

Early circulation of Lully's music in the north, 1680–1690

IN 1700, 13 YEARS after his death, Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687) was described in France as “one of the grandest geniuses that France has ever admired in its art” and “the greatest man that France has had in music”.¹ Outside France as well, Lully’s stage music attracted considerable and prolonged attention.² Lully’s great impact on European composers was shown in the implementation of his style by non-French composers, Johann Sigismund Kusser (1660–1727) and Georg Muffat (1653–1704) being among the earliest and most significant of these.³ The longstanding popularity and use of Lully’s music has also left a large corpus of musical sources, both in European collections and libraries and in other parts of the world. An overwhelming majority of the preserved manuscripts and printed editions date from the late 17th and 18th centuries. Only a very few surviving sources were part of the early circulation during Lully’s lifetime and the years immediately following his death on 22 March 1687. No autographs in Lully’s hand seem to have survived. In addition to the editions published by the royal printer Christophe Ballard (1641–1715), the main manuscript sources of Lully’s stage music date from the 1690s and onwards. The principal surviving sources include the scores from the *atelier* of André Danican Philidor (c. 1652–1730), music librarian and copyist of Louis XIV, and the music dealer Henri Foucault (fl. 1690–1719/20). No traces are left of music performance material used at the French court or the Académie royale de musique during Lully’s lifetime, those that in all probability were consulted by Philidor when he copied his full

¹ “[U]n des plus grands Génies que la France ait jamais admirés dans son Art”; “plus Grand Homme, que la France ait possédé pour la Musique”.

*Nouvelles parodies bachiques, mêlées de vaudevilles, ou rondes cle table
recueillies et mises en ordre par Christophe Ballard* (Paris, C. Ballard, 1700).

² Irving 2012.

³ Robertson 2009.

scores.⁴ Consequently, few of the manuscripts and printed editions listed in the modern catalogue of Lully's work (LWV) were in circulation during Lully's lifetime.⁵

This chapter aims to bring together details of the early circulation of Lully's stage music and its transfer routes to northern parts of Europe, to identify transmission patterns, and to capture the different modes of circulation in operation, in relation to processes of the adaptation and reshaping of the music. Taken together, this chapter contributes to a broader portrayal of cultural transfer in early modern Europe.

Early circulation of Lully's music

The circulation of *full versions* of Lully's stage works was undoubtedly very restricted before 1690, both inside and outside France. The French composer and music collector Sébastien de Brossard (1655–1730) recalled that it was very difficult to acquire full versions of Lully's ballet music in the 1680s. When he put together the catalogue of his music cabinet in the 1720s, he commented that since these ballets had never been printed, they were still at that point very rare. They were only found in manuscript in some *cabinets de curieux*, and they had been even rarer 40 years earlier when he had them copied.⁶ Brossard reported that it had cost him one pistole (one gold coin, 10 livres) just to access the original from which the copyist made the copies. Converted to today's purchasing power, this would be approximately EUR 200.

In his full-score edition of *Achille et Polixène* printed in Amsterdam in 1688, the Dutch printer Antoine Pointel (fl. 1680s–1690s) wrote in his "Avis du libraire" that he had long dreamt of having the opportunity

⁴ On André Danican Philidor, his *atelier* and the different Philidor collections, see Massip 1983; Decobert 2007; Herlin 2009.

⁵ Schneider 1981. Additional findings listed in Schmidt 1987.

⁶ "Comme ces ballets n'ont jamais été impriméz ils sont à l'heure qu'il est encore assez rares. Ils ne se trouvent en manuscript que dans les cabinets de quelques curieux, mais ils l'estoient encor plus il y a 40 ans lorsque je les fis copier pour Strasbourg, c'est tout dire qu'il m'en coûta une pistole pour avoir seulement la communication de l'original sur lequel ils furent copiés, de sorte que y compris l'escriture et la reliure qui a la vérité est très belle et fort correcte ce I. Tome me coûta pour lors plus de 60 lt". Brossard 1994, p. 502. The volumes in question are preserved in F-Pn Mus Vm6 6.

to print Lully's operas but had had problems obtaining full versions of the music, quite apart from his difficulties with the movable type printing technique.⁷ *Achille et Polixène* was the only full-score opera that Pointel managed to reissue in the Dutch Republic. The opera had appeared in a full score printed by Ballard the previous year and the Dutch publisher had new printing equipment at hand.

There were several reasons for this seemingly restricted early circulation of Lully's stage works in full versions. The most obvious is that when Lully died in 1687, few of his operas and ballets had appeared in print. Of the sixteen operas, the first eight appeared in print only after the composer's death, some as late as in the 1710s (see *Table 1*).

Table 1. Lully's operas, date of their first performance, and the year they first appeared in full printed score.

Work	LWV	1st performance	Full version in print
<i>Les fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus</i>	47	1672, November	1717
<i>Cadmus et Hermione</i>	49	1673, April	1719
<i>Alceste</i>	50	1674, January	1708
<i>Thésée</i>	51	1675, January	1688
<i>Atys</i>	53	1676, January	1689
<i>Isis</i>	54	1677, January	1677, ⁸ 1719
<i>Psyché</i>	56	1678, April	1720
<i>Bellérophon</i>	57	1679, January	1679
<i>Proserpine</i>	58	1680, January	1680
<i>Persée</i>	60	1682, April	1682
<i>Phaëton</i>	61	1683, January	1683

⁷ “Il y a long-temps que j'ai rêvè aux moyens de réimprimer ici les Opéra qu'on publié tous les ans à Paris. Je voulois par-là donner occasion aux Curieux de se satisfaire à peu de frais; mais le manque de Musique propre pour ces Ouvrages, & la difficulté de la Correction, ont été les deux premiers & principaux obstacles qui ont reculé mon dessein [...] Voici le premier Opéra que je publié par ses soins. Si le célèbre MONSIEUR DE LULLY vivoit encore, j'aurois commencé par un de ceux qu'il a achevé avec toute l'approbation des Connoisseurs”. *Achille et Polixene* [...] *Sur la Copie de Paris* (Amsterdam: A. Pointel, et se trouve chez H. Desbordes, 1688).

⁸ Printed in the form of partbooks.

<i>Amadis</i>	63	1684, January	1684
<i>Roland</i>	65	1685, January	1685
<i>Armide</i>	71	1686, February	1686
<i>Acis et Galatée</i>	73	1686, September	1686
<i>Achille et Polyxène</i> [with Collasse]	74	1687, November	1687

In addition to the operas, many of Lully's ballets (here including *ballets*, *comédie-ballets*, *élogue en musique*, etc.) were never printed during his lifetime.⁹ Moreover, Lully's stage music in manuscript, from both the royal court and the Académie royale de musique, appears to have been highly restricted. This is also suggested by the very few copies of surviving performance material originating from these institutions.¹⁰

At the same time, there was a manifest demand for Lully's music, both within and outside France. Extracts from Lully's stage works were already being used extensively for courtly entertainment in Central and Northern Europe in the 1670s and 1680s. In 1684, the Dutch publisher Abraham Wolfgang (fl. 1658–1694) wrote in his preface to his first volume of librettos of Lully's works that the reason for publishing them was that “there is nothing more noble, or presently more used at all courts in Europe”.¹¹ Although Wolfgang had the aim of promoting his product, this points to the early circulation of Lully's stage music during Lully's lifetime.

What were the consequences of this great demand for Lully's music in combination with the limited access to it? How were the transmission routes shaped? What characterized the modes of circulation?

⁹ *Le triomphe de l'amour* (Paris: Ballard, 1681), *Le temple de la paix* (Paris: Ballard, 1685), *La grotte de Versailles* (Paris: Ballard, 1685), *Idylle sur la paix* (Paris: Ballard, 1685) and the airs from *Psyché, tragédie-ballet* (Paris: Ballard 1670). On the source situation for Lully's ballets, see Harris-Warrick 1999.

¹⁰ La Gorce 1990.

¹¹ “Comme il n'y a rien de plus noble, ni présentement de plus en usage dans toutes les Cours de l'Europe que les Balets & les Opera, je me suis attaché à faire un recueil de ces pieces qui depuis quelques années one eu le plus d'aprobation; & de toutes ces pieces j'ai choisi celles de l'Académie Roiâle de Paris [...]” in *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-Chretienne. Suivant la copie de Paris, Tome I* (Amsterdam: A. Wolfgang, 1684).

Who were the agents, in what roles did they operate, and in what social strata? In this circulation, two different nodes can be distinguished. On one hand, there were the mediators, whose level of access to and means of acquiring the music determined what types of material were put into circulation. On the other hand, there were the various characteristics and properties of the musical material in circulation, shaping the musical practice of the receiver.

Studies of the extant sources of Lully's music have an obvious starting point in Herbert Schneider's catalogue (1981), the addenda provided by Carl B. Schmidt (1987) and Schmidt's catalogue of the opera libretti (1995).¹² In addition to these catalogues, several studies of Lully sources were conducted in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, many of them as preparatory work for the various volumes of the Lully Complete Edition, starting in 2001.¹³ Other French sources, such as manuscripts preserved in libraries and collections in the French provinces, are treated in a number of studies.¹⁴ The sources of Lully's music outside France have been considered in a more limited way and often with another focus. Michael Robertson has studied the French suite in German-speaking lands, and also how Lully's style was implemented by German composers.¹⁵ Carl B. Schmidt, Rudolf Rasch and Rebekah Ahrendt have treated the prominent role of the Low Countries in the circulation of Lully's music outside France.¹⁶ In particular, Amsterdam was a central node with its strategic location on the transfer routes to the British Isles, Scandinavia, Flanders and northern Germany.

The study of the circulation of early Lully sources entails challenges, as very few manuscripts from before this time have survived. Sources preserved in Sweden are in focus in this chapter, and none of these has attracted more than limited attention in previous research.¹⁷

¹² Schneider 1981; Schmidt 1987; 1995.

¹³ Lully 2001–.

¹⁴ These studies include music by Lully in collections such as that of Sébastien de Brossard and in libraries, for example, in Marseille and Lyon.

¹⁵ Robertson 2009.

¹⁶ Schmidt 2000; Ahrendt 2011; Rasch 2010. Regarding the early circulation of Lully's music in the British Isles and especially the Panmure Collection, see Cadell 1984; 2007; Corp 1998; 2007; see also Irving 2012.

¹⁷ See also other early Lully sources surviving in Skara and Norrköping, treated in Schildt 2024.

The Düben Collection

The music manuscripts under study in this chapter are all part of the Düben Collection, which provides one of the largest and best-preserved music collections from early modern Europe. The collection is the music library of three Swedish chapel masters from the same Düben family. It contains music performance material used by Swedish court musicians over a period of 85 years, from 1640 to 1725. As recently established, the Düben Collection includes much French stage music, and many of the sources include music by Lully.¹⁸ As almost all these prints and manuscripts date from after Lully's death, they will not be considered here. There are, however, another 20 manuscripts in the Düben Collection dating from the 1680s and including music by Lully. Although they contain but extracts, and several are incomplete, fragmentary, and lacking heading and text, they can provide information on the circulation of the music.

A full tracing of the transfer route would run from the time and place of the historical performances at the French court or the Académie royale de musique to the final destinations where the music items are preserved today. These routes might often include various modes of circulation at different stages, and could thus be composed of sections characterized by different modes. The early Lully manuscripts in the Düben Collection can be divided into two groups: the first contains fragments of single vocal and instrumental airs, occasionally complemented with a bass line;¹⁹ the second includes sources with several movements of certain stage works in full scoring.²⁰

¹⁸ Schildt 2014, pp. 31–82; Berglund & Schildt 2015.

¹⁹ S-Uu Vmhs 164:2:1, 164:2:2, 164:2:3, 27:17, 18:11, 29:20. The airs were drawn from *Ballet des muses*, *Thésée*, *Amadis*, *Cadmus et Hermione*, *Trios pour coucher de Roi*, *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*, *Atys*, *Proserpine* and *Bellérophon*.

²⁰ S-Uu Imhs 10:9, 134:43–46, Vmhs 18:8, 18:10, 18:11, 19:4, 19:7, 19:12a, 29:19, 38:7, 42:20, 69:10, 164:12. The airs were drawn from *Le triomphe de l'amour*, *Ballet de Flore*, *Le divertissement Royal*, *Psyché (Tragédie-Ballet)*, *Phaëton*, *Armide* and *Amadis*.

Single-line transmission

The earliest manuscript in the Düben Collection containing music by Lully seems to be a single basso continuo partbook (S-Uu Vmhs 164:2:1) that can be dated to approximately 1680.²¹ This partbook was probably one of a set of at least three partbooks. It contains the basso continuo part for 26 songs, almost all for two soprano voices and basso continuo, as indicated by the headings. The partbook includes eight airs by Lully: six drawn from *Thésée* (1675), one from *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673) and one from *Trios pour coucher du Roi* (1665) (see Table 2).

Table 2. Pieces by Lully contained in the basso continuo partbook S-Uu Vmhs 164:2:1.

Air	Identification
Aimons tout nous	<i>Thésée</i> , LWV 51/65
Gardez vos tendres	<i>Thésée</i> , LWV 51/63
Pour se tirer de peine	<i>Thésée</i> , LWV 51/50–51
L' amour plaist	<i>Thésée</i> , LWV 51/67
Pour le peu	<i>Thésée</i> , LWV 51/42
Il est bon	<i>Thésée</i> , LWV 51/50–51
Heureux qui peut plaire	<i>Cadmus et Hermione</i> , LWV 49/14
Dans nos bois	<i>Trios pour coucher du Roi</i> , LWV 35/4

The partbook was mainly copied by the Swedish royal chapel master Gustav Düben (c. 1629–1690). What were the originals from which Düben copied the Lully airs? No possible originals from before 1690, the year Düben died, are preserved in the Düben Collection. None of the music was printed until after Lully's death. The *Trios pour coucher du Roi* were not included in any contemporary printed edition, *Thésée* appeared in print in 1688, and *Cadmus et Hermione* not until 1719. Düben must then have had access to manuscript versions, possibly larger master copy collections. The six airs from *Thésée* have a consistent theme of love and humour, seemingly not selected randomly or merely on the basis of what music happened to be accessible. Rather,

²¹ For details of this manuscript, see Schildt 2014, pp. 437–439.

Gustav Düben, or some copyist earlier in the chain of dissemination, was in a position to select from a larger number of movements from a more extensive collection.

In the case of the airs drawn from *Thésée*, Düben's basso parts differ considerably from those included in the full score published by Ballard in 1688. Düben's parts are generally simpler and less elaborate than the corresponding parts in the Ballard print. There are several minor inconsistencies, such as dotted versus undotted notes, but there are also a number of more fundamental differences. Bridge passages in the last measure before the repeat, especially in quavers, and the rhythmic driving force at the end of the measures, also especially in quavers, found in the Ballard print are lacking in Vmhs 164:2:1. Intervals, especially thirds, are frequently filled in in the continuo parts of the Ballard print, while not in Vmhs 164:2:1. Common cadences are IV–V–I in the Ballard editions versus (II)–V–I in Vmhs 164:2:1. In the case of 'Heureux qui peut plaisir' from *Cadmus et Hermione*, the version in Vmhs 164:2:1 lacks the melodic bridges in the last bar before the repeat. Moreover, the air 'Aimons tout nous y convie' appears in different keys: Bb major (Vmhs 164:2:1) and C major (Ballard print). In the Ballard print, 'Gardez vos tendres' has two different musical settings of stanza one (solo) and stanza two (duet). Only the music of Ballard's first stanza is included in Vmhs 164:2:1, in which it is scored for two *dessus* parts. Likewise, 'Pour se tirer' is scored for one voice in the Ballard print but for two vocal parts in Vmhs 164:2:1. In the Ballard print, the bipartite air 'L'Amour plaist' appears first as a solo, then the music is repeated by a chorus; in Vmhs 164:2:1 the air is scored for two vocal parts.

Due to the differences between the Düben partbook and later Parisian versions of the airs, it is unlikely that they were copied directly or indirectly from performance material used in France. Düben's partbook would instead have been part of the circulation of single-line airs. Especially in the case of ballet music, there was a long tradition of such single-line transfer by dance masters.²² The basso parts for the six pieces from *Thésée* included in Vmhs 164:2:1 are all different from the bass lines in Ballard's later printed edition, clearly pointing to single-line

²² Robertson 2009, pp. 39–40.

circulation. In the case of the air 'Pour le peu' from *Thésée*, Düben's basso continuo part can easily be combined with the melody as in Ballard's print, showing that the same tune was probably used in Stockholm. Düben's bass line is, in contrast, completely different from the one in Ballard's version (see *Figure 1*).

The basso parts in Düben's partbook are all composed in a similar way, for example, with a striking similarity in the recurrent anticipation of the last note parallel to that of the melody. This suggests that they were composed and added by the same composer. The most likely candidate would be Gustav Düben in his position as chapel master. The quite inferior bass lines are in accord with the quality of his extant musical output, characterized by a compositional technique notably unskilled for a courtly chapel master.²³

Another example of the circulation of Lully's music in reduced scoring is drawn from a manuscript volume preserved in Sweden, drawn up and copied by the Swedish musician and occasional poet Michael Zethrin (d. 1731).²⁴ The volume contains occasional poems and also notated music for some of the lyrics. One of Zethrin's New Year's poems from the 1680s was to be performed to the tune of the air 'Le malheur qui nous' from Lully's *Bellérophon*. He apparently had a reliable original for the tune and the basso part, as these are in accord with the full score printed by Ballard in 1679. Zethrin also entered the inner parts: *haute-contre*, *taille* and *quinte*. These inner parts differ considerably from those included in Ballard's score. Undoubtedly, Zethrin composed and added the inner parts, as confirmed by a note on the same sheet as the music.²⁵ Zethrin had likely not had access to a copy of the full score printed in 1679, but rather to a manuscript including only the tune and the basso part. Another option would have been access to printed collections and anthologies issued in the 1680s and 1690s in the Low Countries, containing single opera airs in reduced scoring. Although these editions had an important role in the transmission of Lully's airs from Paris to other parts of Europe, this

²³ Schildt 2014, pp. 540–562.

²⁴ S-Uu Nordin 1135.

²⁵ “[B]y Battista Lully, but with the middle parts added” [“af Battista Lully men medelstämmorna tillsatta”].

Ballard 1688
(transposed)

Pour le peu...

Ballard 1688
(transposed)

Vmhs 164:2:1

Figure 1. The air 'Pour le peu' from *Thésée*; basso parts from the Ballard print of 1688 and S-Uu Vmhs 164:2:1.

particular air seems not to have been included in any of the Amsterdam editions.²⁶

Music manuscripts in the Düben Collection attest to the practice of performing music by heart. Airs from Lully's stage works were circulating as texts, without any attached notated music. Librettos and text collections, both printed and in manuscript, were probably often used in connection with singing and playing. The Dutch printer Hendrick van Dunwalt (fl. 1680s) published a collection of librettos from five of Lully's operas in Antwerp in 1683. These were not only the first known printed texts from Lully's operas outside France, but also one of the first known text compilations from different Lully works.²⁷ Although Dunwalt's collection includes only the text and no music notation, it is Lully who has the main role and is the prime object of praise in the preface, demonstrating the significant role of the music for the publication.²⁸

On many sheets of music, Gustav Düben occasionally inserted short music incipits comprising only the first bars of a piece. These incipits likely refer to melodies that he knew by heart and for which he did not need any notated music. Only the beginning was necessary for him to be reminded of the tune, as shown by his note "no books" in the case of an allemande from *Amadis*.²⁹ Oral transmission is also attested to by Zethrin's volume.³⁰ To a wedding poem from the 1680s that was to be sung to the tune of 'C'est l'Amour' from Lully's *Roland* (1685), Zethrin attached Lully's tune in music notation. At the same time, Zethrin pointed out that he had not seen the music on paper, but had "transposed" it from only having heard it.³¹

26 Extracts from *Bellérophon* are included in two publications: *Les trios des opera de Mr de Lully, mis en ordre pour les concerts* (Amsterdam: Blaeu 1690–1691) RISM L 3061, L 3062, and *Bellérophon tragedie mise en musique par Monsieur De Lully [...]* (Amsterdam: Le Chevalier, 1692) RISM L 2975. See the catalogues provided in Schmidt 2000, pp. 128–165 and Rasch n.d.

27 Another early publication was the volume of six librettos printed by Ballard in 1676.

28 The preface is included in Schmidt 1995, pp. 484–485.

29 "Kein[e] Bücher" in S-Uu Vmhs 18:11. See also S-Uu Vmhs 42:20 and Vmhs 164:12.

30 S-Uu, Nordin 1135.

31 "NB This air was written and transposed by the ears [i.e., by heart] and not seen on paper" ["NB Denna air war skrifwen och transponerad effter öronen och ej sedd på pappret"].

Transmission of full-score versions

The second group of early Lully sources in the Düben Collection date from the second half of the 1680s. Of these, fragments of two different sets of partbooks will be considered here. The partbooks include instrumental airs from Lully's *Flore* (1669), *Le divertissement Royal* (1670) and the *tragédie-ballet Psyché* (1671). There are four extant partbooks (S-Uu Imhs 10:9) with airs from *Flore* and *Le divertissement Royal*, i.e., *[dessus]* (g1), *contra* (c1), *taille* (c2) and *basso* (f4), and only one surviving *haute-contre* partbook (S-Uu Imhs 134:44) in the case of the airs from *Psyché* (see *Table 3*).

These surviving partbooks were originally included in sets of five partbooks, as shown by the heading “a 5” (S-Uu Imhs 10:9), the part designated “*haute-contre*” (S-Uu Imhs 143:44) and the fact that the Düben parts are more or less concordant with Philidor's full scores.³² Minor inconsistencies primarily concern rhythm (i.e., dotted/undotted rhythms and rests). Two substantial discrepancies are found: The nameless 13th movement of *Le divertissement Royal* in the Düben partbooks only partly coincides with the concomitant movement in the Philidor manuscript, headed “*Les Voltigeurs*”. The fourth movement of *Flore* comprises the same number of bars, is set in the same key, and is a gavotte in both Philidor's and Düben's manuscripts. The music is, however, completely different. In this case, it was certainly not Düben who composed the alternative gavotte, as this tune has also survived in other European libraries.³³

The Düben partbooks were copied in Stockholm, partly by Gustav Düben and partly by his assistant copyists, dating them to before 1690. No originals from which they could have been copied are extant in the

³² F-Pn Rés F 601 “*Jeux Pithiens. Ballet Mis en musique par Mr de Lully Sur-intendant de la Musique du Roy. Et Donné à sa Majesté l'Année 1669. Copié par Mr Philidor l'aîné*”, F-Pn Rés F 515 “*Ballet Royal De Flore Dansé par sa Majesté le mois de février 1669. Recueilly et Copié par Philidor l'aîné en 1690*” and F-Pn Rés VMA MS-1206 “*Psyché Tragedie et Ballet Dansé devant sa Majesté au mois de Janvier 1670. Recueilly par Philidor en 1690*”.

³³ For example, the Babel manuscript D-Hs / ND VI 2762 (Nos 1–31), “*BALETS DE LULLY Tous les Anciens Ballets de feu Monsieur Jean Baptiste de Lully Remis en Ordre par Charles Babel, A la Haye en 1696*”.

Table 3. Music by Lully contained in the Düben partbooks
S-Uu Imhs 10:9 and Imhs 134:44.

Movements from <i>Flore</i> (Imhs 10:9)	Movements from <i>Le divertissement Royal</i> (Imhs 10:9)	Movements from <i>Psyché</i> (Imhs 134:44)
Ouverture	Ouverture	Entré des Cyclopes
1. Air pour la suite de Flore	Entrée des Pescheurs de corail	Entrée des Fées
2. Air sarabande	Entrée pour Neptune	Entrée des Zéphirs
3. Air gavotte	La suite de Neptune	Entrée des Furies et des Lutins
4. Air bournée	Les Pantomines	[Prélude d'Apollon]
[5.] Procedure	Les Driades	[Prélude pour Bacchus]
[6.] Air	Menuet pour les Faunes	Entrée de la suite d'Apollon
7. Air	[Air des Statues]	2d air ensuite
	Les autres Pantomines	Entrée de la suite de Bacchus
	Preludium de la Grande Entrée	2e Air
	Les Porteurs de hache	Entrée de la suite de Mome
	[Les Voltigeurs]	Prelude de Trompettes
	Suite de Voltigeurs	Rondeau des Enseignes
	Les hommes et femmes armez	2e Air
	Prélude d'Apollon	
	Apollon	
	Les Trompettes du Grand Ballet	

Düben Collection. No printed editions were accessible at the time when they were copied, so they were part of a manuscript transmission. In addition to the élite, both French and non-French, who often had the means and position to acquire printed editions from the Ballard shop and lavish manuscripts, there was likely exchange between musicians close to the initial performances at the French court and other musicians and chapel masters. To cast light on the issue of possible means of transfer, other contemporary manuscripts with full scoring, such as Sébastien de Brossard's scores and the Lully partbooks in the Panmure Collection, would be potentially fertile ground for comparative study.³⁴ The inclusion of the name Verdier in the Panmure partbooks is especially intriguing. A violinist of the name Pierre Verdier

³⁴ Brossard's two *recueils* F-Pn Vm6 2 and F-Pn Vm6 6, and the Panmure partbooks GB-En Ms 9459–9461.

(1627–1706) from this French family of musicians was active at the late 17th-century court in Stockholm, and a suite by him is included in one of Düben's partbooks (S-Uu, Imhs 10:9).

The close concordance between Düben's and Philidor's parts suggests a close link between Paris and Stockholm. We know that Düben also had access to other Lully music, for example, a copy of the full score of *Le Triomphe de l'amour* printed by Ballard in 1681.³⁵ From the beginning of the 1680s, Düben's oldest son Gustav Düben Jr (1660–1726) spent about three years in Paris for his musical education.³⁶ As the influx of these full-version sources in the Düben music library approximately coincides with the son's return in the mid-1680s, he might have had an intermediary role in the transfer of the music.

The music of Lully was carried via transmission routes crossing not only spatial and but also social distances. Music by Lully that was at first restricted to courtly and aristocratic milieus in Sweden soon appeared in other social contexts. The late 17th century saw the nobility of Sweden rapidly undergoing a significant shift, as a number of non-noble families were eventually ennobled on their own merits and not based on their descent. In Stockholm, it seems to have been primarily these families that engaged royal court musicians to perform music at their weddings. The Lully pieces in the first group of Düben sources, such as the basso continuo partbook with pieces from *Thésée*, were in all likelihood copied before such wedding celebrations among burghers in Stockholm.³⁷ The participation of the royal court musicians and the royal chapel master himself in these burghers' weddings, bringing their repertoire with them, provides an example of upper-class culture permeating the lower social strata of society.

³⁵ Kjellberg 1979, p. 440; Schildt 2014, pp. 522–523.

³⁶ Kjellberg 1979, p. 405–406.

³⁷ See the discussion of the repertoire for late 17th-century weddings in Stockholm in Schildt 2014, pp. 414–449.

Concluding remarks

This chapter considers the early circulation of Lully's opera and ballet music. In addition to the very few known extant manuscripts dating from before Lully's death, this chapter cites additional previously unconsidered sources. Future studies also incorporating other known and possibly newly uncovered early Lully sources in the British Isles, the Spanish peninsula, and Central and Eastern Europe could provide a more complete picture. Although often fragmentary, the early sources reveal different modes of circulation, operating in differing sections of the transmission routes of the sources, from the French court or the Académie royale de musique to their final destinations, transgressing not only geographical but also social boundaries.

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