have led to a number of different opinions in scholarship about the meaning of the opera. What their readings have in common is that they are based on textual criticism, rather than on considerations of possible audiences or accounts of contemporary observers. For some, *Armide* becomes a staging of the fundamental struggle between East and West, Islam and Christianity.³ For others, *Armide's* relationship to

¹ The essential source for this company remains Jan Fransen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: H. Champion, 1925), part 2, chapter 1. I have checked the archival documents Fransen mentions; where my information differs from or adds to his, I have made a note. Additionally, I have provided updated inventory numbers, as the archive has been reorganized since Fransen's day.

² The original run of performances lasted nearly a year. The work was subsequently performed in Paris in 1688, 1692, and 1697, possibly in Kiel in 1696 or 1697, and certainly in Brussels in 1697. For information regarding the revivals in Paris, see Lois Rosow, "Lully's *Armide* at the Paris Opéra: A Performance History, 1686-1766" (Ph.d. diss., Brandeis University, 1981). On the production in Brussels, which included a new prologue by Pietro Antonio Fiocco, see Manuel Couvreur, "Pietro Antonio Fiocco, un musicien vénitien à Bruxelles (1682-1714)," *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap* 55 (2001).

³ Jérôme Pesqué asserts that all theatrical representations of *Armide* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have a common function: "to exorcise the shock of the East and the West and the recurrent fear of an expansionist Islam that besieged Vienna in 1683" (exorciser le choc de l'Orient et de l'Occident et cette peur récurrente d'un Islam expansionniste qui assiège Vienne en 1683). Jérôme Pesqué, "*Renaud et Armide*: opéra

the Crusades registers an ambivalence toward French colonialism.⁴ And for a growing number of scholars, Quinault's take on Tasso directly relates to the struggle between Louis XIV and the heresy of French Protestantism, because of the presence in the opera's prologue of what appears to be a reference to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The first scholar to have made the connection between the prologue to *Armide* and the Huguenot issue was Robert M. Isherwood, who noted that the prologue "perhaps" referred to the Revocation.⁵ The "perhaps" became fact in Lully-Quinault scholarship largely due to an article by Françoise Karro.⁶ Like Isherwood's, Karro's reading focuses on the words of La Sagesse in lines 29 and 30 of Quinault's text: "He causes to fall beneath his strong hands / A monster that was long believed invincible" (Il fait tomber sous ses puissantes mains / Un monstre qu'on a cru si longtemps invincible).⁷ There were indeed long-standing associations between the Protestant "heresy" and monstrous creatures, usually serpents or hydras, in French iconography. The recent critical edition of *Armide's* livret by Jean-Noël Laurenti glosses "monstre" with an explanation from Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel* (Rotterdam, 1690): "One also says that heresy is a monster, which must be smothered at birth" (On dit aussi que l'hérésie est un *monstre*, qu'il faut étouffer dès sa naissance). That the monster of Quinault's line 29 was conquered in a time of peace (lines 27-28) makes an association with Protestantism likely, since France was theoretically at peace for the first time in a long while, the Treaty of Ratisbon with the Holy Roman Empire having been signed on 15 August 1684.⁸ The "monstrosity" of heresy expressed in Furetière's *Dictionnaire* acquires a further significance when one considers that the primary audience for the *Dictionnaire* was undoubtedly Huguenot language teachers and their largely Protestant students in the Dutch Republic and beyond, for whom such an association conjured memories, both real and fabricated, of the horrors of Louis XIV and the *dragonnades*.

des princes, opéra des peuples," in *Recherches des jeunes dix-septémistes*, ed. Charles Mazouer, 89-98 (Tübingen: Narr, 2000), 89.

⁴ Olivia Bloechl, "Colonial Difference in *Armide*," paper delivered at the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music's Annual Conference, Los Angeles, CA, 18 April 2008.

⁵ Robert M. Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), 236. Strangely enough, no later scholarship makes the connection to Isherwood.

⁶ Françoise Karro, "Le Prologue d'*Armide* (Quinault-Lully)," in *Les Écrivains Français et l'Opéra*, ed. Jean-Paul Capdevielle and Peter-Eckhard Knabe, 39-47 (Cologne: dme-Verlag, 1986). Notably, this article was written around the tercentenary of the Edict of Fontainebleau, when such issues occupied the mind of many a French scholar. See also Pesqué, "*Renaud et Armide*," esp. 92; Buford Norman, *Touched by the Graces: The Libretti of Philippe Quinault in the Context of French Classicism* (Birmingham, AL: Summa Publications Inc., 2001), 328-29; Lois Rosow, "Introduction," in *Jean-Baptiste Lully: Armide*, ed. Lois Rosow, XXI-XXXI (Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2003), XXI. All later scholarship that relates the *Armide* prologue to the Protestant heresy cites Karro's article.

⁷ Line numbers refer to Jean-Noël Laurenti's edition of the text included with Lois Rosow's critical edition (Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2003).

⁸ See Guido Braun, *Von der politischen zur kulturelle Hegemonie Frankreichs, 1648-1789* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2008), 47-49.

Whether or not this theme carries through to the tragedy itself is a matter of debate. Quinault scholar Buford Norman contends that operatic prologues are not just a transition from the everyday world into the first act of the *tragédie lyrique*, but that “they introduce themes that will reoccur in the five acts that follow, and they sometimes make specific references to the subject of the tragedy that will unfold during these five acts.”⁹ In this, he seconds Manuel Couvreur, who viewed the prologues as a sort of “preface” for both the themes and the structures of the tragedies.¹⁰ Taking this sort of standpoint to the limit, Karro proposes a reading of *Armide* that posits Hidraot, the king of Damascus, as an incarnation of Calvin himself, Renaud’s Crusader colleagues Ubalde and the Danish Knight as Catholic missionaries, and Louis XIV as Godefroy de Bouillon, leader of the offensive against Damascus. The first three acts, in her interpretation, represent the ravages of heresy, while the last two portray the steps that led up to the Edict of Fontainebleau.¹¹ Following Karro’s lead, Lois Rosow argues that *Armide* was an excellent choice for Quinault and Lully’s last opera because the story “lent itself well to political metaphor”; for her, the “political event” most on Parisian minds at the beginning of 1686 was the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which must therefore have been represented in *Armide*.¹² Rosow goes on to argue that “metaphorically,” the theme of triumph over heresy is not only present in the prologue to *Armide*, but that it continues in the tragedy itself: “one can easily interpret the strong and virtuous European Crusader Renaud as a symbol of Catholic France, and the seductive (and ultimately weak) Middle Eastern princess-magician Armide as a symbol of Protestant heresy.”¹³

However, such readings of *Armide* are dependent on a one-way interpretation of the prologue and a belief that the allegory presented in the prologue always applies to the five acts of the tragedy. Additionally, they are bound to the conditions of the work at its inception, deflecting attention away from the possibilities of meaning offered by other places and other times. Downing Thomas, for one, emphasizes that the singular political reading offered by Karro “cannot possibly exhaust the meaning of *Armide*,” especially considering “the strong identification and fascination with Armide to which spectators testified.”¹⁴ While

⁹ Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 62.

¹⁰ Manuel Couvreur, *Jean-Baptiste Lully: musique et dramaturgie au service du Prince* (Brussels: M. Vokar, 1992), 328.

¹¹ Karro, “Le Prologue d’*Armide*,” 43-44.

¹² Rosow gives the date of 22 October 1685 for the Revocation. This was the date on which the Parliament of Paris ratified the Edict of Fontainebleau; it was signed by the king on 17 October. Rosow, “Introduction,” XXI. For a good evaluation of French public opinion of the Revocation, which shows that not all Catholics were pleased, see Geoffrey Adams, *The Huguenots and French Opinion, 1685-1787: The Enlightenment Debate on Toleration* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991), esp. Chapter II.

¹³ Rosow, “Introduction.” That Renaud is not actually represented as “strong and virtuous” in Quinault’s livret makes this interpretation even more problematic.

¹⁴ Downing A. Thomas, *Aesthetics of Opera in the Ancien Régime, 1647-1785* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 122. Others share Thomas’s view; see, for example, Jean-Philippe Gersperrin, “Le miroir d’Armide. De l’épopée du Tasse à l’opéra de Quinault,” in *D’un genre littéraire à l’autre*, ed. Michèle

it might be alluring to view Protestantism as “seductive,” such conclusions would make performance of the work seem impossible in a non-French context, particularly somewhere like The Hague, which was the center of operations for Louis XIV’s (largely Protestant) enemies at the turn of the eighteenth century. And yet, it was the first opera to be performed by the new company.

The real issue in modern scholarship may in fact be the desire to prove that the prologues and the operas that follow them form an organic whole. To sustain a reading of *Armide* based on the poses presented in the prologue, one must believe in the unity and integrity of the work and its conception in the mind of a single author, generally identified as the composer in music studies.¹⁵ The prologue, which must have been composed first, sows the seeds of meaning that organically develop and flourish across the five acts of the tragedy. In other words, one must adopt a perspective inherited from the nineteenth century.¹⁶ The often occasional nature of prologues, their sometimes late composition, and the fact that they are not necessarily related to the tragedy that follows has not received the attention that it probably should have, despite previous work in this area.¹⁷

Most early writers on the conventions of writing operatic prologues emphasize that the primary function of a prologue was to honor a sovereign, and that it ordinarily bore little or no relationship to the work that followed. One of the first writers in France to comment on this topic was Pierre Corneille, who in his 1660 “Discours de l'utilité et des parties du poème dramatique” observed that, “Our century has invented another type of prologue for machine plays, which has no connection with the play's subject, and is simply a skillful eulogy of the prince before whom these poems are to be performed.” Despite being unconnected to the play’s subject, the prologue could be relevant to contemporary events, according to Corneille, “through a poetic fiction to which the stage readily adapts.”¹⁸ The

Guéret-Laferté and Daniel Mortier, 181-93 (Mont-Saint-Aignan: Publications des Universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2008), 192.

¹⁵ On the origins and development of the “work concept,” see especially Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

¹⁶ This also might explain the fact that in modern revivals of Lully’s works, the prologue has always been presented intact. One wonders if anyone would ever dare to present an alternate prologue; a truly historically-informed production would appropriately include the celebration of its major funders.

¹⁷ On new prologues for performances of Lully’s opera in Brussels, see Couvreur, “Pietro Antonio Fiocco,” 156-57. In Hamburg, see Dorothea Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte auf der Opernbühne: Barockes Musiktheater in Hamburg im Dienst von Politik und Diplomatie (1690-1745)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 174-80. Neither Couvreur nor Schröder attempt to relate the materials of the new prologues to the meaning of the opera to follow.

¹⁸ “Notre siècle a inventé une autre espèce de prologue pour les pièces de machine, qui ne touche point au sujet, & n’est qu’une louange adroite du prince, devant qui ces poèmes doivent être représentés... [Ces prologues] ne laissent pas toutefois de parler des choses de notre temps, par une fiction poétique, qui fait un grand accommodement de théâtre” Pierre Corneille, “Discours de l'utilité et des parties du poème dramatique [1660],” in *Oeuvres de P. Corneille* (Paris: Giséy, 1758), cxii. See also John S. Powell, *Music and Theatre in France, 1600-1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 264-65. Powell observes that a separate set of dramatic conventions obtains for prologues.

practice of attaching dedicatory prologues to stage works was imported to France from Italy in the seventeenth century, as was noted by Claude-François Ménéstrier in 1681. He described the roots of French prologues in Italian spectacle, explaining that “these prologues have always been accepted in such performances [in Italy], principally when they have been made in honor of some prince, whose praises are ordinarily sung in these prologues.”¹⁹ By the time Ménéstrier wrote his essay, he could observe that prologues were “ordinarily” allegories on contemporary events, like the activities and conquests of the king.²⁰

The disconnection between the subjects of operas and prologues, as evidenced by Ménéstrier’s and Corneille’s commentaries, was further highlighted by the Dutch publisher Abraham Wolfgang in 1684. Wolfgang’s preface to his first printed collection of livrets from Parisian spectacles bears many similarities to Ménéstrier’s work—largely because Wolfgang cribbed large portions of his preface from Ménéstrier’s pages. However, the additions he made to his source (indicated in italics) are revealing:

These prologues are always accepted in these performances, *even if they have nothing to do with the subject*; principally when they are made in honor of some Prince whom one wishes to praise, *as it seems in France, where for many years one hardly speaks of anything but the King, as all or the majority of these spectacles were only made to relieve him of the travails of war, or to celebrate his triumphs.*²¹

Wolfgang’s additions to Ménéstrier’s text emphasize the disconnection between the prologue and the opera that followed, and the fact that in France a celebration of the king’s activities in the prologue was commonplace. To illustrate his point, Wolfgang explains the allegories behind the prologues to Lully and Quinault’s *Cadmus et Hermione* and *Alceste*, relating them to contemporary campaigns of Louis XIV. Such explanations were perhaps necessary for Wolfgang’s intended public in Amsterdam and beyond, a public that might have been unfamiliar with the practices of French spectacle. In a republican context, too, it might have seemed odd to Wolfgang’s readers that so much effort and expense would be lavished on the celebration of a king’s triumphs.

¹⁹“Ces Prologues ont toujours été receus dans ces représentations, principalement quand on les à faites à l’honneur de quelque Prince, dont on chante ordinairement les loüanges en ces Prologues.” Claude-François Ménéstrier, *Des représentations en musique anciennes et modernes* (Paris: Guignard, 1681), 213.

²⁰ “...pour l’ordinaire ce sont des Allegories sur l’état present des choses, comme les campagnes du Roi, ses conquêtes, ses entreprises au milieu de l’Hyver, la Paix.” *Ibid.*, 215.

²¹ “Ces Prologues sont toujours reçus dans ces représentations, quoi qu’ils ne soient pas du cors [*recte*: cours] du sujet; principalement quand on les fait à l’honneur de quelque Prince que l’on entreprend de loüer, comme il paroît en France, où depuis quelques années on ne parle presque que du Roi, toutes ou la plüpart de ces actions de Théâtre n’étant faites que pour le délasser des actions de la guerre, ou pour célébrer ses Triomfes.”

“Avertissement” in Abraham Wolfgang, ed. *Recueil des Opera, des Balets, & des plus belles Pieces en Musique, qui ont été représentées depuis dix ou douze ans jusques à présent devant Sa Majesté Tres-Chrétienne. Tome Premier. Suivant la Copie de Paris* (Amsterdam: Abraham Wolfgang, 1684), [*7-*7v].

Louis XIV's glorious action of October 1685—the signing of the Edict of Fontainebleau—may well have inspired Quinault to include a reference to the monster of heresy in *Armide's* prologue, though it seems more likely that the prologue refers to an event nearly coincident with the composition of the prologue: the unveiling of a long-awaited monument to Louis XIV's triumph over the Triple Alliance on the Place des Victoires in Paris.²² The monument was scheduled to be revealed to the public on 28 February 1686, less than two weeks after the planned Parisian premiere of *Armide*, after a long series of delays.

The central figure of the complex (Figure 3.1) was Louis XIV in his coronation robes, some thirteen feet high, treading on a chained “monster” with three heads—recalling line 8 of Quinault's prologue: “He knows the art of holding all monsters in chains” (Il sait l'art de tenir tous les monstres aux fers). While the three-headed monster was intended to represent the Triple Alliance according to the monument's designers, the pedestal of the monument included a bas-relief with text commemorating Louis XIV's elimination of the Protestant heresy.²³ Quinault, as a member of the Petite Académie, was undoubtedly involved in writing the monument's inscriptions, and so was well aware of its various messages.²⁴

²² This connection has not been made before and will be further detailed in a future article. The Triple Alliance, “defeated” at the Treaty of Nijmegen in 1678, included the Dutch Republic, Sweden, and the Holy Roman Empire. The grand monument on the Place des Victoires (ironically executed by Dutch-born sculptor Martinus van den Bogaert—aka Martin Desjardins) was the most spectacular of the “statue campaign” of 1685-86. See Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 93-97. For a complete account of the monument, its planning, and its reception, see A. Boislisle, “Notices Historiques sur la Place des Victoires et sur la Place de Vendôme,” *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 15 (1888).

²³ The monster was indeed subject to a variety of interpretations over the years. The French were diplomatically obliged to retract the association between the three-headed monster and the Triple Alliance when Sweden protested. See Boislisle, “Notices Historiques,” 67.

²⁴ See Josèphe Jacquot, “Philippe Quinault, membre de la Petite Académie,” in *Mélanges d'histoire littéraire (XVIe-XVIIe siècle). Offerts à Raymond Lebègue par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis*, 305-20 (Paris: Nizet, 1969); Norman, *Touched by the Graces*, 132. See also Couvreur, *Jean-Baptiste Lully*, esp. Chapter 2, “La ‘Petite Académie’: Hochet du roi ou machine de guerre?” Couvreur was perhaps the first musicologist to seriously consider the role played by the Petite Académie in the creation of French opera.

Figure 3.1

La Statue Représenté dans la Place des Victoires, fait par Monsieur Desjardins, Sculpteur du Roy, et Recteur en son Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture
Engraving by Nicolas Arnoult (Paris, c. 1686)

Work on the complex was finally being completed just as Quinault delivered his plan for the prologue of *Armide* to the royal censors. On 7 January 1686, he received a letter from Michel Le Tellier de Louvois, acting in his capacity as royal censor, who informed Quinault, “I have communicated with the king on the subject of the prologue for the opera of *Armide*, which he has approved. Therefore, you may work on this project, which I here return to you.”²⁵ This letter demonstrates that Quinault’s proposed prologue text had to pass muster not only for Louvois, but the king himself. And it would seem that Quinault and Lully did

²⁵ “J’ay rendu compte au roy du sujet du prologue de l’opéra d’Armide, que S.M. a approuvé, et ainsy vous pouvez travailler sur ce projet, que je vous renvoye.” The letter may be found at Vincennes, Service historique de la Défense, département de la Terre, A1 761, fol. 10; it is scheduled to appear in the edition of Louvois’s correspondence edited by Thierry Sarmant and Raphaël Masson. I am extremely grateful to Buford Norman for bringing this letter to my attention; the relevant excerpt may be found on his Quinault website: <http://www.quinault.info/Home/correspondance/lettres-de-louvois>

not begin work on *Armide*'s prologue until about a month before the premiere, long after the five acts of the opera were complete.²⁶

Because Quinault and Lully's original prologue to *Armide* celebrates Louis XIV and denigrates the Dutch, their allies, and the Huguenots, the prologue (but not the rest of the opera) was unperformable in The Hague in 1701. In order to bring *Armide* to the stage, the company not only needed to assemble requisite stage materials and bring in competent performers from across Western Europe, but also to revise the prologue for the politicized environment of the Dutch Republic's governmental center. The company's eventual decision to create an entirely new prologue for their production of *Armide* is perhaps the most extreme example of the measures they took to ensure success, and is yet one more example of the collaborations necessary for an opera company. In its celebrations of the powers-that-were, the new prologue can be seen as an attempt to attract patronage from the highest levels of Dutch society. Most importantly for my purposes, it effectively celebrates the international coalitions sponsored by the Dutch Republic and William III that resulted in the renewal of the Grand Alliance in September of 1701. Additionally, the text, written by Huguenot impresario Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée, carefully highlights the difficult situation faced by the *réfugiés* and looks to William III as a (potential) savior.

Bringing the opera to “the most beautiful Village in Europe”

On 26 October 1700, the local government of The Hague agreed to allow an opera company to move to town.²⁷ Despite the presence of operatic troupes since 1682 at the earliest, no lasting establishment had been attempted in The Hague since the later 1680s.²⁸

²⁶ *Armide* was originally planned for a court premiere in the winter of 1685, but Lully's serious illness in early December prevented this; see Jérôme de La Gorce, *Jean-Baptiste Lully* (Paris: Fayard, 2002), 328-29. Norman suggests that either the prologue was written very quickly, or that the work was already well under way, and Lully and Quinault were sure that the project would be approved. Personal communication, 10 February 2011. I am inclined to believe the former scenario. One wonders if all Lully's prologues were written so quickly—his obvious use of formulas in their composition might support such a conclusion.

²⁷ “Opera geadmittert. den XXVI october 1700 is bij de heeren Bailjuw en Burgem[eeste]r[e]n, met communicatie en toestemminge van schepenen, aan F. Colombel op desselfs memorie in't frans, uyt den naam en uyt ordre van monsr. Schot, soo geseyt wierd 'senateur et premier juge de la ville de Hambourg,' aan haar Ed[ele] Achtb[aar]heit overgeleverd; permissie gegeven omme de (soo genaamde) Opera voor den tijd van drie eerstkomende jaaren hier in den Hage te mogen doen representeren; midts, volgens de overgifte in den voor[geschrevene] memorie gedaan, uytgereijkt werdende yder rey[z]e dat de voor[geschrevene] representatien sullen werden gedaan, ten behoeven van de armen twee stuyv[ers] voor yder spectateur. Welk geld na yder representatie ook opreghetlijk sal moeten werden uytgekeert en voldaan.” NL-DHga, 350-01 nr. 58, Resolutiën van Baljuw, Burgemeesters en Schepenen; Fransen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande*, 193. Fransen does not mention Colombel. I have been unable to locate Schott's original request. See also Joachim R. M. Wendt, “Neues zur Geschichte der Hamburger Gänsemarktoper,” *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 18 (2001), 179.

²⁸ On the arrival of *opéristes* in The Hague, see *ibid.*, 165-67. See also my Chapter 1. Christophe de Dohna reported attending the opera in The Hague in 1690, but nothing is known about the troupe then in residence.

Responding to the request delivered by one François Colombel, in the name of Gerhard Schott of Hamburg, the town council granted their permission under the condition that the company donate two *stuyvers* per spectator per performance for the benefit of the poor.²⁹ Gerhard Schott, Senator of Hamburg and cofounder of Hamburg's Gänsemarkt opera, had found another podium for his operatic endeavors. In fact, Schott was following in the footsteps of his former belligerent at Hamburg's Oper am Gänsemarkt, Jakob Kremberg, who had attempted to start an opera company in The Hague back in 1697, without success.³⁰ It is not known how Schott came into contact with Colombel, nor is much known about Colombel. The city archive of Amsterdam may provide part of the answer. There is conserved a baptismal record of 3 April 1701 for a child born to François Colombel and Geneviève Menusier, baptized in the French Chapel of the Catholic Church in Amsterdam. One of the witnesses to the birth was Jean La Roche, husband of Susanne Pointel, who was the sister of musician and music printer Antoine Pointel.³¹ These kinds of connections indicate that Colombel was "in the family" of French-born musicians working in the Dutch Republic.

Christophe, comte de Dohna, *Mémoires originaux sur le règne et la cour de Frédéric I. roi de Prusse* (Berlin: Nicolai, 1833), 136-37.

²⁹ It was standard practice in the Dutch Republic to support poor relief with donations from public performances. Louis XIV implemented a similar policy in 1699 (perhaps on the Dutch model?), decreeing that a sixth of the revenues of the Opéra and the Comédie would go to the Hôpital général. Jérôme de La Gorce, *L'Opéra à Paris au temps de Louis XIV: Histoire d'un théâtre* (Paris: Éditions Desjonquères, 1992), 111.

³⁰ Kremberg received permission to perform "opera" from the burgomasters of The Hague on 1 April 1697; NL-DHga, 350-01 nr. 57, f. 182v. However, he seems to have been unsuccessful in getting the company off the ground, for there are no records of operatic activities in The Hague between Kremberg's permission and Schott's request. This document, reported here for the first time, helps fill in the gap in Kremberg's biography (between his attempt to produce opera in Bremen in April 1695 and his appearance in London in November 1697), and calls further into question the claim he made in London that he was "lately come out of Italy." It is known that Kremberg was a student in Leiden around this time, and returned to the Dutch Republic in 1698; see Peter Davidson, "Leo Scotiae Irritatus: Herman Boerhaave and John Clerk of Penicuik," in *The Great Emporium: The Low Countries as a cultural crossroads in the Renaissance and the eighteenth century*, ed. Cedric C. Barfoot and Richard Todd, 155-94 (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1992), 170; Peter Holman, "Kremberg, Jakob," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London and New York: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001). On Kremberg's sojourn in Bremen, see Werner Braun, *Vom Remter zum Gänsemarkt. Aus der Frühgeschichte der alten Hamburger Oper (1677-1697)* (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1987), 155-56.

³¹ Susanne Pointel was born a Protestant, but married a Catholic, an increasingly common occurrence in the Republic at the beginning of the 18th century. On Antoine Pointel's editions of Lully's music, see Herbert Schneider, "The Amsterdam editions of Lully's orchestral suites," in *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the Music of the French Baroque: Essays in Honor of James R. Anthony*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer, 113-30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Carl B. Schmidt, "The Amsterdam editions of Lully's music: a bibliographical scrutiny with commentary," in *Lully Studies*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer, 100-65 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Estienne Roger had been apprenticed to Pointel. See François Lesure, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiée par Estienne Roger et Michel-Charles Le Cène (Amsterdam, 1696-1743)* (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1969).

The approval from the town council indicates that they consulted with the aldermen and the bailiff of the town before making their decision. The aldermen and bailiff handled matters of public order and criminal proceedings, which indicates that there was some concern about the implications of hosting a full-time operatic troupe. Considering the number and the virulent nature of the legal proceedings that the opera would engender within a short period of time, they may have come to regret their decision. Their approval also speaks to the complicated nature of the government within The Hague, various branches of which controlled the performance sites, as well as the unusual civic status of The Hague.³²

Since the various governmental institutions of The Hague would all materially affect the opera company in one way or another, it may be useful to introduce them here. Because The Hague did not send a representative to the conferences that created the Union of Utrecht in 1579, it was never given full city privileges, which explains why it was never fortified with a wall (and why I do not refer to it as a city). It also explains why the “village” had no vote in the States of Holland; as William Montague noted in his travelogue of 1696, “This Village has no Vote among the *States*, not because ‘tis a Village, for there are several Cities that have no Votes, but because they did not send Deputies to *Utrecht*, when the Union was upon the Anvil.”³³ Its status as a non-city, and hence its imposed neutrality in the frequent disagreements between the great cities of the Republic, contributed to the rise of The Hague as a center for diplomacy. It became the home of the States of Holland in 1578, and the center of government for the Republic of the Seven United Provinces in 1588. It was in fact to the advantage of the Republic that The Hague had no vote in the States of Holland, precisely because it was the home of so many important governmental institutions, and thus might use that position to an unfair advantage. The Hague can thus be seen as an early modern precursor of Washington, D.C.³⁴

The Hague had the reputation of being “the most beautiful village in Europe.”³⁵ In principle, it was actually two villages: the central area of the town, or *Hofbuurt* (Court neighborhood), which housed the central institutions of Dutch government and the elites

³² The clearest account of the unique governmental structure of The Hague is Pieter Wagenaar, “Haagse bestuurders en ambtenaren,” in *Den Haag: Geschiedenis van de Stad*, ed. Thera Wijzenbeek and Elisabeth van Blankenstein, 90-120 (Zwolle: Wanders, 2005).

³³ William Montague, *The Delights of Holland: or, A Three Months Travel about that and other Provinces, with Observations and Reflections on their Trade, Wealth, Strength, Beauty, Policy, &c. Together with A Catalogue of the Rarities in the Anatomical School at Leyden. By William Mountague, Esq* (London: John Sturton and A. Bosvile, 1696), 37.

³⁴ A point emphasized by Wagenaar, “Haagse bestuurders,” 97.

³⁵ The phrase was introduced by Ludovico Guicciardini in his *Description de tout les Pais Bas autrement dit la Germanie Inferieure ou Basse Allemaigne* (Antwerp, 1567). It continued to be repeated in travelogues for the next two centuries. A young Christian Heinrich Postel wrote a poetic tribute to the “village” during a visit in 1683: ‘Mehr-als-angenehme Wohnung, allerschönstes Dorff der Welt!’ Transcribed in Carl Curtius, ed. *Beschreibung einer Reise durch das nordwestliche Deutschland nach der Niederlanden und England im Jahre 1683 von Jakob v. Melle und Christian Heinrich Postel. Aus einer Handschrift der Lübeckischen Stadtbibliothek* (Lübeck: Gebrüder Borchers, 1891), 23.

associated with it; and everything else surrounding it—the true “village,” with its mix of classes and occupations. The *Hofbuurt* included lands that had originally belonged to the counts of Holland (from whence the proper name of The Hague, ‘*s-Gravenhage*, or “The Count’s Hedge,” derives). The area came under the jurisdiction of the Court of Holland (*Hof van Holland*), the highest court in the land, which also had jurisdiction over all Dutch nobility and was chaired by the Stadholder.

The *Hofbuurt* included both the Binnenhof (the Inner Court) and the Buitenhof (the Outer Court). The buildings on the Binnenhof—the center of the center—comprised the apartments of the Stadholder (whenever there was one), the French Church, the offices of the States of Holland and the Grand Pensionary (*raadpensionaris*), the meeting rooms of the States General, and the offices and shops of various notaries and booksellers.³⁶ The Buitenhof was an open space; at times, markets and theater events would be held there.

Figure 3.2



Frederick de Wit, *Haga Comitum, vulgo 's Graven-Hage* (Amsterdam: de Wit, c. 1695), detail. The Binnenhof is at center; to the left of it is the open space of the Buitenhof. The buildings of the Opera are located at the far right of the image, just below the road leading from the Binnenhof.

The use of the land and buildings in the *Hofbuurt* was usually regulated by the Court of Holland (and the Stadholder); in the absence of a Stadholder, the States General took control. The Court of Holland, perhaps because of the Stadholder, seems to have been more

³⁶ For a detailed plan of the Binnenhof, see Ernst Ferdinand Kossmann, *De boekverkoopers, notarissen en cramers op het Binnenhof*, Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen boekhandel ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1932). The *raadpensionaris*, although a salaried position, was potentially the most powerful political post in the province of Holland, and indeed in the Republic as a whole. See J. L. Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century: The Politics of Particularism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 129-31.

lenient than the burgomasters of The Hague in granting permission to performers because the Dutch Reformed Consistory, which was generally opposed to public performance, could not act against it; as a result, many theater companies set up their portable stages on the land of the Buitenhof.³⁷

Affairs outside of the *Hofbuurt* were handled by the magistrates of The Hague, and were thus subject to scrutiny by the Consistory. The local government of The Hague, which often came into conflict with the powers in their midst, controlled the areas around the Binnen- and Buitenhof. It was formed of not one, but four separate administrative units: three burgomasters, who handled issues of daily government; seven aldermen (*schepenen*), four of whom made up the tribunal (*vierschuur*) that handled minor civil and criminal cases; the town council (*vroedschap*), which in The Hague had little power; and the bailiff (*baljuw*). The burgomasters, aldermen, and town council were newly elected every year; final selection of the burgomasters and aldermen was made by the Stadholder based on a list of names submitted to him. The bailiff, on the other hand, was the most powerful man in local government. Unlike other towns and cities in Holland, the lifetime appointment of the bailiff in The Hague was not subject to scrutiny by either the other branches of the local government or the Stadholder. As a result, the bailiff, combining the functions of police commissioner and leading officer of justice, was often subject to corruption.³⁸

The primary responsibility of the magistrates was regulating trade and transport in the town. That is why it was opera company applied to the magistrates—and not the States General or the Stadholder—for permission to perform in The Hague. Trying to get their permission could be a real chore, however. The problem lay not with the burgomasters themselves, but rather with the Dutch Reformed Consistory. At various points in the 1690s, the Consistory had sought to prevent theatrical performance entirely, and especially those of French-speaking troupes.³⁹

Unlike in Amsterdam, however, the Consistory of The Hague was rarely successful in banning theater in this period. This was partly due to the desire of the magistrates, and especially Stadholder William III, to satisfy the entertainment needs of the great number of “Travellers, Nobility, Gentry, Foreign Embassadors, Envoys, Residents, &c.” in The Hague.⁴⁰ According to Montague, writing in the 1690s, “Here are a great many *English, French, Scots, Germans*, and some of most Nations in *Europe*, but more *Germans* and *French* than any.”⁴¹ And most of those French were Huguenots. By 1700, as much as ten percent of the local population was Huguenot, drawn to this “most beautiful village in Europe” because of its liberal settlement policy, pre-established French Church, and the presence of the Stadholder,

³⁷ Kornee van der Haven, *Achter de schermen van het stadstoneel: Theaterbedrijf en toneelpolemiek in Amsterdam en Hamburg, 1675-1750* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2008), 161.

³⁸ This lack of oversight was uncharacteristic in Dutch governmental structures, and would have some impact on the opera company.

³⁹ See Franssen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande, 175-77*.

⁴⁰ Montague, *The Delights of Holland*, 39.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 48.

who in 1689 had become King of Great Britain as well, William III.⁴² It should not be forgotten that when William was in town, his church was the French Church, and that it was the Huguenot refugee crisis that in many ways leant William the political capital he needed to unite the Dutch body politic and secure not only his stadholderate, but his crown.⁴³

Therefore, Schott and Colombel's request may have gone through relatively easily because of their commitment, on the one hand, to contributing to poor relief, and on the other, because opera was suitable entertainment for diplomats and dignitaries, as well as for soldiers left unemployed during the brief peace afforded by the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697.⁴⁴ It was already clear at the end of 1700 that The Hague would soon become the center of Allied operations for yet another war, thus increasing the number of those in need of entertainment. Schott's reputation as "Senator and First Judge" of Hamburg also presumably contributed to the granting of a permission that came with only minor conditions.⁴⁵ Allowing an opera company that would be reasonably assured of some success—because of its connections to the successful company in Hamburg—could thus swell the town coffers and benefit the public good.

Yet the magistrates did not seem to have been familiar with opera on the whole, referring to it as the "so-called" opera. Nor does the request specify what kind of opera the proposed troupe would perform. Given the utter failure of experiments in Italian opera in Amsterdam in the 1680s and the presence of French operatic troupes in The Hague throughout the 1680s and '90s, it was presumably self-evident that it would be French opera.⁴⁶ French spoken theater had also long been enjoyed in The Hague, and there was a troupe in residence at the time Schott made his request. Just two days after Schott and Colombel received their permission, Sophie Charlotte, soon-to-be Queen in Prussia, wrote from The Hague to composer and diplomat Agostino Steffani: "After seeing that which one cannot see yesterday, we went to the Comédie and a get-together. That makes the time

⁴² Willem Frijhoff, "Uncertain Brotherhood: The Huguenots in the Dutch Republic," in *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*, ed. Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, 128-71 (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 136. See also Carolyn Lougee Chapell, "The Pains I Took to Save My/His Family': Escape Accounts by a Huguenot Mother and Daughter after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes," *French Historical Studies* 22 (1999); Dianne W. Ressler, "Au Réfugié: Huguenot Officers in The Hague, 1687," in *War, Religion and Service: Huguenot Soldiering, 1685-1713*, ed. Matthew Glozier and David Onnekink, 139-54 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). On William III in The Hague, see Olaf Mörke, "William III's Stadholderly Court in the Dutch Republic," in *Redefining William III: The Impact of the King-Stadholder in International Context*, ed. Esther Mijers and David Onnekink, 227-40 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007).

⁴³ Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 840.

⁴⁴ On the various military roles played by Huguenots, see Matthew Glozier and David Onnekink, eds., *War, Religion and Service: Huguenot Soldiering, 1685-1713* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

⁴⁵ This is in contrast to the permission granted to Kremberg in 1697. He was required to return to the burgomasters after securing a place to perform to seek final approval.

⁴⁶ On the Italian opera in Amsterdam, see Chapter 1.

shorter.”⁴⁷ Had there been an opera, surely Sophie Charlotte, a great lover of the art, would have found The Hague marginally more interesting.

(De-)Constructing the company

It would take Schott some seven months to take advantage of his permission to bring opera to The Hague. On 31 May 1701, the directors of the new opera company repaired to the office of the favored notary for Huguenots in The Hague, Samuel Favon.⁴⁸ Favon’s office was conveniently located on the Binnenhof, between the apartments of the Stadholder and the French Church, thus at the very center of power in The Hague, and in the midst of the opera company’s intended audience. However, Colombel was no longer part of the company.⁴⁹ The act of association reveals that the direction and proceeds of the company were to be divided into three parts: one third for Schott, one third for the Huguenot Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée, who signed the contract both for himself and for Schott, and one third for Louis Deseschaliers (shared with his wife Catherine Dudard).⁵⁰ Presumably, Schott and Quesnot knew each other from Hamburg, since Quesnot had had contacts in that city since at least 1687.⁵¹ Quesnot later stated that at the time he took on the opera company in The Hague, he and Schott had been close associates for at least three years.⁵² Why Colombel dropped out and why it took so long for Schott to constitute the company remains unclear.

Deseschaliers and Dudard came to the company via Quesnot. The musician was a sensible choice because of his extensive experience in directing operas. Deseschaliers began his career as a singer in the chorus of the Rouen Opéra, where he met and married Dudard, a dancer, in 1689. The couple then moved on to Lille. At Lille, they worked under Pascal Collasse, Lully’s pupil and successor, who directed the company from 1690. By 1695, Deseschaliers himself became director, but the couple was driven out in disgrace in 1699.

⁴⁷ “Après avoir vu ce que l’on n’a pu voir hier nous allons à la comédie et assemblée. Cela rend le temps court.” Richard Doebner, ed. *Briefve der Königin Sophie Charlotte von Preussen und der Kurfürstin Sophie von Hannover an hannoversche Diplomaten*, Publicationen aus den K. Preussischen Staatsarchiven (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1905), 75.

⁴⁸ See Kossmann, *De boekverkoopers, notarissen en cramers op het Binnenhof*, 200. Favon was a respected member of the French Church; by 1700, he had become the official *lecteur* of the Church. Favon would remain the primary notary for acts drawn up in The Hague regarding the company as long as there was a Huguenot in the directorate. The Catholics of the company preferred Catholic notaries like Pietro Fabbri.

⁴⁹ None of the secondary accounts of the opera company in The Hague even mention his name.

⁵⁰ NL-DHga, notarial archive of Samuel Favon, inv. nr. 749, contract of 31 May 1701; transcribed (nearly word for word) in Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée, *L’Opéra de La Haye. Histoire instructive et galante* (Cologne: Les Heritiers de Pierre le Sincere, 1706), 183-92.

⁵¹ See Chapter 2. Quesnot later related that Schott tapped him for the Opera in The Hague, describing Schott as “mon premier associé et celui qui m’avoit sollicité à cette entreprise.” Letter of 1 May 1703 to Anthonie Heinsius, NL-DHna, Heinsius Archief nr. 886; transcribed in Augustus J. Veenendaal Jr., ed. *De briefwisseling van Anthonie Heinsius, 1702-1720*, 19 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976-2001), II:196-97.

⁵² Quesnot de la Chenée, *L’Opéra de La Haye*, 244.

They then worked in Tournai and Mons, before traveling with Angelo Costantini (the famous Mezzetin formerly of the Comédie Italienne in Paris) to Warsaw.⁵³ The couple was apparently forced to leave Warsaw because Dudard's brother was involved in a duel. Quesnot later recollected that when he met the couple in The Hague in 1701, Deseschaliers was nothing but a "poor wanderer coming from Poland, who had nothing when I engaged him but a small roll of paper for keeping time, and who owes everything he has to me."⁵⁴ Dudard was apparently an efficient businesswoman, though Quesnot would later attribute her successes to the black arts. According to Quesnot, she used "the power of Cybele and the charms of Medea"—two characters from operas planned for the first season in The Hague—in order to win partisans for her cause in the disagreements that would soon arise within the company. Most significantly, she is reported to have utterly charmed the town bailiff.⁵⁵

The contract drawn up with Favon assigned certain responsibilities to the different principals. Schott agreed to furnish the company with scenery, décors, and costumes in his possession that had been used previously in Kiel. Quesnot would travel to Hamburg to collect the properties from Schott. On a day-to-day basis, Quesnot would oversee the operations of the company, and would appoint a receiver to handle daily expenditures. Deseschaliers was charged with directing the music and engaging singers in Brussels, Rouen, or Paris, in accordance with his prior experience. Dudard agreed to serve as mistress of the costumes and properties and to act on her husband's behalf while he was away assembling the company.⁵⁶ As stipulated, the contract would last for three years, and the opera would open on 1 October with a production of Lully and Quinault's *Armide*. Other planned repertoire for the first season, as stated in the contract, included Lully and Quinault's *Thésée*, André Campra and Antoine Houdar de la Motte's *L'Europe galante*, and "another by Monsieur Lulli, whichever is most desired."⁵⁷ This would be *Atys*.⁵⁸ All of these works were solid favorites of the French operatic repertoire.

⁵³ Ibid., 238-40. See also Fransen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande*, 197-201; Jérôme de La Gorce, "Contribution des Opéras de Paris et de Hambourg à l'interprétation des ouvrages lyriques donnés à La Haye au début du XVIIIe siècle," in *Aufklärungen: Studien zur deutsch-französischen Musikgeschichte im 18. Jahrhundert—Einflüsse und Wirkungen*, ed. Wolfgang Birtel and Christoph-Helmut Mahling, 90-103 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1986), esp. 91-92.

⁵⁴ "...il étoit un pauvre passant qui venoit de Pologne, qui n'avoit rien quand je l'ai établi qu'un petit Rouleau de papier pour battre la mesure, & qui me doit tout ce qu'il a." Quesnot de la Chenée, *L'Opéra de La Haye*, 162.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 161-66.

⁵⁶ Dudard had been a dancer at the Opéra of Rouen, where she met and married Deseschaliers. Fransen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande*, 197.

⁵⁷ "...un autre de Monsieur Lulli qu'on souhaitera le mieux." *Thésée* and *L'Europe galante* are named in the original contract of association of 31 May 1701, NL-DHga, Favon 749. *Armide* is mentioned in two documents: Favon 749, 17 November 1701 and Favon 750, 11 February 1702. It seems that the company did not end up performing *Thésée* this season; diarist Pieter Teding van Berkhout reported seeing "the opera of *Amadis*" on 13 January 1702, whereas he did not see *Thésée* until 29 January 1703. His "Journal contenant mes occupations," covering the years 1669-1712, is conserved at NL-DHk as Ms. 129 D16. Teding here refers to either the *Amadis* of Lully and Quinault or *Amadis de Grèce* of André Cardinal Destouches and Antoine Houdar de la Motte, a

The choice of *Armide* to inaugurate the company's first season may have been due to the fact that Schott already possessed materials designed for this opera. The contract signed in The Hague on 31 May 1701 reads that Quesnot and Schott "are obliged to provide the Theater of Kiel with all of the décors, changes of scene, etc., and all the costumes of actors or *operistes*, dancers, and danseuses in order to commence the opera of *Armide* the coming 1st of October."⁵⁹ The wording of the contract implies that the materials in Schott's possession may have been designed for use in a production of *Armide* in Kiel. In 1696 and 1697, Schott had sponsored performances in Kiel by the opera company of Hamburg.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, very little is known about those performances, beyond the fact that they were directed by Johann Sigismund Cousser. Considering Cousser's penchant for French repertoire (he is said to have been a pupil of Lully) and Schott's possession of materials clearly related to *Armide*, it seems likely that Lully's last *tragédie en musique* formed part of the program for Kiel.⁶¹

Having made their association official, it remained to the new "Société des Concerts" (as they called themselves) to find a theater. Since the town council, rather than the States of Holland, responded to Schott's original request, it seems it was assumed that the company would end up performing at one of the private theaters in town. In 1700, two locations were suited to operatic performance. On the Buitenhof was the Piquerie, also known as the Picqueurschuur or the Manège. The building had been constructed at the end of the sixteenth century for use as a stable, but was a frequent site of theatrical performances throughout the seventeenth century, and had been outfitted with theatrical machinery by 1697 at the very latest.⁶² As property of the Princes of Orange, use of this space was regulated by the States of Holland. While this was the theater of first choice for the new opera company because of its proximity to the centers of power, it was unfortunately occupied by a troupe of French actors who had long enjoyed the patronage of William of Orange.

work premiered at Paris in 1699. Some of the members of the company in The Hague had been part of the Paris troupe in 1699, making it seem more likely that Teding saw *Amadis de Grèce*.

⁵⁸ *Atys* is named in an accounting of the company's finances from 13 February 1702, NL-DHga, Rechterlijke Archieven 's-Gravenhage, nr. 312. Livrets for both *Armide* and *Atys* survive; they will be discussed below.

⁵⁹ "...s'oblige de fournir le Theatre de Kiehl avec toute ces decorations, changements de senes [sic] etc., et tous les habits des Acteurs ou Operistes, suivant Danseurs et Danseuses pour commencer l'opera d'Armide le premier d'octobre prochain." NL-DHga, Favon 749, contract of 31 May 1701.

⁶⁰ Johann Mattheson, *Der Musicalische Patriot* (Hamburg: [s.n.], 1728; reprint, Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1975), 198; Wolfgang von Gersdorff, *Geschichte des Theaters in Kiel unter den Herzogen zu Holstein-Gottorp* (Kiel: Lipsius & Tischer, 1912), 120-21. Gersdorff states that the company performed thirteen operas in 1696 and fourteen in 1697. Young Mattheson achieved his first great success as a singer in Kiel in those years. Braun, *Vom Remter zum Gänsemarkt*, 130.

⁶¹ La Gorce disagrees; see La Gorce, "Contribution des Opéras de Paris et de Hambourg," 97.

⁶² Fransen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande*, 39-40; Aldo Lieffering, "De Franse Comedie in Den Haag 1749-1793" (Ph.D. diss., Utrecht University, 1999), 17.

The only other theater in town equipped for opera was the *jeu de paume* of Van Gool, located on the Casuariestraat, just steps away from the Buitenhof.⁶³ The theater was actually just on the border of the “two villages”: the north side of the Casuariestraat was within the territory of the Court of Holland, while the south side was controlled by the local government of The Hague. Van Gool’s theater became the venue of choice for traveling opera troupes as early as 1682.⁶⁴ By 1700, it had been expanded, remodeled, and equipped with loges.⁶⁵ This was the theater that the company chose. On 6 June 1701, Quesnot and Dudard (on behalf of her husband, who was off in search of talent) signed a contract with Johanna van Rode, the Dutch widow of Pierre van Gool.⁶⁶ The entire establishment comprised the theater itself, together with a storeroom, a small garden, and two small houses, then occupied by a Dutch joiner and a French hatter.⁶⁷

Quesnot departed soon afterward, heading to Hamburg to oversee the transportation of the materials that had been used at Kiel.⁶⁸ This included flats for the scenery, décors, costumes, feathers for the elaborate headdresses of the principal singers, jewels, and miscellaneous props.⁶⁹ Altogether, the costumes alone occupied four large shipping crates. While in Hamburg, Quesnot signed a further contract with Schott on 30 July 1701.⁷⁰ Schott declared that “for his peace and quiet” he wished to be relieved of “all the cares of the Opera and to have no engagement with the actors, actresses, and other servants of the Opera.”⁷¹ For these reasons, Schott decided to cede his portion of the opera company to Quesnot for the sum of 1000 *écus* per year. Should the company perform in Amsterdam or London, then Schott or his heirs would receive 2000 *écus* per year. Schott also proposed the outright sale of the properties from Kiel for 2000 *écus*.⁷² On 30 August, having returned from Hamburg, Quesnot decided to secretly sell half of the third of the opera company he had recently

⁶³ The Casuariestraat was named for “De Casuaris,” the most famous bordello in The Hague in the seventeenth century. It is mentioned in an early seventeenth-century Dutch poem found in the Conway Papers: “The Cassowary is a jewel, / It is the commandant / Of all these bordellos fair / Here in this *Haagse Plein*.” Transcribed and translated in Paul R. Sellin and Augustus J. Veenendaal Jr., “A ‘Pub Crawl’ Through Old The Hague: Shady Light on Life and Art Among English Friends of John Donne in The Netherlands, 1627-1635,” *John Donne Journal* 6 (1987), 237, 251.

⁶⁴ Fransen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande*, 165-66. See also my Chapter 1.

⁶⁵ Fransen gives the dimensions of the theater in 1688 as being “longue de 28 pieds et large de 25 pieds avec 12 bancs séparés du reste du théâtre par une balustrade.” *Ibid.*, 174 and 203.

⁶⁶ NL-DHga, Favon 749, Bail de Maison of 6 June 1701. See also *ibid.*, 203.

⁶⁷ The joiner and the hatter are mentioned in the rental contract, but not named. Incidentally, both had skills that would be useful to the opera company.

⁶⁸ Quesnot de la Chenée, *L’Opéra de La Haye*, 169, 244.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 162.

⁷⁰ A copy is included in a contract with Deseschaliers, NL-DHga, Favon 749, 17 November 1701.

⁷¹ “Monsieur Schot souhaite absolument pour son repos estre debarassé de tous les soins de l’Opera, et de n’avoir aucun engagement, avec les Acteurs, Actrices, et autres gens servants audit Opera.” *Ibid.*, f. 447.

⁷² It seems that Quesnot withheld this information from his partners, for a contract dated 5 November 1701 again has Quesnot signing for himself and for Schott. NL-DHga, Favon 749, contract of 5 November 1701.

received from Schott to an associate in Amsterdam, the Huguenot master surgeon Élie Hébrard.⁷³

Once back in The Hague, Quesnot soon found the costumes for *Armide* the subject of disagreement. Dudard apparently decided that the materials from Kiel were not good enough.⁷⁴ A Huguenot merchant and tailor in The Hague, Guillaume Birrochon, was engaged to refurbish them for the enormous sum of 7634 florins.⁷⁵ Birrochon agreed to work on credit, a deal that was struck without Quesnot's knowledge and that would eventually cause great problems for the company. Further adding to the strife, Dudard devised a scheme for her own personal profit, in which she sold the feathers that Quesnot had obtained to the performers. Quesnot had given the feathers to Dudard with the understanding that they belonged to the company and would therefore be distributed to the singers at no cost.⁷⁶

Catherine Dudard was dealing with her own troubles, which perhaps explains her feather-selling scheme. Apparently, while in Paris acquiring the singers, her husband had run into some trouble and had been arrested. Needing money to bail him out, she too turned to Hébrard, who seems to have had deep pockets. Hébrard agreed to loan her 2000 florins on 30 September in order to "bring back the persons from Paris who are required and necessary in order to perform the opera that the said Deseschaliers has set up in The Hague."⁷⁷ If Hébrard noticed that both Quesnot and Deseschaliers claimed to have founded the opera company, he did not say so. And it would appear that Deseschaliers had not yet returned, making it unlikely that the opera would meet its original goal of opening on 1 October, as stated in the contract of association of 31 May.

A letter from Schott dated Hamburg, 4 October 1701 (a Tuesday), gives further insight into the mounting chaos at the as-yet-unopened opera. Despite Schott's expressed desire to rid himself of the cares of the opera, he was still very much involved. And his primary contact, with whom he kept up a regular correspondence, was Quesnot. In the letter given below, Schott responds to a lost letter of Quesnot's, in which Quesnot apparently accused Dudard (Madame Deseschaliers) of scheming to undo both Schott and Quesnot.

Monsieur,

You have without doubt received two [letters] of mine in the last post, one of which partly explains the other. In one, I propose the purchase of the properties of Kiel, reducing the accorded sum of 2000 *écus* by 800, if one pays it promptly and in cash,

⁷³ Quesnot's deal with Hébrard (conducted *sous leur seing privé*) is mentioned in a contract of 15 March 1702. NL-DHga, Favon 750.

⁷⁴ Quesnot de la Chenée, *L'Opéra de La Haye*, 94.

⁷⁵ NL-DHga, Rechterlijk Archief, 351-01 nr. 312, 13 February 1702. A further 3500 florins were owed to Birrochon for the costumes for *Atys*. Noted in Franssen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande*, 208.

⁷⁶ Quesnot de la Chenée, *L'Opéra de La Haye*, 245.

⁷⁷ "...faire remis les personnes de Paris qui sont requis et necessaire pour faire jouer l'opera que ledit Deschaillieres [*sic*] fait eriger a la Haye." NL-Aa, notarial archive Hendrik de Wilde nr. 6474, contract of 30 September 1701.

and not including the reimbursement of sums already advanced. I await your response, soon and without too much of a delay, for lacking it, the contract will remain without alteration. Madame Deseschaliers has made me the most obliging declaration in the world, saying that if I no longer wish to embarrass myself with all the affairs of the opera, or if I would like an annuity, or to sell the effects that I have sent at a reasonable and fair price, that she and her husband would count it a pleasure to satisfy me and to be allowed to do whatever would please me, but that they would be more content if I would associate myself with them and if I would sign the contract. This leads me to believe that she does not have the intention to want to persecute me and that this is just a false alarm. But time will soon tell what her design might be. Farewell, I reserve the rest for this coming Friday, and ask you to inform me of the day the opera will open.⁷⁸

Schott's missive contains two implied warnings to the Huguenot: although his first concern is to deal fairly with Quesnot, Schott could just as easily choose to work only with the Deseschaliers couple. Additionally, in a rather casual way, Schott informs Quesnot that the Deseschaliers couple has indeed been in contact with him behind Quesnot's back, and that therefore it would be best if Quesnot kept his eyes open.

Deseschaliers likely returned to The Hague just a few days after Schott wrote this letter, bringing with him singers and another important member of the company—the dancing master Pierre de la Montagne.⁷⁹ La Montagne, arriving from Paris, was initially

⁷⁸ “Monsieur, Vous aurez sans doute reçu par le dernier ordinaire deux des miennes, l'un expliquant un peu l'autre, dans l'une je vous ay propose l'achat du Theatre de Kiel, relachant de la somme accordée de deux mil escus, huit cents, en cas que l'on le payant promptement et contant sans pourtant que le remboursement des frais y fait compris. J'en attend votre reponse sans plus long delay à la prochaine, car en la manquant, le contract subsiste sans alteration. Madame Deseschaliers m'a fait une declaration du monde la plus obligeante, disant que si je ne me voulois pas embarasser de toute l'affaire de l'opera, ou si je voulusse un annuel, ou vendre les effets que j'avois envoyé à un prix juste et raisonnable, que son mary et elle se feroit un plaisir de me complaire et permettre de faire tout ce qui me plairoit, mais qu'ils seroit plus content, si je fusse associé avec eux et que j'eusse signé le contract, ce qui me fait croire qu'elle n'aye pas l'intention de me vouloir persecuter et que ce n'est qu'un faux alarme. Mais le temps nous eclaircira bien tost quel soit son dessin. Adieu je reserve le reste au vendredy qui vient, et vous prie de me faire sçavoir le jour du commencement de l'opera.” Included as evidence for a contract, NL-DHga, Favon 749, 17 November 1701. Fransen mentions the letter, but does not transcribe it. Fransen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande*, 207. The letter was translated into German (without giving the original French) by Silke Höpfl in Joachim R. M. Wendt, *Materialien zur Geschichte der frühen Hamburger Oper 1: Eigentümer und Pächter* (Hamburg: Edition digitus modius, 2002), 31.

⁷⁹ Whether this is the same Pierre de la Montagne who was the choreographer for the Troupe du Roy in Paris from the mid-1670s on is not clear. See John S. Powell, “Pierre Beauchamps and the Public Theater,” in *Dance, Spectacle, and the Body Politick, 1250-1750*, ed. Jennifer Nevile, 117-35 (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008), 128-29. A choreographer named “La Montagne” worked at the Berlin court in the early eighteenth century; Jean-Jacques Olivier, *Les comédiens français dans les cours d'Allemagne au XVIIIe siècle: La cour royale de Prusse, 16.-1786*, 4 vols., vol. 2 (Paris: Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1902; reprint,

engaged for a period of one year, beginning 8 October 1701.⁸⁰ His duties included choreographing danced portions of the operas, performing solo roles, and training other dancers of the troupe, in “whatever place” the company might perform.⁸¹ Should the opera “be moved to either Germany or elsewhere,” La Montagne’s expenses would be paid by Quesnot and Deseschaliers.⁸² His would also receive recompense should the opera fail and he should have to return to Paris. Quesnot and Deseschaliers agreed to provide La Montagne with whatever materials he needed for his choreographies (“tout ce qui luy conviendra pour le Theatre”). As master of the company’s dancers, La Montagne was given control over a portion of the dancers’ salaries, up to 300 *livres* per year, “in order to oblige them to render themselves capable and deserving of their pensions.”⁸³ He was also required to teach any dancer, male or female, who wished to learn from him.

And there was not much time left to learn. By the time the full company was gathered in early October, there was less than a month left until opening night, which finally occurred on 28 October 1701.⁸⁴ The short rehearsal time may have impacted the casting of the title role for *Armide*.

This opera became legendary largely due to the singer for whom Lully created the role, Marie le Rochois.⁸⁵ Rochois entered the Paris Opéra around 1680 and quickly rose to the top of the company.⁸⁶ She was particularly praised for her declamation and acting. One of the most telling accounts comes from Jean Laurent Le Cerf de la Viéville, the vociferous partisan of Lully who defended the French style against implications of Italian dominance in a pamphlet war with François Ragueneau at the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁸⁷ Le Cerf based his opinion on a 1697 performance he attended in Paris, which may indeed have been Rochois’s farewell to the stage, as she retired in 1698.⁸⁸ The choice of an *Armide* revival in

Geneva: Slatkine, 1971), 88n40. This might have been the same as had been in The Hague, a post that he left in 1702.

⁸⁰ NL-DHga, Favon 749. Contract of 5 November 1701.

⁸¹ “...faire et composer tous les ballets dudit Opera, dans quelque endroit qu’il se puisse trouver.” Ibid.

⁸² “...en cas que ledit Opera fit un mouvement soit en Allemagne ou ailleurs, lesdits Sieurs de la Chenée et Deseschaliers seront obligés d’y transporter ledit Sieur de la Montagne a leur fraix et depens.” Ibid.

⁸³ “...afin de les obliger de les rendre capable et digne de meriter les pensions.” Contract of 5 November 1701, NL-DHga, Favon 749, f. 426

⁸⁴ The date comes from Quesnot de la Chenée, *L’Opéra de La Haye*, 281.

⁸⁵ Her name is often incorrectly given as Marthe. La Gorce traces the error to whoever prepared the official text concerning the renewal of the Paris Opéra’s privilege in 1698, noting that every other contemporary document gives her name as Marie Rochois or Le Rochois. La Gorce, “Contribution des Opéras de Paris et de Hambourg,” 95.

⁸⁶ La Gorce, *Jean-Baptiste Lully*, 276.

⁸⁷ Ragueneau himself described Rochois as irreplaceable; see François Ragueneau, *Parallèle des Italiens et des François en ce qui regarde la Musique et les Opéra* (Paris: Jean Moreau, 1702), 97.

⁸⁸ Le Cerf’s comments on *Armide* are often cited and well known; however, many scholars do not acknowledge that he could only have attended the 1697 revival. At the time of the first performance, Le Cerf was only 12 years old (he was born in 1674). Additionally, Le Cerf makes it clear that the performance he attended occurred after the death of Lully. See Jean-Laurent Lecerf de la Viéville, *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la*

that year may indeed have been at her request, for what better way to accord respect to a veteran of the troupe than to allow a reprise of her most famous role? Le Cerf goes on to say that on the day he saw her, she had already performed the opera twice (a nearly-incredible feat), and that, inspired by the applause she had already received, she went on to deliver the performance of his lifetime:

When I recall la Rochois, this small woman who was no longer young, coiffed in black, and armed with a black wand bearing a ruby the color of fire, exerting herself on that grand stage, which she practically filled by herself, tearing out of her chest time and again bursts of such marvelous voice, I assure you that I shiver still. And since I have never been so strongly moved as I was then, even though I have been to the Opera four or five hundred times, I will never fail to return to *Armide*, whenever I wish to think about a piece of music that is supremely beautiful.⁸⁹

For Lecerf, it was essential to have an extremely gifted performer in the role of Armide in order for the opera to succeed completely. He gushes, “If you have heard *Armide* performed well, you can flatter yourself as having heard the most beautiful piece of music that has been made in the last fifteen or sixteen centuries.”⁹⁰

Exactly who performed the title role in The Hague in 1701 is unclear. A tempting possibility is the niece, namesake, and heir of Marie le Rochois, who was engaged by Deseschaliers on 2 August 1701.⁹¹ By the terms of the contract, the younger Rochois agreed to “sing all the roles and the airs that the said Sieur Deseschaliers should find appropriate in the said opera, which will be performed in the said city of The Hague or in any other place where it might be transported.”⁹² Rochois the niece had formerly been a member of the Paris

musique française, 2nd ed. (Brussels: Foppens, 1705-06; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1972), II:214. The only performances of *Armide* between the death of Lully, the majority of Le Cerf, and the retirement of Le Rochois were those in the spring of 1697. See Rosow, “Lully’s *Armide* at the Paris Opéra: A Performance History, 1686-1766,” 229.

⁸⁹ “Quand je me represente la Rochois, cette petite femme qui n’étoit plus jeune, coiffée en cheveux noirs, & armée d’une canne noire avec un ruban couleur de feu, s’agiter sur ce grand Theatre, qu’elle remplissoit presque toute seule, & tirant de temps en temps de sa poitrine des éclats de voix merveilleux, je vous assure que je frissonne encore, & comme je n’ai jamais été émû si vivement que je le fus alors, quoique j’aye été quatre ou cinq cens fois à l’Opera, je ne manqué point de revenir à Armide, dès que je veux penser à une Pièce de Musique, souverainement belle.” Lecerf de la Viéville, *Comparaison 1705-6*, II:12.

⁹⁰ “Si vous avez entendu Armide bien execute, vous pouvez vous flâter d’avoir entendu le plus beau morceau de Musique qui se soit fait depuis quinze ou seize siecles.” Ibid., II:10.

⁹¹ Franssen mistakenly believed that the immortal Rochois herself had appeared in The Hague; Franssen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande*, 220. Franssen, But the contract discovered and transcribed by La Gorce reveals the error; see La Gorce, “Contribution des Opéras de Paris et de Hambourg,” 92-3. Deseschaliers referred to himself in the contract, somewhat dishonestly, as “Director and Maître of the Opera of Holland.”

⁹² “...chanter tous les rolles et les airs que led. Sieur Deschalliers [sic] trouvera a propos dans ledit opera qui se jou[e]ra en ladite Ville de la haye ou en tells autres endroits ou il pourra estre transporté...” Ibid., 93.

Opéra chorus; she is named in at least one cast list of 1695.⁹³ But it does not seem that she was a singer of the first rank like her aunt, for a further contract with Deseschaliers assigns to her the “second and third roles,” which makes it unlikely that she sang *Armide*.⁹⁴

Rochois was not the only singer Deseschaliers engaged who had been trained at the Paris Opéra. He also hired Germaine Connet de Guyart and a “Mademoiselle Duplessis,” who are mentioned in Parisian cast lists in 1697 and 1699.⁹⁵ Guyart was perhaps the most successful of the singers Deseschaliers hired in Paris—she is the only one to have taken a named role on the Parisian stage, that of Dorine in *Thésée* in 1698.⁹⁶ Already waiting in The Hague was Marie-Thérèse Charpentier, who was certainly a chorus member in Paris in the mid-1680s, and who had known Deseschaliers and Dudard for some years.⁹⁷

The casting of the title role of *Armide* did in fact cause some scandal. Quesnot’s *L’Opéra de la Haye* mentions one further singer from Paris, a certain “Mademoiselle Diar.”⁹⁸ According to a scurrilous poem on the “filles de l’Opéra” in 1696, Diar was a colleague of Rochois *tante* and *nièce* and Guyart at the Paris Opéra.⁹⁹ Quesnot relates that Diar had been promised the leading role in the company, which, in his opinion, she deserved more than anyone else. Quesnot praises her as “a person of great merit, and the ornament of our Theater,” and deplors that the actress was tricked by Deseschaliers, who apparently told her that she would be assured of the leading role in The Hague.¹⁰⁰ But once arrived, Deseschaliers informed Diar that the coveted role had instead been given to a “German woman,” who was moreover “the mistress of Monsieur Schott.”¹⁰¹ Quesnot was scandalized by the imputations cast on Schott’s reputation by Deseschaliers. However, the possibility of a German woman performing *Armide*, whether or not she was the mistress of Schott, may

⁹³ The elder Rochois sang the role of Cérés in a revival Pascal Colasse’s *Ballet des Quatre Saisons* in 1695; the role of Cloris was given to “Mlle Rochois la nièce.” *Ibid.*, 96.

⁹⁴ NL-DHga, Favon 752, contract of 3 November 1704. Reported in Fransen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande*, 220.

⁹⁵ La Gorce, “Contribution des Opéras de Paris et de Hambourg,” 96. Schmidt mentions Duplessis as a *Jeu* and a *Nymphe* in the 1699 Paris revival of *Proserpine*. See Carl B. Schmidt, *The Livrets of Jean-Baptiste Lully’s tragédies lyriques: A catalogue raisonné* (New York: Performers’ Editions, 1995).

⁹⁶ Cast list transcribed in *ibid.*, 95. Guyart appears to have been a *bas-dessus*, and hence not suited for *Armide*’s range.

⁹⁷ La Gorce, “Contribution des Opéras de Paris et de Hambourg,” 92. Nothing is known about the men of the company in The Hague, but presumably at least some of them had Parisian connections.

⁹⁸ Also spelled Diard or Diart. Her first name is unknown.

⁹⁹ P. L. Jacob, ed. *Notes et documents sur l’histoire des théâtres de Paris au XVIIe siècle par Jean Nicolas du Tralage. Extraits, mis en ordre et publiés d’après le manuscrit original* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1880), 92-93. Diar appears as “la grande Diart” in line 11. Georgia Cowart cites a version of this verse derived from a publication of Jérôme de La Gorce; the corresponding line (mistakenly?) reads “la grande Guyart.” Georgia Cowart, “Of Women, Sex and Folly: Opera under the Old Regime,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 6 (1994), 208.

¹⁰⁰ Quesnot de la Chenée, *L’Opéra de La Haye*, 85.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 85-6.

further indicate that the opera had appeared in Kiel—given the limited amount of rehearsal time, it would be far better to cast a singer who already knew the role.¹⁰²

From the “Société des Concerts” to the “Académie Royale de Musique du Roi”

Besides gathering the necessary performers and materials, one further element was needed to bring *Armide* to The Hague—a new prologue. The company had a number of options: eliminate the prologue altogether; bowdlerize the text to remove undesirable references; or write an entirely new prologue. Eliminating prologues from French opera in this period was an altogether unusual move; the 1692 *Achille et Polixène* in Hamburg may be the only publicly-performed example. Bowdlerizing the text to fit pre-existing music, or eliminating offending numbers, was an option that had been frequently exercised. The company would choose this route with their third production, *Atys*, which opened in February of 1702.¹⁰³ All references to Louis XIV were eliminated from the prologue text; the changes are quite minor, however, and would not have affected the use of Lully’s music.¹⁰⁴

It has long been believed that a livret for *Atys* is the only performance document to survive from the 1701/2 season in The Hague (Figure 3.3).¹⁰⁵ The *Atys* livret was printed by Étienne Foulque, a Huguenot publisher based in The Hague who also produced the livret for *Psiché* (LWV 45) back in 1697.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² A possible candidate might be Paulina Kellner, the first real diva of the Hamburg opera, whose whereabouts in 1701-02 are unknown. She sang leading roles in a number of productions of French opera in Wolfenbüttel in the 1680s (discussed in Chapter 1). Kellner was certainly working in Hamburg by 1691; see Braun, *Vom Remter zum Gänsemarkt*. When the Hamburg opera performed in Kiel in 1695-96, Cousser was the director; Kellner’s father had worked with Cousser in Stuttgart and Ansbach for many years. See Günther Schmidt, *Die Musik am Hofe der Markgrafen von Brandenburg-Ansbach vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis 1806. Mit Beiträgen zur deutschen Choralpassion, frühdeutschen Oper und vorklassischen Kammermusik* (Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter, 1956), 59-63.

¹⁰³ Diarist Pieter Teding van Berkhout records seeing *Amadis* on 13 January 1702; on 11 February, he took his wife, daughter, and two sons to see *Atys*. Unfortunately, he was in Zeeland for most of November and December 1701, and thus never saw *Armide*. NL-DHk, Ms. 129 D16.

¹⁰⁴ Carl B. Schmidt made this observation in his catalogue. See Schmidt, *Catalogue*, 151-52.

¹⁰⁵ Cataloged as LLC 4-30 in *ibid.* Schmidt lists one copy: D-DI, Lit.Gall.A.192. I have located a second: NL-DHga, Gc53. I am grateful to David C. van der Linden for providing me with photographs of the title page and prologue.

¹⁰⁶ See my forthcoming article, “*Psiché* in The Hague, 1697.” Foulque was a native of Grenoble (like Quesnot’s first wife, Marie Roux) who came to The Hague in the mid-1680s. Ernst Ferdinand Kossmann, *De boekhandel te ’s-Gravenhage tot het eind van de 18de eeuw*, Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen boekhandel (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1937), 126-27.

Figure 3.3



NL-DHga, Hgst 1191

Recently, however, two copies of the company's livret for *Armide* have emerged (Figure 3.4).¹⁰⁷ Though Foulque's name does not appear on the *Armide* title page, it is possible that he was the printer for *Armide* in 1701 as well. The woodcut on the title page of *Atys* occurs on page 56 of *Armide*; a woodcut on page 7 of *Atys* appears in *Armide* on page 35. The layout is also very similar. Why Foulque did not put his name on the *Armide* livret is

¹⁰⁷ The first is D-Mbs, L.eleg.m.1548a (digitized by the library). I have located a further copy in NL-DHga, Hgst 1191. The copy in Munich includes an annotation in ink on the title page in a contemporary hand, reading "XIX. IX Decembr:" The annotation most likely refers to the original owner's attendance of the nineteenth performance on 9 December. If *Armide* opened in The Hague on 28 October 1701 and was supposed to be performed four times per week (as per the company's original schedule), it should have appeared about twenty-five times by 9 December. However, it was not uncommon to cancel one or two performances.

an open question. Perhaps by the time *Atys* premiered Foulque judged it safe to associate his name with the troupe.¹⁰⁸

Figure 3.4



NL-DHga, Gc53

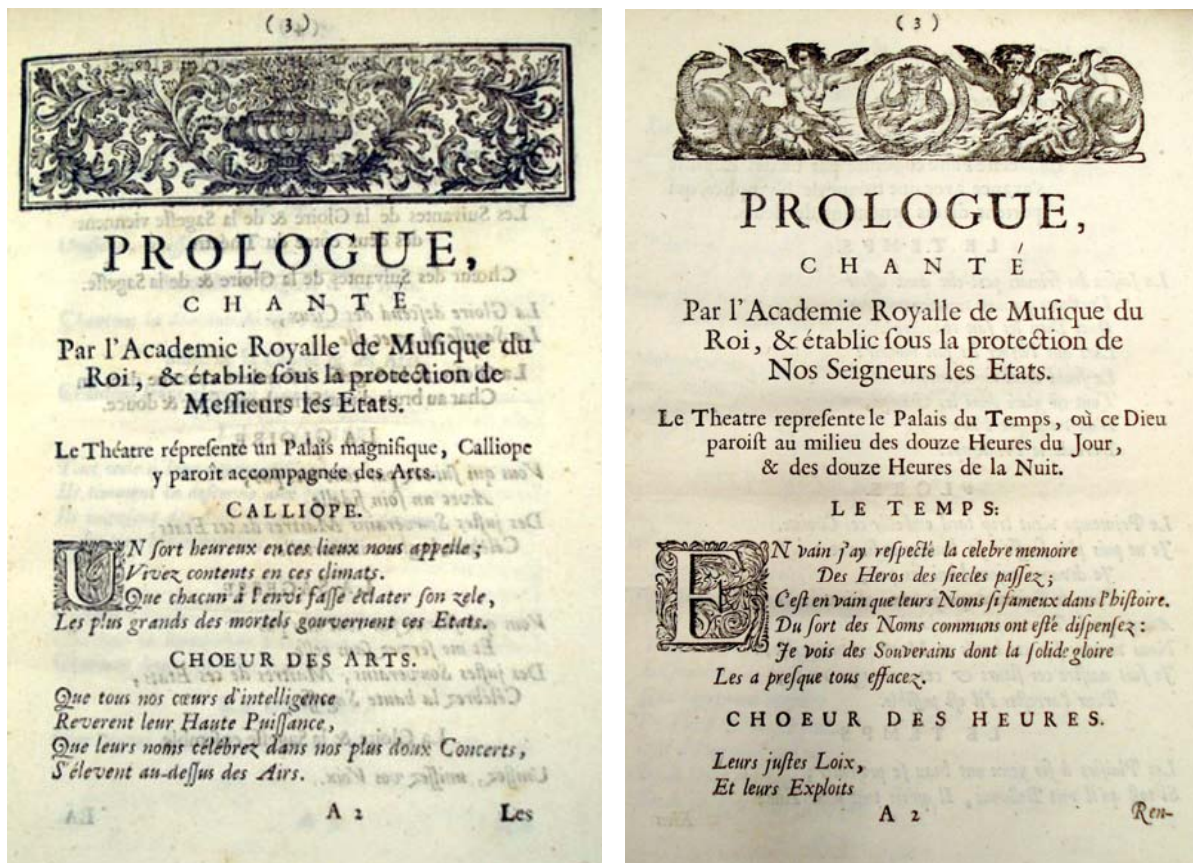
The livrets for *Atys* and *Armide* share the same unusual generic descriptor—*opéra en musique*—which doubly highlights that they were sung throughout, unlike the “operas” (plays with music) common in the Dutch Republic and England.¹⁰⁹ Both title pages also feature a new name for the company. The “Société des Concerts” had become the “Académie Royale de Musique,” implying that they had established some kind of a relationship with

¹⁰⁸ One would assume that Foulque also printed livrets for the other productions of this season, but I have not yet been able to locate any.

¹⁰⁹ It was thanks to this unusual descriptor that I was able to find the *Armide* livret through a Google search.

William III. A further relationship between the company and the higher powers in The Hague is claimed on the first page of their respective prologues:

Figure 3.5



Comparison of p. 3 in *Armide* (1701) and *Atys* (1702)

In a large font, the librettos declare “Prologue, chanté par l’Academie Royale de Musique du Roi, & établie sous la protection de Messieurs les Etats.” Like the generic designator *opéra en musique*, the pompous title “Academie Royale de Musique du Roi” superlatively proclaims a relationship to the king. The name “Académie Royale” recalls not only the establishment of Louis XIV in Paris, but also the institution created by Maximilian Emanuel of Bavaria in Brussels in 1695 and the companies operating in Ghent from 1698 (referring to the King of Spain). It would seem, therefore, that relating French opera companies to some sort of monarch had become a matter of course. But in The Hague, where the relationship between the Stadholder-King and the States General could be difficult, both of the sources of power needed to be acknowledged.

No evidence has yet emerged of any direct support of the troupe by William or the States General. While we do not know for sure whether William attended any of their performances, the Stadholder-King was at least somewhere in the Republic when the opera

opened on 28 October 1701.¹¹⁰ However, there was a long-established practice for theater troupes to assume the name of a desired patron, often with the result that the patron would make the relationship official.¹¹¹ By claiming a relationship to the highest powers in the land, the opera company perhaps hoped to realize it. One possible connection the troupe may have hoped to utilize in their quest for patronage was Pieter Teding van Berkhout, an opera fan who also happened to be Delft's representative to the States of Holland. Teding knew Quesnot's uncle, Augustin Baccuet (minister of the French Church of Delft) very well.¹¹²

Like the new moniker for the company, the decisions that were made with regard to the prologue of *Armide* can be seen as special measures designed to attract patronage. Unlike the 1702 *Atys*, the alterations to the prologue of *Armide* are so major that they required an author capable of writing an appropriate text and a composer able to set it (the complete text of the new prologue is reproduced in Appendix 3.1). New prologues had been written for French operas before, most notably those set by composer Pietro Antonio Fiocco in Brussels in the 1690s, but the added expenses incurred by fresh composition were beyond the reach of most companies—unless, like Fiocco's troupe, they enjoyed some kind of patronage.¹¹³

Whoever wrote the new prologue text would need to be familiar with the intricate balance of power in The Hague. Though it was the local government that granted the company permission to perform in The Hague, this action was more akin to issuing a business license than it was to patronizing the arts.¹¹⁴ The real power in the town lay with the great institutions of the Republic. The two most powerful of those institutions, and the ones that did patronize the arts, were the States General and their "employee," the Stadholder. It is to both of these institutions that *Armide's* new prologue appeals. The new text treads carefully around the issue of sovereignty in the Republic, revealing a familiarity with the frequent struggles between the States and the Stadholder. It also delicately handles the needs and desires of the diverse audience it was intended to entertain, made up of not only the Dutch quality, but also diplomats of various nations, including France. Most significantly, the new prologue makes explicit reference to one part of its intended audience,

¹¹⁰ According to Teding's diary, William III was in The Hague on 20 October.

¹¹¹ Such had been the case with the original "Comédiens François du Prince d'Orange," those of William's great-uncle Maurits, who took on his title back in 1618 even though they usually performed in Paris. William III himself had at times lent his titles, and even real financial support, to various groups of actors calling themselves the troupe "du Prince d'Orange" or, after 1689, the troupe "du Roi de la Grande Bretagne." See Georges Mongrédien, *La vie quotidienne des comédiens au temps de Molière* (Monaco: Hachette, 1966), 211 and 233-35.

¹¹² Teding's diary records numerous meetings with Baccuet. For example, on 13 January 1695, Teding dined with Baccuet and Élie Benoist, author of the famous *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*. Teding was known as a great supporter of the Protestant cause. It was he who arranged the financing of Benoist's publication (a work that he had read in manuscript), and it was to him that many *réfugiés* turned after the disappointment of 1697.

¹¹³ On Fiocco's prologues for Maximilian Emanuel of Bavaria, see Couvreur, "Pietro Antonio Fiocco.;" Rasch, "A Venetian goes north."

¹¹⁴ On this point, see Wagenaar, "Haagse bestuurders," 113.

to whom the safety of the Republic was of ultimate concern—Huguenot refugees. Thus it became not only a tribute to local power, but also an exhortation to action.

Based on the available evidence, it appears that the author of the new prologue text was Quesnot. He was the only writer associated with the company, and by 1701, he was known as a poet as well, thanks primarily to the verses included in his galant novel *La femme démasquée*.¹¹⁵ The language of the prologue, as well as the uneven quality of the poetry, is typical of his writings. The text introduces characters (like Calliope), situations, and themes prevalent in all of Quesnot's dedicatory output, which he often reworked to suit a new patron or please two at once.¹¹⁶ Additionally, Quesnot was the only associate of the company who had been in the Dutch Republic long enough to understand the complicated politics of The Hague sufficiently to direct the flattery of the prologue most effectively.

Quesnot could not read music, let alone compose it, so he needed to work with a composer. One possibility could have been Deseschaliers, whose wife extolled him as “a second Lully for his composition.”¹¹⁷ However, considering the bad blood that was beginning to run between Quesnot and Deseschaliers, and the fact that Deseschaliers was away from The Hague from June until October, such a cooperation seems highly unlikely. A much more credible possibility lies in the person of composer and organist Quirinus van Blankenburg.¹¹⁸ The musician knew Quesnot well enough by May of 1702 to be willing to stand caution for him in a legal transaction, a decision that was not to be taken lightly.¹¹⁹ Van Blankenburg is known to have set French texts in a French style, making it seem likely that he could have attempted an operatic prologue. More importantly, Van Blankenburg had numerous connections to the House of Orange. He had been the organist in William's chapel in The

¹¹⁵ Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée, *La femme démasquée, ou L'amour peint selon l'usage nouveau* (La Haye: Jacob van Ellinckhuysen, Marchand Libraire à la grand' Sale de la Cour, au Dauphin, 1698). A second edition, with the imprint of Ellinckhuysen's partner Abraham de Hondt, appeared in the same year. The novel was translated (anonymously) into German as *Das entmaskete Frauenzimmer, oder die entdeckte Liebe, wie selbige heutiges Tages bey dem Frauenvolcke im gebrauch ist, durch allerhand lustige Geschichte vorgestellt: Aus dem Französischen übersetzt* (Jena: Meyer, 1701).

¹¹⁶ In 1706, Quesnot would dedicate a prologue for Ghent to both Archduke Charles (aka “Charles III”) and Queen Anne, thus acknowledging both the approved Allied ruler of Ghent and the sovereign of the English troops of the garrison. See Chapter 5.

¹¹⁷ As reported by Quesnot. Quesnot de la Chenée, *L'Opéra de La Haye*, 35.

¹¹⁸ On Van Blankenburg, see Edmond vander Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle. Documents inédits et annotés. Compositeurs, virtuoses, théoriciens, luthiers; opéras, motets, airs notionaux, académies, maîtrises, livres, portraits, etc.; avec planches de musique et table alphabétique*, 8 vols. (Brussels: G.-A. van Trigst, 1867-1888), I:56-72; Ernst Praetorius, “Beiträge zu Quirijn van Blanckenburg's Leben und Werken,” *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 8, no. 1 (1905); Dirk J. Balfourt, “Quirinus Gideon van Blankenburg,” *Die Haghe* (1938); Rudolf Rasch, “Het Haagse muziekleven in Unico Wilhelms dagen,” in *Unico Wilhelm van Wassenaer, 1692-1766: Componist en staatsman*, ed. Rudolf Rasch and Kees Vlaardingbroek, 121-79 (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1993), esp. 130-39.

¹¹⁹ NL-DHga, Favon 750, contract of 17 May 1702. Fransen cites this contract, but does not note Van Blankenburg's involvement. Fransen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande*, 209.

Hague—the French Church—since 1687.¹²⁰ In the early 1690s, he took charge of a collegium musicum that met in the Mauritshuis, a property controlled by the Stadholder, and became the music teacher to the children of the Earl of Portland, William's closest advisor. When Queen Mary died in 1695, Van Blankenburg published a lament. The musician may also have saved William's life in 1696 by reporting an assassination plot. According to Van Blankenburg, a Frenchman approached him after church one day asking for access to the organ loft, which the would-be assassin described as an ideal location from which to get a clear shot at the Stadholder. After the mysterious stranger left, Van Blankenburg immediately reported to the authorities.¹²¹ The story was credible enough for a manhunt to be conducted, and for Van Blankenburg's position at William's court to be strengthened. Such a connection would have been convenient for an opera company in search of patronage.

A new prologue for *Armide*

It did not take a composer (or a librettist) of enormous talent to write a prologue for a French opera. The formulaic nature of prologues, their heavy use of repetition, and the inclusion of multiple dance numbers meant that they could be composed with a minimum of effort, if one only knew the rules. The formula developed by Lully and Quinault usually included dialogue for allegorical characters rounded off by a choral celebration. For example, the original prologue to *Armide* falls into three major sections, which Lully delimited by key areas. All of the sections end with a chorus. Two danced sections vary the action, the first introduced by the chorus, the second framed by choruses. In the first section, centered on C major, La Gloire, La Sagesse, and the chorus sing the praises of the French king. The second major section includes lengthy solo recitatives, in which a tonal move to A minor takes place. The transition made, La Gloire, La Sagesse, and the chorus again sing the praises of the king. A suite of dances follows, also in A minor. After the dance break, Lully's continuo line makes a simple stepwise motion from A to C, to bring the music back to the regions of C major, where it will stay for the remainder of the prologue. A long recitative for La Sagesse, in which she refers to the story of Armide and Renaud, is followed by a chorus. More dances ensue, wrapped up by a concluding chorus. All of the choruses in C major in Lully's setting reuse both text and music. This lends a sense of continuity and uninterrupted celebration to the prologue, while simultaneously making it a snap to compose.

The evidence provided by the 1701 libretto demonstrates that the major components of Quinault and Lully's prologue formula were retained, with a few notable additions (see Appendix 3.1). Quesnot certainly used Quinault's verses for inspiration: characters, images, and some complete lines are imported wholesale from the original prologue. For example, the portion of the new prologue featuring La Sagesse and La Gloire—Quinault's main

¹²⁰ His wife, Catherine de Guise, was a member of the church and possibly a *réfugiée* herself.

¹²¹ Van Blankenburg's detailed report is transcribed in N. M. Japikse, ed. *Correspondentie van Willem III en van Hans Willem Bentinck, eersten graaf van Portland* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1927), vol. I, part 1: 413-18.

characters—is structurally nearly identical to Quinault’s original in its alternation of duos, solos, and choruses.

One might imagine that whoever provided the necessary new music similarly looked to Lully’s work as a model and reused what was possible. Clear candidates for reuse would be the dance numbers. As in the original prologue, there are two indications for danced sections in 1701, which could have simply recycled Lully’s music. The only detailed stage direction for the dances is similar in both prologues:

1686: La suite de la Gloire et celle de la Sagesse témoignent par des danses la joie...

1701: Les Arts témoignent leur joye par leurs Danses...

Lully’s “joyful” dances for *Armide’s* prologue are a suite of three contrasting numbers, all in A minor. First comes an *entrée* in slow duple time, similar to a *marche*, followed by a *menuet*, with a *gavotte en rondeau* to close the set. All of the dances are marked by a solemn character, with prevalent use of the dotted rhythms that had become a topos of noble action. Both the *entrée* and the *menuet* feature extended sections for a high trio of flutes. The delicate texture created by the absence of the bass register adds to the general atmosphere of controlled, moderated, and rational joy suitable for followers of Wisdom and Glory—or for the Arts. The second dance suite in Lully’s setting immediately precedes the final chorus, just as it does in the 1701 prologue. The “continued rejoicing” of Lully’s second dance group takes place in an *entrée* (another *marche*) and a minuet-trio pair. The trio features another orchestration possibility, as a performance instruction indicates “hautbois.”

Though the structure and language of the new prologue might have been largely adapted from Quinault and Lully’s original, the content differs significantly. Fittingly, since this was a production in the Dutch Republic, the first grandees to be celebrated are the States General, who theoretically controlled any federated actions of the Republic. In a new opening that has no model in Quinault’s text, the muse Calliope appears on the stage accompanied by a chorus of the Arts. Calliope’s first lines celebrate the happiness and safety of life in the Republic:

Un sort heureux en ces lieux nous appelle,

Vivez contents en ces climats.

Que chacun a l’envi fasse éclater son zele,

Les plus grands des mortels gouvernent ces Etats. (lines 1-4)

[A happy fate calls to us in this place, / Live content in these climes. / Let everyone who so desires make his zeal resound, /The greatest of mortals govern these Estates.]

Calliope’s lines seem to refer to the Calvinist context of the Republic: a happy *fate* calls on the zealous chosen ones who are invited to live in the blessed place where the States General rule. The chosen—the chorus of the Arts—respond to Calliope with an explicit invocation of the States General:

Que tous nos cœurs d'intelligence
 Reverent leur Haute Puissance,
 Que leurs noms célèbrent dans nos plus doux Concerts,
 S'élevent au-dessus des Airs. (lines 5-8)

[Let all our hearts united / Revere their high mightiness, / Let their names, celebrated in our sweetest concerts, / Be elevated into the skies.]

For this single-minded chorus, the celebrity of “Leurs Hautes Puissances,” as the gentlemen of the States General were known in French, earns them a place in the heavens.¹²²

After the Arts “demonstrate their joy” in a dance, a “harmonie” announces the arrival of additional characters.¹²³ The chorus of Arts asks what is happening; the answer comes from two additional choruses, the followers of Glory and Wisdom, who enter from the wings of the theater. Wasting no breath, the newly-arrived choruses respond, “Glory descends from the Heavens, / Wisdom is with her” (La Gloire descend des Cieux, / La Sagesse est avec elle). The two allegorical figures descend on chariots, accompanied by a “Symphonie forte & douce.”

With the arrival of Glory and Wisdom, the prologue returns to territory familiar from the original prologue of *Armide*, where Glory and Wisdom are the only soloists. The section of the new prologue that follows adheres quite closely to Quinault’s original. For example, in the following passage, many of the same images are retained:

Tout doit céder dans l’univers
 À l’auguste héros que j’aime.
 Il sait l’art de tenir tous les monstres aux fers
 Il est maître absolu de cent peuples divers,
 Et plus maître encore de lui-même.
 (Quinault, lines 6-10)

Tout cede à leur pouvoir suprême,
 [---]
 Ils tiennent la discorde aux fers,
 Ils imposent des Loix à cent Peuples divers
 Et n’en reçoivent que d’eux-mêmes.
 (Quesnot, lines 24-27)

One might imagine that Lully’s music at this point could also have served as inspiration. But Quesnot’s elimination of Quinault’s line 7 with its reference to the “auguste héros” would create a small musical problem. In Lully’s setting, lines 6 and 7 are an antecedent-consequent phrase. Omitting line 7 would theoretically leave the music “hanging.” This might be solved with some recomposition of the bass line, providing a turnaround to the new realms of the subsequent lines. Line 25 in the new prologue would similarly need doctoring, for it is too short, requiring only six beats in the music rather than nine, but again, only slight recomposition could accommodate the change. Lines 26 and 27 fit perfectly.

¹²² In 1702, one of the English ambassadors referred to them, somewhat wryly, as the “High and Mighty’s.” See the correspondence in GB-Lna, SP 84 nr. 225.

¹²³ I assume that “harmonie” here refers to a wind band. For a brief survey of the *harmonie*, see Steven Zohn, “The overture-suite, concerto grosso, ripieno concerto and *Harmoniemusik* in the eighteenth century,” in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music*, ed. Simon P. Keefe, 556-82 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

However related the text, and possibly the music, the meanings diverge completely. The celebration of Louis XIV's absolute mastery over himself, the peoples of the world, and "monsters"—whether those of heresy or the Triple Alliance—is transformed into a glorification of the rationality and independence of the States General. Whereas Louis is painted as an absolute monarch to which all the universe *must* cede, all gives way to the States without any coercion, for it is a rational choice. Holding discord at bay, the States impose law, not mastery, over a multitude of peoples (presumably including their colonial subjects). Most importantly, the States are governed only by their own laws, rather than any external influence.

But just how independent were the States General? There was growing feeling after the Peace of Ryswick that the Dutch Republic had become a monarchy. Representative of this is a conversation reported by the Duchess of Orléans in 1698. Her son, Philippe d'Orléans, overheard a Dutch nobleman explaining to an English *mylord* that William III "is the King of England and Stadholder of Holland." The Englishman replied, "Say rather that he is the King of Holland and the Stadholder of England." The Dutchman answered, rather diplomatically, "If it is a matter of feeling [*si on le prend par le cœur*], then it is true that this king reigns in Dutch hearts, and this is apparently what you wish to say." To which the English lord responded, "No, I speak correctly: he is the king and absolute master in Holland, but he is not in England, because there is a parliament that knows well how to clip his wings if he wants to fly too high."¹²⁴ Apparently, the Englishman had little knowledge of the difficulties that William often faced within the States General.¹²⁵

Though the new prologue pays lip service to the independence of the States General and their role as the employer of the Stadholder, the true focus of the new text is William III. After the middle of the prologue, no further mention is made of the States General. The turnaround occurs at line 30. Complimenting Wisdom, Glory declares,

A ces grands Potentats vous sçavez toûjours plaie,
Ils ont par vos conseils fait le choix d'un grand Roi,
Pour regler avec eux le Destin de la Terre. (lines 30-32)

¹²⁴ "Mein sohn hatt mir verzehlt, dass man von Hollandt undt Engelandt sprach undt dass *mons. de Wassenaer* gesagt habe von König Wilhelm sprechend: '*il est roy d'Engleterre et stathalter d'Hollande*'. Ein *mylord* antwortete: '*dittes bien: il est roy de Hollande et stathouder d'Engleterre*.' Wassenaer antwortete: '*si on le prend par le coeur, il est vray, que ce roy regne dans les coeurs en Hollande, et c'est cela que vous voulés dire aparramment*.' Der Engellender andtwortete: '*non, je le dis tout de bon, il est le roy et le maistre absolu en Hollande, mais il ne l'est pas en Engleterre, car il y a un parlement, qui luy sait bien ronger les ailes, s'il veut aller trop loin*.'" From Marly, 24 April 1698. Duchess of Orléans Élisabeth-Charlotte, *Aus den Briefen an die Kurfürstin Sophie von Hannover*, ed. Eduard Bodemann, 2 vols. (Hanover: Hahn'sche Buchhandlung, 1891; reprint, Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 2003), 1:329. See also Esther Mijers and David Onnekink, "Introduction," in *Redefining William III: The Impact of the King-Stadholder in International Context*, ed. Esther Mijers and David Onnekink, 1-13 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 3.

¹²⁵ See Wouter Troost, *William III the Stadholder-king: A Political Biography*, trans. J.C. Grayson (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005).

[You always know how to please these grand potentates, / By your counsel, they have made the choice of a great king, / To determine with them the destiny of the earth.]

While it may be true that the States chose William as Stadholder back in 1672, they certainly did not imagine at that time that he would ever be a king.

The image of William presented in the rest of the prologue differs greatly from the stereotype of gruff “Dutch William,” whose reputation as a cultural philistine pursues him to this day.¹²⁶ Rather, William is lauded as “the wisest and greatest of kings” whose “generous heart” is more concerned with the lasting glory of making his people happy than with the temporary satisfaction of military conquests (lines 33-45). An added passage for a “follower of Glory” reveals most clearly this softened image of William, as well as the nature of the audience(s) to which it was directed.

Goutons en ces beaux lieux un sort digne d’envie,
 Que tout cede a l’ardeur de nôtre empressement
 A Chanter ce Heros sa valeur nous convie.
 Peut-on trop admirer un Prince si clement,
 Il ne faut le voir qu’un moment
 Pour l’aimer toute la vie. (lines 50-55)

[We enjoy in this beautiful place an enviable fate, / Let all give way to the ardor of our eagerness / His valor invites us to sing of this hero. / Can one too much admire a prince so clement? / One only need see him for a moment / To love him for a lifetime.]

Because the audience in The Hague still included representatives of the French king in the fall of 1701, it was necessary for the “follower of Glory” to tread carefully around the question of William’s military accomplishments, as William’s *modus operandi* had always been to keep Louis XIV in check. Though the lines refer to William’s “valor” in a vague way, the true emphasis is placed on his clemency and, perhaps surprisingly, his loveableness. William is thus portrayed as a peaceful, just ruler, unconditionally adored by his subjects—an image that was far from the truth. In reality, he had to contend with a fractious Parliament in England, an eternally suspicious English public, and various factional differences within the Dutch Republic.

¹²⁶ Noted by Alan Marshall, *The Age of Faction: Court Politics, 1660-1702* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), 81. Especially dismissive of William are musicologists, particularly those who study British music. See, for example, Ian Spink, “Purcell’s odes: propaganda and panegyric,” in *Purcell Studies*, ed. Curtis Price, 145-71 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1575; Michael Burden, “Purcell and his Contemporaries,” in *The Purcell Companion*, ed. Michael Burden, 52-98 (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1995), 54; Bruce Wood, “Purcell’s Odes: A Reappraisal,” in *The Purcell Companion*, 201; Kathryn Lowerre, *Music and Musicians on the London Stage, 1695-1705* (Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 123-4.

The one group that William had usually been able to count on for support, the Huguenots, were greatly disillusioned after the peace made at Ryswick in 1697. Much to the chagrin of the *réfugiés*, no invasion of France had taken place during the Nine Years War, and the Treaty of Ryswick was a failure from their point of view. The only religious concession made at Ryswick in 1697 was the controversial fourth clause of the treaty, which assured France that her conquered territories would remain Catholic. The frustration of the Huguenots in the Republic was immense. For example, Pierre Jurieu, the militant pastor of Rotterdam, wrote to Lord Shrewsbury on 6 December 1697 excoriating William's ambassadors for "not having been able to do anything for us" (*n'ayant pu rien faire pour nous*). He warned Shrewsbury that the condition of the refugees was more miserable than ever, for, "having consumed all their belongings in the hope of some assuagement by the peace, many are reduced to the hard necessity of having to return to France, in order to not die of hunger." Jurieu hoped that discussions concerning religious freedom would continue when the Dutch Republic and Britain officially resumed diplomatic relations with France in 1698.¹²⁷ But for many Huguenots, the continued hope was that one day William would triumph over Louis XIV's intolerance, whether through diplomacy or force of arms, and this would allow them to return home.

Such a hope of homecoming is expressed in the new prologue to *Armide*. Recalling the words of the Dutch lord in Paris, which emphasized the love for William and belief in his kingship that many had felt at one time, a follower of Wisdom declares:

Chantez dans ce séjour tranquille
 Des plaisirs & des jeux cet empire est l'azile,
 Ici le plus grand des Heros
 Vous a promis un eternel repos.
 Il a tari la source de vos larmes,
 Publiez par tout ses faveurs,
 Sa douceur, sa bonté, sont les plus fortes armes,
 Qui le font régner sur les cœurs. [lines 62-69]

[Sing in this tranquil place of sojourn / Of pleasures and games this empire is the asylum, / Here the greatest of heroes / Has promised you eternal repose. / He has dried up the source of your tears, / Announce his favors everywhere, / His gentleness, his generosity, are the strongest weapons, / That make him reign over hearts.]

In emphasizing once again the safe harbor of the Republic, the speech of the soloist clearly refers to its largest group of "temporary" residents, the Huguenots. That this stay was still hoped to be temporary becomes apparent in line 62. The Republic is referred to as a tranquil

¹²⁷ Transcribed in Joseph Dedieu, *Le rôle politique des protestants français (1685-1715)* (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1920), 323-24. The Allies had heavily depended on Jurieu's network of spies during the war; he expected they would be rewarded with religious freedom in France.

“séjour,” a word that implies not only a place of habitation, but also the temporal limits placed on that habitation. For example, the 1694 *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* defines *séjour* as “the stay that one makes in a place” (la demeure qu'on fait en un lieu) and then glosses the definition with “he has made a long stay in this land” (il a fait un long séjour en ce pays là).¹²⁸ The gloss implies displacement, that the “land” is not one’s native land, or even one’s own home. The memoirs of one of William’s Huguenot officers, Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet, written around 1693, communicate this sentiment neatly: “I enjoyed a profound tranquility in the charming *séjour* of The Hague.”¹²⁹ Dumont attributed the source of this profound tranquility to William of Orange, “this grand prince who combines all the qualities of a hero with the zeal of true piety and love for his religion.”¹³⁰

The prologue text further likens the sojourn of the Dutch Republic to the “asylum” (*aziel* or *asile*) of pleasures and games.¹³¹ According to the *Robert historique*, *aziel* carried the sense at this time of “a place safe from danger,” and implied defense or safeguard, often of a religious nature.¹³² The word did not enter the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* until its fourth edition in 1762, at which time it was defined as “a place established to serve as a refuge for debtors or criminals who withdraw there” (lieu établi pour servir de refuge aux débiteurs, aux criminels qui s’y retirent). Curiously, the gloss in the *Dictionnaire* refers to everything *but* debtors and criminals: “Asylum holy, sacred, inviolable. The Law of Moses established asylums. To cast oneself, to retire, to save oneself in asylum. The franchise, the sanctity of asylums. To violate an asylum.”¹³³ Despite the attempt made by the dictionary to relate the word to criminality, its long history of positive usage in the Protestant diaspora was undeniable. Sermons like those that William heard at the French Church in The Hague regularly referred to the *asile* or *séjour* that he afforded the Huguenots.¹³⁴ But again, *aziel* implies a temporary stay.

By 1701 that stay was beginning to look a little more permanent. William became the hero of the Huguenots by offering them safe exile in the Dutch Republic; however, as time dragged on, Huguenots began to fear that that was all he could offer. *Si on le prend par le cœur*, the question of William’s kingship for the Huguenots seems to have had much more to

¹²⁸ *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française, dédié au Roy*, 1st ed., 2 vols. (Paris: Coignard, 1694).

¹²⁹ “Je jouissois d’une tranquillité profonde dans ce charmant séjour de La Haye...” Charles Alexandre Read and Francis Waddington, eds., *Mémoires inédits de Dumont de Bostaquet, gentilhomme normand; sur les temps qui ont précédé et suivi la révocation de l’Edit de Nantes, sur le refuge et les expéditions de Guillaume III en Angleterre et en Irlande* (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1864), 193.

¹³⁰ “Ce grand prince qui joint à toutes les qualités d’un héros le zèle d’une véritable piété et l’amour pour sa religion...” *ibid.*

¹³¹ In modern Dutch, “aziel” is still the word for “asylum.” Asylum-seekers and refugees are called “azielzoekers.”

¹³² “Asiel,” in *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française*, ed. Alain Rey (Paris: Dictionnaires Le Robert, 1998).

¹³³ “Asile saint, sacré, inviolable. La Loi de Moïse établit des asiles. Se jeter, se retirer, se sauver dans un asile. La franchise, la sainteté des asiles. Violer un asile.”

¹³⁴ See the forthcoming dissertation of David van der Linden (Utrecht University, 2012).

do with wistful sentiment than assertive action. While the prologue portrays William's sweetness and generosity as his most effective weapons in winning hearts, one is left with the feeling that the author of the prologue text, and many of his fellow refugees, wished for something more. And with war once more on the horizon, no time would have been better for a reminder to William that his *sujets réformez* expected more from him than what they had gotten.

Rather than a celebration of Louis XIV's triumph over heresy, the prologue to *Armide* thus became an exhortation to William III to defend the Huguenots and press for their right of return. What the new prologue did *not* do was make any reference to the opera that followed. What it *did* do was make the work palatable to its new audience in The Hague, an audience with diverse needs and backgrounds. Though most understood that war with France was imminent, it was not yet officially declared. Hence, the new prologue downplays reference to military action so as not to risk offending the French diplomats who were known to attend the opera. Removing the connotations of the original prologue also made it possible for the audience—including Huguenots like Quesnot—to identify with the emotional struggles of its main character.

Eliminating the "moral" of *Armide* leaves the work exactly as most contemporary commentators (and some modern scholars) found it, as a beautiful staging of human emotion, likely to cause the spectator to weep. One could read Renaud as the new, softened version of William III, and Armide as the Dutch Republic, the land that William loved and left. But perhaps Renaud was simply Renaud, and Armide was...a German woman, the mistress of Gerhard Schott?

Burning down the house...

While the Republic was still only on the brink of war, the battle lines had been drawn and blood was beginning to be shed behind the scenes of the Opera of The Hague. Affairs behind the scenes reached a crisis in December 1701. At stake was the ownership of the opera. From the very beginning of their partnership, as we have seen, the principals of the company had been double-dealing one other. Since cooperation was a shattered dream, the various sides needed to make a case to the magistrates of The Hague—who had ultimate power over the company—about who most deserved to take control of the house. Both sides seem to have engaged in smear campaigns as the legal battles commenced, for the magistrates were most likely to support whoever was held in best regard by the town.

Deseschaliers and Dudard encouraged the opera's performers to testify against Quesnot, attributing scurrilous actions to him (which may or may not have really occurred). Two of the musicians of the company, Ignace Baudry and François Arion, testified that just before *Armide* opened on 28 October, Quesnot and Dudard got into a spat about the number of candles used by workmen at the opera. When the workmen asked for more candles, Quesnot replied that they should rather speak to the "servant of the Opera," meaning Dudard, to which statement he attached some rather colorful language ("profferant plusieurs sales et execrables paroles"), including certain terms that blasphemed the name of God—the

one unforgiveable sin in Calvinist belief. Quesnot also reportedly exclaimed that “if this woman upset him further, he would give himself to the Devil if he didn’t set fire to the Opera first.”¹³⁵ Similarly, Guillaume Birrochon, the Huguenot tailor whose massive bills for costumes were threatening to bankrupt the company, testified with his wife that Quesnot had come to their home in a fury at the beginning of November, swearing that “the opera was his property and that if anyone tried to take his place, he would set fire to the theater.”¹³⁶ The testimony of Birrochon and his wife differs slightly from that of the musicians, however, in that they go on to describe how they had soothed Quesnot, at which point the impresario admitted that it was pure anger that made him say such things. Perhaps Birrochon felt the need to defend the actions of his co-religionist.

The response to these charges that Quesnot delivered to the aldermen, and later published in *L’Opéra de la Haye*, is somewhat more colorful. He absolutely denies having threatened to burn down the opera house, pleading that, “The Opera is my creation; it is for my needs the source of an honest profit; would I ever have conceived of reducing it to ashes? would that not be like risking myself in cold blood to mounting a pyre on the public square?”¹³⁷ With this last phrase, Quesnot turns to a defense of his faith. His evocation of pyres on public squares demonstrates his familiarity with what by this time had become part of Huguenot mythology. Applying himself to the serious imputation of blasphemy, Quesnot swore that all who knew him well would witness that he has never been a blasphemer. “If the force of my resentment tore from me a few scandalous words – which I protest I do not know at all,” he declared, “I submit myself to human justice and implore the mercy of God, my only refuge and my sole asylum in all of my disgrace.”¹³⁸ His statement draws upon language that would be familiar to the Dutch Calvinist judges. God alone is the source of grace and God alone knows who shall receive it; all believers are subject to human persecution; the maintenance of virtue in suffering is a sign of God’s grace. Quesnot further highlights his refugee status by using the words *réfuge* and *asile*.

Matters grew only worse for the company. Though the opera had enjoyed some success with *Armide*, the financial gains and powerful support that the company hoped to attract with the elaborate new prologue to *Armide* apparently never materialized. The company was deeply in debt by February, largely because of Dudard’s decision to use credit

¹³⁵ “...si ladite Demoiselle le chagrinoit qu’il se donneroit au diable s’il ne mettroit le feu dans le susdit Opera.” NL-DHga, Favon 749, 12 December 1701.

¹³⁶ “...l’opera estoit de son bien et que si on le demettoit de sa place, il mettroit le feu dans l’Opera.” Ibid.

¹³⁷ “L’Opera est mon Ouvrage; il est pour moi dans mes besoins la source d’un profit honnête, & j’aurai pû former le dessein de le reduire en cendres? ne seroit-ce pas m’exposer de sang froid à monter sur un bucher dans la Place publique?” Quesnot de la Chenée, *L’Opéra de La Haye*, 78-79.

¹³⁸ “...si la force de mon ressentiment m’avoit arraché quelques paroles scandaleuses, ce que je proteste ne point savoir, je me soumets à la justice humaine, & j’implore la misericorde de Dieu, mon seul refuge & mon unique asile dans toutes mes disgraces.” Ibid., 79.

to pay for costuming expenses, against Quesnot's will.¹³⁹ Between 1 February and 22 March, the principals and their lawyers appeared in court at least eight times.¹⁴⁰ At one particularly low point, Dudard and Deseschaliers attempted to have Quesnot imprisoned, and Quesnot begged to be allowed to carry a gun out of fear of the couple. As the lawsuit dragged on, Quesnot more frequently played on the Calvinism of the judges, until he, likening himself to a rock over which the tide of enmity breaks, declared that:

[M]y cause is good or bad; if it is good, you will be its defenders and its support; if it is bad, it is unnecessary for my enemies to devote themselves to such movement [against me]. We are, by the grace of God, in a land where subordination is as natural as it is sweet, and where the law always triumphs quite on its own."¹⁴¹

Quesnot's appeals to the *vierschhaar*, the four aldermen of The Hague who handled the lawsuits related to the opera, identify him as a co-religionist, a fellow traveler on the road to redemption. By positioning himself as such, Quesnot presumably expected to be able to draw sympathy from the judges. But more than that, Quesnot was obliged to defend his religious identity because of the most serious accusation leveled against him—that he was a spy for France.

¹³⁹ See the list of outstanding debts in NL-DHga, Rechterlijk Archief, 351-01 nr. 312, procès-verbal of 13 February 1702.

¹⁴⁰ See the minutes of the court, NL-DHga, Rechterlijk Archief, 351-01 nr. 164, ff. 35v, 44, 52v, 60-62, 68v, 69v, 76v, 79, 83, 85v.

¹⁴¹ "...ma cause est bonne ou mauvaise; si elle est bonne, vous en serez les Défenseurs & l'Appui; si elle est mauvaise, il est très-inutile à mes Parties de s'être donné tant de mouvement: nous sommes, par la grace de Dieu, dans un País où subordination est aussi naturelle que douce, & ou le Droit triomphe toûjours assez par lui-même." Quesnot de la Chenée, *L'Opéra de La Haye*, 102.

4

Porous boundaries

On 21 May 1702, Godard van Reede, comte d'Athlone, commander of the Dutch forces in the east of the Republic, wrote to the burgomasters of The Hague.¹ He desired some information about a “certain person named David Carle, a Frenchman, who claims to be a *réfugié*, and who is suspected of being a spy for the enemy.”² Carle had been apprehended by the Dutch forces at Klarenbeek, in the center of the Dutch Republic, some five or six days before. D'Athlone explained to the burgomasters that some captured French soldiers testified Carle had been provisioning the French encampment near Venlo for at least the past three weeks, activities that Carle denied. Carle protested that he had left The Hague, his residence of the past six or seven months, only fourteen days earlier. He swore that in The Hague he had lived next to the Opera, on the Houtmarkt, and that he had worked there for his neighbor, a hatter named Monsieur Philippe.³ D'Athlone bade the burgomasters to substantiate these tales, further requesting them to investigate Carle's behavior during his time in The Hague and to inquire whether a French pistol Carle had on his person had been acquired from the hatter in The Hague as Carle claimed. D'Athlone also asked that Monsieur Philippe appear before the burgomasters to validate Carle's story.

The burgomasters went to great lengths to fulfill d'Athlone's requests, revealing the complicated nature of identification in an age before nationally-issued identity cards.⁴ The burgomasters had no centrally-organized alien registration system that could easily confirm Carle's residency. Instead, they had to rely on the personal testimony of Carle's associates. Their reply to d'Athlone describes in great detail the questions they asked and the answers they received. Carle had indeed lived on the Houtmarkt and worked with Monsieur Philippe from 13 December 1701 until 16 April 1702. Philippe substantiated Carle's employment with payment records, though he admitted that he had never known the young man's first name. Philippe also explained that he had given Carle the French pistol in lieu of some back wages. Carle's landlord, a Dutch joiner, testified as to Carle's decent behavior and his regular

¹ Godard van Ginkel or Godard de Ginkell, Lord of Reede, Amerongen, Ginckel, Leersum, Zuylestein and Wondenberg. A close associate of William III, he followed William to England and became a naturalized English citizen in 1691. His letter and a copy of the burgomasters' reply may be found in NL-DHga, 351-01 nr. 29, “Ingekomen en minuten van uitgaande brieven 1702.”

² “...zeeker persoon genoemt David Carle een fransman, die sigh voorgeeft een Refugie te wesen, en gesuspecteert wordt een Spion van den Vyant te zyn.” Ibid.

³ The buildings of Van Gool's theatrical establishment—occupied by the opera company of Deseschaliers—included two small houses rented out to Monsieur Philippe and Carle's landlord. Thus, Carle practically lived in the opera house. See the rental contract signed by Quesnot and Dudard, NL-DHga, Favon 749, Bail de Maison of 6 June 1701, which mentions the houses and their occupants.

⁴ On this topic, see Valentin Groebner, *Who Are You? Identification, Deception, and Surveillance in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Mark Kyburz and John Peck (New York: Zone Books, 2007).

payment of rent. The joiner also informed the burgomasters that Carle's closest associate in The Hague was another Frenchman named La Salle, who was able to confirm that Carle was indeed "a Reformed refugee" (*gereformeerde refugie*).

Yet Carle's associates could not substantiate the young man's fidelity to the Dutch Republic; the best they could do was to affirm that he was indeed a Huguenot refugee, which state of being was Carle's primary defense. As a Huguenot, Carle could be assumed to oppose French policies, which would therefore make it unlikely that he was a French spy. But was that really true? Carle had been detained in the first place because he was supposedly selling brandy and tobacco to the French, which was interpreted as provisioning the enemy. Carle's French origin immediately made him suspect in the eyes of the Dutch army commanders. Possessing a French pistol made the young man doubly suspect, and they quickly jumped to the conclusion that he was an armed Frenchman aiding the enemy. For just six days before d'Athlone wrote to the burgomasters of The Hague, the Dutch Republic, Britain, and Austria had simultaneously declared war on the Bourbons. The War of the Spanish Succession—which had seemed inevitable since the Treaty of Ryswick—had begun.⁵ At stake was not only the future of Christianity in Europe but the future shape of Europe itself.⁶

David Carle's problem was being a "Frenchman" in the wrong place at the wrong time, and his only defense was to be identified as a *réfugié*. But what did it mean to be "French"? And what did it mean for Carle, or for Jean-Jacques Quesnot, to be a *réfugié*? Defining the status of refugees necessitates defining that of natives, establishing a border around a national identity that solidifies as it is contested. The Refuge of the Huguenots tended to simultaneously reduce and enlarge the local territorial identities of the French refugees, both for themselves and for their hosts; the sense of belonging to a village, a city, or a province was subsumed into a notion of "France." This constructed notion of "France" emerged in dialectic with and was set in opposition to other, more local identities.⁷ Thus could the comte d'Athlone describe Carle as "a Frenchman" whose otherness made reports of

⁵ Ryswick has often been portrayed as a mere armistice because of its failure to obtain a satisfactory solution to the problem of Spain. For further on the years leading up to the declaration of war on 15 May 1702, see George Norman Clark, "From the Nine Years War to the War of the Spanish Succession," in *The New Cambridge Modern History, Vol. 6: The Rise of Great Britain and Russia, 1688-1715/25*, ed. J.S. Bromley, 381-409 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 384.

⁶ Hervé Hasquin notes that the simultaneous declarations of war made by the various European powers clarify their aims. For the Holy Roman Empire, it was the defense of religion; for the Dutch Republic, it was the balance of power in Europe combined with religion; and for both Britain and France, it was the realignment of European and colonial concerns. See Hervé Hasquin, *Louis XIV face à l'Europe du Nord: L'absolutisme vaincu par les libertés* (Brussels: Éditions Racine, 2005).

⁷ Compare the study of Peter Sahlins on the emergence of national identities along the Franco-Spanish border. As he has shown, it was indeed the dialectic between local and national interests that solidified the boundaries of national territory; rather than being imposed from the center, a sense of national identity appeared in the borderlands as a result of the proximity of an "other." Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 9 et passim.

illicit behavior believable enough to warrant his arrest. However, as a refugee, Carle was doubly incapacitated: he was neither natively Dutch nor truly French.

This anecdote dramatizes the alien origin of the Huguenots. Their simultaneous nearness and distance, as both neighbors and strangers, resulted in perceptions and judgments of them as representatives of a certain group or a type, rather than as individuals.⁸ But the true threat was their sheer mobility, their ability to appear so easily in the “wrong” place. Becoming a *bourgeois* of a town, taking an oath of fidelity to a sovereign, receiving financial support from the local community, or becoming an entrepreneur often contributed little to fixing the location of individual Huguenots. With pan-European war again on the horizon, it became ever more important to solidify borders and establish the identities and loyalties of a land’s inhabitants. This was perhaps no more true than in the Dutch Republic, for the primary war aim of the Dutch was erecting the “Dutch Barrier,” a series of fortresses intended to secure the southern border against French incursion.⁹

Despite the fact that refugees like Carle and Quesnot had in principle been legally integrated in the Dutch Republic, becoming *bourgeois* of The Hague, or Amsterdam, or Delft, their cultural and linguistic differences set them apart from native Dutch.¹⁰ By the turn of the eighteenth century, the indigenes of the Republic were less prepared and less willing to sustain with charity these displaced Frenchmen who had, in some cases, been resident for more than twenty years. The economic hardships resulting from the Nine Years War were slow to be reversed, and many Dutch felt that the extraordinary protections that had been extended to the Huguenots would be better applied to “native” industry.¹¹ Certain common practices amongst the refugees, such as marrying within their own community, working only for and with other Huguenots, and establishing neighborhoods that were essentially “Frenchtowns” (like the Jordaan—*Jardin*—in Amsterdam) only added to the sense of difference. Huguenots, like other strangers, were also subject to legal incapacities within the

⁸ A point made by Georg Simmel when pondering the great migrations of the nineteenth century: “[T]he stranger is near and far *at the same time*, as in any relationship based on merely universal human similarities.... For this reason, strangers are not really perceived as individuals, but as strangers of a certain type. Their remoteness is no less general than their nearness.” Georg Simmel, “The Stranger [1908],” in *On Individuality and Social Forms*, ed. Donald N. Levine, 143-49 (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 148.

⁹ The classic work on this topic, though little-known to Anglophone scholarship, is Augustus J. Veenendaal, *Het Engels-Nederlands condominium in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de Spaanse-Successieoorlog, 1706-1716* (Utrecht: Kemink, 1945).

¹⁰ On the search for a “Dutch” identity in opposition to the French, see esp. Willem Frijhoff, “Verfransing? Franse taal en Nederlandse cultuur tot in de revolutietijd,” *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 104 (1989); Wijnand W. Mijnhardt, “Dutch Culture in the Age of William and Mary: Cosmopolitan or Provincial?” in *The World of William and Mary: Anglo-Dutch Perspectives on the Revolution of 1688-89*, ed. Dale Hoak and Mordechai Feingold, 219-33 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

¹¹ Willem Frijhoff, “Uncertain Brotherhood: The Huguenots in the Dutch Republic,” in *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*, ed. Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, 128-71 (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 149-50.

Republic: though they might set up businesses and join some guilds (most importantly, the printers' guild), they were barred from holding public office or positions in the Admiralty and the Dutch East India Company. After 1702, they were consistently replaced by native Dutch in trusted military commissions.¹² Even in a place like the Dutch Republic, which had long prided itself on its tolerance, the tolerant attitude of the Dutch was swiftly taking on a tone of annoyance and suspicion.¹³

So where did Huguenot loyalties lay? With the Reformed Church? After all, the core of being for the *réfugiés*—what branded them in the first place—was their confessional affiliation. Calvinist lands and rulers, and especially the Dutch, had welcomed their displaced brothers in faith. But the solidity of religious identities was not so clear. It was becoming ever more obvious that French Calvinism was fundamentally different from Dutch Calvinism, even though the Walloon Consistory had been joined to the Dutch Reformed in matters of church governance. Faultlines within French Calvinism itself were also evident, for by the late seventeenth century, the Huguenots were divided theologically.¹⁴ The unrelenting pursuit of Pierre Bayle by Pierre Jurieu in the 1690s was but the most famous example of the divisions within the Huguenot community.¹⁵ These divisions extended most spectacularly to the role of theater and opera in Huguenot cultural life. Extreme orthodox factions, like that led by Jurieu in Rotterdam, were completely intolerant of theatrical expression. Extreme liberal groups, like the followers of Jurieu's great opponent, Pierre Bayle, expounded tolerance of cosmopolitan cultural products and people of all faiths to the point of being accused of atheism. Somewhere in the middle lay the majority of Huguenots.

The erasure of individual actions, the overwhelming force of public opinion and prejudices, did not go unremarked in the early eighteenth century. Reflecting on the role of public opinion in the reception of strangers, Quesnot observed that social acceptance—which he defines as the acquisition of a good reputation—depended not necessarily on the nature of one's actions, but on how those actions were perceived by others. Cynically, he speculated that this often depended on “pure accident”:

¹² Many of the Huguenot veterans of the Nine Years War settled permanently in England or Ireland after 1697.

¹³ Maarten Prak, “The politics of intolerance: citizenship and religion in the Dutch Republic (17th-18th C.),” in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. R. Po-Chia Hsia and Henk F. K. van Nierop, 159-75 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

¹⁴ Jonathan Israel, “Group identity and opinion among the Huguenot diaspora and the challenge of Pierre Bayle's toleration theory (1685-1706),” in *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, ed. Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer, 279-93 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 280. See also Margaret C. Jacob, “The Nature of Early Eighteenth-Century Religious Radicalism,” *Republics of Letters: A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts* 1, no. 1 (May, 2009), <http://rofl.stanford.edu/node/42>.

¹⁵ See Hubert Bost, “*L'affaire Bayle*”: *La bataille entre Pierre Bayle et Pierre Jurieu devant le consistoire de l'Église wallonne de Rotterdam* (Saint Etienne: Publications de l'Institut Claude Longeon, 2006). On the impact of Bayle's ideas in the Dutch Republic (particularly The Hague), see Gerald Cerny, *Theology, Politics, and Letters at the Crossroads of European Civilization: Jacques Basnage and the Baylean Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht and Boston: Nijhoff, 1987).

...because the good or bad opinion that men have of us almost always depends on the first steps that we take in a city where no one knows us at all. If these steps are fortunate, and we gain support, they cause a certain general esteem to be born for us that so predisposes everyone in our favor that they become blind, so to speak, to any faults we have. The contrary happens when we have misfortune and when we can find no support; and when one has arrived at this fatal degree, we cease to be seen, we are insulted, we are eclipsed.¹⁶

By the time he wrote these lines, probably in late 1705, he had lived and worked in Geneva, Berlin, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Hamburg/Altona, Amsterdam, The Hague, and Brussels, with side trips all over France, to London, and quite possibly to Moscow. The excitement of arriving in a new place where “no one knows us at all,” the perpetual quality of strangeness, seems to have become a kind of addiction. In each place, Quesnot presumably took steps that would, in his view, ensure his success. Yet somehow, perhaps because of the “pure accident” of prejudice, he had to keep moving. Quesnot’s frustration at his inability to influence the construction of his reputation reveals itself when he declares, “Virtue itself does not shine in our century; and whatever merit one has, one cannot know how to make oneself loved. Our reputation absolutely does not depend on solid virtue; it is in the voice of the public.”¹⁷ In the end, he declares rather dismally, man “is naught but a tree that the world judges only by its bark.”¹⁸

The lines between character, action, opinion, and reputation are indeed fine. Nowhere were they finer than in the theaters to which Quesnot devoted himself and which would serve as perpetual sources of opportunity and frustration in the last decade of his life. It was his marginal, stateless identity that allowed Quesnot’s opponents at the Opera of The Hague to question his fidelity to the Dutch Republic, and thus call into question his fitness as a director of the company. But it was perhaps the sympathetic resonance that Quesnot found with theater folk, whose own identities were necessarily flexible, that determined his choice of careers. Huguenots like Quesnot and the players of traveling theater troupes shared the commonalities of strangeness and mobility.¹⁹ At a time when the differences accentuated by

¹⁶ “...car la bonne ou méchante opinion que les hommes ont de nous dépend presque toujours des premières démarches que nous faisons dans une Ville où l’on ne nous connoît point; si elles sont heureuses, & que nous aions de l’apui [*sic*], elles font naître pour nous une certaine estime generale, qui prévient tellement en notre faveur qu’on s’aveugle ensuite pour ainsi dire sur les fautes que nous faisons. Le contraire arrive, lors que nous avons du malheur, & que nous n’avons aucun appui; & quand on est venu une fois à ce degré fatal, on cesse de nous voir, on nous outrage, on nous eclipse...” Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée, *L’Opéra de La Haye. Histoire instructive et galante* (Cologne: Les Heritiers de Pierre le Sincere, 1706), 59-60.

¹⁷ “La vertu seule ne brille pas dans le siècle où nous sommes; & quelque merite qu’on ait, on ne sauroit se faire aimer : notre reputation ne depend pas absolument d’une vertu solide, elle est dans la voix du public.” *Ibid.*, 59.

¹⁸ “...l’homme enfin n’est plus qu’un arbre dont le monde ne juge que par l’écorce.” *Ibid.*, 61.

¹⁹ Simmel again: “Between these two factors of nearness and distance, however, a peculiar tension arises, since the consciousness of having only the absolutely general in common has exactly the effect of putting special emphasis on that which is not common. For a stranger to the country, the city, the race, and so on, what is

mobility resulted in questions of fidelity and accusations of impropriety, it was no easy matter to be a Huguenot or an itinerant performer. But strangeness could also provide opportunity. If played right, it granted the ability to slip easily across the borders of identity, confession, nation, and genre.

In what follows, I will trace both Quesnot's roots and the routes that he took in his quest to succeed.²⁰ The alternate public spheres in which he traveled, while in many ways separate from the surrounding community at large, created opportunities to establish solidarity between groups who shared similar experiences—of displacement, of living on the fringes of society, of being one moment the darling of the stage, and the next utterly destitute. But, as I stress here, there were important differences between the two groups as well. Even though both Huguenots and theater people shared the experience of travel, the emergent Huguenot diaspora—in the sense of an established community-in-residence—incorporated a strong political element that was never a feature of theatrical networks.²¹ For Quesnot, establishing an identity as both a Huguenot refugee and an impresario allowed him access to the highest levels of society, enabling him to realize emergent political goals through participation in another sort of network—that of international espionage.

Atheism and espionage

Toward the end of the court cases that resulted in Quesnot's loss of control over the opera at The Hague in the spring of 1702, his adversaries leveled a very serious allegation against him: that he was a spy for France. To make this accusation believable, Catherine Dudard and Louis Deseschaliers impugned Quesnot's faith and morality, accusing him of the only unforgivable sin in Calvinist belief: that of blasphemy. Charges of espionage were (and still are) often accompanied by tales of loose morals or impiety, for impiety was a quality closely linked to espionage in the minds of police and judges, as historian Lucien Bély's work has shown. Bély explains that a debauched person was believed to be more susceptible to committing treasonous acts, in part because of an unceasing need for money to support bad habits. Reflexively, the fact that spies operated on the fringes of society, outside of normal

stressed is again nothing individual, but alien origin, a quality which he has, or could have, in common with many other strangers." Simmel, "The Stranger," 148.

²⁰ The interplay between "roots" and "routes" in the negotiation of diasporic identification was first introduced in Paul Gilroy, "It Ain't Where You're From, It's Where You're At... The Dialectics of Diasporic Identification," *Third Text* 13 (1991). Gilroy worked out the concept more fully in *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

²¹ James Clifford distinguishes diaspora, travel, and exile in a way productive for my thinking here: "Diaspora is different from travel (though it works through travel practices) in that it is not temporary. It involves dwelling, maintaining communities, having collective homes away from home (and in this it is different from exile, with its frequently individualistic focus)." James Clifford, "Diasporas," *Cultural Anthropology* 9 (1994). Most scholars of the Second Refuge agree that a major change, transforming the *émigrés* into immigrants, began occurring after the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. See, for example, Myriam Yardeni, *Le refuge protestant* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1985), Part III, chp. 1. It was at this point that some Huguenot families first began constructing homes, for they acknowledged that a return to France was ultimately impossible.

expectations of morality, made them even more susceptible to debauchery.²² Calling Quesnot's faith into question was thus an effective strategy employed by his opponents to make accusations of espionage believable. They surely realized that the Dutch judges, already wary of French speakers in general, were even more wary of French spies, and particularly of French spies who claimed to be Huguenots.

Because Huguenots had in the past been given such free access to instruments of aid and to liberties of movement, they, or their doppelgänger, were particularly effective as spies. They bore no outward marks of the religion that had made them refugees, for they spoke the same language, shared the same customs, and wore the same fashions as other Frenchmen.²³ In the war against France that had just ended, and in the war that had just begun (the War of the Spanish Succession), Huguenots and "Huguenots" worked both sides of the line. Jurieu, the virulently orthodox minister of Rotterdam, built up an effective (though expensive) spy network for the Allies from 1689 on, involving *nouveaux convertis* in the port cities of France. Jurieu himself remained hidden in plain sight, carrying on his theological battles in print with never a hint that he was the mastermind of the most extensive espionage operation of the seventeenth century.²⁴ On the other side is the remarkable case of Pierre Louis Pons, sieur de Tillières et des Forges, a Huguenot who betrayed his closest friends and even his family members to the French between 1685 and 1688 as the principal collaborator of the Comte d'Avaux, the symbol of the French crown in the Dutch Republic. Tillières's nobility and unquestioned Huguenot identity gained him access to the most powerful circles of the *réfugiés* in the Republic, until he was finally found out and murdered. Luckily for d'Avaux, no compromising papers were found amongst Tillières's effects.²⁵

Quesnot, believing that defending the purity of his faith could defend him against charges of espionage, insisted on his orthodoxy to the judges in The Hague. The accusations

²² Lucien Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris: Fayard, 1990), 69-70.

²³ This point had been made more than a century before by Michel de Montaigne, who related meeting a Huguenot during the Wars of Religion in his essay "Of Conscience." Montaigne wrote that he knew nothing of the gentleman's religion, "for he pretended otherwise; and the worst of these wars is that the cards are so shuffled that your enemy is distinguished from yourself by no apparent mark either of language or bearing, and has been brought up in the same laws and customs and the same atmosphere, so it is hard to avoid confusion and disorder." Quoted in Keith P. Luria, *Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-Modern France* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 308-09.

²⁴ Transcriptions of much of the correspondence concerning this network may be found in Joseph Dedieu, *Le rôle politique des protestants français (1685-1715)* (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1920). Dedieu was one of the first scholars to confirm Jurieu's participation. See also Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs*, 88-91.

²⁵ Jacques Solé, "La diplomatie de Louis XIV et les protestants français réfugiés aux Provinces-Unies (1678-1688)," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français* 115 (1969), 641-44; Bély, *Espions et ambassadeurs*, 192. Carolyn Lougee Chappell has recently used Tillières's career to reexamine the internal dynamics of the French Protestant community he betrayed; "Through the Eyes of a Spy: Venom and Value in an Enemy's Report on the Huguenot Emigration," paper delivered at the Fifth International Huguenot Congress, University of Ulster (Northern Ireland), 2 September 2010.

of atheism, he insisted, were “the most poisonous dart” that his enemies had ever thrown at him.

Another dart, and the most poisonous of all that have been thrown at me, is that I have no religion. My enemies have the impudence to publicly decry me as an atheist, both from their own mouths and through their emissaries in cafés and public places. This atrocious malice is as hurtful to me as the matter is crucial. A man who denies the Divinity no longer deserves the name of man; he is only good for the flames. I leave to that great God, who alone has the right to judge hearts, and who permits calumny only to distinguish his people, the care of manifesting my innocence on this essential point.²⁶

Quesnot’s defense included essential points of Calvinist doctrine, in order to assure the tribunal that his beliefs were fully orthodox and in no way espoused some of the more radical ideas being promoted at the time. For atheism was a hot-button issue in 1702. In 1697, Pierre Bayle had issued his controversial *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, which contained inherently contradictory statements about the place of belief in society.²⁷ While positing Christianity as the only path away from value-destroying skepticism (the sin of Spinoza), Bayle simultaneously proclaimed that atheism in itself did not necessarily lead to immorality. Bayle indeed argued for separating immorality and atheism. The outcry against the *Dictionnaire* orchestrated by Jurieu forced Bayle to publish toned-down “clarifications” of certain articles, including atheism, which were appended to the second edition of the *Dictionnaire* in 1701/2.²⁸

In Quesnot’s reasoning, the mere fact that he had suffered while maintaining his faith must prove to his judges that he was a good Calvinist and thus no spy. He did not hesitate to describe his imprisonments at Strasbourg, Marseille, Beaucaire, Le Vigan, Nimes, Grenoble.

²⁶ “Un autre trait, & le plus empoisonné de tous ceux qu’on lance contre moi, c’est que je n’ai point de Religion. Mes Parties ont l’impudence de me timpaniser comme un Athée, soit par leur propre bouche, soit par celle de leurs emissaries dans les Caffez & dans les lieux publics. Cette malice atroce m’est aussi sensible que la matiere est importante. Un homme qui méconnoît la Divinité ne merite plus le nom d’homme, il n’est bon qu’au feu. Je laisse à ce grand Dieu qui seul a droit de juger les cœurs, & qui permet la calomnie pour le salut des siens, le soin de manifester mon innocence sur cet article essentiel.” Quesnot de la Chenée, *L’Opéra de La Haye*, 118-19.

²⁷ The two-volume first edition (Amsterdam: Reinier Leers, 1697) appeared in 1696 with a printed date of 1697. The second edition, published in 1701 but dated 1702, was enlarged to four volumes. For an overview of the publication history and relative quality of different editions of the *Dictionnaire*, see Elisabeth Labrousse, *Pierre Bayle et l’instrument critique* (Paris: Seghers, 1965), 183.

²⁸ Bayle’s positions are summarized in Alex Schulman, “The Twilight of Probability: Locke, Bayle, and the Toleration of Atheism,” *The Journal of Religion* 89 (2009). See also John Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration, and Early Enlightenment Culture: Religious intolerance and arguments for religious toleration in early modern and “early enlightenment” Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), esp. Part 3. While Bayle’s “clarification” of atheism maintained that the absence of belief was not inherently immoral, he did concede that atheists cannot have true virtue, for any good that they bring to the world is solely the result of self-love. See the new edition and commentary in Hubert Bost and Antony McKenna, eds., *Les “Éclaircissements” de Pierre Bayle: Édition des “Éclaircissements” du Dictionnaire historique et critique et études* (Paris: Champion, 2010).

Throughout, he suffered “en honnête homme,” along with his mother, his sisters, and eighteen other members of his family.²⁹ He even went so far as to “swear to heaven and earth” that “in my whole life I have never soiled myself with the infamous occupation of espionage,” the mere thought of which horrified him. Besides, he pointed out,

I am not allowed to return to France; I do not lack friends and protectors there, but the one true religion has closed the door to that kingdom for me, as it has for the other refugees; but if I were so unfortunate as to abandon my faith, I have great reason, and I do not just say this, to promise myself a better establishment in this land than that of a traitor in a foreign country.³⁰

Quesnot here emphasizes a lack of mobility; he is unable to return to France. At the same time, his evocation of an extended social network within France demonstrates his wide-ranging social connections. The paradoxical coexistence of such an extensive network with impaired mobility is summed up in the word *réfugié*. By claiming membership in this group, Quesnot conjures notions of what it meant to be a refugee, to have been made stateless because of the maneuvers of a king. Quesnot’s statement recognizes, however, the social contract to which he agreed when he became a *bourgeois* of The Hague. Espionage was treachery, an action that not only would invalidate Quesnot’s residency in the Dutch Republic, but that would indeed render the land a “foreign country,” for belonging depended on faithfulness to both religion and state.

As ultimate evidence of his faith, and hence the impossibility of being a French spy, Quesnot presented the judges with his confession of faith, a document certifying his participation in the Reformed communion. He explained that not only has he physically preserved this document through years of trial and tribulation, but that he carries it ever in his heart as well.³¹ Despite his extreme attachment to the document, he was willing to give it over to the examination of a “very Orthodox” pastor in The Hague, who could certify that “I

²⁹ Quesnot de la Chenée, *L’Opéra de La Haye*, 133-34. On the importance of family ties in the Refuge, see esp. Carolyn Lougee Chapell, “Family Bonds across the Refuge,” in *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*, ed. Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, 172-93 (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003).

³⁰ “...de ma vie je ne me suis souillé de l’infame métier d’espionnage; & que quand ce negoce ne seroit point patibulaire, je n’en aurois pas moins d’horreur. D’ailleurs, il ne tient qu’à moi de retourner en France; je n’y manque point d’Amis & de Proteceurs, la seule Religion me ferme la porte de ce Roiaume, comme aux autres Refugiez; mais si j’étois assez malheureux d’abandonner ma foi, j’ai de grandes raisons, & je ne l’avance pas en l’air, pour me promettre en ce Pais-là des établissemens plus considerables que celui de traître dans un País étranger.” Quesnot de la Chenée, *L’Opéra de La Haye*, 120.

³¹ Physical absorption of God’s grace was a common image in Calvinist texts of the time. For example, Jan Luyken’s 1714 *Jesus en de Ziel*, a work that continued to be reprinted throughout the eighteenth century, features an image of the soul with Jesus’ name inscribed on her heart. Jan Luyken, *Jesus en de Ziel. Een Geestelyke Spiegel voor ’t gemoed, bestaande in veertig aangenaame en stichtelyke Zinnebeelden* (Amsterdam: Wed. P. Arentz and K. van der Sys, 1714; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 2010).

am in no way a rebel toward God, nor toward the Church that God directs by his Divine Spirit.”³²

Yet there was something fishy about Quesnot’s presentation of the confession of faith, and about his insistence on his orthodoxy. He admitted to the judges in The Hague that during his time in Hamburg, he had had the misfortune to associate himself with persons who “posed” as great figures in Church and State, but who, in the end, were only concerned with fortune. He avowed frankly that this same confession of faith, “that could have softened the deplorable state of I do not know how many hundreds of people, was heard and then rejected by the Clergy of France.”³³ To prove how he had been misled, he quoted a letter from Paris, dated 18 May 1700, which he recalled “word for word”—or at least as best as he could, or would, remember:

Your Confession of faith has made a great fracas here, Monsieur. The Reverend Fathers of the Oratory have done everything they could, on the prayers of your father, in order to support it; they were joined by great Lords, all inclined toward tolerance. But the leading prelates of the realm have absolutely rejected it, saying that by it you open the road to a new Religion. If you were here I do not doubt that you would be constrained to retract it. The person in Hamburg on whom you depend so much is not one of your friends; I think he is more a hypocrite than a man of good. Make your plans accordingly, and believe that I am yours, Monsieur, with the best of my heart.³⁴

Quesnot’s “memory” of the letter omits certain salient details. The letter highlights the seriousness with which “great Lords” and the Oratorians treated Quesnot’s case (thus emphasizing his important connections) and links Quesnot’s situation to contemporary thought on tolerance. But the “confession of faith” Quesnot mentions here differed greatly from the Augsburg confession of the Calvinists, a detail that surely would have been of concern to the Dutch judges. Printing this passage was perhaps the closest that Quesnot ever came to admitting his role in some shady dealings in Hamburg and Paris in 1699. For at that time, Quesnot had had a lapse of faith.

³² “...je ne suis point rebelle ni à Dieu, ni à l’Eglise que Dieu conduit par son Divin Esprit.” Quesnot de la Chenée, *L’Opéra de La Haye*, 132-33.

³³ *Ibid.*, 121.

³⁴ “...je mettrai ici mot à mot autant que je puis m’en souvenir. ‘Votre Confession de foi a fait ici grand fracas, Monsieur; les RR. PP. de l’Oratoire ont fait, à la prière de M. votre Pere, tout ce qu’ils ont pû pour l’apui; il s’y est joint des grands Seigneurs, tous portez à la tolerance; mais les premiers Prélats du Roiaume l’ont absolument rejeitée, & disent, que vous ouvrez par là le chemin à une nouvelle Religion : si vous étiez ici je ne doute point qu’on ne vous contraignît à vous retracter; la personne de Hambourg sur qui vous vous reposiez si fort n’est pas de vos amis; je le crois plus hypocrite qu’homme de bien; prenez vos mesures là-dessus, & croiez que je suis à vous, Monsieur, du meilleur de mon cœur.’” *ibid.*, 122.

Crossing confessional boundaries

Slipping multiple times across the confessional boundaries between Catholicism and Protestantism was not an uncommon occurrence at this time. Historian Elisabeth Labrousse has highlighted the mutability of faith in her work on rural Mauvezin between 1620 and 1646, noting that most people identified both confessions as Christian, hence essentially similar. Often, conversions had more to do with considerations of economic opportunity, local traditions, or familial bonds than religious devotion. Conversion, in her assessment, was more like crossing the road than removing to a new continent.³⁵ However, Labrousse's study of a small community in a time of peace, when the tolerance prescribed by the Edict of Nantes still reigned, only serves further to underscore the importance of external factors in defining religious boundaries. How conversions were perceived and the extent to which they were acceptable, legal, or even voluntary differed greatly according to time and place.

Particularly pressing were political exigencies, for supporting confessional certainties could be interpreted as taking a political stance.³⁶ During the sixteenth century, for example, the shifting politics of a succession of Valois kings and their challengers greatly contributed to the endlessness of the French Wars of Religion. Traumatic events like the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572 led some Calvinists to believe that God desired the destruction of the Reformed religion, causing them to turn back to the Catholic Church.³⁷ A little over one hundred years later, the "booted missionaries" of Louis XIV effected the "conversions" of thousands of French Calvinists during the *dragonnades* of the 1680s.³⁸ The Calvinists were given the "choice" to either abjure their religion or face life in prison or (for able-bodied men) as a galley slave.

While the *dragonnades* did produce thousands of new converts to the Catholic Church, greatly aiding Louis XIV in his quest for religious purity in France, many doubted the sincerity of the conversions. Was it simply a matter of self-preservation? How self-

³⁵ Elisabeth Labrousse, "Conversion dans les deux sens," in *La conversion au XVIIe siècle. Actes du XIIIe Colloque du C.M.R. 17*, ed. Louise Godard de Donville, 161-77 (Marseille: Centre National des Lettres, 1983). More recently, this point has been made in greater detail by Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*. Luria provides an exploration not of what conversion meant to individuals (often a vexed question), but rather "what it meant to and in the cultural context of confessional interaction and boundary construction in seventeenth-century France." *Ibid.*, 248.

³⁶ On this point, see Alastair Duke, "The Search for Religious Identity in a Confessional Age: The Conversions of Jean Haren (c. 1545-c. 1613)," in *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer, 223-49 (Farnham and Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2009).

³⁷ For example, Hugues Sureau du Rosier, who published a *récit de conversion* recording his despair and discovery of the Catholic faith. See *ibid.*, 225. For a discussion of the different uses of such *récits* in pro- and anti-Catholic polemic, see Louis Desgraves, "Un aspect des controverses entre catholiques et protestants, les récits de conversion (1598-1628)," in *La conversion au XVIIe siècle. Actes du XIIIe Colloque du C.M.R. 17*, ed. Louise Godard de Donville, 89-110 (Marseille: Centre National des Lettres, 1983). On the role of the *récit* in shaping a model of "authentic" conversion, see Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, 249ff.

³⁸ See especially Roy L. McCullough, *Coercion, Conversion and Counterinsurgency in Louis XIV's France*, *History of Warfare* 42 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), Chapter 4. McCullough analyzes the French state's perspective on the use of coercive force to execute Louis XIV's religious policies.

interested was the choice? And would they remain good Catholics? The ensuing debate, beginning in the mid-1680s, once more solidified the imagined boundaries between the confessions.³⁹ Publications from both Huguenot exiles and French Catholic leaders addressed the hearts and minds of the new Catholics within France and the refugees abroad. The terms used to describe the converted reflect this divide. To French officials and ecclesiastics, they were *nouveaux réunis*, a term loaded with the assertion that reunification with the Catholic Church was the only path to righteousness. To most everyone else, these individuals were *nouveaux convertis*.

The Huguenots of the Refuge painted conversion to Catholicism as odious, a sin that should be avoided at all costs. For those unfortunate who were forcibly converted, the polemicists of the Refuge recommended remaining faithful at heart but Catholic in appearance—at least until either escape were possible or the French king reinstated the Edict of Nantes.⁴⁰ Once outside of France, any eventual abjuration of the Calvinist faith could be remedied by a public ritual called the *reconnaissance*. The guilty party declared before God, the Church, and the community that she or he had sinned by abandoning the faith, usually providing tales of persecution and escape. After appropriate cross-examination by the elders of the church, the lapsed individual was welcomed back into the fold.⁴¹

The frequency of relapse in either direction signals that, despite the best efforts of polemicists on both sides, the confessional boundary was still remarkably unstable. Protestant relapses within France were such an issue that Louis XIV officially banned them in 1665, a declaration that was used frequently up until the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes as a legal means to outlaw Protestantism in French communities.⁴² For those Huguenots who had settled abroad, there was always a chance that the temptation to return to Catholicism—and France—would prove too strong to resist. It was not uncommon for *réfugiés*, particularly those of the higher social classes, to temporarily reconvert to Catholicism in order to visit

³⁹ See Elisabeth Labrousse, “Le débat sur l’exil des pasteurs français en 1685,” in *Conscience et conviction: Etudes sur le XVIIe siècle*, 118-33 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1996), 120ff.

⁴⁰ Myriam Yardeni has compared those who chose to remain Protestant at heart to the Marranos. See her “Problèmes de fidélité chez les protestants français à l’époque de la Révocation,” in *Le Refuge huguenot. Assimilation et culture*, 39-57 (Paris: Champion, 2002). Ironically, the capability of maintaining such a state had been considered a despicable trait unique to the Jews by French Protestant writers before the Revocation; see idem, *Anti-Jewish Mentalities in Early Modern Europe* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990), 7.

⁴¹ Lougee Chappell has related this practice to the transformation of Huguenot refugees into storytellers, particularly of their own personal stories, even though that was contrary to the self-effacing doctrines of Calvinism. Carolyn Lougee Chapell, “Paper memories and identity papers: why Huguenot refugees wrote memoirs,” in *Narrating the Self in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Bruno Tribout and Ruth Whelan, 121-38 (Oxford and New York: Lang, 2007), 128-29.

⁴² See the *Déclaration du Roy du 20 Juin 1665 pour la peine contre les Relaps*, reproduced in Léon Pilatte, ed. *Édits, Déclarations et Arrests concernant la Religion P. Réformée 1662-1751. Précédés de l’Édit de Nantes* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1885), 9-12. The declaration allowed for the removal of the minister and cessation of all Protestant worship in the community if a *nouveau converti* were seen at a Protestant temple. For an example of this law in practice, see Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, 310-12.

France. Such moves were met with frustration from the Huguenot consistories, resulting in new restrictions on the admission of members to the church.⁴³ They also resulted in concerted efforts to tempt the refugees back to France by any means necessary.

A primary directive for French officials stationed abroad was to facilitate the “reunification” of lapsed French subjects. Diplomats like Abbé Étienne Bidal in Hamburg were under orders to aid Huguenots in returning to France, but they had to be able to prove that individuals were sincere Catholics and thus worthy of aid. Bidal, who constructed a fine Catholic chapel within his diplomatic residence, had long been concerned with retrieving the lost souls he saw around him and was only too happy to continue his mission in Hamburg after the Peace of Ryswick normalized diplomatic relationships.⁴⁴ However, he was frustrated by the incompetence of the German Jesuits of the North who were assigned to his chapel, finding them extremely uncooperative.⁴⁵ Louis XIV took a personal interest in resolving Bidal’s Jesuit problems at the end of 1699, for at that time Bidal became involved in a concerted effort to convert the Huguenots. Troubles with the Jesuits could hamper those efforts.⁴⁶

In the fall of 1699, Bidal helped to develop a plan to convert the Huguenots of the North (and especially Hamburg) to a “softened” version of Catholicism.⁴⁷ The plan was likely undertaken at the instigation of Quesnot and his old friend Gabriel d’Artis, former minister of the French Church in Berlin, perpetual adversary of Élie Benoist and Charles Ancillon, and publisher of the *Journal d’Amsterdam* and the *Journal de Hambourg*.⁴⁸ The trio found support in Paris from Father Jean-Joseph Aveillon of the Paris Oratory (known for its Jansenist leanings and anti-Jesuit sentiments), who served as an interlocutor with the

⁴³ Yardeni, “Conversions et reconversions,” esp. 94-96.

⁴⁴ Bidal fled Hamburg under threat of arrest on 11 July 1690. There is every indication that he had been warned by a member of the Hamburg Senate. See Hermann Ruckleben, *Die Niederwerfung der hamburgischen Ratsgewalt. Kirchliche Bewegungen und bürgerliche Unruhen im ausgehenden 17. Jahrhundert*, Beiträge zur Geschichte Hamburgs (Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1970), 31-32. He returned to the Hansastadt in 1698, only to be thrown out again in July of 1703.

⁴⁵ As frequently reported in Bidal’s diplomatic correspondence. F-Pae, CP Hambourg 24 (1699).

⁴⁶ See the “Mémoire sur la Chapelle de l’Envoyé du Roy à Hambourg,” F-Pae, CP Hambourg Suppl. 4 (1689-1702): “Sa Majesté a un Interet particulier à prevenir la suite de ces desordres [with the Jesuits], parce qu’il y a beaucoup des françois Religionnaires dans ces quartiers là à la reunion desquels on sçait que l’Abbé Bidal travail tres utilement, et que ces divisions les eloignent de se convertir.” The *mémoire* is unsigned and undated, but includes an excerpt from Bidal’s report of 23 October 1699.

⁴⁷ A series of six letters documenting this affair are found in the correspondence of the Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal de Noailles: F-Psg, MS 1943. Bidal refers to the affair in an official report to the court dated 23 October 1699, writing that he will later send a more detailed personal letter; F-Pae, CP Hambourg 24. I have not been able to locate this letter.

⁴⁸ Both Bayle and Leibniz were supporters of d’Artis’s short-lived *Journal d’Amsterdam* (3 volumes, 1693-94) and *Journal de Hambourg* (1694-96). See Alfred Schröcker, “Gabriel d’Artis, Leibniz und das Journal de Hambourg,” *Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 49 (1977). It is likely that Quesnot was a contributor; d’Artis frequently included poetry on contemporary topics that bears similarities to Quesnot’s later works.

Archbishop of Paris (later Cardinal), Louis-Antoine de Noailles. Aveillon provided the essential details of the affair-in-progress to Noailles sometime after 12 October 1699. He reminded Noailles that Quesnot was the eldest son of a “converted minister,” and that Quesnot had received Catholic confirmation from the hand of the Archbishop himself in Paris in the summer of 1699. So pressing did Aveillon find the matter that he had already had multiple conversations with Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, the powerful manager of Louis XIV’s heavenly *gloire* (and hater of opera).⁴⁹

As evidence of the seriousness of the project, Aveillon enclosed a letter written by Quesnot. Quesnot, *nouveau réuni*, positions himself as one of the Catholic faithful. Having dutifully distributed all of the pastoral letters that the Archbishop had given him the summer before, he writes passionately of his desire to bring the *réfugiés* back into the fold and back home to France. Quesnot recognizes that he is not the first person to have developed such a plan, but insists that the time is now:

I swear, Monseigneur, that if one wants to judge the refugees by the sentiments that they bore at the beginning of their Refuge and which they conserved until the Peace [of Ryswick], one could not expect their return and their conversion but by the Infinite Mercy and all-powerfulness of God. But if, on the other hand, one considers that most of them suffer in this land, that they love France, and that they are filled with a spirit of return, one can excuse me if I am convinced in spirit and heart that as soon as we have been able to gain a certain number of persons whose return might make enough noise, the others, set at ease by finding a road already traveled, and having friends, brothers, or parents to imitate, will follow like sheep and return to France with the same rapidity in which they left.⁵⁰

Quesnot’s letter stresses the transformation of the *réfugiés* into *réunis*. His language is loaded with images drawn from Catholic—and not Calvinist—discourse. Most telling is his use of “mouton” to describe the flocks that will run home to their beloved France as soon as someone shows them the way. Calvinists tended to use the word “brébis,” as Quesnot himself had back in 1689, when he described himself as a “son without a father, a stranger without a

⁴⁹ See Fabrice Preyat, *Le Petit Concile de Bossuet et la christianisation des mœurs et des pratiques littéraires sous Louis XIV* (Berlin: Hopf, 2007).

⁵⁰ “J’avoue Monseigneur que si on veut jugez des Refugiez par les sentimens qu’ils ont fait paroître dans le commencement de leur Refuge et qu’ils ont conservez jusqu’à la paix on ne peut attendre leur retour et leur conversion que de la Misericorde Infinie et de la toute puissance de Dieu, mais si d’autre côté on considere que la plupart souffrent dans ce payes, qu’ils ayment la France et qu’ils sont remplis d’un esprit de retour on m’excusera sy je me suis mis dans l’Esprit et dans le coeur que des que nous aurons peu [*recte*: pû] gagner un certain nombre de personnes, pour qui leur retour fasse assez de Bruit, les autres bien aises de trouver une planche faite et d’avoir des amis des freres ou des parens a imiter se suivront comme des moutons et entreront en France avec autant la même rapidité qu’ils en sont sortis.” Letter to Noailles of 12 October 1699. F-Psg, MS 1943.

friend, a sheep without a shepherd, and a Huguenot surround by a legion of enemies.”⁵¹ A decade later, the lonely sheep has transformed himself into a potential shepherd, but for a very different sort of flock.

Quesnot, like many other refugees, here attributes the ultimate failure of the Refuge to the Peace of Ryswick, an agreement that transformed the refugees’ ardor into desperation. Rather than providing them with religious freedom in France—what most thought they were fighting for—the treaty actually allowed the French king to enforce pure Catholicism in conquered territories.⁵² Moreover, while the Ryswick negotiations were underway back in 1697, the French state decreed a new naturalization tax on all foreigners in the kingdom, revoking all previous individual and collective naturalizations.⁵³ This forced, collective “naturalization” met with great protests from the other European powers, mostly because of its unprecedented scope. For the first time, the bans on holding public office, obtaining local citizenship or guild membership, and passing on goods through inheritance were extended even to the French-born kin of immigrants. Though the tax itself never resulted in financial rewards for the kingdom, it contributed to the construction of a new model of French citizenship. It also increased the sense amongst the *réfugiés* that a return to their former lives in France was now impossible.

For Quesnot, it was perhaps the prospect of an inheritance that encouraged him to collaborate with his long-time friend, the rebellious d’Artis. Quesnot’s father had converted and returned to France in 1698 thanks to the intervention of François d’Usson, marquis de Bonrepas, a diplomat in the Dutch Republic (and perhaps known to Jean-Jacques from his time in Denmark, where Bonrepas was ambassador from 1692 to 1697). Once returned to France, Daniel Quesnot was awarded the pension of 1000 *livres* for converted ministers.⁵⁴ As the eldest son, Jean-Jacques stood to inherit that pension if only he could regain his inheritance rights, which entailed converting to Catholicism and being allowed to take up residence in France. It also meant gaining leverage against his father, who had decided to

⁵¹ “...”regardés-vous en ma personne, comme un fils sans pere, comme un étranger sans ami, comme une brebis sans Pasteur, & comme un Huguenot environné d’une legion d’ennemis.” Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée, *L’innocence accablée, ou Le prisonnier trahi* (Cologne: Guillaume Forbenius, 1689), 70.

⁵² The infamous Fourth Clause, still the subject of negotiations in 1699. On the huge disappointment of Ryswick, see especially Dedieu, *Le rôle politique des protestants français (1685-1715)*. Many of the reconversion cases that Yardeni studied occurred in the years immediately following Ryswick. Yardeni, “Conversions et reconversions.”

⁵³ The implications of this tax are most thoroughly discussed in Jean-François Dubost and Peter Sahlins, *Et si on faisait payer les étrangers? Louis XIV, les immigrés et quelques autres* (Paris: Flammarion, 1999). See also Peter Sahlins, *Unnaturally French: Foreign Citizens in the Old Regime and After* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), esp. 41–42.

⁵⁴ Daniel Quesnot thus took advantage of the declaration of 10 February 1698, granting amnesty to refugees for six months, as long as they converted. Transcribed in Pilatte, ed. *Édits, Déclarations et Arrests*, 368–70. In 1698, the crown issued a number of concessions to returning subjects, including restoring their properties (29 December 1698). 1699, on the other hand, saw three declarations forbidding the movement of Protestants; the conversion project was apparently not working.

disinherit Jean-Jacques in October of 1699—the month in which this project was first conceived.⁵⁵

That said, the form that Quesnot's project took indicates that perhaps he was motivated by more than just financial gain. What is truly striking about d'Artis's plan, as well as a letter that Quesnot addressed to Louis XIV, is the bold tone they took in recommending a soft approach. Time and again in their letters, Quesnot and d'Artis speak of tolerance, of moderate behavior toward the newly-converted that will eventually lead to a union of the faiths, thus ending religious difference once and for all. Quesnot, for example, uses the word "tolerance" no fewer than five times in his letter to the French king. As the correspondence between Quesnot, d'Artis, Aveillon, Noailles, Bossuet, Bidal, and the French court continued throughout the winter of 1699, the trio in Hamburg developed a new "confession of faith" that might truly appeal to the *réfugiés*. The document, prepared by d'Artis, stressed the similarities between Calvinism and Catholicism in order to make it easier for Huguenots to convert. It is therefore no surprise that they had the support of the Jansenist-leaning Oratorians.⁵⁶ D'Artis's project bears some similarity to proposals within France in the 1670s for a Gallican break with Rome and a reunification with French Calvinism, but a more immediate model might be found in the recommendations of Leibniz—d'Artis's friend and correspondent—to unify the Protestant faiths.⁵⁷

Under the guise of an impresario, looking for actors for a theater company, Quesnot—newly associated with Gerhard Schott of Hamburg—traveled to Paris in the winter of 1699 in order to further his cause, journeying through the Dutch Republic and the Spanish Netherlands. His project with d'Artis and Bidal never came to fruition (as the letter Quesnot recounted to his Dutch judges attests), but it taught him an important lesson that he would later exploit much more fully: that borders were extremely porous for a theatrical impresario. Not only did this identity provide him with a convincing excuse to travel, it also allowed him access to important actors on the political stage. And, though this experience encouraged Quesnot to break off his association with the "hypocrite" minister d'Artis, it also

⁵⁵ For further details on this episode, see Charles Bost, *Les Prédicants Protestants des Cévennes et du Bas-Languedoc, 1684-1700*, 2 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1912), II:230-31.

⁵⁶ Quesnot seems to have had Jansenists on his mind while preparing *L'Opéra de la Haye*. On p. 134, he mistakes the title of his first publication, *L'innocence accablée*, for the title of a Jansenist tract, *L'innocence opprimée par la calomnie ou l'histoire de la congrégation des Filles de l'Enfance de Notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ* (Toulouse: Pierre de la Noue, 1688). This pamphlet, probably written by Antoine Arnauld, defends a religious order based in Toulouse and Aix-en-Provence that had been suppressed by Louis XIV in 1686 because of Jansenist accusations.

⁵⁷ Back in the 1670s, the real enemy was construed as the Pope, not the French king. See Labrousse, "Les idées politiques du Refuge," 161. On the project of Leibniz, see Joachim Whaley, *Religious Toleration and Social Change in Hamburg, 1529-1819* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 129-30. The correspondence between d'Artis and Leibniz is discussed in Schröcker, "Gabriel d'Artis, Leibniz und das Journal de Hambourg."

seems to have affected Quesnot with a lasting desire to prove that he was indeed a righteous Huguenot.⁵⁸

Agents at the Opera

The attitudes and connections he cultivated during the battles over the Opera of The Hague attest to Quesnot's new-found enthusiasm for his religion and his renewed self-identification as a refugee and a victim of religious persecution.⁵⁹ More personal matters played a role as well; five days after Quesnot gave up his last stake in the opera company to Élie Hébrard of Amsterdam (a Huguenot surgeon and another friend of d'Artis), the magistrates of The Hague issued a new privilege to the opera company, naming Deseschaliers sole proprietor. Three days after that, on 23 March 1702, the news reached The Hague that William III, the last hope of the Huguenots, was dead. The Opera of The Hague was forced to close for a period of public mourning. Two days later, Anthonie Heinsius, Grand Pensionary of Holland, announced to the States General that the States of Holland could not support the election of another Stadholder.⁶⁰ The next day, Quesnot's first wife, Marie Roux of Misoen in the Dauphiné, was buried in the cemetery of the Westerkerk in Amsterdam. Quesnot had some important choices to make about his life, if choice played any role in the matter. His loyalties soon came to the test, for he was quietly approached by one of the French diplomats in The Hague. Barré, the secretary to the comte d'Avaux, offered Quesnot status and cash—if only he would become a spy for the French.

Quesnot was a known quantity to the French diplomatic community, thanks to his opera company, and perhaps his earlier adventures in Hamburg.⁶¹ His experience in the theater may have made Quesnot particularly attractive as an informant, for the theater

⁵⁸ D'Artis, remarkably, was never suspected of consorting with Catholics. Returned to Berlin in 1701, he was investigated for having potentially converted to Lutheranism, but was found innocent and orthodox and restored to his former position at the French church there. See the documents in D-Bga, I. HA Rep. 122, 7aI nr. 1, vol. 1, folios 86-87 (22 September 1701, "Darty predigers changement in der religion zu untersuchen"), 107-108 (response of d'Artis). The struggle continued in 1702, with d'Artis finally reinstated by order of the King in Prussia on 26 October 1702; D-Bga, I. HA Rep. 122, 3bI nr. 9. He did not actually take up the position until 17 May 1703; D-Bga, I. HA Rep. 122, 44 nr. 2. His continued disagreements with Charles Ancillon finally led to his permanent dismissal in 1713, at which time he moved to the Dutch Republic—and lodged with Élie Hébrard, the great support of the Opera of The Hague. See d'Artis's letter of 1 February 1714 to Gijsbert Cuper, NL-DHk, 72 D 58.

⁵⁹ On the rise of religious enthusiasm amongst Huguenot refugees at the turn of the eighteenth century and its manifestations in the Camisard prophetic movement, see Lionel Laborie, "The French Prophets: A Cultural History of Religious Enthusiasm in Post-Toleration England (1689-1730)" (Ph.D. diss., University of East Anglia, 2010).

⁶⁰ William's final wishes, ensuring the ascendancy of his nephew Johan Willem Friso, were thus controverted. Heinsius became the effective political leader of the Dutch Republic. The "Second Stadholderless Period" lasted until 1747. On the "Republic of the Regents," see esp. Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), Part IV, Chapter 36.

⁶¹ French resident Barré often reported attending the opera, but never gave details of the performances. See his correspondence in F-Pae, CP Hollande 197 (1701-02).

provided opportunities to rub elbows with the rich, famous, and powerful. The fact that theater people were expected to lead an itinerant lifestyle rendered their mobility and ability to cross geographical boundaries unsuspecting. As a result, performers had long served as spies. Back in 1676, for example, three singers from the Paris Opéra were sent to the English court with composer and director Robert Cambert. There, they provided essential information to the French court about the affairs of Charles II.⁶² Other performers, like the singer Atto Melani, turned their early spying into respectable diplomatic careers.⁶³ Undoubtedly, many others went undetected.

What the French diplomats might not have known was that Quesnot had reformed once more. Upon being approached by Barré, Quesnot immediately informed Anthonie Heinsius, Grand Pensionary of Holland, that the French diplomat was trawling for spies at the Opera. Quesnot interpreted Barré's offer as an opportunity to display his fidelity to the Dutch Republic, allowing him to offer himself as a double agent for the Dutch Republic. He did not reject Barré outright; rather, as he later recounted, "far from making it known to him that this employ, by which he thought to honor me, was sinister, and unworthy of a man who has a right heart, and who owes to this State his Refuge and the good will that his family has enjoyed up until now, I made him hope for all."⁶⁴ In truth, Quesnot was likely stalling in the hopes of receiving Heinsius's approval.⁶⁵ Quesnot, too distracted by his upset over the opera to think about the "public good," as he described it, left Barré hanging. Their paths diverged for a time when Barré was dismissed from the Dutch Republic due to the official declaration of war against France 15 May 1702.

As for Quesnot, he constructed a band of *opéristes* from his supporters in The Hague, performing at Haarlem that summer.⁶⁶ By the fall, Quesnot departed for his old turf, Hamburg, bringing with him a number of performers and at least one vocalist "to sing there

⁶² See John Buttrey, "New light on Robert Cambert in London, and his *Ballet et Musique*," *Early Music* 23 (1995). Buttrey suggests that Cambert himself was no unfortunate exile, as he has often been portrayed after losing the Paris Opéra to Lully. The evidence suggests that Cambert traveled to London with the full knowledge and approval of the king.

⁶³ See Roger Freitas, *Portrait of a Castrato: Politics, Patronage, and Music in the Life of Atto Melani* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁶⁴ "Bien loin de lui faire connoistre que l'Employ, dont il croyoit m'honorer estoit Patibulaire, et tres Indigne d'un homme qui a le Coeur Droict, et qui doit a Cest Estat son Refuge et le bonheur dont sa famille a jouÿ jusqu'a present, je lui fit tout esperer." Request of 8 October 1703. NL-DHna, *Secrete Notulen*, 1.01.03 nr. 4127. The full text of this document appears as Appendix 4.1. I heartily thank Augustus J. Veenendaal, Jr. for his detailed explanations of the archives of the States General (among many other things). It is thanks to his instruction that I was able to discover this document.

⁶⁵ Quesnot later recalled, "Si j'avois esté assez heureux que d'entrer dans le service de l'Estat lorsque j'eü l'honneur de vous le proposer au depart du Sieur Barré, résident de france, il est très certain que j'aurois déjà rendu de bons services..." Letter to Heinsius, dated Hamburg, 10 November 1702, NL-DHna Heinsius Archief, inv. nr. 806. Transcribed in Augustus J. Veenendaal Jr., ed. *De briefwisseling van Anthonie Heinsius, 1702-1720*, 19 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976-2001), I:531-2.

⁶⁶ Jan Fransen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: H. Champion, 1925), 211.

at the opera.”⁶⁷ Perhaps Quesnot hoped to take advantage of the new management of the Hamburg Opera. Schott had leased the theater to Otto Claußen and Jacob Mayer in late August 1701.⁶⁸ The pair promptly encouraged certain innovations, such as an increased number of productions dedicated to various sovereigns.⁶⁹ It is quite likely that Claußen and Mayer also experimented with foreign performers on the Hamburg stage once again, for upon Gerhard Schott’s death on 25 October 1702, his widow Anna Cecilia Schott wrested control of the opera house away from the lessors, complaining that they had sullied the reputation of the house. Claußen and Mayer questioned Frau Schott’s own attitude toward the opera, saying that it was doubtful that she would keep the house open because “her whole life long she has been no great admirer of these performances, but has cursed and rejected them to the highest degree.”⁷⁰ It was perhaps not the opera itself, but another kind of spectacle, to which Frau Schott so objected. Soon after she gained full control of the Gänsemarkt opera house, she filed a complaint with the city government about “foreign actors” (*frembd Comœdianten*) threatening her business.⁷¹ Could that have been Quesnot’s troupe?

The death of Senator Schott in October of 1702 once more caused Quesnot to rethink his career.⁷² Left without a sponsor yet again, Quesnot recalled Barré’s proposal—and his dreams of becoming an agent for the Republic. Quesnot wrote to Barré soon after Schott’s death to offer his services, receiving an obliging letter and a cipher to enable secret communication with the French court in reply. Quesnot then wrote to Heinsius, declaring his eternal fidelity to the States General. As proof of his good intentions, the impresario

⁶⁷ Testimony of Manon Suar, NL-DHga, Favon 751, 9 May 1703. Suar, a singer, got into a disagreement with Quesnot about payment just before departing for Hamburg. He confiscated her trunk. The goods were bailed out by the ever-resourceful Hébrard, but Suar abandoned her travel plans.

⁶⁸ Very little has been written about Claußen and Mayer’s efforts. For a brief overview of their experience, see Joachim R. M. Wendt, “Neues zur Geschichte der Hamburger Gänsemarktoper,” *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 18 (2001), 180-81.

⁶⁹ See the list of festive performances provided by Schröder as “Tabelle 1: Festaufführungen und Fürstenbesuche in der Hamburger Oper.” Dorothea Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte auf der Opernbühne: Barockes Musiktheater in Hamburg im Dienst von Politik und Diplomatie (1690-1745)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 321-26.

⁷⁰ “...wie lange nun dieselbe [Frau Schott] solche halten wird, wird sich bald äussern, umb so viel mehr, da sie Ihre Lebens Zeit keine grosse Liebhaberinnen dergleichen Spiele gewesen, sondern solche höchsten vermaledeyet und verworffen.” Transcribed in Wendt, “Neues zur Geschichte,” 181.

⁷¹ Undated letter of late 1702, with a further complaint dated 19 January 1703; D-Ha, 111-1, Cl.VII Lit. Fl Nr. 2, vol. 4a. Partially transcribed in Walter Schulze, *Die Quellen der Hamburger Oper (1678-1738). Eine bibliographisch-statistische Studie zur Geschichte der ersten stehenden deutschen Oper* (Hamburg/Oldenburg: Stalling, 1938), 159-60.

⁷² “Mais la mort de M.r le Senateur Schott mon fidele associé fit évanouir une seconde fois toute mes esperances...” Request of 8 October 1703 (Appendix 4.1). Quesnot called his Hamburg expedition “l’entreprise de mon opera de Hambourg.”

included the letters and the cipher from Barré.⁷³ Quesnot then renewed his relationship with the French diplomats assigned to Hamburg and Denmark in order to make himself even more useful to the States.

Such connections allowed the impresario to furnish Heinsius with important (and accurate) information about the movements of French operatives between Hamburg and the Dutch Republic. Quesnot's letters mention his conversations with François-Jacques Bouton, comte de Chamilly (*envoyé extraordinaire* to Copenhagen, 1698-1702), and many of the insights the impresario provided correspond to Bidal's reports to the French court.⁷⁴ Other stories are not as easily corroborated; they may indeed have been motivated by Quesnot's personal conflicts at the Opera of The Hague. Still furious with Deseschaliers, Quesnot warned Heinsius that that "it is very certain...that there are creatures of the Comte d'Avaux in the Opera of The Hague." He asserted that Deseschaliers must know who they are, for the musician had had many meetings with d'Avaux while in Paris in 1699.⁷⁵ D'Avaux had even given Deseschaliers letters of recommendation. Quesnot was so sure of this fact that he was willing to swear by it.⁷⁶ The accusation against Deseschaliers might be interpreted as revenge, but considering that Quesnot's information was generally sound, it may well be that he knew something about Deseschaliers.

Gathering information was easy, for, as he told Heinsius, "they think me far too French to refuse me."⁷⁷ Being "far too French" in Hamburg undoubtedly meant that Quesnot was (again) posing as a Catholic, like many of the *nouveaux convertis* still in France.⁷⁸ Perhaps it was Quesnot's intimate knowledge of French opera and theater that allowed him to pass as French. His lived experience on and off the stage was saturated with the cultural style of the French-language theater, allowing him to convincingly bring off an identity as an

⁷³ Letter to Heinsius of 10 November 1702. There are four surviving letters from Hamburg between November 1702 and May 1703; additional letters referred to in Quesnot's correspondence are missing. In May 1703, Quesnot either went to Moscow (as he says in his letter of 1 May) or simply back to The Hague. Quesnot did have connections in Moscow via his earlier acquaintance with François Jacques Lefort (d. 1699), the dedicatee of *La femme démasquée*.

⁷⁴ Ibid. For example, Quesnot doubted Chamilly's financial solvency, a fact corroborated by Bidal's report of 7 November 1702, F-Pae, CP Hambourg nr. 27. Chamilly was a primary contact of Quesnot's in Hamburg. Interestingly, Chamilly also served as the handler of August Wilhelm of Wolfenbüttel when that prince decided to become a French informant. F-Pae, CP Hambourg 27, 27 October 1702.

⁷⁵ In the summer of 1699, Deseschaliers was hired in Paris by Angelo Costantini (the Mezzetin of the Comédie Italienne before its "banishment" in 1697) for the court of the Saxon Elector. It is possible that he first crossed paths with Quesnot at that time.

⁷⁶ "Il est très certain, aussy, qu'il y a dans l'opéra de la Haye des créatures de M.r le conte d'Avaux. Desechaliers, les doit connoistre car il a eu plusieurs conferences avec ce ministre lorsqu'il estoit à Paris, et même il lui donna plusieurs Lestres de recomandation; pour cela j'en suis sy assuré que j'en puis faire serment." Ibid.

⁷⁷ "L'on me croit trop bon François pour me le refuser." Letter of 23 March 1703. NL-DHna, Heinsius Archief nr. 886. Transcribed in Veenendaal Jr., ed. *Briefwisseling*, II:120-21.

⁷⁸ The belief that France had truly become *toute Catholique* was widespread amongst her neighbors at this time, necessitating clarifications from the French crown after 1685 and again after 1697. See Peter Sahlins, "Fictions of a Catholic France: The Naturalization of Foreigners, 1685-1787," *Representations*, no. 47 (1994).

impresario. Even though many of his theatrical expeditions failed, the mere fact that he was able to continue receiving permission to perform anywhere shows that he was able to successfully operate in the sphere of the public theater. That same theatrical experience allowed Quesnot to successfully negotiate the margins of identity entailed by his role as a double agent, but necessitated the continual reiteration of his sincerity and deep connections to the Republic. As he stressed to Heinsius, the Dutch Republic—and not France—was “a land that I must regard as my country, because I am not only a *bourgeois*, but because my mother, my wife, and my children are buried in Amsterdam, and all my sisters are established and married there.”⁷⁹ Through the bodies of his kin buried in Amsterdam, Quesnot was literally rooted in the soil of the Dutch Republic, whence he would soon return to begin a new stage of his career.

Secret Affairs

In a time of war, secret agents, spies, and correspondents assumed the activities of diplomats, providing essential information that aided in determining military and diplomatic movements. Heinsius and his assistant, *griffier* François Fagel II, managed a mini-army of correspondents during the War of the Spanish Succession.⁸⁰ Quesnot’s correspondence with Heinsius from Hamburg made him part of an informal circuit of informants who did not necessarily expect payment for their services. Heinsius and Fagel used such private correspondence to build relationships and trust with individuals who might later prove formally useful to the state.⁸¹ What Quesnot desired was the formalization of his relationship to the Dutch state, for such a relationship would provide him with additional resources to finance his activities. To be placed on the payroll of the States General, however, necessitated approval by one of the States’ seemingly infinite committees.

Everyone knew that the first step in negotiating with this bureaucratic behemoth was to prepare a request, outlining what one would do or had done for the good of the States, and what one wished them to do in exchange. The written request was then delivered to the offices of the States General in The Hague. Fagel, the administrative director for the States, sorted through the incoming correspondence together with Heinsius, deciding whether a request should be assigned for action to a regular committee or a secret committee, or whether it should just be ignored. Individuals sometimes had to go through the process numerous times in order to get any attention, and some resorted to decorating their requests with various sorts of artwork to make them stand out from the piles that the States General received every day. One particularly creative individual in 1760 included an illustration of himself on his knees, begging the States to take pity on his unfortunate case (Figure 4.1).

⁷⁹ “...un payez que je dois regarder comme ma patrie, puis que je n’en suis pas seulement bourgeois, mais que ma mere, ma femme et mes enfans sont enterrés à Amsterdam, et que toute mes soeurs y sont establies et mariées.” Letter to Heinsius, 23 March 1703.

⁸⁰ Guido de Bruin, *Geheimhouding en verraad. De geheimhouding van staatszaken ten tijde van de Republiek (1600-1750)* (The Hague: SDU, 1991), 328-29.

⁸¹ On the network of secret correspondents utilized by the Dutch Republic, see *ibid.*, 323ff.

Figure 4.1



Request to the States General from L.M.J. Franckson, age 21.
 NL-DHna, unfilled passport requests, 1.01.04 nr. 8039

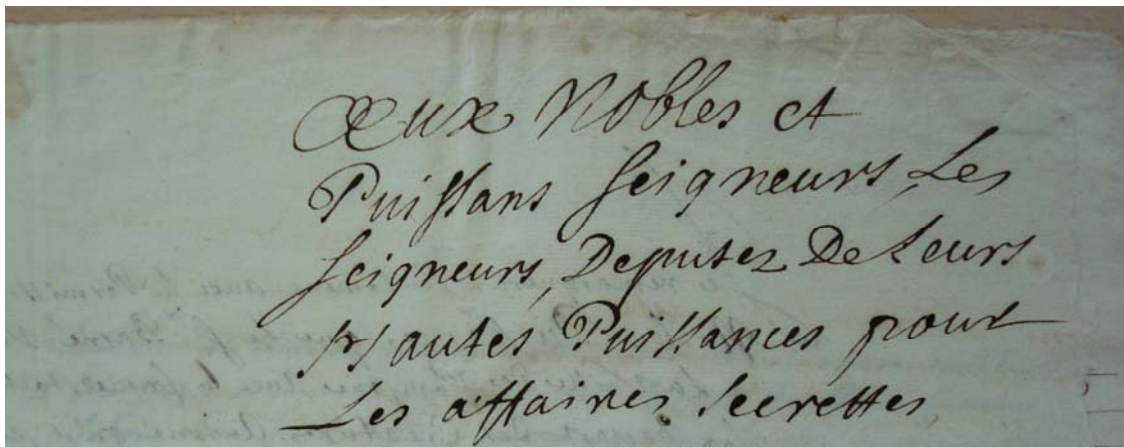
Despite the care and talent that went into making this request, it remained unfilled.

Quesnot needed no such decorative borders or images of supplication when he delivered a request to the States General on 8 October 1703 (see Appendix 4.1). Quesnot somehow knew that becoming an agent of the Republic needed to be approved by the Committee on the Foreign and Secret Affairs (*Besogne tot de buitenlandse en secrete zaken*). The Secret Affairs handled only the most sensitive foreign, military, and maritime affairs. It was generally formed of the most respected and trustworthy member of each provincial delegation (seven in total), joined by the *griffier* and the Grand Pensionary himself.⁸²

⁸² See *ibid.*, 271ff. The delegates to the Secret Affairs were at times required to consult with their provincial delegations. This meant that in the Dutch Republic there were more people involved in making foreign policy than anywhere else in the world. Leaks were common and “secrecy” was more of an ideal than a reality. See Karl de Leeuw, “The Black Chamber in the Dutch Republic during the War of the Spanish Succession and Its Aftermath, 1707-1715,” *The Historical Journal* 42 (1999); Karel Davids, “Public Knowledge and Common Secrets. Secrecy and Its Limits in the Early-Modern Netherlands,” *Early Science and Medicine* 10 (2005).

In his customary bold and idiosyncratic handwriting, he addressed the request to the “Nobles et Puissans Seigneurs, Les Seigneurs, Deputez de Leurs Hautes Puissances pour les Affaires Secrettes”—a very uncommon occurrence (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2



Address line of Quesnot’s request, 8 October 1703
NL-DHna, *Secrete Notulen*, 1.01.03 nr. 4127

Addressing the request to a specific committee, rather than to the States General in general, demonstrates that Quesnot had insider information. That the request bears neither his name nor his signature further demonstrates Quesnot’s insider status.

Quesnot’s correspondence with Heinsius paid off, for he received a direct recommendation from the *raadpensionaris*, who was able to vouch for Quesnot’s “zeal and good intentions for the service of the State,” as highlighted in the introductory paragraph of the request. No doubt Heinsius was convinced not only by Quesnot’s actions in Hamburg, but also by the impresario’s connections to Heinsius’s native city of Delft, where Quesnot’s maternal uncle Augustin Baccuet had been the minister of the French Church from 1670 until 1701.⁸³

What is truly remarkable about Quesnot’s request to become a spy for the Dutch Republic is the emphasis it places on Quesnot’s wide-ranging connections, forged as a result of his migrations as a Huguenot and an impresario. He names numerous names, from Barré to the comte d’Avaux, from Senator Schott to Louis Phélypeaux, comte de Pontchartrain, Chancellor of France.⁸⁴ Quesnot even claims that the comte d’Avaux “had made it a point of

⁸³ Heinsius’s knowledge of Quesnot’s family was made clear in a letter of 1708, in which he referred to Quesnot as “a person, who is the nephew of the late Monsieur Baccuet, in his lifetime the minister of the French Church at Delft, and known to me on occasion” (een persoon, die neveu is van mons. Bacuet zalr., in zijn leeven predicant in de France kerck tot Delft, ende bij die occasie aan mij bekend). Veenendaal Jr., ed. *Briefwisseling*, VII:385.

⁸⁴ Pontchartrain had his own connections to the theater; in 1701, he and Louis XIV instituted a policy of censorial review for new plays. Gaston Maugras, *Les comédiens hors la loi*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Lévy, 1887), 155.

honor to press at court everything that comes from my part,” backing up his claims with letters and documents from Versailles.⁸⁵ Some of these connections were undoubtedly forged when Quesnot visited Paris back in 1699.

It is indeed Quesnot’s career as an impresario that crowns his request, the last bit of information that he offered in order to convince the Secret Affairs of his legitimacy. Just as it had in 1699, Quesnot’s career gave him an excuse to be on the road and the paperwork to enable his journeys—essential qualities for a successful *entrepreneur*, whether of the opera or of information. Quesnot underscored the usefulness of his capacity, writing, “I could not wish for a better pretext for entering France than the one I already have, which is to go there as the Superintendent of the Pleasures of the King of Prussia, searching for a troupe of actors for the service of His Majesty.”⁸⁶ How exactly he came to be associated with Friedrich I, King in Prussia, remains a mystery, but the title held a certain cachet.⁸⁷ Affirming his Prussian connections, Quesnot informed the Secret Affairs that Wilhelm von Schmettau, the Prussian ambassador to the Dutch Republic, had been charged with obtaining a passport for him from the States General, a claim that the Commission could easily validate. Schmettau’s intervention was indeed necessary, for the Secret Affairs itself was not able to issue passports due to the “secret” nature of its operations. Passport requests were instead handled by a regular committee of the States General. Making his movements even easier, Quesnot revealed that he already had “good passports” from both France and Spain—a real bonus for a spy during the War of the Spanish Succession.

As with all such requests, Quesnot made certain demands in exchange for his services. He asks that his family be cared for and that his sister be given the pension once accorded to his mother. He expects his expenses to be taken care of. If he should be so unfortunate as to be captured, he requests that he be exchanged for “some prisoner of merit and character.” But his final demand reveals the extent to which Quesnot sees his life in the theater:

Finally, Your Noble Mightinesses will have the goodness to intercede for me upon my return [from the Spanish Netherlands and/or Paris] with Their High and Mightinesses, so that I can obtain the same title in the Seven Provinces and particularly that of Holland that I have obtained from the King of Prussia, and

⁸⁵ These documents do not survive. Presumably, they were genuine.

⁸⁶ “...je ne scaurois souhaite un plus beau pretexte pour entrer en France, que celui que j’ay qui est d’aller en qualité d’Intendant des Plaisirs du Roy de Prusse chercher une troupe de Comédiens pour le service de Sa Majesté.” Request of 8 October 1703.

⁸⁷ The fancy title was certainly held after 1706 by Georges du Rocher, an actor and impresario who had worked in The Hague in 1701 and likely knew Quesnot. It is possible that he purchased the title from Quesnot in Brussels in 1706. Du Rocher’s Brussels adventures—including being held at sword point by a group of angry actors—are partially related in Jean-Jacques Olivier, *Les comédiens français dans les cours d’Allemagne au XVIIIe siècle: La cour royale de Prusse, 16.-1786*, 4 vols., vol. 2 (Paris: Société Française d’Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1902; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1971), 84-87. For the rest of the story, see the documents in D-Bga, I. HA Rep. 9 AV, LL7c, Fasc. 3.

additionally, the privilege to be able to solely establish, for the duration of my life, in The Hague and in the provinces, all the French entertainments (including the opera, plays, concerts, etc), without anyone else being permitted to establish or continue any other without first being arranged or agreed with me. This could be worth four or five hundred *écus* per year without costing the State anything.⁸⁸

Quesnot's request for a monopoly on French entertainment that would bring in large revenues without costing the state a penny looks familiar, for it closely resembles Lully's original *privilège* for the Académie Royale de Musique. Yet Quesnot's vision of French entertainment is much broader. He does not require a mere opera company, as Lully had; Quesnot also wants to dominate the spoken theater. French entertainments (at least in Holland) could also include public concerts in Quesnot's scheme—something that would not happen in Paris until 1725, when Anne Danican Philidor opened the Concert Spirituel. How Quesnot's proposed concerts could be “French” bespeaks the crystallization of national styles in instrumental music, styles that could be identifiably “national” even without recourse to language.

Quesnot's offer to cover his secret activities by his work in the theater was a stroke of genius, for the avenue that Barré had suggested to him—becoming a secretary, assistant, or clerk to a military leader—would soon be closed to Huguenots in the Republic for good. It had long been the case in the Republic that low-level officials in the military complex (a multinational affair) came from various and mixed backgrounds. Huguenots often filled such positions thanks to their high levels of literacy. Such positions of trust posed dangerous threats to state security, however, especially during the War of the Spanish Succession. Numerous reports of treachery and conversion compounded the difficulties that the States General was already having with Huguenots. Finally, the States took action in the spring of 1704, resolving that only *Dutch*—that is, native-born, and of native-born parentage—persons may serve in these functions. To make their point even clearer, they stated that “inferiors born as enemies of the State, even those of the true Reformed religion,” might not continue their service, even if they had received special dispensation from higher-ups.⁸⁹ A mere accident of birth on French soil could thus render someone an enemy of the state.

Quesnot, as a secret operative in direct correspondence with Fagel (the spymaster of the Republic), was not subject to this latest disability, for he was simply an impresario. His request was approved remarkably quickly. On 20 October 1703, the Commission on the

⁸⁸ “Vos Nobles Puissances aurons enfin la bonté a mon Retour d’Interceder pour moy aupres de leurs Hautes Puissances pour que j’obtienne le même titre dans les Sept Provinces et Particulièrement dans celle de Hollande que j’ay obtenu du Roy de Prusse et joint a cela le Privilege de pouvoir seul establir pendant ma Vie a La Haye et dans la province tous les divertissemens françois comme opera Comedie Concers, &c, sans qu’il soit permis a qui que ce soit d’en pouvoir establir ny en continuer aucun sans auparavant d’estre accomodé ou accordé avec moy. Cela pourra Valoir quatre ou cinq cens Escu tous les ans sans qu’il en coûte rien a l’État.”

⁸⁹ “...geboren onderdanen van de vyanden van den state, schoon zynde van de ware gereformeerde religie...” Quoted in Bruin, *Geheimhouding en verraad*, 107-08.

Secret Affairs decided that Quesnot should be given the large sum of 500 florins, to be paid out of funds designated for operations in Flanders.⁹⁰ Quesnot collected the cash two days later.⁹¹ He was headed south.

Theatrical boundaries

Quesnot knew that the Spanish Netherlands (the area roughly corresponding to modern-day Belgium) was a veritable clearing house for French-speaking actors and musicians familiar with the French style. The roving bands of actors and *opéristes* that had long been entertaining the courts of Europe were frequently based in Brussels, Tournai, Mons, or Ghent.⁹² The personnel of many troupes had direct connections to France: it was not uncommon for performers from the French provinces and even Paris to seek their fortunes abroad when opportunities evaporated at home. The tight controls in Paris meant that very few performers, no matter how talented, could secure steady jobs there. A place at the Comédie Française or the Opéra—the dream of most—was extremely difficult to obtain. Sometimes, performers spent years honing their skills abroad before even daring to audition in Paris.⁹³ Those who failed their auditions simply packed their trunks again and moved on. For example, after Claude-Ferdinand Guillemois du Chesnay, *dit* Rosidor, was rejected by the Comédie Française in 1691, he traveled back to Brussels, where he had trained. His fame steadily grew, until he and his wife, Marie Troche de Rosidor, were invited to Stockholm in 1699 to lead the new troupe of the Swedish king.

Mademoiselle de Rosidor—as Marie Troche was usually called—had already acquired a reputation as one of the finest actresses of her day. When her Swedish service ended in 1704, she returned to Flanders to seek a new troupe. There she became acquainted with a

⁹⁰ By comparison, destitute veterans of the Nine Years War generally received only ten florins.

⁹¹ Record of payment dated 22 October 1703. NL-DHna, “Rekening van Anthony van Hardenbroek,” 1.01.06 nr. 12511. One of the most helpful aspects for researchers working on the Dutch Republic is the neurotically meticulous way in which accounts were kept. By tracing the money (which Quesnot mentioned in a letter to Heinsius of 1708), I found a date that enabled me to locate Quesnot’s original request amongst the copious minutes of the committee’s deliberations.

⁹² Fransen’s book is an essential resource for the Southern Netherlands as well; Fransen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande*. On the situation in Brussels, see esp. Henri Liebrecht, *Histoire du Théâtre Français à Bruxelles au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1923; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1977). On Ghent, see Prosper Claeys, *Histoire du théâtre à Gand*, 3 vols. (Ghent: J. Vuylsteke, 1892). For German courts, see Jean Jacques Olivier, *Les comédiens français dans les cours d’Allemagne au XVIIIe siècle*, 4 vols. (Paris: Société Française d’Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1901-05). These scholars were part of a major movement amongst theater historians in the early twentieth-century, resulting in the founding of the *Société des Historiens du Théâtre*. Two other members, Fuchs and Mongrédien, produced biographical dictionaries still essential to studies of itinerant French-speaking troupes. Max Fuchs, *Lexique des troupes de comédiens au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Droz, 1944); Georges Mongrédien and Jean Robert, *Les comédiens français du XVIIe siècle: Dictionnaire biographique, suivi d’une inventaire des troupes, 1590-1710, d’après des documents inédits*, 3rd ed. (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1981).

⁹³ An excellent short introduction to the experiences of actors is Georges Mongrédien, *La vie quotidienne des comédiens au temps de Molière* (Monaco: Hachette, 1966).

certain Dutch undercover agent, Quesnot, who saw in her the foundation of his next theatrical company. As an experienced veteran of the stage and of the challenges that constant travel entailed, Rosidor was a great asset to Quesnot, who planned to return to theatrical life in the Dutch Republic.⁹⁴ Besides her reputation and experience, she and her family were well connected in the international French theatrical network, with careers that had ranged throughout the French provinces and well beyond.

The ties of blood, collegiality, and experience were strong in the theater. Performers and directors often kept track of each other over great distances and spans of time, as is evident in existing correspondence between players and singers. Performers wrote of their desire to work together again, asked if there were anything that could be done to aid a stalled career, inquired after the health of friends and relatives. Sometimes, they gossiped about the activities of rival groups or reported news that they had heard of shipwrecked troupes. One actor even asked a colleague in the Dutch Republic to buy him some good Dutch cheese.⁹⁵

Thus could Quesnot write excitedly of his new plans for The Hague to another theater professional, Mademoiselle Cherrier, who directed a troupe at Maastricht (in the far southeast corner of the Dutch Republic) in the early eighteenth century.⁹⁶ She praised the four performers that Quesnot had already engaged, including Mademoiselle de Rosidor as principal actress and Mademoiselle Diar (formerly of the Opera of The Hague) as principal singer. Cherrier offered to send Quesnot members of her own troupe should he need further personnel. Remarkably, considering that her reply was written a mere two weeks after the burgomasters of The Hague considered Quesnot's request, she said that she had already heard that Quesnot had changed his plans about starting a rival opera company. Rather than becoming the sole proprietor of all French entertainment in the seven United Provinces, Quesnot's plans for an opera had been blocked by Deseschaliers. Instead, Quesnot received permission to establish "the so-called Comédie Française, with all the ornaments of dance and song."⁹⁷ That was not the only news Cherrier reported; she informed Quesnot that she had heard Deseschaliers was determined to bring his opera company to Amsterdam. That information likely made Quesnot's blood boil, for Amsterdam was still the hottest ticket in the Dutch Republic and one that was near-unobtainable for foreign theatrical troupes.

⁹⁴ On the many challenges faced by actresses, see Virginia Scott, *Women on the Stage in Early Modern France, 1540-1750* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁹⁵ These examples come from the series of early eighteenth-century letters transcribed in Jan Fransen, "Lettres au rebut," *Bulletin de la Société des Historiens du Théâtre* 6 (1938).

⁹⁶ Cherrier replied to a letter from Quesnot on 17 May 1704. Both letters survive only in summaries provided by Balthazar Huydecoper, who apparently had the originals at some point. NL-Ur, Huydecoper 67/316. Nothing further is known of her.

⁹⁷ His request of 25 April 1704 is transcribed in Quesnot de la Chenée, *L'Opéra de La Haye*, 149-50. It was approved on 29 April. NL-DHga, Resolutiën van Baljuw, Burgemeesteren en Schepenen, 350-01 nr. 58, f. 146. The permission came with a requirement to give ten guilders per month to the "Dutch poor" (*nederduytsche armen*).

On the other hand, Cherrier wrote, experience had taught her that opera alone could not survive in the Dutch Republic; her own business was booming now that she had decided to perform tragedies after the operas. She here hints at a practice that was common in the French provinces and abroad: performing spoken theater along with operas. Since the same performers appeared in both sorts of spectacle, this practice indicates that there was great overlap in the training of actors and singers. The abilities of the personnel, as well as financial and spatial considerations, may have affected the balance between the genres, however. In some cases, troupes chose to focus primarily on plays, performing only excerpts of operas. This was the practice of the Rosidor troupe in Stockholm, for example; as Jérôme de la Gorce has recently shown, the troupe included a very small number of singers and dancers, who performed *divertissements* from Lully's operas as entr'actes for spoken plays.⁹⁸ When performed together with excerpts from operas, both straight tragedies and the newly-popular *comédie* (à la Florent Carton Dancourt) took on generic characteristics more readily attributable to the old *tragédie à machines*, with its prologue and *intermèdes*.⁹⁹

But generic boundaries did have their uses. In Paris, they were crossed only with great difficulty. The Comédie Française was allowed only six musicians, two singers, and a limited number of dancers because of the Opéra's continued monopoly on musical entertainment.¹⁰⁰ The opera parodies of Dancourt that had been popular at the Comédie Française in the 1680s had disappeared by the turn of the century.¹⁰¹ With the banishment of the Comédie Italienne in 1697, the repertoire of the Opéra was effectively insured against illicit use by the official Parisian stages.¹⁰² Despite the untouchable status of the Opéra,

⁹⁸ The Rosidor troupe initiated a musical revolution in Stockholm with their successful performance of ballets and opera excerpts. See Jérôme de La Gorce, "La musique et la danse dans les spectacles donnés par la troupe de Rosidor à Stockholm autour de 1700," in *"L'esprit français" und die Musik Europas: Entstehung, Einfluss und Grenzen einer ästhetischen Doktrin / "L'esprit français" et la musique en Europe: Émergence, influence et limites d'une doctrine esthétique. Festschrift für Herbert Schneider*, 219-27 (Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 2007).

⁹⁹ In other words, they performed what are commonly referred to as "semi-operas" or "dramatick operas," a genre that in modern scholarship has been associated with Britain in general and Henry Purcell in particular. Curtis Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Kathryn Lowerre, *Music and Musicians on the London Stage, 1695-1705* (Farnham, Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009).

¹⁰⁰ On the shifting status of music in the French theaters, see John S. Powell, *Music and Theatre in France, 1600-1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹⁰¹ John S. Powell, "The opera parodies of Florent Carton Dancourt," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 13 (2001).

¹⁰² H. Carrington Lancaster, "The Comédie Française 1701-1774: Plays, Actors, Spectators, Finances," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 41, no. 4 (1951); idem, *Sunset: A History of Parisian Drama in the Last Years of Louis XIV, 1701-1715* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1945); Frederick Hawkins, *The French Stage in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1888). A slightly different situation obtained at the *foire* theaters, where the *foirains* (who teasingly referred to the actors of the Comédie Française as *romains*) regularly produced parodies of Lully's operas. See the recent study of Isabelle Martin, *Le théâtre de la foire: des tréteaux aux boulevards*, Studies in Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, vol. 2002:10 (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2002).

however, the recent research of John S. Powell has shown that there was an explosion in musical theatrical works at the Comédie Française in the decades around the turn of the eighteenth century, particularly in the wildly popular plays of Dancourt—most of which were in Quesnot’s repertoire.¹⁰³ The year in which Quesnot returned to The Hague saw the publication of a first volume of *Airs de la Comedie Française*.¹⁰⁴

How to maintain a strict distinction between opera and a type of popular theatrical production that included a great deal of music became a serious issue for Quesnot in The Hague in 1704 and 1705, for it was essential to his remaining in business. Returning from his first trip to London in the summer of 1704, he was shocked to discover that Deseschaliers—who only had permission to perform operas—had begun adding “short comic plays at the end of the Opera.”¹⁰⁵ To make matters worse, Quesnot came back from a second journey to England (perhaps in the spring of 1705) to reports in the newspapers of The Hague that Deseschaliers had started to produce five-act tragedies in clear violation of Quesnot’s *privilège*. In order to prove that Deseschaliers was out of bounds, Quesnot felt obliged to explain to the officials of The Hague the difference between opera and *comédie* (the plays of the spoken theater, whether comic or tragic):

Operas and plays are two distinct and separate things. Opera is a piece in verse set entirely to music...the actors always sing and never speak. This is what especially distinguishes opera from a play. By contrast, a play is a dramatic piece in either prose or verse; the actors always speak and never sing. If it does include some small piece of music, it is only by accident or by the necessity of the play and the action; but the entire body of the piece is recited in speaking.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ For example, Powell has identified musical sources for thirty-five plays between 1690 and 1705. His inventory of sources and his editions of much of the repertoire are available on his website: <http://www.personal.utulsa.edu/~john-powell/theater/>

¹⁰⁴ John S. Powell, “Les partitions théâtrales au XVIIe siècle: des débuts jusqu’au *Malade imaginaire*,” in *Le Parnasse du Théâtre: Les recueils d’œuvres complètes de théâtre au XVIIe siècle*, ed. Georges Forestier, Edric Caldicott, and Claude Bourqui, 105-18 (Paris: PUPS, 2007), 117-18. Three volumes appeared with publisher Pierre Ribou in 1704, 1705, and 1713, containing airs by Jean-Claude Gillier (principal composer for the Comédie Française from 1694 until 1713) and his colleague Nicolas Racot de Grandval. Grandval came from a family of actors and was himself a playwright.

¹⁰⁵ Quesnot de la Chenée, *L’Opéra de La Haye*, 142-43; 210-11. I suspect that Quesnot’s troupe in London was either performing privately or at one of the fair theaters, as no records exist for a French troupe in the regular public theaters in 1704.

¹⁰⁶ “L’Opera & la Comedie sont deux choses distinctes & séparées; l’Opera est une Pièce en Vers & toute entiere en Musique...les acteurs chantent toujours & ne parlent jamais; c’est ce qui distingue specialement l’Opera de la Comedie; au contraire la Comedie est une Pièce Dramatique, ou en Prose ou en Vers; les Acteurs y parlent toujours & ne chantent jamais; s’il se rencontre quelque petit morceau de Musique, ce n’est que par accident, & par la nécessité du Jeu & de l’Action; mais tout le corps de la Pièce se recite en parlant.” *Ibid.*, 143-44.

So much for “opera as drama”—Quesnot reserves the adjective “dramatic” only for the spoken theater. His inclusion of prose in his definition of spoken theater indicates his awareness of recent trends that favored comic or sentimental works written in prose, rather than the rhymed verse that had been characteristic of the French stage. Opera, on the other hand, was a genre that was only ever in verse.

But the most fundamental distinction that Quesnot draws between opera and the theater rests on the opposition between speaking and singing. There are no singing actors in the spoken theater. While this might at first be interpreted as another pronouncement on the inappropriateness of music in theater, Quesnot’s statement is remarkably value-neutral. He does not criticize or praise opera singing; it is simply the quality that makes opera different. The fact that actors in plays only speak has a practical foundation: thirty-some years before Quesnot wrote this definition, the foremost French theater, to which all French-speaking actors looked for inspiration and whence most repertoire emanated, was banned from employing singing actors. The limitations placed on Molière’s Troupe du Roy (reorganized as the Comédie Française in 1680) after Lully obtained his monopoly in 1672 forever separated the singers of the troupe from the speaking actors. Lully’s monopoly thus had much wider-ranging implications than has previously been recognized, for it fundamentally altered the conventions of the French theater.

The only reason that Quesnot needed to explain the use of music in the theater here is because he was embroiled in a lawsuit centered on the definition of genres. Gesturing toward the long tradition of music on the French spoken stage, Quesnot excuses its presence by saying that when it is not a mere “accident” (i.e. incidental music), it is required by the stage action. In essence, Quesnot argues that the music of the spoken theater is indeed more musical than the opera, for music’s rupture of the spoken stage highlights its status *as music*. Verisimilitude does not seem to be a consideration.¹⁰⁷

While generic boundaries might readily be crossed in the spheres of French theater abroad, it was getting more difficult for the performers to move. Quesnot and Rosidor encountered numerous difficulties attempting to bring the rest of their troupe out of Flanders in the summer of 1704. The recent defeat at Höchstädt of the French-allied governor general of the Spanish Netherlands, Maximilian Emanuel of Bavaria, forced him out of his hereditary lands and back into Brussels.¹⁰⁸ The Allied forces, led by the Dutch, grew ever more wary of their long and porous border, instituting greater restrictions and requiring more paperwork. Travel delays, no doubt caused by the political unrest in the Spanish Netherlands, meant that the passports of the troupe expired before they could successfully cross the Dutch border. Quesnot and Rosidor sent a series of frantic requests for new passports to the States General

¹⁰⁷ *Pace* many a scholar who has written about the great printed *querelles* of the period, from the *querelle d’Alceste* (1674) to the battle between François Ragueneau and Jean-Laurent Lecercf de la Viéville (1702-06). The stances present in these early works of music and dramatic criticism often had very little to do with actual theatrical practice or the beliefs or desires of audiences and producers.

¹⁰⁸ See further in Chapter 5.

in a desperate attempt to achieve an on-time opening in their new playhouse—directly across the street from the Opera of The Hague.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ NL-DHna, 1.01.04 nr. 7623, requests of 15-25 July 1704.

5

Staging the *réfugié* experience

A manuscript in the papers of John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough, provides insight into the collision of French spectacle and Allied politics in 1706. It is a fair copy, perhaps originally prepared with print in mind, of a poetic work entitled “Prologue sur les conquêtes de l’Angleterre, de la Hollande et de Charles trois.”¹ The events described in the prologue signal that it was written soon after the great Allied victory at Ramillies on 23 May 1706. The work is not signed, nor is it given an attribution in the British Library’s manuscripts catalog. Marlborough’s secretary, Adam Cardonnel, who customarily dealt with the Duke’s correspondence, was not quite sure how to describe the piece. He noted in pencil that it was “a Kind of Masque, on the Victories of the Allies. Queen Anne as Pallas.”

Cardonnel’s choice of “masque” places the work in an English context, identifying it to his employer as a spectacle to be performed with costume, song, and dance. These features are all part of the laudatory prologue customarily affixed to French opera. And, as we have seen, it is in prologues that spectacles of this period made their most explicitly political statements, thus making them the most common site of alterations when French works were performed outside of France. That Cardonnel singles out one feature of this prologue – Queen Anne as Pallas – demonstrates not only that he read it, but also that the appearance of a singer dressed as Queen Anne dressed as Pallas struck him as unusual. And so it was; generally, prologues celebrate sovereigns through the use of allegory, not through representations of their persons.

The second scene of the prologue opens with the appearance of a troupe of Amazons, “who surround the Queen of England in the guise of the goddess Pallas.” After songs and dances of the Amazons “to the sounds of instruments of war” celebrating the glorious reign of Anne, Pallas/Anne herself speaks “to the English nation.” Her words celebrate the glorious victory of her champion, Marlborough, and the Allied forces on the plateau of Ramillies, declaring that

Ils veulent soumettre aujourd’hui
le terrible Tÿran, l’opresseur de la terre,
 L’invincible Heros, ce vainqueur de la terre;
 au fond de ses estats ils vont porter la guerre.
 et semblent vouloir tour a tour
 en effaçant toute sa gloire,
 en acquerir plus en un jour

¹ GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 61360, ff. 47-50. The paper seems to be from Paris, late 17th century. See Edward Heawood, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries*, ed. E. J. Labarre, Corrected ed. (Hilversum: Paper Publications Society, 1969), nos. 697 or 702.

qu'il n'avoit fait par Cent victoires.²

[They wish to subjugate today / The terrible Tyrant, the oppressor of the earth / The invincible Hero, this conqueror of the world; To the heart of his estates they will carry war. / And they seem resolved in turn / On effacing all of his glory, / By acquiring more in one day / Than he ever did in one hundred victories.]

The “terrible tyrant” is Louis XIV. The language used to describe him, here presumably delivered with a sarcastic tone, is drawn directly from the many prologues that celebrated his glory in operatic productions within France, demonstrating that the author of this text was well acquainted with the conventions of French operatic prologues.

Whether this single day—23 May 1706—really did gain more for the Allies than one hundred victories did for Louis XIV is debatable, but it was a major setback for France. By early 1706, Louis XIV had begun to realize that an expedient end to the War of the Spanish Succession would be beneficial. In order to secure favorable terms of peace, however, Louis needed a victory that could outweigh the French defeats suffered in the campaigns of the previous years, most notably at Blenheim in 1704.³ The opportunity presented itself in the Spanish Netherlands in 1706, as part of a larger plan to engage the Allies on all fronts. Louis ordered Villeroi,⁴ the new commander of the French Army of Flanders, to cross the Dijle River, besiege Léau, and engage the enemy. Villeroi was joined by Maximilian II Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria and governor of the Spanish Netherlands; the Allies were led by Marlborough for the English and Count Overkirk for the Dutch and Danish.⁵ At 1 pm on 23 May, the two armies met on the plateau outside the village of Ramillies. By the time darkness fell, Villeroi had lost some 13,000 men (compared to Allied losses of around 3,600), and the remainder of his army had dissolved in panic and fled the field. This was hardly the easy engagement Louis XIV had hoped for. One writer from the nineteenth century declared this single battle to be the most deplorable event for France of the entire war: “This battle caused Louis XIV to lose all of Belgium, just as the Battle of Blenheim had caused Elector Maximilian’s loss of Bavaria.”⁶ After the victory at Ramillies, Marlborough’s army quickly swept on to Brussels, which surrendered on 28 May 1706. Brussels was followed in turn by Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, and other major cities of Brabant and Flanders.

² Underlining in pencil in the original. I have modernized the punctuation, but not the spelling. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

³ For more on this battle, see the discussion of *La Bataille de Hoogstet* below.

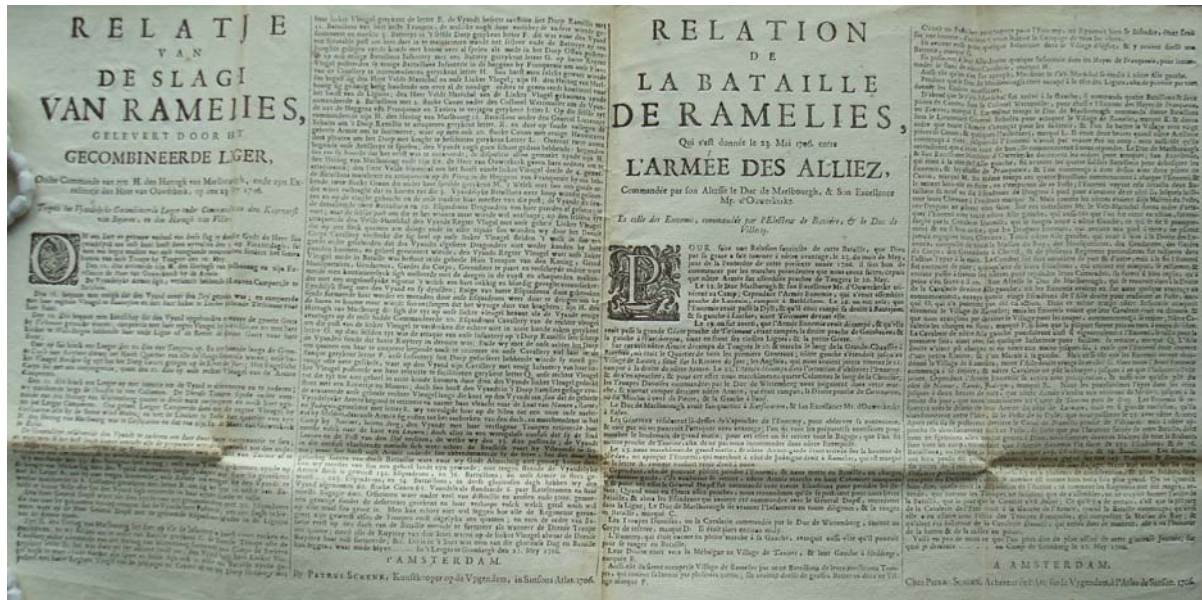
⁴ François de Neufville, duc de Villeroi (1644-1730). He was behind the senseless bombardment of Brussels in 1695, and thus indirectly responsible for the construction of the Théâtre de la Monnaie.

⁵ Hendrik van Nassau-Ouwekerk (1640-1708), second cousin to William III and one of Marlborough’s most trusted generals.

⁶ “Cette Bataille fit perdre à Louis XIV toute la Belgique, comme la Bataille de Hochstelt [sic] avait fit perdre la Bavière à l’électeur Maximilien.” This comment comes from two pages of lithographed notes signed “A. D.” with editorial marks signed “Lecompte.” The pages are tucked into F-Pa GD-6156, and were apparently intended for a theatrical encyclopedia. I have been unable to determine if the article was ever published.

The Allies advertised such quick submissions as signs of their prowess. A broadside printed in French and Dutch at Amsterdam shortly after the battle hyperbolically affirmed that after Ramillies the Allies became “masters of all Brabant, without firing a shot” (“Maîtres de tout le Brabant, sans tirer un coup”):

Figure 5.1



Bilingual broadside account of the Battle of Ramillies (Amsterdam: Petrus Schenk, 1706) NL-Ai, AB E 3432

Amsterdam printers were surely aware that as much as twenty-five percent of the city’s population at this time spoke only French; hence the bilingual notice.

Perhaps owing to the hyperbole of contemporary accounts like this one and the dramatic quality of the victory, it has become a commonplace in histories of eighteenth-century warfare, and studies of Marlborough in particular, that a battle could win a war and that the cities of Brabant and then Flanders simply surrendered out of fear of Marlborough. But such an attitude is not realistic. Historian Jamel Ostwald has recently reexamined Marlborough’s campaigns and suggests rather that the submission or resistance of towns in Brabant and Flanders depended on two preconditions: whether the town was defensible, and where the loyalties of the local governors, garrisons, and townspeople lay.⁷ Although many of the major towns of Brabant and Flanders did have fortifications, most were in disrepair. The French army certainly knew this; French commanders had long been complaining about it.⁸ When a town was defensible, like Ostend or Dendermonde, the Allies were forced to lay

⁷ Jamel Ostwald, “The ‘Decisive’ Battle of Ramillies, 1706: Prerequisites for Decisiveness in Early Modern Warfare,” *The Journal of Military History* 64 (2000), 667.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 668-9.

a siege. When it was not, as in the case of Ghent, whose fortifications were in shambles, the town quickly capitulated in order to assure the most favorable terms of surrender.

Ghent surrendered on 30 May 1706. As the French army retreated, the Spanish troops garrisoned in the castle wisely declared for Charles III—i.e. Archduke Charles of Austria, then the approved Allied claimant to the Spanish throne—thus making Ghent officially an Allied city. The capitulation agreement that Ghent tendered to the Allies looked like every other agreement that the city had used and would continue to use for over a hundred years.⁹ The first three demands of the city always concerned the preservation of the Catholic religion, and those demands were satisfied in 1706. Though the Allies denied the city's request to leave the local government intact, choosing instead to purge the magistracy of what were perceived as French partisans, nostalgia for Franco-Spanish rule in the Catholic city lingered over the course of the next year, affecting not only the loyalty of the town, but also the fortunes of its new opera company.¹⁰

It was, in fact, the man who would become the manager of Ghent's new opera company who wrote the "Prologue sur les conquêtes de l'Angleterre, de la Hollande et de Charles trois."¹¹ Despite the anonymity of the manuscript in Marlborough's collection, the author as good as signed it by his choice of words in the final scene. The allegorical figures of Glory and Virtue appear in the final scene to celebrate "the most powerful of Kings" (*le plus puissant des Rois*) – another phrase that is generally associated with Louis XIV, now directed toward Charles. Glory declares of Charles that

Ce prince punit les ingrats
L'innocence accablée a recours à son Bras,
la Justice trop foible a son secours l'apelle,
et sa valeur merite une gloire immortelle.

[This prince punishes ingrates / Innocence overcome has recourse to his arm, / Too feeble Justice calls for his aid / And his valor merits an immortal glory.]

The expressive phrase "l'innocence accablée" recalls the title of Quesnot's first publication, *L'innocence accablée ou le prisonnier trahi* of 1689. And it is undoubtedly Quesnot who wrote the "Prologue sur les conquêtes de l'Angleterre." Quesnot's evocation of a phrase linked to his earliest work on the plight of the Huguenots implies that his prologue has an undertone of political suasion. Would the Huguenots indeed have recourse to Charles III's arm? Would the Southern Netherlands—Quesnot's new arena of operations—under Allied

⁹ See the collection of capitulations in B-Ga, Reeks 135/6.

¹⁰ Augustus J. Veenendaal, "Kan men spreken van een revolutie in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden na Ramillies?" *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 7 (1953), 214; Ostwald, "The 'Decisive' Battle of Ramillies," 676-7.

¹¹ The manuscript is not autograph; considering the atrocious script of its author, this was probably for the best, and suggests that he intended the document as a presentation copy for Marlborough.

control become a safe harbor for Protestants? And was a satisfactory solution to the Huguenot issue still a part of Allied war aims?

This would not be the only time that Quesnot would use the materials of the “Prologue sur les conquêtes de l’Angleterre”; by the fall of 1706, he had revised it into a full-length opera. Nor would this be the only battle that Quesnot would set on the stage. In this chapter, I trace the development of Quesnot’s two major theatrical works—*La Bataille de Hoogstet* and *La Bataille de Ramellie*—that celebrate two of the greatest Allied victories in the War of the Spanish Succession, the battles of Blenheim (1704) and Ramillies (1706). Through the frameworks provided by their prefaces and through parody, these works contested the outcome of some battles and praised the gains of others. Quesnot’s librettos also demonstrate the ways in which the generic conventions of French opera could be adapted to surprising subject matter. Against the backdrop of the bloody War of the Spanish Succession, theater was not merely a representation of war but constituted a form of political engagement in itself.

Although onstage battles are part of a long spectacular tradition, Quesnot’s are perhaps the only celebrations of Allied victories in French. Furthermore, these works advocate the negotiation of a peace that, Quesnot hoped, would ensure religious freedom. Quesnot’s versions of the great battles of the war were colored by his own experience as a Huguenot refugee. Utilizing details of his refugee experience within his theatrical works provided Quesnot with the means to pursue his own political aims, communicating his ideals to audiences far removed from the battlefield. By alluding to the history of the Huguenots in his works, Quesnot encouraged his readers and his audiences not only to contemplate the horrors of war and the importance of a swift end to hostilities, but also to remember that the European future of the Protestant religion hung in the balance. At the same time, the difficulties he encountered in attempting to produce these works demonstrate the way in which Quesnot’s entire career was shaped by the political circumstances in which he worked.

A New Opera Company at Ghent

Capitalizing on the opportunity provided by the capitulation of Ghent to the Allies on 30 May 1706, Quesnot, in the guise of Huguenot impresario extraordinaire, laid plans to bring a new opera company to the city. Arriving from Brussels in July 1706, he immediately addressed himself in person to the magistrates of Ghent, asking for permission to perform at the Théâtre de la Ville.¹² In his request, Quesnot styled himself as the “Intendant of the Pleasures of the King of Prussia” and “First Director of the Opera and the Comedy,” titles that gave him a semblance of legitimacy and powerful connections.¹³ The approval of his

¹² The document is reported in Prosper Claeys, *Histoire du théâtre à Gand*, 3 vols. (Ghent: J. Vuylsteke, 1892), 2:57. Claeys does not cite his source; the document is located in B-Ga, Reeks 200/7.

¹³ These were Quesnot’s two favorite titles to claim, as he did on many occasions. Whether or not either was based in fact is debatable.

request came on 31 July 1706 with the stipulation that he pay fifteen *escalins* per performance to the city authorities and that the entire proceeds of two performances would go to the benefit of the poor.

Quesnot then journeyed back to Brussels to gather materials for his new company. From the director of the opera there, Pietro Antonio Fiocco, he purchased a quantity of costumes, props, and scenery on 25 August. An inventory of this transaction survives, and clarifies Quesnot's intended repertoire: Turkish, Venetian, and Spanish costumes indicate André Campra and Antoine Houdar de La Motte's *L'Europe galante*; costumes and the décors for "un petit palais à la chinoise d'Isse" signal the *pastorale héroïque* by La Motte and André Cardinal Destouches; other costumes and décors are described as belonging to *Alceste, ou Le triomphe d'Alcide* by Jean-Baptiste Lully and Philippe Quinault.¹⁴ Besides these revivals, Quesnot had at least one new work planned, of his own creation.¹⁵

The troupe seems to have opened their season with *L'Europe galante*. A libretto was printed at Ghent in 1706 for *L'Europe gallante ballet en musique, représenté sur le Theatre de Gand, par l'academie royale de musique*.¹⁶ *L'Europe galante* would have been a wise choice for a new opera company. The work had been immensely popular ever since its premiere at Paris in 1697. Calling the troupe a "Royal Academy of Music" draws parallels to the original Académie Royale de Musique in Paris, and suggests once again that Quesnot's troupe perhaps had some support from the authorities—or desired it. It is possible that the "Prologue sur les conquettes de l'Angleterre" was performed with *L'Europe galante* in the fall of 1706 as part of a move on Quesnot's part to secure support from the English soldiers of the garrison. It may have worked, initially, for by early 1707, the company reported healthy receipts.¹⁷ Some of those receipts may have come from the performance of a new work, the first full-length version of Quesnot's *La Bataille de Ramelie*, which recycles most of what had appeared in the "Prologue sur les conquettes de l'Angleterre."

Quesnot's politics of reversal in *La Bataille de Ramelie*

By October of 1706, according to the preface, Quesnot had completed work on *La Bataille de Ramelie, ou Les glorieuses conquestes des Alliez, a pastorale héroïque*.¹⁸ It was

¹⁴ Transcribed by Jean-Philippe van Aelbrouck as Annexe III in Manuel Couvreur, ed. *Le théâtre de la Monnaie au XVIIIe siècle* (Brussels: Université libre de Bruxelles, 1996), 308-11.

¹⁵ Quesnot seemed to favor four works in a season.

¹⁶ Reported by Ferdinand Vanderhaeghen, *Bibliographie gantoise*, 7 vols. (Ghent: E. Vanderhaeghen, 1867), 6:104. Vanderhaeghen gave no location for the item (private collection?), and I have been unable to locate a copy.

¹⁷ See Claeys, *Histoire du théâtre à Gand*, 2:58. Claeys remarks that there must have been a great number of performances, for even though only one-fifth of the proceeds of the opera went to the city's poor, the sum given to the magistrates on 5 January 1707 was considerable.

¹⁸ Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée, *La Bataille de Ramelie, ou Les glorieuses conquestes des Alliez: pastorale heroïque. Par le Sieur Quesnot de la Chenée* (Gand: Heritiers de Maximilien Graet, à l'Ange, 1706). I have examined two exemplars of this work: F-Pa, GD-6156 and NL-Ai, Bro B2650/30. A third may be found in GB-

printed by the Graet firm, the same printers who had produced the libretto for *L'Europe galante*, thus confirming the relationship between Ghent's opera company and her foremost printer of dramatic texts. The generic label of *pastorale héroïque* implies a work in three acts, rather than five, based on pastoral themes, with a focus on mortals rather than gods. In general, the tone of the *pastorale héroïque* is sentimental, rather than comic or tragic, and it usually portrays festive, joyful events rather than dramatic or terrifying ones. The label was first applied to Jean-Baptiste Lully and Jean Galbert de Campistron's *Acis et Galatée* of 1686, and had become common, indeed popular, by the turn of the eighteenth century. *Issé*, a work premiered in Paris in 1697 and featured on the Ghent season of 1706/07, was also termed a *pastorale héroïque*, and accordingly is in three acts, with a plot revolving around the loves of Apollo disguised as a shepherd. Not that generic labels were entirely consistent. The *Psiché*, for example, by Molière, Pierre Corneille, Philippe Quinault, and Lully, while ordinarily referred to as a *tragi-comédie et ballet* or simply a *ballet*, was marketed as a *pastorale héroïque* for a performance in The Hague in 1697, perhaps capitalizing on the popularity of the genre and the attention it promised to love between mortals and gods.¹⁹ By labeling his work a *pastorale héroïque*, then, Quesnot tapped into a popular vein of entertainment, marked by the presence of pastoral figures like shepherds and nymphs, and centered on a heroic figure.

In the case of *La Bataille de Ramelie*, the hero is Marlborough.²⁰ The work bears a dedication to him, and the copy preserved at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris includes a handsome portrait engraved by "P. B. S." accompanied by laudatory verses (Figure 5.2). The verses were probably written by Quesnot himself. In trite formulations, the lines introduce a number of themes developed in the rest of the work—the praise of a hero, the sounds of battle and thunderbolts, and, most importantly, the maintenance of a European balance of power through the overturning of the "universal" designs of a monarch—Louis XIV.

Lbl, shelfmark 640.e.28. This is the only version of the work that Jan Fransen knew of; see Jan Fransen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: H. Champion, 1925), 225.

¹⁹ See my forthcoming article, "*Psiché* in The Hague, 1697."

²⁰ Though *La Bataille de Ramelie* does not present any love affairs of the infamous "he-whore," as contemporary wits labeled Marlborough. See Alan Marshall, *The Age of Faction: Court Politics, 1660-1702* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999), 80.

Figure 5.2



Engraved portrait by “P. B. S.” of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough. The verses are pasted in.
F-Pa, GD-6156

[Hero, full of boldness / Cease throwing thunderbolts. / You believe, in overthrowing our enemies on the earth, to carry your name to immortality; / But your superhuman glory / Cannot possibly be believable to posterity, / When we, who see it, can hardly believe it.]

The “balance of power” argument first began to be widely applied in the later seventeenth century, when it was posited as the only remedy for “universal monarchy”—a monarchy that sought to dominate the whole world. The rhetoric of universal monarchy and the promotion of the “balance of power” reached its height in the Nine Years’ War, becoming particularly associated with polemics aimed to stir English support of the war. The tactic proved effective; it allowed William III to pursue his war aims against Louis XIV, including the maintenance of a standing army and the large-scale enlistment of citizen

soldiers, while providing a safely non-confessional reason to hate the French king (necessary for William's diverse alliance).²¹ Somewhat ironically, this rhetoric was first used in England to inspire action *against* the Dutch when William came into his own as Stadholder in 1672—the fear was that the greatness of the Dutch Empire combined with a strong figurehead like the dashing young military leader would spell disaster for the future of England.²² Perhaps because of the successful implementation of the “balance of power” argument in Allied war propaganda in the 1690s and its continued promotion in the eighteenth century, the concept continues to be used as a primary explanation for the “true” origins of the War of the Spanish Succession.²³ Despite the nobility of the argument—that a balance of power was necessary, and to achieve it one must work together with one's neighbors—it was often but a cover for the much more individual goals of states.²⁴ Maintaining the balance of power was an effective slogan, but actual war aims, especially for the English, had much more to do with domestic power struggles, dynastic concerns, and colonial and commercial gains.²⁵

Polemics based on the “balance of power” argument remained an effective tool at the beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession, and were perpetuated by many, including Quesnot. Quesnot boldly states in his preface to *La Bataille de Ramelie* that “there are above all two houses in Europe whose power is formidable, and whose balance is necessary. The august House of Austria is one.”²⁶ The other, of course, was France. In Quesnot's view, the only way to achieve this balance was to end the France's designs on “universal” monarchy, as explicitly stated in the preface's title: “Letter on the overthrow of universal Monarchy” (*Lettre sur le renversement de la Monarchie universelle*). The “letter,” with its curiously English bent, is addressed to Cardonnel, Marlborough's secretary, whose father was a Huguenot refugee in England.²⁷ Quesnot's preface, greatly expanded, would form the basis nearly three years later for a lengthy political tract entitled *Le parallèle de Philippe II et de Louis XIV*.²⁸ It is relevant to our understanding of the *pastorale héroïque* that it prefaces, since it helps explain the features of the work, particularly the ruptures in tone, that run counter to the conventions of the genre.

²¹ On the use of the rhetoric of universal monarchy and balance of power in English nation-building, see Tony Claydon, *Europe and the Making of England, 1660-1760* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 132, 156-60, 194-96.

²² *Ibid.*, 139-40.

²³ See, for example, John B. Wolf, *Toward a European Balance of Power, 1620-1715* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1970); Charles Spencer, *Blenheim: Battle for Europe* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004).

²⁴ For a perspective that challenges the dominance of the “balance of power” explanation for the Succession War, see Paul Schroeder, “Historical Reality vs. Neo-Realist Theory,” *International Security* 19 (1994), 138.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 139.

²⁶ “Il y a sur tout deux Maisons en Europe dont la puissance est redoutable, & l'équilibre nécessaire. L'auguste Maison d'Autriche en est une.” Quesnot de la Chenée, *La Bataille de Ramelie I*, 9.

²⁷ Cardonnel often took a personal interest in Huguenot affairs; see his correspondence in GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 61413.

²⁸ Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée, *Le parallèle de Philippe II et de Louis XIV* (Cologne: Jaques le Sincere, 1709). It is not clear who prepared the text for publication, as Quesnot died in November of 1708.

Quesnot begins the epistle with obligatory niceties: “I would consider myself overjoyed, Monsieur, if my little *Divertissement* is to your taste” (Je m’estimeray fort heureux, Monsieur, si mon petit *Divertissement* est de Vostre gout).²⁹ But he quickly moves into a type of political polemic not usually affixed to theatrical works. Quesnot’s diatribe on the evils of universal monarchy touches upon the necessity for a balance of power in Europe, including a brief history of the decline of Spain under Philip II plus a few examples of “grand” monarchs and their potential for unfortunate ends before coming to his main point: that the ill treatment of the Huguenots would cause the downfall of France.

The greatest men are prone to the greatest mistakes... [Just as Philip II decided to purge Spain of non-Catholics] the same consideration was made in the fatal moment of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by one of the first Ministers of France, but the King, informed by detestable counsel, wished to retain and constrain his Reformed Subjects. This was to attempt the impossible, because Religion and Liberty have attractions too compelling to be abandoned. Everyone who opened a door at the risk of his life to deliver himself from tyranny, and those who had the good luck to leave the Kingdom and who enjoy in this land a sweet liberty, are terrified of being returned to servitude.³⁰

The decision that Louis made in the Edict of Fontainebleau in 1685 to force Huguenots to abjure their religion and yet remain in France ran contrary to Philip II’s decision to simply rid Spain of “heretics.” The Edict explicitly states that not one Protestant should be allowed to leave the kingdom (beyond the Protestant ministers, who were ordered into exile); those who were caught attempting to escape were punished severely. Though both Philip II and Louis XIV had similar motives—a desire to enforce religious conformity—Quesnot seems to believe that the greater fault lies with *le roi très chrétien*. He disparages the French King for believing that his “Sujets Reformez” would be able to continue living in France without being able to exercise their religion. Quesnot equally places the blame at the feet of the Jesuits and the clergy, declaring that “the Jesuits and the Clergy of France are no less unjust and violent [than the Spanish inquisitors]: they want to get rid of us, and ruin the Kingdom.”³¹ The attractions of religion and liberty were so dear to many, including Quesnot,

²⁹ *La Bataille de Ramelie I*, 3.

³⁰ “Les plus grands hommes sont sujets à faire les plus grandes fautes. La même consideration a esté faite dans le moment funeste de la revocation de l’Edit de Nantes par un des premiers Ministres de France, mais le Roy prévenu par un conseil détestable a voulu retenir & contraindre ses Sujets Reformez. C’estoit tenter l’impossible, car la Religion & la Liberté ont de trop charmans appas pour les abandonner. Chacun s’est ouvert une porte au peril de sa vie pour se delivrer de la tyrannie, & ceux qui ont eu le bonheur de sortir du Royaume, & qui jouissent dans ce Pays d’une douce liberté ont en horreur de se remettre dans la servitude.” *Ibid.*, 17-18.

³¹ “Les Jesuites & le Clergé de France ne sont pas moins injustes & violens: ils veulent nous perdre, & ruiner le Royaume.” *Ibid.*, 21.

that they risked their lives in order to flee France. In Quesnot's opinion, their fear of returning to French dominion drew the *réfugiés* naturally to the Allied cause.

Quesnot also offered some religious advice to the new rulers of the Southern Netherlands: "It is quite certain, Monsieur, that with regard to Religion, Holland should serve as the model to all Nations. Spiritual things are here conducted with an admirable moderation."³² These words were particularly timely in Ghent in the fall of 1706, when the Catholic city was confronted with an influx of Protestants from across Europe. Perhaps Quesnot thought to influence future decisions made with regard to religious freedom in the Southern Netherlands. Interestingly, he refers to Holland as "here," even though he was definitely in Ghent at the time. Considering his penchant for recycling material, it is likely that this polemic includes writings Quesnot had begun while still in the Dutch Republic in 1705 or 1706.

A most remarkable form of recycling concerns the text of the *pastorale héroïque* itself. Speaking of Marlborough in the preface, Quesnot avers that "it is easier for Your Highness³³ to win battles and cities, than it is for me to write verse."³⁴ His next comment provides a key for understanding the material of the work that follows: "[The verses] that appear here are not all my own work; I have taken from elsewhere that which might have some rapport with my subject, without fearing criticism or wagging tongues."³⁵ By stating that he has borrowed from various places, Quesnot invites the reader to contemplate how parody affects meaning. Within the context of a polemic against absolute monarchy, it seems particularly appropriate then that he drew much of the borrowed from the works of Jean-Baptiste Lully and Philippe Quinault.³⁶

Catering to the English and Dutch soldiers occupying Ghent, Quesnot opens *La Bataille de Ramelie* with a battle scene. The scenery represents "a battlefield, where one sees dying and wounded men, and everything else in disorder." Order is restored after the bloody struggle with the entry of a familiar figure in scene 2. The scene from the "Prologue sur les conquêtes de l'Angleterre" that struck Cardonnel as being so noteworthy reappears here, showing that it is not only the work of others from which Quesnot borrows, but also from his own. To set the scene once more, a singer dressed as Queen Anne of England appears "in

³² "Il est très-certain, Monsieur, que pour ce qui regarde la Religion, la Hollande devoit servir de modele à toutes les Nations. Les choses spirituelles y sont conduittes avec une moderation admirable." *Ibid.*, 18.

³³ Marlborough was made an honorary Prince of the Holy Roman Empire after Blenheim.

³⁴ "Il est plus aisé à S. A. de gagner des Batailles & des Villes, qu'à moy de faire des vers." Quesnot de la Chenée, *La Bataille de Ramelie I*, 3-4.

³⁵ "[Les vers] qui poroissent [*sic*] icy ne sont pas même tous de ma façon, j'ai pris ailleurs ce qui pouvoit avoir quelque raport à mon sujet, sans craindre la critique, n'y le qu'en dira t'on." *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁶ Quinault and Lully have long been named as accomplices in building up the image of Louis XIV as the most absolute of absolute monarchs. See, for example, Robert M. Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973); Manuel Couvreur, *Jean-Baptiste Lully: musique et dramaturgie au service du Prince* (Brussels: M. Vokar, 1992).

the guise of the goddess Pallas,” accompanied by a troupe of Amazons. Pallas, “speaking to the English nation,” sings the following lines:

Ce n'est plus le temps des allarmes,
Faisons renaître les plaisirs;
C'est assez loin porter nos Armes
Bornons nos genereux desirs.

[It is no longer the time of alarms / Now we revive pleasures; / We have carried our arms far enough / Let us delimit our generous desires]

The use of the verb “borner” in this context may at first seem strange; however, it is in fact significant. “Borner” can mean “to limit by means of *bornes*,” literally, a “mark serving to delimit a territory.”³⁷ The main goal of the War of the Spanish Succession for the Dutch—who financed the occupation of the Southern Netherlands—was the establishment of the Dutch Barrier, a series of border fortresses.³⁸ These lines might seem to betray a certain Dutch bias on Quesnot’s part, which is perhaps unsurprising considering the fact that he may still have been on the payroll of the Dutch spymaster, François Fagel, at this time.³⁹ In a letter to Anthonie Heinsius, Grand Pensionary of Holland, dated 20 April 1708, Quesnot refers to an ongoing correspondence with Fagel after his acceptance as a spy for the States General in 1703. He also notes in this letter that his ability to be in Ghent in 1706 and 1707 was thanks to passports from the States General.⁴⁰

But what is more striking than Quesnot’s self-borrowing is the fact that Pallas/Anne’s lines bear more than a passing resemblance to the recitative of Flore, the goddess of spring, that opens the prologue to the *tragi-comédie et ballet* (or was it a *pastorale héroïque*?) of *Psiché*, LWV 45:

Ce n'est plus le temps de la guerre;
Le plus puissant des Roys
Interrompt ses exploits,

³⁷ *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française, dédié au Roy*, 1st ed., 2 vols. (Paris: Coignard, 1694), 1:114.

§BORNE: “Pierre, ou autre marque quelle qu'elle soit, qui sert à diviser un champ, un pays d'avec un autre; §BORNER: “limiter, mettre des bornes.” Note that this definition confounds the processes of delimitation and demarcation; for a thorough study of the slipperiness of boundary allocation, delimitation, and demarcation, see Peter Sahllins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989).

³⁸ See Augustus J. Veenendaal, *Het Engels-Nederlands condominium in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de Spaanse-Successieoorlog, 1706-1716* (Utrecht: Kemink, 1945).

³⁹ Unfortunately, all of Fagel’s correspondence and accounts in the years of Quesnot’s activity is missing. I presume that Fagel must have destroyed it, perhaps before the start of negotiations with the French in 1709, because the Griffier of the States General was otherwise a neurotically meticulous conservator.

⁴⁰ NL-DHna, Heinsius Archief, 3.01.19 nr. 1344, letter nr. 478. Transcribed in Augustus J. Veenendaal Jr., ed. *De briefwisseling van Anthonie Heinsius, 1702-1720*, 19 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1976-2001), 7:231.

Pour donner la Paix à la terre.

[It is no longer the time of war; / The most powerful of kings / Interrupts his exploits / To give peace to the world.]

Quinault's text was itself recycled in 1678, when *Psyché* became a *tragédie en musique*.⁴¹ Quesnot had easy access to the texts of French spectacle, thanks to the unstoppable Huguenot presses of Amsterdam. The libretto of *Psyché* had been printed thirteen times in Amsterdam by 1707.⁴² His free parody eagerly anticipates the peaceful completion of barrier fortresses designed to keep out the French, as well as celebrating the temporary suspension of Louis XIV's quest for *gloire*.

But it seems that it was not just the words that Quesnot—and his unknown musical collaborator—drew upon. Quesnot himself could not read music, yet his text was performed “in music,” as an opera. He is not known to have worked with any composers in Ghent, but presumably he and a member of his orchestra must have used whatever materials were to hand to cobble together a setting of the new text. Apart from the fact that the Huguenot music printers of Amsterdam produced editions of all the major works of Lully, Quesnot himself had previously staged Lully's *Armide*, *Atys*, *Thésée*, *Proserpine*, and *Alceste*, as well as *L'Europe galante* by Campra and *Issé* by Destouches. He presumably owned scores and parts for these works and perhaps others as well. I would suggest that, as Example 5.1 demonstrates, the music for *La Bataille de Ramelie* is culled from the pages of pre-existing scores. With only a few rhythmic alterations (marked by asterisks in the example), Quesnot's text fits Lully's music, despite the fact that the alternation of masculine and feminine rhymes differs, and the line lengths vary. Flora's encomium to Louis XIV thus becomes Anne's exhortation of her troops.

⁴¹ On the transformation of *Psyché*, see Michael Turnbull, “The Metamorphosis of *Psyché*,” *Music & Letters* 64 (1983); idem, “The Sources for the Two Versions of *Psyché* (1671 & 1678),” in *Jean-Baptiste Lully: actes du colloque Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Heidelberg 1987*, ed. Jérôme de La Gorce and Herbert Schneider, 349-56 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1990); John S. Powell, “The Metamorphosis of *Psyché*,” in *Les Métamorphoses de Psyché*, ed. Carine Barbaferi and Chris Rauseo, 227-51 (Valenciennes: Presses Universitaires de Valenciennes, 2004).

⁴² See Carl B. Schmidt, *The Livrets of Jean-Baptiste Lully's tragédies lyriques: A catalogue raisonné* (New York: Performers' Editions, 1995).

Example 5.1

48

Pallas †

Ce n'est plus le temps des al-lar-mes, Fai-sons re-nai-tre les pla-sirs; C'est as-sez

Flore

Ce n'est plus le temps de la Guer-re; Le plus puis-sant des-Rois In-ter-

Bc

6 7 6# 6 6

53

P. *

loin por-ter nos Ar-mes Bor-nous nos ge-ne-reux de-sirs Ce n'est

F.

rompt ses Ex-plois Pour don-ner la Paix à la Ter-re Ce n'est

Bc.

6 6 4 #

Suggested reconstruction of the recitative of Pallas.

Text in first line from *La Bataille de Ramelie*. Text and music in second and third lines from John S. Powell, ed., *Psyché: tragi-comédie et ballet*, Jean Baptiste Lully, *Oeuvres complètes*, Série II: Comédies-ballets et autres divertissements, vol. 6 (Hildesheim and New York: G. Olms, 2007)

Both texts, and the music, highlight a sense of eager anticipation and ultimate closure. Beginning in radiant C major in majestic cut-C time, the voice enters with a jaunty, dotted figure for the first line of text. Contrary motion between the voice and the bass leads to a cadence on G in the second measure of the example, bar 50 in the edition of John S. Powell. The second phrase answers the first with a rising figure in the voice, depicting not only the power of the king, but also, in this case, the power of pleasure. The cadence on C in measure 52 is strengthened by the descent of the bass to C and by the ascent of the vocal line to its highest point. Stepwise and then chromatic movement in the bass prepares a further cadence on G in measure 55, though the arrival on G is soon rendered unstable by its transformation into a second inversion chord, which quickly becomes D major in order to lead to a firm cadence on G in bar 56 before circling back once more into C major. The cycle is complete—the arms have been laid down, the pleasures of peace can resume. Lully's music has been effectively recycled in a framework opposed to the absolute monarchy Lully glorified in life.

This scene plays upon a number of reversals: a new hero, Marlborough, takes the place of Louis XIV as principal peacemaker; Anne, a weak queen, becomes a spokesperson for the power of her champion, not herself. Most significant for the people of Flanders, though, was the choice of *Psyché* for this purpose. The performance history of this work parallels the history of the relationship between France and Flanders. On 23 May 1671, the prologue (and thus this recitative of Flore) and the final *intermède* of *Psyché* were performed for Louis XIV,

his entourage, and some 30,000 workmen and soldiers at the bastion of Dunkirk, to celebrate the French conquest of Flanders. Strings, chorus, trumpets and timpani were stationed in three tents around the bastion. Seven hundred regimental drums sounded from the ramparts; fifes, oboes and additional trumpets occupied the *fosse*; and eighty cannon dramatically punctuated the spectacle. According to the *Gazette de France* of 5 June 1671, “All of these different sounds and timbres combined together created a type of harmony to which the ear had not yet been accustomed, and which gave a pleasure mingled with fright that raised the spirit while entertaining it, and caused one to admire the grandeur and magnificence of the king.”⁴³ In another incarnation as a *tragédie lyrique* in 1678, *Psiché* was performed to celebrate the end of the Dutch Wars (1672-78) as agreed in the Treaty of Nijmegen. Once more, Flora sang to celebrate the return of peace to France—and the transferral of Flemish lands to French hands. Thus, Quesnot’s borrowing was underscored with a series of potential allusions to the importance of *Psiché* as an anthem of French victory. The transformation of Flora into Anne is a symbolic gesture of *renversement*, this time overturning Lullian operatic expectations so as to establish a new world order.

Finding an audience for *La Bataille de Ramelie*

Just as he believed that the Huguenots’ fear of intolerant French policies drew them to the Allied cause, Quesnot seems to have believed that his *La Bataille de Ramelie* would draw the English soldiers of the garrison at Ghent to his opera house. Those most desirous of entertainment in an occupied city are generally the occupiers. After the capitulation of Ghent, its garrison was staffed by around 300 English soldiers located in the castle in the center of the city.⁴⁴ Quesnot explains that he viewed the garrison as his primary audience in a letter to Marlborough, dated “ce 1^{er} de l’an 1707. Vieux Stile.”⁴⁵ Quesnot addresses Marlborough in a familiar, if respectful way. He opens the letter by saying, “If I have the honor of writing to you in London, this should not surprise you. The heroes of the world are never exempt from the persecution of a bad poet.” His next line implies that the impresario has known Marlborough for some time, and in different places: “I follow you everywhere,

⁴³ “Tous ces brüits, & ces sons différens, meslez ensemble, faisoient vne espèce d’Harmonie, à laquelle l’oreille n’avoit point, encore, esté accoûtumée: & qui donnoit vn plaisir meslé d’éfroy, qui élevoit l’Ame en la divertissant, & faisoit admirer la grandeur du Roy, aussi bien que sa magnificence.” *Gazette de France*, Extraordinaire of 5 June 1671, 543.

⁴⁴ See the documents related to the city’s capitulation of 1706 in B-Ga, Reeks 107 nr. 12, especially the Act of Submission dated 1 June 1706. To this day, tour guides in Ghent say that the castle served better to protect the soldiers of the garrison from the city than to protect the city itself.

⁴⁵ Quesnot’s attempt to use the Julian calendar still in use in England was a nice gesture, but he got it wrong. Cardonnel corrected the date to “the 1st Jan.ry 1706/7.” The date on the Gregorian calendar would have been 12 January 1707. The letter may be found in GB-Lbl Add. Ms. 61365. Quesnot included an “Ode to Marlborough” written in his own hand as a Boxing Day present for the duke. GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 61630, ff. 1-2.

having nothing with me but a few bad verses.”⁴⁶ Considering Quesnot’s wandering feet, his constant maneuvering to reach the side of important men, and the wide-ranging diplomatic missions of Marlborough in the first years of the war, it is not surprising that the two may have become acquainted.⁴⁷

After proclaiming his loyalty to Marlborough, Quesnot expresses his interest in providing quality entertainment for the English soldiers. Though this attitude may have been a pose, Quesnot’s letter indicates the separation of the garrison from the rest of the city, and hints at the problems he has begun to encounter in producing opera in Ghent:

I confess to you, Monseigneur, that it is not without pain that I have been able to sustain a spectacle as fine as the one that I have established in this city, which is entirely insensitive to pleasure. It is true that I have never paid much attention to the city, and that I only founded this opera company in order to make the winter quarters more pleasant for all the brave English officers who followed Your Highness in a campaign so beautiful and so glorious. The singular pleasure of providing for them a *divertissement* so noble will compensate me for everything.⁴⁸

Quesnot was not the first impresario to experience difficulties with an uninterested audience in Ghent, nor would he be the last. In order to supplement his income, Quesnot followed the lead of other entrepreneurs who had worked in Ghent by staging performances in Bruges on off nights. Performing in Bruges entailed packing up the whole production and shipping it on barges—a strenuous endeavor that suggests how elaborate the productions might, or might not, have been.

Though it does not refer to Quesnot’s troupe, but to that of his successor, Guillaume Valentin, a rare newspaper advertisement in the *Gazette van Gent* of 17 November 1707 sheds some light on the performance schedule and conditions in Ghent and Bruges.

The Royal Academy of Music established in this city, inviting the Officers of the Garrisons in neighboring cities who also wish pleasant entertainment over the winter, shall henceforth, beginning Monday 21 November, perform the Opera in Bruges three times a week every week for the officers of the Danish garrison, as agreed with them; and three times a week in this city of Ghent: namely, in Bruges on Mondays,

⁴⁶ “Si j’ai l’honneur de vous écrire a Londres, cela ne vous doit pas surprendre, tous les Heros du Monde, n’ont jamais été exemts de la persecution d’un Mauvais Poète, je vous suis part tout n’ayant avec moy que quelques mechans vers.”

⁴⁷ It might have been in London, when Quesnot’s troupe visited in 1704 and 1705.

⁴⁸ “Je vous advoue, Monseigneur, que ce n’est pas sans peine que j’ai soutenu jusqu’icy un spectacle aussi beau que celui que j’ai establi dans cette ville, qui est tout a fait ingrate au Plaisir. Il est vray que je n’ai jamais fait beaucoup d’attention a la ville et je n’ai entrepris l’opera que pour faire passer plus agreablement le Cartier d’huyvert a tant de Braves officiers, Anglois, qui ont suivi V. A. dans une Campagne si belle et si Glorieuse. Le seul plaisir de leur procurer un divertissement si noble me tiendra lieu de tout.”

Tuesdays, and Wednesdays; and Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays in this city [Ghent]. The operas shall be followed by some pleasant comedies from M. Dancourt⁴⁹ and the Italian theater.

The wordbooks of the opera will be sold by us.⁵⁰

Like Quesnot, his successor viewed the garrisons as the primary consumers of operatic entertainment. The opera company must have been quite portable in order to move between Ghent and Bruges in less than a day. Additionally, they performed not only operas, but also spoken theater in both the French and Italian traditions, as had by then become standard for itinerant theatrical troupes.

For Quesnot in early 1707, no better entertainment for soldiers could be conceived of than his own *La Bataille de Ramelie*, the noble *divertissement* that he referred to in his letter to Marlborough. Quesnot tells Marlborough that he has taken the liberty of writing a new prologue for the work, implying that the Duke had already had some familiarity with it (as noted above, it may have been performed in late 1706). Quesnot included a fair copy of the new prologue, written in honor of Queen Anne, with his letter.⁵¹ He explains to Marlborough that “I am currently working on preparing everything to present at my theater, with all magnificence possible, the one and the other [the prologue and *La Bataille de Ramelie*] on the birthday of our august Queen.”⁵² That Quesnot refers to Anne as “our” Queen demonstrates yet again the flexibility of his self-identification. While his Dutch proclivities come out in the work itself, for Marlborough he styles himself as a British subject.

Anne’s birthday was 6 February on the Julian calendar, meaning that when this letter was written, Quesnot had less than a month to finish the preparations for the performance of *La Bataille de Ramelie*. Yet all does not seem to have gone well with his plans. In a letter to

⁴⁹ Florent Carton Dancourt (1661-1725), French dramatist especially noted for his parodies of French operas. See John S. Powell, “The opera parodies of Florent Carton Dancourt,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 13 (2001).

⁵⁰ “De Conincklycke Academie van het Musieck opgerecht in dese stadt trachtende de Officieren van de Garnisoenen der omliggende steden geduerende de Winter oock een aengenaem Vermaeck aen te doen, sal voortaan alle weken 3 mael te beginnen van Maendagh den 21 November de Opera representeeren te Brugghe voor de officieren van het Deensch garnisoen aldaer de welke met hun overeen ghekomen zijn; en 3 mael in dese stadt van Ghendt: naementlyck te Brugghe des Maendaeghs, Dyssendaeghs ende s’Woensdaeghs; ende de Donderdaeghs, Saterdaeghs ende Sondaeghs in dese stadt. De operas sullen welhaest ghevolght worden van eenighe aengenaeme Comedien van den Heere Dancourt ende het Italiaensch theater. De Boecxkens van de opera worden by ons verkocht.” The “us” is the Graet firm (once again), publishers of the *Gazette*. Quoted in Claeys, *Histoire du théâtre à Gand*, 2:61. See also Frédéric Faber, “Les origines de l’opéra en Belgique,” *Le Guide musical* 24, no. 40 (1878).

⁵¹ The prologue may be found in GB-Lbl, Add. Ms. 61360, ff. 12-15. Like the “Prologue sur les conquettes de l’Angleterre,” it is not in Quesnot’s hand.

⁵² “Je trauaille actuellement a faire preparer toute chose pour faire représenter sur mon Theatre avec toute la Magnificence possible, l’un et l’autre le jour de la naissance de nôtre Auguste Reine.”

the magistrates of Ghent dated Bruges, 16 March 1707, he reveals a certain annoyance with the English garrison, implying that there has been some sort of conspiracy against him:

Seeing the insurmountable difficulties in being able to obtain a subscription from the garrison of Ghent and, without this, the city herself not having the power to maintain an opera; being furthermore squeezed from all sides, I see myself obliged to find some other resource in order to be able to satisfy those who have made advances for the establishment of this opera. I have found here friends and protectors willing to aid me in a cause so just.

I dare hope, most noble and venerable Seigneurs, that you will not refuse me the continuation of your protection for the coming winter, in order to be able to perform alternately at Ghent and at Bruges, to make even easier for me the means to be able to mount the opera and to satisfy everyone and to erase by that all the bad impressions that my enemies have cast upon my conduct.

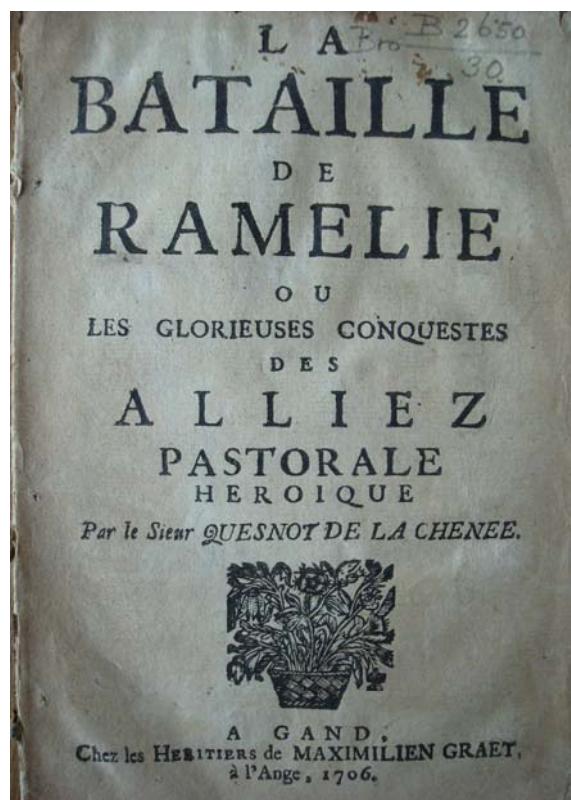
Without the financial commitment of the garrison, there simply were not enough interested parties in the city to be able to sustain the financial needs of the opera on proceeds alone. Somehow, Quesnot was able to find donors—did Marlborough come through?—to support his productions, and *La Bataille de Ramelie* may at last have been performed in April, for it was advertised in the *Gazette de Gand* of 4 April 1707.⁵³

“Allons en paix, rebâtir nos maisons”: Civilian experience and *La Bataille de Ramelie*

It has gone unremarked until now that there are actually two distinct multi-act versions of *La Bataille de Ramelie*, structured for two very different audiences. Both versions share a significant focus on the community, and both carry the message that happy acquiescence to regime change—particularly change that improves the situation of Huguenots—is desirable. The first version is the three-act *pastorale héroïque* written for and printed at Ghent, as discussed above. The title page is reproduced here as Figure 5.3.

⁵³ The advertisement is summarized in Vanderhaeghen, *Bibliographie gantoise*, 2:250.

Figure 5.3

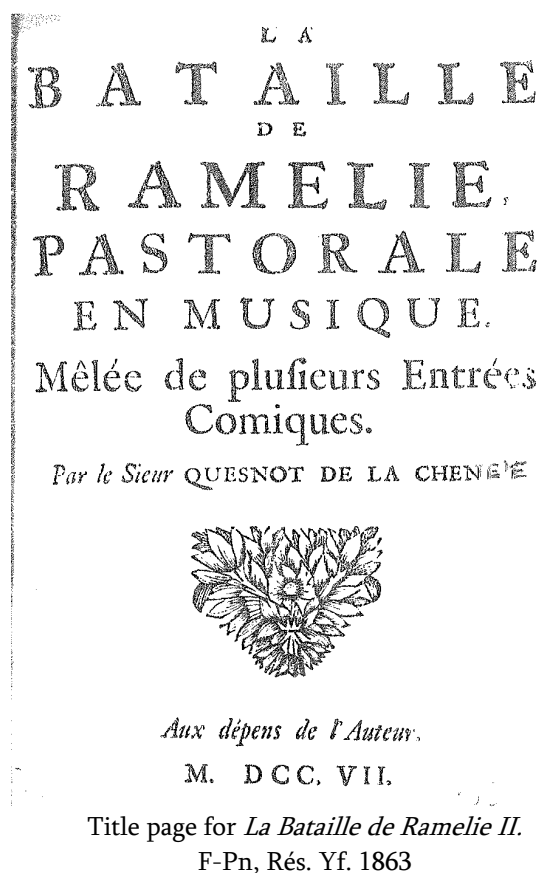


Title page of *La Bataille de Ramelie I*.
NL-Ai, Bro B2650/3

The second version, heavily revised and in five acts, is titled simply *La Bataille de Ramelie, pastorale en musique*.⁵⁴ Perhaps the most noticeable declaration on the title page (Figure 5.4) is that the work is “combined with several comic scenes” (*mêlée de plusieurs Entrées Comiques*), an addition that might seem rather strange for a battle piece. However, it is quite clear that the revision was prepared for the Dutch Republic, whose audiences especially enjoyed comedy and dancing. The libretto also features a dedication to the burgomasters of Rotterdam. Perhaps to assuage Dutch concerns about the pagan nature of French spectacle, all references to heathen gods have been removed.

⁵⁴ Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée, *La Bataille de Ramelie, Pastorale en Musique. Mêlée de plusieurs Entrées Comiques* ([S.l.]: Aux dépens de l'Auteur, 1707). I have found only one exemplar: F-Pn Rés. Yf. 1863. For ease, I refer to them as *LBR I* and *LBR II*.

Figure 5.4



One feature that remains the same in both versions, however, is the peculiar emphasis placed upon the plight of civilians, as evidenced in their representation in group scenes. An important feature of French operas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is that they “bring crowds of people on stage at least once an act” during what is commonly called the *divertissement*, an extravaganza of dancing and singing in which a whole community is depicted engaging in a single-minded activity.⁵⁵ Rebecca Harris-Warrick explains that “the protagonists function not as isolated individuals, but within societies that are visible and audible for as much as a third of each opera.”⁵⁶ As Catherine Kintzler has noted, the collective presence of a community brings with it questions of opinion, custom, law, and war “that are political in the broadest sense.”⁵⁷ For Kintzler, the various people on the stage

⁵⁵ Rebecca Harris-Warrick, “Lully’s on-stage societies,” in *Opera and Society in Italy and France from Monteverdi to Bourdieu*, ed. Victoria Johnson, Jane F. Fulcher, and Thomas Ertman, 53-71 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 53.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Catherine Kintzler, “Representations of *le peuple* in French opera, 1673-1764,” in *Opera and Society in Italy and France from Monteverdi to Bourdieu*, ed. Victoria Johnson, Jane F. Fulcher, and Thomas Ertman, 72-86 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 79.

“function as a kind of extension of the monarch to whom they are subject” and may “represent the source of a monarch’s legitimacy.”⁵⁸

However, Kintzler’s explanation hinges on the relationship of the people to a sovereign. In *La Bataille de Ramelie*, Quesnot represents a society that shifts from a monarchy to an idealized republican community that owes no particular allegiance to a sovereign. The representation of community is key to an understanding of *La Bataille de Ramelie* because its portrayal of civilians is so striking given the norms of French opera as outlined by Harris-Warrick and Kintzler. Indeed, I daresay that this extraordinary feature is unique to this work and is emblematic of the larger political concerns played out on the field of Ramillies. Colored by his refugee experience and framed by his polemic on the evils of absolute rule, Quesnot’s on-stage society is certainly not an extension of an absolute monarch; rather, Quesnot describes a sort of fantasy island where the “fugitive and refugee shepherds” (bergers fugitifs et réfugiés) he places onstage will be able to rebuild their homes and live freely, subject to no one. As hinted at in his preface, that island might exist in the Netherlands, but whether it will turn out to be anything other than Baratavia remains to be seen.⁵⁹

One of the most striking changes in the second version of *La Bataille de Ramelie* is the disposition of the first act.⁶⁰ Rather than the combatants who featured in Ghent, the version for Rotterdam opens with a crowd of country folk of the Southern Netherlands onstage, who “present a rather bizarre spectacle with the diversity of their songs and dances.”⁶¹ Perhaps their performances were so diverse because this region—Flanders—had already been conquered so many times. The happily singing and dancing shepherds and peasants seem secure in their lives and loves on the land, described as “a field near a vast Forest” (une Campagne près d’une vaste Forêt). All progresses happily, until a shocking shift occurs. A grotesque peasant appears, singing what is described as “an old song”:

Le pain blanc revient à grand frais,
Le bon vin ne se trouve guere
Et l’argent qui sert à tout faire,
Devient plus rare que jamais.
Plaignons amis, plaignons nos infortunes,
La Guerre augmente nos besoins.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 79-80.

⁵⁹ Quesnot was not the first Huguenot to dream of an island utopia. Back in the late 1680s, Henri Duquesne proposed founding a Huguenot colony on what is today called the Île de la Réunion. The project had the support of the States General and the Dutch East India Company, but never came to fruition. See Myriam Yardeni, *Utopie et révolte sous Louis XIV* (Paris: A.-G. Nizet, 1980), 25ff.

⁶⁰ Act III in the 1706 version was split into Acts I and V in the 1707 version.

⁶¹ “...font un spectacle assez bizarre, par la diversité de leurs Chansons & de leurs Entrées.” *LBR I*, 2.

[White bread returns at great cost, / Good wine is nowhere to be found / And money, which can do anything, / Becomes more rare than ever. / Lament, friends, lament our misfortunes, / War increases our needs.]

Lacking the basic necessities of life—white bread, wine, and cash—this grotesque finds life hard to bear. Yet this is a character type that is supposed to be comic. While it might be amusing that a peasant complains about the lack of white bread and good wine, which ordinarily would be reserved for higher social classes, his broader point is that war has a material effect on bystanders. The grotesque’s message about the civilian plight is vividly brought to life when another peasant appears, one who has been “ruined by Foragers” (ruiné par les Fourageurs). In response to a song of spring contributed by another “paysan grotesque” the ruined peasant bitterly declares:

Que nous importe doux Printemps
 Que ta Saison ramene tous ses charmes
 Tandis que la fureur des Armes
 Ravage & desole nos champs?
 Rend-nous plutôt, s’il est possible,
 Les douceurs d’une heureuse paix,
 Et le bonheur d’un sort tranquile
 Vaudra pour moi tous tes attraits.

[What does sweet spring mean to us, / That your season brings back all of its charms / When the fury of Arms / Ravages and desolates our fields? / Rather give to us, if it is possible / The sweetness of a happy peace; / And the good fortune of a tranquil fate / Is worth to me all of your charms.]

The pastoral world is here disrupted by the ravages of war. The ruined peasant cannot sing happily of spring, as would be expected in conventional depictions of the peasantry in French opera of this period. Instead, he laments the harsh fate suffered by the people at the hands of unruly soldiers.

Foraging was indeed a grave difficulty for peasants during the War of the Spanish Succession. The immense size of the armies—more than 100,000 men in many cases—meant that supplies were always of utmost importance and difficult to come by. Cutting the supply train to an army was the most effective way of ensuring its defeat. Such an action also sealed the fates of whatever common folk were in the vicinity. Discipline amongst the soldiers was enforced as completely as possible; Marlborough in particular was noted for taking especial care to ensure that the strains placed on the lands his armies crossed would not be too great.⁶² But other generals were not so circumspect. After Blenheim in 1704, for example, French

⁶² On the military supply chain in this period, see esp. David G. Chandler, *Blenheim Preparation: The English Army on the March to the Danube; Collected Essays* (Staplehurst, UK: Spellmount, 2004).

general Camille de Tallard lost control of his men, who wrought havoc on the Bavarian countryside. That, coupled with the retribution sought by the Austrians after Bavaria was given into their hands, eventually caused the Bavarian peasants to revolt in 1705. The people of the Southern Netherlands fared little better after Ramillies, as the French army was pursued by Marlborough across Brabant and Flanders with little access to supplies on both sides. A quick surrender from towns and villages was the only means to minimize the damage. For the bourgeois of Rotterdam, who viewed the war at a safe distance, the focus at the outset of *La Bataille de Ramelie* on the suffering of the Southern Netherlands could be expected to arouse sympathy for the war. By contrast, in the version for Ghent, the peasants and shepherds do not crop up until the penultimate scene.

The return of peaceful pleasures, and a reminder of what was at stake for the Huguenots, is highlighted at the end of the work in both of its incarnations.⁶³ The familiar pastoral figure of Damon appears, “speaking to the fugitive and refugee shepherds on a fortified island situated in the heart of the Netherlands” (“parlant à des Bergers fugitifs & refugiez dans une Isle forte située dans le cœur des Pays-Bas”). Damon assures them that their trials are over, for on this fantasy island they can at last find peace. Quesnot’s invocation of the words “fugitifs” and “refugiez” would resonate with his reader as a reference to the Huguenots, and recall images of pitiable, peasant-like Huguenot refugees from the 1690s, such as those that Jan Luyken created to illustrate the Dutch edition of Élie Benoist’s *Histoire de l’Édit de Nantes*.⁶⁴

⁶³ In *LBR I*, this is the last scene of Act III; in *LBR II*, it becomes the first scene of Act V.

⁶⁴ Élie Benoist, *Historie der Gereformeerde kerken van Vrankryk*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Jan ten Hoorn, 1696). This publication was one of the many pieces of Huguenot propaganda that appeared in the 1690s. It was secretly funded by the States General, thanks to the mediation of opera fan Pieter Teding van Berkhout.

Figure 5.5



Jan Luyken, “Het weg vlugten der Gereformeerde uyt Vrankryk”
 (The Flight of the Reformed out of France), detail

from Élie Benoist, *Historie der Gereformeerde kerken van Vrankryk*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Jan ten Hoorn, 1696)

That Quesnot applies these terms to shepherds —*bergers*—is doubly significant because of the values pertaining to the figure of the simple, pure, *galant* and *honnête* shepherd by the early eighteenth century. In other words, the fugitive and refugee shepherds represented endangered cultural values that were worth fighting for. Indeed, it would seem that Quesnot, who certainly was not present at the Battle of Ramillies, draws more on his own refugee experience at this point than on any account of civilians in the Southern Netherlands. As stated in his preface to the first version of *La Bataille de Ramelie*, for Quesnot the Netherlands represented a refuge of safety and moderation in the midst of a continent at war, a veritable island, to adopt the scenic vocabulary of the drama.

Damon’s welcoming of the “fugitive and refugee shepherds” to the Netherlands re-enacts the welcome that Huguenots may have found after the Revocation, at least according to what was fast becoming popular myth. At the same time, a clear distinction is drawn between the refugees and the “inhabitants of the Netherlands.” The two groups constitute two separate choruses. The chorus of inhabitants repeats Damon’s words of welcome, while the chorus of refugees repeats his words about pain and suffering. Then they unite to sing of pleasure together, and perform a dance that “demonstrates the joy of their deliverance.”

However, all does not seem to be well on this fantasy island, if one reads the end of *La Bataille de Ramelie* carefully. Apollo descends to add his voice to the general celebration, singing:

Après vos troubles & vos larmes
 Allez en paix rebâtir vos maisons:
 Un doux repos succede à vos allarmes,
 Vous n'aurez plus que de belles saisons.
 Habitans de ces lieux ne craignez plus Gallie,
 Vous ne sentirez plus l'effet de sa furie:
 Un Heros glorieux, l'espoir de l'Univers,
 Vient par l'ordre des Dieux la mettre dans les fers.

[After your troubles and your tears / Go in peace, rebuild your homes: / A sweet repose succeeds to your alarms, / You will no longer have anything but beautiful seasons. / Inhabitants of this place, fear France no longer, / You will no longer feel the effect of her fury: / A glorious hero, the hope of the universe, / Comes by the order of the Gods to cast her in chains.]

The first few lines of Apollo's address seem to derive from the reassuring words of a shepherd in Act III, scene 9 of *Achille et Polixène* (the *divertissement* of that act):

Après tant de trouble et de larmes
 Un doux repos succede à nos allarmes.
 Benissons à jamais
 Le genereux vainqueur qui nous donne la paix.

[After plenty of trouble and of tears / A sweet repose succeeds to our alarms. / We bless forever / The generous conqueror who gives us peace.]⁶⁵

Achille et Polixène, Lully's last *tragédie en musique*, was surely known to Quesnot thanks to his connections in Hamburg more than a decade earlier. The parallels between the scene from *Achille et Polixène* and *La Bataille de Ramelie* are striking, and confirm the use of the older work as a model.⁶⁶ The shepherd's call for celebration comes on the heels of a reported pact between Agamemnon and Achilles, a report that turns out to be false. But the "shepherds" of Troy are so eager for peace that they quickly take up the reassuring words, singing them as a celebratory chorus that concludes the *divertissement*. What is notable is that, rather than repeat the second line, as Collasse did in the musical setting, Quesnot inserts a new line, encouraging the *bergers* to rebuild their houses.

⁶⁵ See Example 2.1 for the music.

⁶⁶ On its performance in Hamburg in 1692, see Chapter 2.

Apollo here addresses the two separate choruses of “fugitive and refugee shepherds” and “inhabitants of the Netherlands.” But his simple call to “rebuild your houses” is redoubled only by the chorus of inhabitants: “We go in peace to rebuild our houses” (Allons en paix, rebâtir nos maisons). For the “fugitive and refugee shepherds,” no secure future, no house, and no new home can be promised, not even by Apollo. Integration of the Huguenots into the people of the Netherlands seems a long way off in Quesnot’s vision, if they are excluded from the symbolic settlement process of (re)building houses. Underneath Quesnot’s words lurks another tension, too—what makes a house a home?⁶⁷

In the end, *La Bataille de Ramelie* presents a vision of a peace similar to that concluded at Ryswick in 1697, or the one that would be concluded at Utrecht in 1713—a peace that included no provisions for religious freedom in France. Peace was very much on the minds of most in 1706 and 1707, as the war continued to drag on. This might explain the revival of Peter Anthony Motteux and John Eccles’ *Europe’s revels for the peace of Ryswick* that occurred at the Queen’s Theatre in London in early 1706.⁶⁸ Quesnot’s explicit depictions of the Huguenot experience in *La Bataille de Ramelie*, his political discourse in the preface of the first version, and the dedications of both versions to parties negotiating the peace, can be seen as direct appeals to consider the impact of any peace agreement on Huguenot refugees, who even after years in exile still desperately wished to go home.

“Les ennemis déclarez de l’Opéra”: A manifesto for Amsterdam

1707 was a disastrous year for the Allies. By the spring, Dutch observers of Ghent were warning that its populace was now hostile to the Allied cause.⁶⁹ Dutch support at home for the war was also on the wane, which was a grave problem, since the Republic was financing the continued occupation of the Southern Netherlands. Perhaps the need to stimulate support for the war explains Quesnot’s attempts to produce *La Bataille de Ramelie* and another battle piece, *La Bataille de Hoogstet*, in the Dutch Republic in 1707, to which land he repaired after failing to secure an extension of his contract in Ghent. His dedication of *La Bataille de Hoogstet, tragédie en musique* to the burgomasters of Amsterdam represents the last in a series of attempts he made to produce opera in that city.⁷⁰ I have already noted his preparation of *La Bataille de Ramelie* for Rotterdam, but he only turned to Rotterdam after having failed to obtain a privilege in Amsterdam. Based on the similarity in the title

⁶⁷ On the symbolic contingencies of home-building, see Avtar Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 192ff.

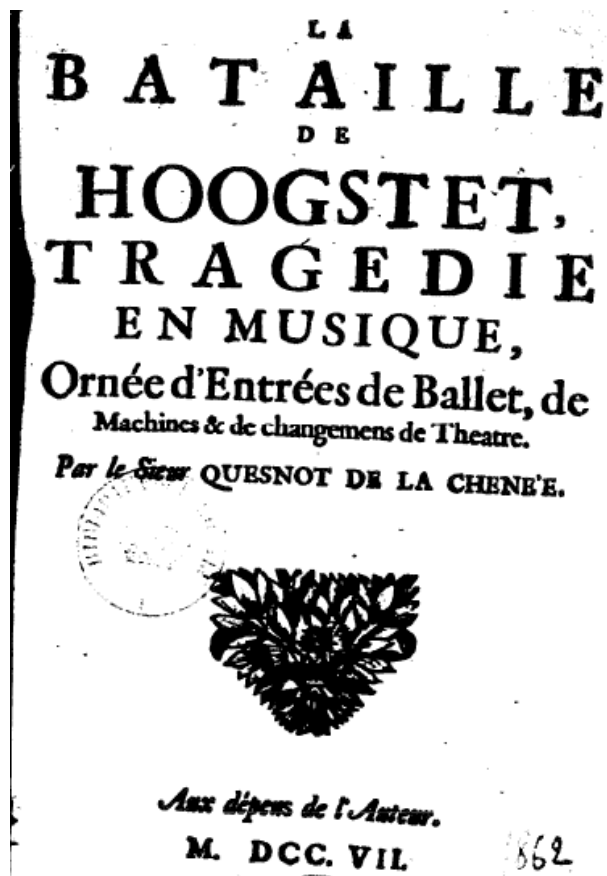
⁶⁸ Motteux was himself a Huguenot refugee. See Kathryn Lowerre, “A *ballet des nations* for English audiences: *Europe’s revels for the peace of Ryswick* (1697),” *Early Music* 35 (2007), 422.

⁶⁹ Ostwald, “The ‘Decisive’ Battle of Ramillies,” 673.

⁷⁰ Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée, *La Bataille de Hoogstet, tragédie en musique, Ornée d’Entrées de Ballet, de Machines, & de changemens de Theatre. Par le Sieur Quesnot de la Chenée* ([S.l.]: Aux dépens de l’Auteur, 1707). I know of two copies: F-Pn, Rés. Yf. 1862; and Nevers, Médiathèque Jean-Jaurès, AS 1702 (which I have not examined).

pages and printer's marks, however, I would say that both librettos were printed at the same time and in the same place.

Figure 5.6



Title page of *La Bataille de Hoogstet*.
F-Pn, Rés. Yf. 1862

The prints may indeed have come from the presses of Estienne Roger in Amsterdam; the floral decoration on both title pages is used twice in one of Roger's publications of 1706.⁷¹

That Quesnot chose in 1707 to produce a work based on the Battle of Blenheim (i.e. Hoogstet or Höchstädt) might seem somewhat odd, given that the battle had occurred some three years before.⁷² On 13 August 1704, French and Bavarian forces suffered a crushing defeat in and around the villages of Blenheim and Oberglau, on the road between Höchstädt

⁷¹ François Félibien, *Recueil Historique de la Vie et des Ouvrages des plus célèbres Architectes* (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1706), 15 and 60.

⁷² I have found no evidence that he wrote the work in 1704, but it remains a possibility.

and Donauwörth in Bavaria.⁷³ The Franco-Bavarian armies, under the command of Elector Maximilian II Emanuel of Bavaria, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and the French generals Tallard and Ferdinand de Marsin, numbered around 53,000 men and 90 cannon. The Allied forces, led by Marlborough and Prince Eugene of Savoy, included a similar number of men drawn from England, the Dutch Republic, Hanover, the Empire (mostly from Württemberg and the Swabian and Franconian Imperial Circles), Prussia, Denmark, and Hesse. Thanks to numerous blunders on the French side, the Allies were able to prevail in less than five hours. But not without great cost: both sides experienced heavy losses. The Allies counted 4635 dead and 7676 wounded, with 273 taken prisoner or missing. Around 5000 Franco-Bavarian soldiers were killed, with around 7000 wounded and over 12000 imprisoned or missing. Add to that nearly 8000 horses killed or lamed. Laid shoulder to shoulder, these casualties would make a meter-high wall of bloody bodies seven kilometers long.⁷⁴ Yet this high number of casualties, probably at least one third of the combatants, was fairly average for the War of the Spanish Succession.

Quesnot mentions the great number of Franco-Bavarian casualties in the dedication of his operatic extravaganza *La Bataille de Hoogstet* to the “Tres-Nobles, Grands, et Puissans Seigneurs, les seigneurs Bourguemaitres de la Ville d’Amsterdam” (though he remains silent about Allied losses): “Your Lordships have been so touched by the deplorable state in which the Empire finds itself and you have contributed so much to such a vast land, desolated for so long by the declared enemies of Europe, to offer, Messeigneurs, to anyone but you *La Bataille d’Hoogstet*, in which you saw such a great number of enemies perish.”⁷⁵ “Les ennemis déclarez de l’Europe” in this case meant France and her allies, especially Bavaria. Given the significance of the battle—it was the first of Marlborough’s great victories—and Allied frustration in 1707 it is perhaps unsurprising that Quesnot returned to the topic in order to reinvigorate support for Marlborough and the Protestant cause. What is most telling is that he first attempted to have it produced in Amsterdam, a city that had already witnessed a dramatic treatment of the battle on the stage of the Schouwburg in 1704, with Marlborough in attendance. Enoch Krook’s *Den roemruchtigen Zegenpraal van den Veldslag by Hoogstet* was performed to great acclaim; predictably so, since the literary society to which Krook belonged, *Door Yver Bloeid de Kunst*, was very closely linked to the Regents of the

⁷³ For a concise summary, see the entry “Blenheim, Battle of” in Linda Frey and Marsha Frey, eds., *The Treaties of the War of the Spanish Succession: An Historical and Critical Dictionary* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995). A much fuller treatment of the battle is given in Marcus Junkelmann, *Das greulichste Spectaculum: Die Schlacht von Höchstädt 1704*, Hefte zur Bayerischen Geschichte und Kultur (Augsburg: Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, 2004).

⁷⁴ Junkelmann, *Das greulichste Spectaculum*, 6.

⁷⁵ “Vos Seigneuries ont été si touchées de l’état déplorable où l’Empire s’est vû, & elles ont trop contribué à la delivrance d’un si vaste Pays, desolé depuis si long-temps par les ennemis déclarez de l’Europe, pour offrir, Messeigneurs, à d’autres qu’à vous la Bataille d’Hoogstet, dans laquelle nous avons vû perir un si grand nombre d’ennemis.” *La Bataille de Hoogstet*, 3.

Schouwburg.⁷⁶ Krook followed this work with another celebrating the Battle of Ramillies in 1706, also performed successfully at the Schouwburg.⁷⁷ Perhaps Quesnot hoped to channel some of Krook's successes to himself. But, considering that he had already been denied permission to produce French opera in Amsterdam several times he probably knew by this point that, just as France and her allies were the "ennemis déclarez de l'Europe," so were the Dutch Reformed Church and the over-protective burgomasters of Amsterdam the "ennemis déclarez de l'Opéra."

Quesnot's most recent refusal had come in April 1706, when he had asked permission to perform during the summer "on the Overtoom, under the jurisdiction of Kennemerland."⁷⁸ Even though the proposed location was under provincial jurisdiction, the powerful burgomasters of Amsterdam still had a say in what performances could take place near the city. Quesnot tried to improve his chances at obtaining permission by pointing out that the Schouwburg was normally closed during the summer, and thus the business of the Dutch theater would be unaffected. He also proposed that the Regents of the Almshouses could determine the days of performance; that a portion of proceeds would go to the poor; and that he himself would assume all financial liability. But nothing worked. In denying his petition, burgomasters Jeronimo De Haze and Jan Corver sided with the Regents, stating that even if the performances took place out of town, it still might endanger the normal workings of the Schouwburg. They did not fall back on their favorite excuse—the regulation passed in 1683 that no foreign troupe should be allowed to perform in the city—but there is every reason to believe that prejudice against foreigners, particularly Francophone ones, was a factor.⁷⁹

Knowing all this, and the likelihood that he would fail yet again, Quesnot dedicated his *Bataille de Hoogstet* in 1707 to the same burgomasters who had flatly refused him just the year before. He begins the dedication of *La Bataille de Hoogstet* with the appropriate terms of address, but quickly veers off course: "But, since I have made a *pièce de théâtre*, I do not doubt that those who are accustomed to persecuting me will vex the design that I have to

⁷⁶ Enoch Krook, *Den roemruchtigen Zegenpraal van den Veldslag by Hoogstet, oorlogsspel. Versierd met verscheidene Vertooningen, Zang, Dans, Konst- en Vliegwerken. Door Yver Bloeid de Kunst* (Amsterdam: Erfgen. van J. Lescaijle, met privilegie, 1704). NL-Uu, Te Winkel 949; NL-Ai, AB G-1135. On the political productions and connections of *Door Yver Bloeid de Kunst*, see Kornee van der Haven, *Achter de schermen van het stadstoneel: Theaterbedrijf en toneelpolemiek in Amsterdam en Hamburg, 1675-1750* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2008), 80-101.

⁷⁷ Enoch Krook, *Het verlost Brabant en Vlaanderen, door den Veldslag by Ramellies, oorlogsspel. Versierd met verscheidene Vertooningen, Zang, Dans, Vliegwerken, en een Muzyk van Oorlogsspeeltuigen. Door Yver Bloeid de Kunst* (Amsterdam: Erfgen. van J. Lescaijle, met privilegie, 1706). NL-Uu, Te Winkel 949, dl 2.

⁷⁸ "...aan den Overtoom, onder de jurisdictie van Kennemerland." Quesnot's request was transcribed and translated into Dutch sometime during the eighteenth century. It forms part of a collection of documents related to the Schouwburg in Amsterdam that was assembled by Balthasar Huydecoper (1695-1778). NL-Ur, Familiearchief Huydecoper, inv. 316, pp. 149-56. I have not been able to locate the original, which is presumably in French.

⁷⁹ Franssen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande*, 165.

perform it for Your Lordships, if I am fortunate enough to obtain the permission.”⁸⁰ He then launches into a remarkable defense of the opera as a genre. His remarks reveal a dedication to his chosen profession, as well as a cunning awareness of the criticisms leveled at it. His sensitivity to persecution, as highlighted in the preface, stems from his experiences as both a refugee and a frustrated impresario.⁸¹

Quesnot takes on a veritable Hydra of opera criticism. Most of the objections that he confronts have to do with the perceived immorality of theater. He refers to the “censeurs inexorables” who have condemned theatrical works in many different places and counters their objections with the rhetorical question: “But is there any place, no matter how sanctified and sacred it may be, that does not see criminal abuses?”⁸² He insists that, at least in Paris, the performance of *leçons de ténèbres* (highly elaborate musical settings of the Lamentations of Jeremiah) or spirited sermons are but thinly veiled consolations for the absence of operatic performances during Holy Week: “A female religious, by her voice, her study, and her method consoles us of La Choisy, La Rochoix, or La Desmatin [three famous singers of the Paris Opéra] ... the passion of a celebrated Abbé sustains us instead of a tragedy by Racine.”⁸³ But, he goes on, just as the Church has become infected with the theater, so has the theater become a servant of morality: “The French theater is so pure at present that I am able to say, Messeigneurs, that the Opera and the Comedy are noble, honest, and necessary divertissemens, more capable of correcting morals than of corrupting them, well suited to presenting useful lessons for all the different degrees to which man sees himself elevated.”⁸⁴ The most important justification for the moral instruction provided by the “pure” theater is that “instructions that frighten always make less of an impression on hearts than those that please.”⁸⁵ To Quesnot, the pleasant diversion of the theater is perfectly in line with the Christian duty to control the passions, for if the passions are depicted on the stage at all, they are “but a naïve painting of man’s actions: virtue appears with brilliance, vice is reprimanded

⁸⁰ “Mais comme j’en ai fait une Piece de Theatre, je ne doute pas que ceux qui sont accoutumez à me persecuter, ne traversent le dessein que j’ai d’en faire voir la representation à V. S. si je suis assez heureux d’en obtenir la permission.” Quesnot de la Chenée, *La Bataille de Hoogstet*, 3.

⁸¹ Somehow, this preface has been completely neglected by scholarship. This may be in part due to the rarity of the item; it could also be due to the general neglect prefaces received in the past.

⁸² “Mais y a-t’il un lieu pour saint & sacré qui’ soit, où l’on ne voye des abus criminels?” Quesnot de la Chenée, *La Bataille de Hoogstet*, 4.

⁸³ “Une Religieuse par sa voix, son etude & sa metode nous console de la Choisy, de la Rochoix ou de la Desmatin ... la Passion d’un Abbé célèbre nous tien lieu d’une Tragedie de Racine.” Ibid.

⁸⁴ “Le Theatre François est si pur à present, que je puis dire, Messeigneurs, que l’Opera & la Comedie sont des divertissemens nobles, honnêtes & necessaires, plus capables de corriger les mœurs que de les corrompre, tres-propres de donner des leçons utiles dans tous les differens degrez où l’homme se voit élevé.” Ibid., 4-5.

⁸⁵ “Les instructions, Messeigneurs, qui effrayent, font toujours moins d’impression sur les cœurs que celles qui divertissent.” Ibid., 5.

and always followed by the punishment it deserves. If one does depict the passions, it is with the most appropriate traits to make known their ugliness and to encourage hatred of them.”⁸⁶

Another point on which the theater had often been criticized is the behavior of the performers. The notoriously loose morals of singers and dancers were a popular topic for contemporary satires and scurrilous songs.⁸⁷ Sordid tales from the Brussels opera provided the material for a scandalous pamphlet of 1706 (often attributed to Quesnot) entitled *Parnasse belge*.⁸⁸ Unlike the author of that pamphlet, Quesnot defends performers in his preface, drawing a distinction between private behavior and public life and displaying some sympathy for their itinerant lifestyles, a lifestyle that he himself had so often shared. He notes that it is true that “most Actors are constrained to not having fixed and official residences, and to playing sometimes in one city, sometimes in another.” His excuse for this would resonate with the commercially minded burgomasters of Amsterdam: “But their conduct in doing this is no more blamable than that of Merchants, who band together and go from city to city to sell their wares; the conduct of the ones is no more criminal than the others.” He concludes that “if their conduct should not be as regular in private [dans le secret de leur famille] as it is [in public], should this be a reason powerful enough to prohibit a public spectacle, where all passes in order?”⁸⁹ In other words, private life should not affect public spectacle, especially when that spectacle is capable of encouraging positive behavior.

Morality aside, Quesnot’s makes a strong argument about the ability of the theater to enhance a great city’s prestige: “An innocent and pompous spectacle is necessary in a city as famous as yours. This diverts the old, occupies and instructs the young, and often discourages

⁸⁶ “...ce n’est autre chose qu’une Peinture naïve des actions des hommes, la vertu y paroît avec éclat, le vice y est blâmé & toujours suivi de la punition qu’il merite. Si on y dépeint les passions c’est avec des traits les plus propres pour en faire connoître la laideur & pour les faire haïr.” Ibid., 8.

⁸⁷ See Georgia Cowart, “Of Women, Sex and Folly: Opera under the Old Regime,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 6 (1994).

⁸⁸ [Anonymous], *Parnasse belge, ou Portraits caracterisez des principaux sujets, qui l’ont composé depuis le premier de Janvier 1705 jusqu’au seize May 1706* (Cologne: Heritiers de Pierre le Sincere, 1706). Based on the writing style, the pamphlet is clearly not by Quesnot. A copy in F-Po (bound with Quesnot’s *L’Opéra de la Haye*) includes an annotation in a contemporary hand indicating that the author was a singer of the Brussels company named De Heuqueville. The false attribution to Quesnot seems to originate in Edmond vander Straeten, *La musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe siècle. Documents inédits et annotés. Compositeurs, virtuoses, théoriciens, luthiers; opéras, motets, airs notionaux, académies, maîtrises, livres, portraits, etc.; avec planches de musique et table alphabétique*, 8 vols. (Brussels: G.-A. van Trigt, 1867-1888), 2:180. I will detail the case more fully in a future article.

⁸⁹ “Il est vrai, Messeigneurs, que la plûpart des Acteurs sont contraints de n’avoir pas des demeures fixes & arrêtées, & de jouer tantôt dans une Ville, tantôt dans une autre: Mais leur conduite en cela n’est pas plus blâmable que celle des Marchands, qui s’associent ensemble & vont de Ville en Ville débiter leur Marchandise; la conduite des uns n’est pas plus criminelle que celles des autres ... Mais quand leur conduite ne seroit pas aussi reguliere qu’elle est dans le secret de leur famille, seroit-ce une raison assez puissante pour empêcher un spectacle public, où tout se passe dans l’ordre.” Quesnot de la Chenée, *La Bataille de Hoogstet*, 7.

them from outright and dangerous vice.”⁹⁰ As evidence, Quesnot cites the fact that rather than being condemned, opera and spoken theater are applauded by “all the courts of sovereigns, and in the most important cities,” including Venice, Genoa, and Hamburg—great trading cities with which Amsterdam competed. He mentions especially the courts of England, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and Hanover, demonstrating that opera was just as suitable to Protestant courts as to the Catholic kingdoms of Spain and France. In case the burgomasters might argue that there was already spectacle in Amsterdam in the form of the Dutch theater based in the Schouwburg, Quesnot reminds them that France has “the advantage of having brought the Theater to its greatest perfection.”⁹¹ Here Quesnot plays upon the long-standing prejudice that French theater would always be better than Dutch theater. In the prestige system of the time, that may have been true, but it certainly would not have been appreciated by the burgomasters of Amsterdam; Quesnot could hardly have been unaware of this.

Staging the *réfugié* experience in *La Bataille de Hoogstet*

Quesnot’s theatrical manifesto outlines the tenets by which he conceived *La Bataille de Hoogstet*. Not only is the evil of Maximilian II Emanuel of Bavaria punished, but good, in the person of the Duke of Marlborough, is seen to prevail. The means by which he communicates these ends, moreover, make clear once again that Quesnot has a very particular vision of how any peace ought to be concluded. His theatrical reenactment of the great Allied victory at the Battle of Blenheim recalls the fact that this event gave many Protestants a renewed hope that France might ultimately be defeated and that any future settlements would enable them finally to return home.

In *La Bataille de Hoogstet*, Elector Maximilian II Emanuel of Bavaria appears in the guise of “Artaban, Generalissime & Prince Bavarois.” By 1704, Max Emanuel had become a real threat to the Allies. His hereditary territories of Bavaria were joined with the regency of the Spanish Netherlands in 1691, the price he was paid by Emperor Leopold I to join the Grand Alliance against France. The strategic positions of these territories were key to any success for either France or the Empire in a continental war. When the War of the Spanish Succession began, Max Emanuel had a choice—to remain true to the Emperor (his former father-in-law), to be effectively neutral, or to cast his lot in with the French. Ever ambitious, he tried to negotiate with the Emperor, but with an unreasonable series of terms. Maximilian Emanuel demanded an Imperial Princess for his son from his 1694 marriage to Theresa Kunegunda Sobieska, daughter of King John III Sobieski of Poland; the regency of the Southern Netherlands; the Tyrol; a crown for Bavaria; and the option of trading Bavaria for the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies after the war was ended. As Leopold was unwilling to commit to these terms, the Bavarian Elector allied with France in August 1702, just months

⁹⁰ “Un Spectacle innocent & pompeux, est necessaire dans une Ville aussi fameuse que la vôtre. Cela divertit les vieux, occupe & instruit les jeunes, & bien souvent les détourne d’un vice outré & dangereux.” Ibid., 6.

⁹¹ “...l’avantage d’avoir mis le Theatre dans sa derniere perfection.” Ibid., 9.

after Queen Anne's accession to the British throne, and immediately set out to conquer the Imperial territories around Bavaria. Ulm, Augsburg, Passau, and Regensburg soon fell into his grip.⁹² From the Allied perspective, Max Emanuel's advance had to be stopped. That was the outcome of the Battle of Blenheim.

Artaban (Max Emanuel) enters a "grand & magnifique Palais" in Act I, scene 2 of *La Bataille de Hoogstet*, where he attempts to seduce Rosanire, the Queen of Swabia (a purely allegorical figure), to join the side of the French. He taunts her for her fidelity to the Empire, threatening, "Will you persist in your blindness and be murdered by your own hand?" (Voulez-vous persister dans votre aveuglement, / De vous-même être l'homicide?) She maintains her faith, insisting that "I would suffer any martyrdom rather than betray the Empire" (Il n'est point de martyre / Que je ne souffrisse, plutôt / Que de trahir le parti de l'Empire). Death is preferable to treason. Artaban orders her cast into chains, while her people despair.

In the second scene of Act II, Artaban reappears in an even more menacing guise, and again threatens Rosanire:

Contre mes flames devorantes
 En vain tu cherches du secours,
 Rien n'en peut arrêter le cours.
 Tes Villes les plus florissantes,
 Et tes Palais les plus charmans
 Tes Campagnes, tes Habitans
 S'en vont dans ce moment éprouver ma puissance.
 De la Seine je sers la rage & la vengeance;
 Le seul & vrai moyen de te sauver, croi moi,
 C'est de la reconnoitre & de subir à sa Loi.

[Against my devouring flames you search in vain for aid. Nothing can stop the course. Your most flourishing cities and your most charming palaces, your fields, your people will feel my power in this moment. From the Seine I seize rage and vengeance; the one and only way to save yourself, believe me, is to recognize her and submit to her laws.]

Unable to persuade her with words, Artaban turns to force. Despite Artaban's threats of channeling the violent power of France into Swabia, Rosanire refuses to submit, and hell is unleashed on her people.

The terms used to depict the sufferings of Swabia reveal that Quesnot pitched his production to a public familiar with Huguenot concerns. In Act II, scene 1, a "Troupe des Peuples de Swabe" are described as "réfugiez," a word that, as we have seen, was particularly linked to the Huguenot experience. The same scene ends with an "Entrée of the Peoples of

⁹² See Jeremy Black, *The Rise of the European Powers, 1679-1793* (London and New York: Edward Arnold, 1990), 52.

Swabia,” who “come out of the Cavern where they have taken refuge, and who demonstrate by their cries and their tears that they live more in fear of a miserable destiny, than in the certitude of a quick deliverance.”⁹³ The resemblance between the peoples of Swabia and the Huguenots becomes even clearer in subsequent scenes, which recall the *dragonnades* as a referent for the horrors of war in general. The French policy of the *dragonnades*, which began in Quesnot’s home province of Languedoc in 1683, included the forced billeting of troops on Protestant families, the destruction of their homes and temples, and the forced removal of their children, who were sent to what might today be called “reeducation centers.”⁹⁴ All of this was intended to terrorize Protestants into conversion. The brutality of the *dragonnades* shocked Protestant Europe and left a lasting impression on generations of Huguenots

Quesnot’s vivid portrayal of ravaging French troops in *La Bataille de Hoogstet*—even though the action is displaced to the Holy Roman Empire—exemplifies the merging of his individual memory of the *dragonnades* with the mythology of the expatriate experience that was beginning to emerge as the years in exile multiplied. A scene change for Act II, scene 3 indicates that the scenery represents “some burned palaces and a number of hovels, with a great fire that continues to burn at the back of the stage” (plusieurs Palais brûlez & quantité de Masures, avec un grand feu qui continuë derriere le Theatre), recalling the flames that consumed Protestant homes in the Languedoc. There appears a group of inhabitants of the cities and villages “exposed to the furies of the War,” who lament their fates and beg for mercy. Quesnot increases the terror in Scene 4 by introducing a “Troupe de DRAGONS incendiaires” who enter from upstage, singing “with a horrible and menacing voice” (d’une voix horrible & menaçante). In one hand they carry swords, in the other, torches. Their “horrible cry” of “Brûlons, tuons, brûlons” (Let’s burn and kill, and burn some more) redoubles, inspiring panic in the inhabitants.

The terrible crescendo peaks in Scene 5, the *divertissement* of this act. Comparable to the *enfèrs* scenes of Lully’s *Proserpine* or *Psyché*, this *divertissement* features reversals of fortunes against a backdrop of fire and horror. The troop of dragoons “en fureur” advances from the back of the theater, each one carrying a sword in one hand and a lit torch in the other. Their subsequent airs use the language of *galant* love to celebrate murder and pillage. A first dragoon declares that burning and ravaging are “les delices de mon cœur” (the delights of my heart). A second enthuses that causing horror to reign is “le plus grand plaisir que je sens en mon ame” (the greatest pleasure that I feel in my soul). Seeing fields in flames is “un plaisir qui m’enchante” (a pleasure that enchants me) for yet another. Together, the troops ravage and burn, followed by an *Entrée de Furies*, a dance of unbridled vigor and

⁹³ “Entrée des Peuples de Suabe, qui sortent d’une Caverne où ils s’étoient refugiez, & qui marquent par leurs plaintes & leurs larmes qu’il vivent plus dans la crainte d’un sort funeste, que dans la certitude d’une delivrance prochaine.” Quesnot de la Chenée, *La Bataille de Hoogstet*, 26.

⁹⁴ For an enlightening discussion of the *dragonnades*, told from the perspective of French governmental policy, see Roy L. McCullough, *Coercion, Conversion and Counterinsurgency in Louis XIV’s France*, History of Warfare 42 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), esp. Chapter 4.

grotesque power.⁹⁵ This perversion of gallantries would have disturbed contemporary audiences.

But all is not lost: a great hero, the Duke of Marlborough, arrives to establish a new order in which the people may comfortably resume their lives. That new order was not an absolute monarchy. Quesnot reveals his politics, as well as his concordance with the purported aims of the war in Act III, scene 1. A stage direction indicates that, as Jupiter descends on a cloud machine, there occurs “a general Entrée of all the nations most interested in the destruction of absolute monarchy—which is the subject of the present war—who, despite the diversity of their characters, do not fail to rejoice together in the hopes of an assured victory.”⁹⁶

Jupiter declares that Artaban/Max Emanuel will be punished like Icarus for his foolish ambition. Fame (La Renommée) appears, announcing Victory, who appears between Vice and Virtue. Addressing herself to Vice, Victory apologizes for her seeming injustice in having favored the “Prince ambitieux” (Max Emanuel). She explains that she was tricked by fraud and malice, but from this point forward she will honor only the true hero, Marlborough. In Quesnot’s version of history, even allegorical figures can make mistakes—yet those mistakes can be corrected. Thus he accounts for the French and Bavarian successes in the early part of the war, while looking forward to the longed-for day when France would be routed definitively and the Huguenots would be allowed to return home.

Perhaps this subtext explains the bold tone of Quesnot’s defense of the opera in his dedication to the burgomasters of Amsterdam. Toward the end of the preface, Quesnot acknowledges the import of his words:

It is true that at the beginning of this epistle I had proposed, Messieurs, rather than defending the Theater, to make the beauty of our spectacles a subject of praise, and to present you with a perfect panegyric; but the sight of an enterprise so far exceeding my ability, so difficult and so bold, has thrown me into a mortal fright, and has now imposed a profound silence on me. Nothing remains to my trembling quill to be rid of the matter but the precious moment of completion, and to assure Your Lordships, that I am and will be all my life, with great confidence, a profound respect and a complete submission,

Messieurs

Your very humble, very obedient, and very faithful servant,

⁹⁵ Examples of scenes in Jean-Baptiste Lully’s operas containing entrées for Furies and Demons include *Phaëton* III, 5, *Psiché* IV, 1, and *Thésée* IV, 2. See Rebecca Harris-Warrick, “The phrase structures of Lully’s dance music,” in *Lully Studies*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer, 32-56 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 49ff.

⁹⁶ “Il se fait pendant la descente de Jupiter, une Entrée generale des Nations les plus interessées à la destruction de la Monarchie universelle, qui est le sujet de la Guerre presente, qui malgré la diversité de leur genie, ne laissent pas de se rejouir ensemble dans l’esperance d’une Victoire assurée.” Quesnot de la Chenée, *La Bataille de Hoogstet*, 33.

Quesnot de la Chenée⁹⁷

Very humble indeed. Quesnot's reference to "nos Spectacles" clearly identifies him as an outsider—as a displaced Frenchman who felt obliged to defend the beauties of the French theater in a foreign land. His feigned discomfort with his "difficult and bold" defense of the opera is belied by his "great confidence" in signing off. Confidence in what? Surely not that his proposal would be approved. It would appear that, knowing that he would most likely be denied, Quesnot decided to levy some blows at the magistrates, much in the spirit of Heinrich Elmenhorst, who helped resolve the great moral crisis of the opera at Hamburg in 1688 with canny words and biblical arguments.⁹⁸ But whereas Elmenhorst was a respected preacher and community leader, Quesnot was merely a low-level operative who could not even make his political connections public. He would never again attempt to produce opera in Amsterdam.

Church and Stage in Rotterdam

Instead, Quesnot turned his attentions to Amsterdam's sister to the south, Rotterdam. His original request unfortunately does not survive, but the decision of the burgomasters is recorded in their book of resolutions. On 3 August 1707, they granted him permission to perform in "de kaetsbaen," addressing him as the "Intendant of the Music of the King of Prussia."⁹⁹ The permission of the burgomasters came with rules, however. Quesnot was "to be allowed to present on Mondays, Fridays and Saturdays the Battle of Ramillies and that of Hoogstet, as they were shown in writing to the burgomasters and under the condition that no other work or any offensive material shall be presented."¹⁰⁰ Many important things can be learned from this document. At that time, Rotterdam had no permanent theater, and there was no monopoly on theatrical performances like that held by the literary societies of Amsterdam. A Dutch comedy troupe performing in Rotterdam in 1705 brought their own

⁹⁷ "Il est vrai qu'en commençant cette Epître, je m'étois proposé, Messeigneurs, au lieu de faire l'apologie du Theatre, de tirer de la beauté même de nos Spectacles un sujet d'éloge, & de vous presenter un Panegyrique parfait: Mais la vûë d'une entreprise si fort au dessus de ma portée, si difficile & si temeraire m'a jetté dans une frayeur mortelle, & m'a d'abord imposé un silence profond. Il ne reste à ma plume tremblante pour me tirer d'affaire, que le precieux moment de finir, & d'assure Vos Seigneuries, que je suis & serai toute ma vie avec beaucoup de confiance, un profond respect & une entiere soumission, MESSEIGNEURS, Vôte tres humble, tres obeissant & tres-fidèle Serviteur, QUESNOT DE LA CHENE'E." Ibid., 13.

⁹⁸ Heinrich Elmenhorst, *Dramatologia antiquo-hodierna, Das ist: Bericht von denen Oper-Spielen...* (Hamburg: Georg Rebenl[ein] Wittwe, 1688).

⁹⁹ "...intendant van de musieck van de Koning van Pruissen." NL-Ra, Oud Archief van de Stad Rotterdam (OSA), Resolutiën-boeck van de Heeren Burgemeesteren en Regeerders der stad Rotterdam, 1.01 nr. 279.

¹⁰⁰ "...des Maendags, Vrijd[aeg]s en Saterdagh's in 't musieck to mogen representeeren de Bataille van Ramilles en die van Hoogstet, soo als die in geschrifte aan de Heeren Burgerm[esters] syn verthoont, sonder onder dat pretext eytwas anders off eenige aanstootelyckheden te mogen representeren." NL-Ra, OSA 279, f. 67v; quoted (incompletely and without source) in P. Haverkorn van Rijsewijk, *De Oude Rotterdamsche Schouwburg* (Rotterdam: Van Hengel & Eeltjes, 1882), 10.

tent. However, Rotterdam had a number of “kaetsbaenen”—walled areas that were used for ball games, some of which were completely enclosed like the French *jeu de paume*. One of these had so distinguished itself as a site of performance by 1707 that it became known simply as “the” kaetsbaen, located on the Kipstraat, in a neighborhood largely populated by Huguenots.¹⁰¹ Performances in Rotterdam were restricted to three days a week, most likely at the instance of the Dutch Reformed Church, which would have preferred that they did not happen at all. Quesnot’s printing of his works at his own expense was in part to meet the requirements of the Rotterdam censors—works could only be performed exactly as they had been “shown in writing to the burgomasters.”¹⁰² Predictably, the burgomasters of Rotterdam stipulated that no offensive work be presented, as might be expected in a city much more under the influence of the Church than Amsterdam.

Quesnot’s dedicatory preface to the burgomasters of Rotterdam in the printed libretto for the second version of *La Bataille de Ramelie* provides some insight into what the city found offensive.¹⁰³ As in his preface for *La Bataille de Hoogstet*, he offers a number of moral arguments in support of the opera, countering objections expressed by the Dutch Reformed Church. Appealing to the burgomasters, Quesnot’s most compelling reason for allowing theatrical performance is again the prestige it can give to a city: “A pompous spectacle is absolutely necessary to a great city, in order to please foreigners, to benefit the citizens, and to relieve for a few moments those who are at the head of the government from the fatigues that are inseparable from their positions.”¹⁰⁴ Quesnot specifically mentions the entertainment of foreigners—tourists were good business in a port city like Rotterdam. Being able to entertain her visitors “properly” would increase the prestige of a city “as rich and renowned as Rotterdam, through which such a great number of foreigners pass again and again.”¹⁰⁵ Or perhaps by *étrangers* Quesnot meant the many Huguenots who had settled in Rotterdam, who were becoming increasingly unpopular with the Dutch Church due to their perceived worldliness.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 9. See also Arie van der Schoor, *Stad in aanwas: Geschiedenis van Rotterdam tot 1813* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1999), 290.

¹⁰² No printed programs related to actual performances in Rotterdam at this time survive; perhaps the informal theater on the Kipstraat did not distribute them.

¹⁰³ Quesnot de la Chenée, *La Bataille de Ramelie II*.

¹⁰⁴ “Il faut absolument à une grande ville, un Spectacle pompeux pour faire plaisir aux Etrangers, pour en faire profiter les Habitans, & pour délasser quelques momens ceux qui sont à la tête du Gouvernement, des fatigues qui sont inseparables de la place qu’ils occupent.” Ibid., 7.

¹⁰⁵ “...une Ville aussi riche & aussi renommée que Rotterdam, où il passe & repasse un si grand nombre d’Etrangers.” Quesnot de la Chenée, *La Bataille de Ramelie II*, 7-8. A similar argument was made for London in 1692; see the preface to the libretto for Purcell’s *Fairy Queen*, reproduced in Michael Burden, *Purcell Remembered* (Portland, OR: Amadeus Press, 1995), 100-02.

¹⁰⁶ For a description of the shift away from a religious identity and toward a cosmopolitan cultural one amongst the Huguenots of Rotterdam, see the forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation of David C. van der Linden (University of Utrecht, 2012).

Quesnot had good reason to worry about the Church's reception of his works. Just as he was preparing performances of *La Bataille de Hoogstet* in October of 1707, the Church Council of Rotterdam sent a special delegation to the burgomasters to protest the infection of their city by the disease of opera.¹⁰⁷ The burgomasters acknowledged the Council's concerns, but assured them that the situation was under control, and that the performances had to do with supporting the present war.¹⁰⁸ What the Council representatives did not tell the burgomasters was that they had every intention of keeping Quesnot's company under surveillance in order to find any excuse to shut him down. Previously unreported archival documents reveal that an agent of the Church kept close watch on the opera company, informing the burgomasters of any potential transgressions. On 7 December 1707, the agent reported to the Church Council that Quesnot's privilege had been revoked by the burgomasters, news the Council greeted with joy.¹⁰⁹ One week later, the representative delivered the encouraging message that Quesnot had appeared with a second request for the burgomasters, but was told that the time for opera in the city had passed.¹¹⁰

It seems that Quesnot was able to hold out for at least another month, however, for no ban on opera is mentioned in the resolutions of the burgomasters until 20 January 1708, when a real reason to close the opera was found. With the subject "Music in the Kaetsbaen Forbidden" in the margin, the resolution of the burgomasters states that Quesnot's privilege was revoked because Quesnot had hung posters around the city, advertising "a concert of Italian and other music until the performance of *La Bataille de Hoogstet* was in readiness."¹¹¹ Quesnot had violated the terms of his agreement stating that no work besides either *La Bataille de Hoogstet* or *La Bataille de Ramelie* could be performed.

The burgomasters of Amsterdam and Rotterdam were not the only dignitaries to see a copy of *La Bataille de Hoogstet*. In his penultimate letter to Grand Pensionary Heinsius, dated 20 April 1708, Quesnot wrote the following lines:

I take the liberty of sending you a piece that I composed on the Battle of Hoogstet. I have spared nothing in order to establish myself and to make something, but I am always unhappy. It is only up to you, Your Excellency, to procure a sweeter future for me.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ NL-Ra, Archive of the Hervormd Gemeente Rotterdam-Centrum (HGR), inv. nr. 8, 19 October 1707. This document and that of 26 October 1707 are cited in Henk Gras, "Wat er aan de Schouwburg vooraf ging: Vorming en structuur van het veld van theatrale vermakelijkheden in Rotterdam, ca. 1630-1773," *Rotterdams jaarboekje* 10, no. 5 (1997), 186 and 210n122.

¹⁰⁸ NL-Ra, HGR inv. nr. 7, 26 October 1707.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 7 December 1707

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 14 December 1707

¹¹¹ "...een concert van Italiaens en ander musieck totdat met het vertoonen van de Bataille van Hoogstet in gereedheyt soude syn." Gemeentearchief Rotterdam, OSA inv. 279/78vo-79; quoted incorrectly in Haverkorn van Rijsewijk, *De Oude Rotterdamsche Schouwburg*, 10.

¹¹² "Je prens la liberté de vous envoyer une pièce que j'ay composée sur la Bataille d'Hoogstet. Je n'épargne rien pour m'établir et pour faire quelque chose, mais je suis toujours malheureux; il ne tient qu'à V. Exc. de me

Sending copies of his works to the burgomasters of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and the most powerful man in the Dutch Republic underlines the political motivations that Quesnot had in writing and attempting to produce *La Bataille de Ramelie* and *La Bataille de Hoogstet*, and demonstrates that his career was inextricably bound to his uncertain political status. These works provided the powers-that-were with a vision of how a peace that acknowledged Huguenot concerns might be concluded. But as a Huguenot refugee, Quesnot was neither really French, nor truly Dutch, nor in any way English. Though he might have thought that being Calvinist would render the authorities sympathetic to his productions, especially in the Dutch Republic, he remained an outsider proffering tainted goods.

A sweeter future would never be obtained by Quesnot. On 29 August 1708, Quesnot assigned legal authority over his possessions to his second wife, Anne, and embarked on a “foreign trip.”¹¹³ Where he went, no one knows, but less than three months later he was dead. He was buried in the cemetery of Amsterdam’s Westerkerk on 8 November 1708.¹¹⁴ His last known address, “on the Nieuwezijds Achterburgwal between the Rosmarijnsteeg and the Spui,” indicates that he died in extreme poverty.¹¹⁵ Anne Quesnot, along with their surviving children Jean-Rodolphe and Martha Sara, would be subject to the forced naturalization of 1709 that symbolically fixed the national identities of the French refugees in the Dutch Republic, Great Britain, and the German lands.¹¹⁶ *Le parallèle de Philippe II et de Louis XIV*, published sometime in 1709, and somewhere in the Dutch Republic, would indeed be Quesnot’s swan song.

procurer un sort plus doux.” Letter to Heinsius, 20 April 1708 (The Hague: Nationaal Archief, Heinsius-Archief, inv. nr. 1344).

¹¹³ NL-Aa, Notarieel archief H. de Wilde, Dossier 6488, procuration of 29 August 1708. See also Fransen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande*, 225.

¹¹⁴ NL-Aa, Begraafregister Westerkerk Hof, nr. 1111.

¹¹⁵ The address is mentioned in Quesnot’s burial notice. The Nieuwezijds Achterburgwal, now the Spuistraat, was a street primarily of warehouses and stalls that belonged to the larger, finer houses on the Nieuwezijds Voorburgwal. This was definitely a comedown from the address Quesnot had had in 1702, on the Bloemstraat in the Jordaan.

¹¹⁶ They were naturalized on 12 September 1709 in Amsterdam, as mentioned by Haverkorn van Rijsewijk, *De Oude Rotterdamsche Schouwburg*, 10n1. The record of their naturalization, as well as that of one of Quesnot’s sisters, may be found NL-Aa, Archief van de Burgermeesters, 5028/594. On the naturalization debate in the United Provinces, see Willem Frijhoff, “Uncertain Brotherhood: The Huguenots in the Dutch Republic,” in *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora*, ed. Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, 128-71 (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003). No comprehensive study has yet been undertaken of the Great Naturalization of 1709, an act that was more symbolic than practical. For a contemporary view, see [Anonymous], *Dissertation curieuse sur les naturalisations accordées aux Protestans, par la Reine de la Grande Bretagne, par le Roi de Prusse, & par les Etats de Hollande, où l’on fait voir les avantages qu’on peut retirer de chacune, & celle qu’on croit devoir être préférée* (S.l.: s.n., c. 1710).

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Appendix 3.1

Prologue to *Armide* (The Hague, 1701)

Text by Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée

Transcribed from *Armide, opera en musique* (The Hague: [s.n.], 1701)¹

Personnages du Prologue.

Calliope, *Muse de la Poésie Cirique* [*sic*].²

Chœur des Arts

La Gloire.

Suivantes *de la Gloire, chantans & dansans.*

La Sagesse.

Suivantes *des la Sagesse, chantas & dansans.*

La Scene est dans un magnifique Palais.

PROLOGUE,

CHANTÉ

Par l'Academie Royale de Musique du Roi, & établie sous la protection de Messieurs les
Etats.³

Le Théâtre représente un Palais magnifique, Calliope y paroît accompagnée des Arts.

CALLIOPE

Un sort heureux en ces lieux nous appelle,

Vivez contents en ces climates.

Que chacun a l'envi fasse éclater son zele,

Les plus grands des mortels gouvernent ces Etats.

CHOEUR DES ARTS.

Que tous nos cœurs d'intelligence

Reverent leur Haute Puissance,

Que leurs noms célèbrent dans nos plus doux Concerts,

S'élevent au-dessus des Airs.

¹ I have retained orthography, capitalization, and punctuation as they appear in the printed libretto.

² Likely this should read "Lirique."

³ The gentlemen of the States General of the Seven United Provinces, known as "Leurs Hautes Puissances" in French.

Les Arts témoignent leur joye par leurs Danses; on entend une harmonie
 CHOEUR DES ARTS.

*Quel bruit! quelle clarté nouvelle,
 Vient embellir ces lieux?*

Les Suivantes de la Gloire & de la Sagesse viennent des deux côtes du Théâtre.

CHOEUR DES SUIVANTES DE LA GLOIRE & DE LA SAGESSE.

*La Gloire descend des Cieux,
 La Sagesse est avec elle.*

La Gloire et la Sagesse descendent chacune dans un Char au bruit d'une Symphonie forte & douce.

LA GLOIRE⁴

*Vous qui suivez par tout mes pas,
 Avec un soin fidelle,
 Des justes Souverains Maîtres de ces Etats,⁵
 Célébrez la gloire immortelle.*

LA SAGESSE

*Vous qui suivez par tout mes pas,
 Et me servez sans cesse,
 Des justes Souverains, Maîtres de ces Etats,
 Célébrez la haute Sagesse.*

La Gloire & La Sagesse ensemble

Unissez, unissez vos Voix,

LA SAGESSE

Chantez la douceur de leurs Loix.

LA GLOIRE

Chantez leurs glorieux Exploits.

Tous ensemble

Unissons, unissons nos Voix.

⁴ Cf. the opening of Quinault's prologue to *Armide* (1686).

⁵ I.e. the States General.

Suite de la Sagesse & les Arts.

Chantons la douceur de leurs Loix,

Suite de la Gloire & les Arts.

Chantons leurs glorieux Exploits.

LA SAGESSE.

*Tout cede à leur pouvoir supreme,
Ils tiennent la discorde aux fers,
Ils imposent des Loix à cent Peuples divers,
Et n'en reçoivent que d'eux-mêmes.*

Tous ensemble.

*Unissons, unissons nos voix,
Chantons la douceur de leurs Loix,
Chantons leurs glorieux Exploits.*

LA GLOIRE

Vous réglez dans la Paix; vous réglez dans la Guerre.

LA SAGESSE.

Dans la Guerre & la Paix vous réglez comme moi.

LA GLOIRE

*A ces grands Potentats vous sçavez toûjours plaire,
Ils ont par vos conseils fait le choix d'un grand Roi,⁶
Pour regler avec eux le Destin de la Terre.*

LA SAGESSE

*Que ce Monarque est glorieux,
Qu'il vive à jamais dans l'Histoire!
Qu'il soit toûjours cheri des Cieux!
Que dans le Temple de Memoire
Le nom de ce Heros éblouisse nos yeux!
Au travers des hazards il cherche la Victoire;
Maix son cœur généreux
Est encore plus sensible à la solide gloire
De rendre ses Peuples heureux.*

⁶ Meaning William III. While it is true that the States General elected William Stadholder in 1672, they certainly never chose him as king.

La Gloire & la Sagesse.

*Qu'une même ardeur nous anime,
Peut-on pour ses vertus témoigner trop d'estime!
Heureux, cent fois heureux ceux qui suivent ses Loix,
C'est le plus sage & le plus grand des Rois.*

Les Chœurs repètent les deux derniers vers.

LA SAGESSE.

Ses travaux éclatants ...

LA GLOIRE

*... Sa Sagesse profonde
Se sont fait admirer jusques au bout du monde,
Heureux, cent fois heureux ceux qui suivent ses Loix,
C'est le plus sage & le plus grand des Rois.*

Les Chœurs repètent les deux derniers vers.

Une Suivante de la Gloire.

*Goutons en ces beaux lieux un sort digne d'envie,
Que tout cede a l'ardeur de nôtre empressement
A Chanter ce Heros sa valeur nous convie.
Peut-on trop admirer un Prince si clement,
Il ne faut le voir qu'un moment
Pour l'aimer toute la vie;
Goutons en ces beaux lieux un sort digne d'envie,
Que tout cede a l'ardeur de nôtre empressement.*

Les Suivantes de la Gloire & les Arts.

*Que ce Heros est redoutable!
Lorsque l'on s'expose à ses coups;*

Les suivantes de la Sagesse & les Arts.

*Ah! que ce Vainqueur est aimable;
Quand on desarme son courroux.*

Une Suivante de la Sagesse.

*Chantez dans ce séjour tranquille
Des plaisirs & des jeux cet empire est l'azile,
Ici le plus grand des Heros*

*Vous a promis un eternal repos.
Il a tari la source de vos larmes,
Publiez par tout ses faveurs,
Sa douceur, sa bonté, sont les plus fortes armes,
Qui le font régner sur les cœurs.*

DANSES.

Tous ensemble.

*Que son nom glorieux par tout se fasse entendre,
Quels honneurs, quels respects ne doit on point lui rendre:
Heureux, cent fois heureux ceux qui suivent ses Loix,
C'est le plus sage & le plus grand des Rois.*

Fin du Prologue.

Appendix 4.1

Request of Jean-Jacques Quesnot de la Chenée to the
Commission on the Foreign and Secret Affairs, 8 October 1703
(NL-DHna, *Secrete Notulen*, 1.01.03 nr. 4127)¹

Aux Nobles et Puissans Seigneurs, Les Seigneurs Deputez de Leurs Hautes Puissances pour les
Affaires Secrettes

Nobles et Puissans Seigneurs,

J'ay l'honneur depuis plussieurs annees de donner de tems en tems des avis a M. le Grand
Pentionnaire Heinsius, sur tout ce qui est venu a ma connoissance et ce seigneur aura la
bonté de rendre Temoignage a Vos Nobles Puissances de la Grandeur de mon Zele et de mes
bonnes Intentions pour le service de l'Estat. Il est vray que jusqu'icy je n'ai rien fait qui
merite aucune attention, mais a present j'ay un Moyen en Main, pour rendre a cest Estat des
Services tres considerables.

Vos Nobles Puissances en jugeront mieux par les lettres en originaux, que j'ay receu de Paris,
que j'ay jointes au present memoire, que par tout ce que je pourrois dire en faveur de mon
Zele. Je laisse l'examens de toute chose a Vos Nobles Puissances et je m'abandonne
entierement a cette Vaste Etendue de Penetration et de Prudence qui Vous environne, et a
cet Esprit de Sagesse, qui est l'ame de toutes Vos Deliberations.

Je remarquerai seulement avec la Permission de Vos Nobles Puissances que le Sieur Barré,
voyant cest Estat a la veille de rompre avec la France, tacha de faire avant son depart des
Creatures autant qu'il peu. Il jetta les yeux sur moy comme sur une personne a ce qu'il
croyoit capable de rendre au Roy son Maitre des Services considerables. Il me fit plussieurs
Propositions que j'eu l'honneur de Communiquez a M. le Pentionnaire Heinsius, entr'autres
de trouver quelque pretexte pour suivre l'armee d'employer mon scavoir faire, et le credit de
mes Amis, pour entrer en qualité de Secretaire au Service de celui qui commanderoit l'armee
en Chef, ou bien de m'insinuer aupres de quelque puissant Seigneur de l'Estat, pour decouvrir
ce que je pourrois et lui en donner Avis, a la faveur d'un chiffre qu'il me laissa avant son
depart. Bien loin de lui faire connoistre que l'Employ, dont il croyoit m'honorer estoit
Patibulaire, et tres Indigne d'un homme qui a le Coeur Droict, et qui doit a cest Estat son
Refuge et le bonheur dont sa famille a jouÿ jusqu'a present, je lui fit tout esperer.

¹ I have modernized punctuation for ease of reading; orthography is unchanged except for expansions of abbreviations, which are underlined.

Mais comme j'avois essuyé icy une terrible secouce au sujet de l'opera, qui estoit mon Ouvrage, et que je me vis obligé d'abandonner pour me mettre a couvert de la violente persecution de Desechaliers et de sa femme, comme Vos Nobles Puissances l'auront sans doute seu par l'eclat de nôtre proces, je ne fis pas alors, assez de demarches, ny assez d'attention a une affaire qui pouvoit faire ma fortune, et me rendre utile a Vos Nobles Puissances, en servant l'Estat. J'etois piqué par un endroit qui me paroissoit alors plus sensible, preferant mal a propos mon Intheret particulier au bien public. Ne connoissant rien de plus doux que la Vengeance, je m'y abandonna entierement et ne songeay qu'a ruiner l'injuste Ennemi qui m'avoit accablé et me rendre maître du bien, dont il m'avoit depouillé. Mais la [sic] mort de M.r le Senateur Schott mon fidele associé fit évanouir une seconde fois toute mes esperances de sorte que me voyant encore precipité dans le plus affreux estat de ma vie, et qu'ayant tout le tems de reflechir sur les propositions dudit S.r Barré, j'azarday de lui escrire une lestre d'Hambourg quelques mois apres son Depart et la declaration de la Guerre, la reponce de laqu'elle Vos Nobles Puissances trouveront joincte au present memoire. Je le trouvai d'autant plus disposé a renouer le Commerce, que l'entreprise de mon opera de Hambourg avoit interrompû, qu'il me fit de cela même des reproches assez obligens.

Il paroist encore Nobles et Puissans Seigneurs par les deux autres Lettres qu'il m'a escrit depuis, en reponce de certains memoires qui ont passé par mes mains et que j'ai eu l'honneur de Communiquer a M. le Pentionnaire, qu'il ne veut pas seulement entretenir Commerce avec moy mais qu'il y a fait entrer aussy M. de Chamillard et M. de Pontchartrain et que M. le Conte d'Avaux s'est fait un point d'honneur d'appuyer a la Cour tout ce qui viendra de ma part. Enfin il me fait esperer une fortune brillante que je saccrifie de tout mon coeur aux Intherets de cest Estat.

Il n'en faut pas d'avantage, Nobles et Puissans Seigneurs, pour faire voir a Vos Nobles Puissances, quel proffit l'Estat peut retirer d'un pareil Commerce, sur tout s'il est conduit avec un Secret impenetrable.

Je puis premierement, suivant les Intentions de la Cour de France, passer icy ou a l'armee toute les Campagnes et envoyer les Avis que je donnerai par un ingenieur prudent et capable qui sera choisi par Vos N. P. et qui a la faveur de M. de Chamillard, de M. de Pontchartrain, de M. le Conte Davaux, de M. De Boufflers et de M.r Barré, chez lesquels je puis aisement l'introduire aller a l'armee ou entrér en France quand on voudra, pour decouvrir le fort et le foible de l'armee Ennemie, le fort et le foible d'une place qu'on voudra assieger. Il scaura ce qu'il se passe a la Cour, decouvrir l'État présent des finances, scaura tres facilement les dispositions ou l'on est de continuer la Guerre ou de proposer la Paix et une infinité d'autres choses que n'echaperont pas a ses Lumieres et a sa penetration et dont il fera une sincere Relation a Vos Nobles Puissances au Retour de tous les differens Voyages que je lui procureray, par le Commerce Exact que j'entretiendray avec nos Ennemis.

Ce fera Moy, Nobles et Puissans Seigneurs, pour disposer encore mieux les choses et pour prendre avec des Ennemis si rusez et dans un Commerce si delicat toutes les Mesures Possibles, qui ferai le premier Voyage et je partirai incessamment pour Gand, et ensuite pour Paris, avec bon Passeport. Je feray ce Voyage avec ~~d'autant~~ beaucoup plus de plaisir si mes propositions ont le bonheur de plaire a Vos Nobles Puissances.

M. De Schemettau travaille a me faire avoir un Passeport de leurs Hautes Puissances. J'en auray aussy une d'Espagne et je ne scaurois souhaite un plus beau pretexte pour entrer en France, que celui que j'ay, qui est d'aller en qualite d'Intendant des Plaisirs du Roy de Prusse chercher une troupe de Comédiens pour le service de Sa Majesté.

Voila Nobles et Puissans Seigneurs sur quoy roulent les services que j'espere rendre a c'est [*sic*] Estat. Je ne doute point que Vos Nobles Puissances apres avoir fait les Reflections convenables a une affaire de cette importance n'accordent a mon Zele et a mes bonnes Intentions les quatres articles suivans:

1°

La Protection de Vos Nobles Puissances, pour moy et ma famille, et la pension qu'elles jugeront a propos pour me faire subsister d'une Maniere Douce et Raisonnable, les Voyages payez, et les Gratifications proportionnees aux services que je rendray.

2°

Si par Malheur j'étois aresté en France malgré mes precautions et mes passeports, ce que j'espere avec le secours du Ciel qui n'arrivera pas, Vos Nobles Puissances me reclameront et je seray echangé contre quelque prisonnier de Marque et de Caractere, mais comme j'ay desja dit il est a croire que cela n'arrivera pas. Je suis trop bien dans l'esprit du Conte d'Avaux et du Sieur Barré pour estre suspect a la cour.

3°

Vos Nobles Puissances auront la bonté d'appuyer la Requette si joincte et prendre ma soeur, qui est une pauvre innocente en faveur de laqu'elle elle est faite sous Leurs Puissante Protection pour lui faire obtenir la petite pension, dans ma defunte mere a jouy pendant sa vie.

4°

Vos Nobles Puissances aurons enfin la bonté a mon Retour d'interceder pour moy aupres de Leurs Hautes Puissances pour que j'obtienne le même titre dans les Sept Provinces et particulierement dans celle de Hollande que j'ay obtenu du Roy de Prusse, et joint a cela le Privilege de pouvoir seul establir pendant ma Vie a La Haye et dans la province tous les divertissemens françois, comme opera, comedie, concers [*sic*], &c, sans qu'il soit permis a qui que ce soit d'en pouvoir establir ny en continuer aucun sans auparavant d'estre accomodé ou

accordé avec moy. Cela pourra valoir quatre ou cinq cens Escu tous les ans sans qu'il en coûte rien a l'État.

Cette Demande Nobles et Puissans Seigneurs, et [*sic*] d'autant plus Juste que ce moy seul qui ay songé d'établir l'Opera a La Haye et qui en ay obtenu le premier la permission. Bien loin d'en avoir profité, cela n'a servi qu'a faire eclater l'ingratitude de mes Ennemis, m'epuiser et me faire perdre un tems que j'auois peu mieux employer.

Fait a La Haye ce 8^{eme} 8^{bre} 1703

[Unsigned]