Reassessing Bourdelot-Bonnet's first French *History of Music* (1715)
Reavaliação da primeira *História da Música Francesa* (1715) de Bourdelot-Bonnet
La reevaluación de la primera *Historia de la Música* francesa de Bourdelot-Bonnet

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Abstract: This is an historiographical examination of the first *History of Music* published in France in 1715, written during a long span of time by three different authors. *Histoire de la Musique et de ses effets depuis son origine jusqu'a present* portrays the ideological war taking place in France in the late 17th and early 18th-century between defenders of the French and the Italian styles and proposes an union of the two – what would be later called *Les Goûts Réunis* (the united tastes) – as an esthetic solution to the conflict.

Keywords: Bourdelot – Bonnet – France – 17th century – 18th century – Historiography – History of Music – Gôuts Réunis

Resumen: Este es un examen historiográfico de la primera *Historia de la Música* publicada en Francia en 1715, escrita durante un largo período por tres autores diferentes. *Histoire de la Musique et de ses effets depuis son origine jusqu'a present* retrata la guerra ideológica ocurrida en Francia a finales del siglo 17 y principios del 18 entre los defensores de los estilos francés e italiano y propone una unión de los dos - lo que más tarde se llamaría *Les Goûts Réunis* (los gustos unidos) – como una solución estética para el conflicto.

Palabras clave: Bourdelot – Bonnet – Francia – Siglo XVII – Siglo XVIII – Historiografía – Historia de la Música – Gôuts Réunis.

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Published in 1715, *Histoire de la Musique et de ses effets depuis son origine jusqu'a present* by Bourdelot-Bonnet is a unique document in its genre. Written during a long span of time by three different authors, the first French History of Music is a colorful witness of France's late 17th and early 18th-century life. It portrays the ideological war between defenders of the French and the Italian styles and proposes a union of the two – what would be later called *Les Goûts Réunis* (the united tastes) – as an aesthetic solution to the conflict.

Histoire represents not only an important break-through, but also the crowning of a period of power and centralization which had forged the French identity anew. The grand nation shaped by Louis XIV demanded compatible achievements in every field, and the necessary internal and external recognition.

Histoire's aim is to demonstrate that, even though "French music is too much indebted to the one of Florence, by the birth of the famous Lully (p. 415)", the French had attained "triumph in all the sciences and arts... especially under the reign of Louis the Great; this monarch …has carried knowledge and perfection to their highest degree, what makes France nowadays as flourishing as Rome was in the time of Augustus (p.342)".

The first edition of *Histoire*, dedicated to the Duke of Orleans, appeared in 1715 and was reprinted in Paris in 1724 and 1730; subsequent editions (Amsterdam 1722, 1725, 1726; The Hague and Frankfurt 1743) were issued in four volumes, of which the first one was *Histoire*, the others being Le Cerf de la Vieville's *Comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique françoise* – with Le Cerf's authorship omitted.

The dates of the first printing (15/11/1714) and of the *Privilege du Roy* (28/01/1715) indicate the closing of an era: some months later Louis XIV would be deceased (1/09/1715) and the *Ancien Regime* would mourn its greatest days.

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I. The Authors

Although we have but a scant knowledge of the lives of the authors of *Histoire*, available data is interesting and significant to our understanding[2].

Pierre Bourdelot (1610-1685), the initiator of the work, was born Pierre Michon, the son of a surgeon. Early in his life he moved to Paris, where he studied Humanities, Medicine and Philosophy under the guidance of the two brothers of his mother: Jean Bourdelot (a Philologist and Hellenist) and Edme Bourdelot (a physician of Louis XIII). Pierre's uncles were very proud of his success in studies and insisted for him to adopt his maternal surname (and theirs) Bourdelot, thus ensuring its continuity. Pierre agreed to do so, apparently to some dismay on the part of his father.

In 1635, 25-year-old Pierre (now) Bourdelot travelled to Italy, accompanying the Count of Noailles who had been assigned an embassy post in Rome. The encounter with the flourishing Italian culture would make a long-lasting impression on the young Frenchman, for "it is not only the spectacles which attract the foreigner in Rome; but the Holy siege of the Church, the beauty of the buildings, the pieces of sculpture and the admirable paintings of the greatest masters which adorn them (*Histoire*, p. 377)". Yet this impacting experience was not impartial, from the part of Bourdelot and being under the responsibility of an official representation of the French government in Rome, he could certainly address its political implications.

Did Bourdelot meet French gamba player André Maugars there, at the French circle? Soon after Bourdelot had left Rome, Maugars sent his famous *Response faite a un curieux sur le sentiment de la Musique d'Italie* (Rome, 1639), the first shot of a long-lived dispute between supporters of Italian and French taste in music. Bourdelot had been called back to Paris by his dying uncle Edme, and from there he followed the Prince of Condé to the siege of Fontarabie in 1638.

Military life was not attractive to Bourdelot, who soon returned to Paris, where he graduated in Medicine. His uncle Jean, the hellenist, also passed away, and Pierre inherited his excellent library. In 1642 he was appointed Physician of the King (*Médecin du*

[2] Information derives from F. Halevy, *L'Abbé Bourdelot*, in Revue et Gazette Musicale, Paris 1840: 117-120.

Roy), becoming quite a famous man. This led to a further trip in 1651, to Stockholm, to serve Queen Christine, who was very ill and whom he apparently succeeded to heal. On this occasion, on his way to Sweden or on his way back, he might have sojourned in Holland and England, visits referred in Chapter XI (p.379). Upon his return to France he was endowed with the *abbaye* of Massay (despite not being in the religious profession) – adopting thereafter the title of *Abbé* (Abbot) Bourdelot.

A lover of arts and man of society, Bourdelot enjoyed the company of artists, musicians and intellectuals. He was a typical gentleman, a man of letters, well conversant in scientific matters, certainly well suited to engage in noble activities – such as writing a History of Music. Thus, in agreement with the spirit prevailing in 17th century France, Bourdelot began to work on *Histoire*, possibly having at some stage his nephew Pierre Bonnet as associate.

Pierre Bonnet (-Bourdelot, 1638-1708) was also a Royal Physician, *Médecin Ordinaire du Roy and Premier Medécin de Madame la Duchesse de Bourgogne*. Offered to become his uncle's heir, he agreed with the conditions imposed by the later: adding the surname Bourdelot to his own and completing *Histoire*. Both demands, on the part of the old Bourdelot (*né* Michon, as we recall), eem to stem from the indebtedness he might have felt towards his uncles Edme and Jean, who had educated him, and from his wish to perpetuate their name in connection with a cultural and scientific achievement. However, Pierre Bonnet-Bourdelot died before being able to complete and publish the work, what was only accomplished by his brother Jacques.

Not much is known about Jacques Bonnet (1644-1724), a treasurer of the Parliament. According to Fétis[3], he was a cultivated and curious man, inclined to the supernatural, who was interested in the Jewish Cabala and believed in genii. Bonnet organized and added substantially to the manuscript left by the Bourdelots, preparing it for publication. Although regarded by some as the mere editor[4], it seems to us indisputable that he was responsible for topmost contributions to the work, namely the Preface, Dedication, and the most significant part of chapter 12 ("Dissertation upon the different opinions about

[3] Francis-Joseph Fétis, Biographie Universelle des Musiciens, Paris 1863.
[4] "Of the authors that cite this book, some, not adverting to the circumstances of its publication, refer to it as the work of Bonnet, who was in truth but the editor". John Hawkins, *A general history of the science and practice of music*. London 1776, vol. 2, chap. CLXXVIII, p. 833-7, vol. 2, p. 833.

Music"). He seems to be also accountable for chapter XIII and for part of chapters III (p. 67-75) and IV, as we will try to demonstrate[5].

Unlike his uncle and brother, Jacques Bonnet's literary career did not restrict itself to *Histoire*. In 1723 he published another book, *Histoire Generale de la Danse Sacreé et Prophane*, addressing also poetry, painting and music (chap. 8: *De la Musique naturelle attribueé a Dieu comme l'Auteur de la Nature*).

II. *Histoire*'s background, antecessors

II.1. Treatises

The 17th century stands as the era of reason, knowledge, progress. Collecting, classifying, examining and understanding cause and effect from a scientific perspective became an obsession, invading the territory of what is usually considered "Art" – music for instance[6].

The elaboration of Treatises meant to be scientific works, assembling the available data on specific issues, started in the 16th century. Such activity blossomed in the 17th and 18th centuries, reaching its zenith in the 19th century, when treatises started to be officially commissioned by the establishment, represented by institutions such as Conservatories.

During Bourdelot's lifetime two important treatises were published in France: *Harmonie Universelle* by Marin Mersenne, 1636 and *Traité des Instruments de Musique* by Pierre Trichet c. 1640.

Father Marin Mersenne (1588-1648), of the Order of Minims, cited several times in *Histoire*, was doubtless one of the great personalities of the century, a man with a comprehensive and deep knowledge of a great diversity of subjects. His massive treatise

[5] No travels are known to have been made by Bonnet; yet a trip to Holland in 1688 can be presumed by mentions on p. 466 of chapter XIII and on p.73 of chapter III.

[6] A good example is the title page of Danoville's book on the viol, 1687: L'Art de toucher le dessus et basse de violle, contenant Tout ce qu'il y a de necessaire, d'utile & de curieux dans cette Science (The Art of playing the treble and bass viols, containing everything which is necessary, useful and curious in this Science).

is divided in 19 books, grouped into 7 parts, dealing extensively with the theory and practice of music and related scientific matters. It addresses mathematics, physics, acoustics, mechanics, kinematics, physiology, architecture; and in the musical realm, composition, harmony, dance, organology, tunings and temperaments, tablature, instrumental technique, ornamentation. Great importance is given to the culture, music and instruments of ancient Greece and Rome.

Mersenne's views are religiously oriented[7] but his scientific concerns are no less important[8], leading him to a balanced stand, even when dealing with sensitive issues such as musical comparisons between nations[9], of which the controversy was about to eclode.

Pierre Trichet's (1586/7-1644?) profile shares similarities with Bourdelot's. Bibliophile and collector (among other things, of instruments), he was a lawyer from Bordeaux. Trichet, the provincial gentleman, corresponded with Mersenne, the great encyclopedist, who consulted him occasionally.

The actual writing of the *Traité des Instruments* began after Mersenne's *Harmonie* was published. Trichet's aim was "to treat musical instruments historically (Preface, p.11)"; he addressed their etymology, origin, construction, employ, all this interpolated with plentiful allusions to the Bible and to the Greek-Roman world (the ancients)[10].

[7] "I took also the liberty of making some little elevations of spirit to God in some corollaries, because I didn't think I should neglect them, since they occurred to me spontaneously, and since they can provide opportunity to the preachers... of issuing moralities from every science... (Mersenne, Preface to Harmonie Universelle)".

[8] "I have set myself to subordinate all difficulties to reason and experience... (Mersenne, Harmonie Universelle, first book of the Voice, p. 42)".

[9] "Even if the French and the Italian imagine that their Chantres are the most excellent of the world, people of judgement do not believe at all if they are not convinced by reason, since experience here is too difficult, because of the problem of being able to hear the best voice of each province; what should be done in a same place & at the same time, because one cannot compare absent sounds, of which one easily looses the image (loc. cit)".

[10] "His ideas about the origins of the instruments are rather simplistic: a bit of Christian tinging added to the ancient theory of the 'effects' of music, that he borrows particularly from Pontus de Tyard's Solitaire second" (François Lesure, preface to the treatise, p.11), a formula also followed by Bourdelot-Bonnet.

Two other influential musical treatises cited in *Histoire* (p.12) are Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis*, published in Rome in 1650, and Marcus Meibomius' edition of the seven Greek authors who wrote on music (Aristoxenus, Euclid, Nicomachus, Alypius, Gaudentius, Bacchius and Aristides Quintilianus), published in Amsterdam in 1652[11].

Kircher's work is divided in ten books, dealing with sundry subjects which include the music of the Hebrews and Greeks, instrumental music (largely based in Mersenne) and the effects of music over human beings. Meibonius' work is a commented edition, providing latin translations, and important prefaces and notes to the works.

According to Hawkins, Meibonius organized at Queen Christina of Sweden's court, a performance of Greek music according to the practice of the ancients, which was laughed at by the audience; this included Bourdelot, who was his rival on the Queen's favor; bearing him as responsible for the failure, Meibonius "ran up to him and struck him on the neck", fleeing afterwards to Copenhagen[12]. This fact didn't prevent Bourdelot to use and cite Meibomius treatise.

Although borrowing without acknowledgement was quite common until the close of the 18th century[13], the authors of *Histoire* were keen on disclosing the sources they used. Among them we find *Histoire de la Musique chez les Hebreux, les Grecs et les Romains*, by René Ouvrard (1624-94), a French priest who wrote about theology and music. Its second part contains a list of authors who wrote about music with information about their works.

Shortly after Bourdelot's death, a treatise on the viol (*Traité de la Viole*) was published in 1687 by the French viol player Jean Rousseau (d.1699), sharing many affinities with Trichet's. Rousseau's book is divided in 4 parts dealing with different aspects of viol

[11] Antiquae musicae auctores septem. Graece et Latine. Marcus Meibomius restituit ac notis explicavit. In 2 vols., 1652. An account of those treatises can be found in Hawkins, vol. 2, p. 635 (Kircher) and p. 642 (Meibonius).
[12] Hawkins, vol. 2 p. 642.
[13] A good example of this practice can be found at the viol entry of the famous *Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers*, 1765. It reads (vol.17 p. 310), on its initial paragraphs: Le Sieur (Jean) Rousseau a fait un traité expres sur cet instrument; on peut le consulter ("Mr. Rousseau has made a treatise specifically about this instrument; we can consult it"). After a couple of pages comes a very long section (p. 312-15) simply transcribed from Jean Rousseau's 1687 Traite de la Viole, without a single hint at his authorship.

playing and technique, preceded by a "dissertation upon the origin of the Viol, demonstrating its antiquity, its progress, & the masters who have excelled on this instrument until now". In his digression upon origins, Rousseau doesn't fail to address the two major fountainheads of the occidental world, the Judeo-Christian Bible and the Greek-Roman Antiquity, believed to be the foundation of all wisdom and perfection.

Rousseau relies strongly on opinions and suppositions expressed by Kircher in his *Musurgia Universalis*, citing also an impressive array of authors, many in common with Bourdelot-Bonnet[14]. Like theirs, his work is French-oriented, as can be seen in his summary of the history of the viol: it has passed from the Egyptians to the Greeks, from the Greeks to the Italians, from the Italians to the English, which disseminated it throughout Europe, finally reaching the French "to whom the viol owes its perfection (*Traité*, p. 18)".

III. Discussions on the merit of French and Italian Music

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the French had an ambivalent attitude towards Italian music and culture, of which the prominent components were, on the one hand, an awesome admiration, and on the other, the necessity of separation, of establishing a strong French identity and sense of value.

Even the documents meant to defend the French *goût* betray an enormous admiration for Italian culture and acknowledge its impact on the French world. After all, wasn't France's greatest figure, Lully, a Florentine, an Italian? It is this internal splitting that makes the discussion so fascinating; written from the standpoint of a nation striving for the affirmation of its own cultural identity, for independence from its "cultural mother", Bourdelot-Bonnet's *Histoire* provides us with keys for understanding the French mentality, their musical choices and compromises.

It is likely that Bourdelot was exposed to this dichotomy quite early in his life, during his stay in Rome, when his fascination with the Italian cultural universe had to be tempered with the responsibilities of a representative occupation on behalf of his own country. There he could have met the extraordinary figure of André Maugars (c.1580-c.1645), the virtuoso viol player, musician of Richelieu, counselor, secretary, interpreter of the King

[14] S. Augustin, S. Jerome and S. Isidore, Joseph Scaliger, Homer, Ovid, Philostrate, etc...

for the English language. Political twists had led to his dismissal and exile in Italy, from which he was to return a few years before his death.

L'Abbé Maugaurs' little pamphlet R*esponse faite a un curieux sur le sentiment de la musique d'Italie* written in Rome in 1639, was the first written shot of a discussion on the merits of the Italian and French music, that was to remain relevant for a long time, and was to have some pinnacles, such as the Raguenet-Le Cerf controversy in the early 1700s, and the Querelle des Bouffons in the 1750s.

The tone of Maugars' *Response* is frankly pro-Italian, although trying to maintain some balance in his account of the two nations, for "indeed it is impossible for every land to produce everything. There is no country which does not have something special (*Response*, p.16)". Maugars may have been the first one to preach openly on behalf of the union of the French and Italian tastes, in his praise of Pierre de Nyert, a Frenchman who visited Rome in 1633, "who reconciled so well the Italian method and the French that, as a result, he has received the acclaim of all the important people (*Response*, p. 15)".

After Maugars' letter became public and during Mazarin's rule, France imported a considerable amount of Italian opera, which would exert substantial influence over the French musical scenery. The year of 1661 was a turning point from this, with the death of Mazarin, the designation of Lully as *Surintendant de la Musique* and his French naturalization. Lully subsequently naturalized also his composition, shaping what became recognized as a truly French music, a music intimately connected with the French language, spirit and identity. Lully understood and translated in music better than anyone the pomp and circumstance which were to be the trademark of Louis XIV, the *Roy Soleil* - and therefore, for nearly three decades the doors of France were closed to imported musical goods.

Lully ruled French music with an iron-hand until his death in 1687; during this period, despite some known sympathies for Italian music by certain segments of the French musical milieu, the discussion on the merits of the Italian music vis-vis the French became irrelevant.

A new eruption of this controversy would occur, fiercer, at the turn of the century; but Bourdelot would not live enough to witness it. This time the spark would be lighted by l'Abbé François Raguenet (1660-1722), who had visited Rome in 1698, returned to

France and published in 1702 his *Parallele des Italiens et des Français*, addressing basically the issue of the opera production by both nations.

In response to Raguenet, Jean Laurent le Cerf de la Vieville, Seigneur de Freneuse (1647-1710), issued in 1704 his *Comparaison de la Musique Italienne et de la Musique Française*. A second part was printed in 1705, replied by Raguenet in 1705, followed by a third part reciprocating in 1706. All three parts were added to the second edition of Bourdelot-Bonnet's Histoire de la Musique, 1725.

IV. The work

IV.1. Division

Preceded by Dedication and Preface, *Histoire* was divided (by Bonnet) into 14 chapters, which can be grouped into 5 subjects:

I. The ancients, the origins of music – Chapters I – to IX, 255 pages;

II. Europe – chapters X (France – presumably written by Bourdelot and Bonnet-Bourdelot) and XI (the different courts of Europe – presumably written by Bourdelot), totaling 208 pages;

III. *Le goût*, different trends in music: Italy and France – chapter XII, 38 pages; p. 425-52, presumably written by Jacques Bonnet and p. 453-63 by Bourdelot;

IV. Animals and Music – chapter XIII, 19 pages; presumably written by Bonnet.

V. Conclusion (5 pages); presumably written by Bonnet-Bourdelot.

Dedication and Preface.

Both parts emanate from the pen of Jacques Bonnet. The Dedication is signed, and the Preface refers to "my uncle l'Abbé Bourdelot" and to "Bonnet Bourdelot my brother", leaving its authorship beyond any doubt and giving us clues to Bonnet's style of writing.

Histoire is dedicated to the Duke of Orleans, pictured as one of the most enlightened Princes of Europe, protector of the sciences and arts. Bonnet refers to the novelty of the work, tackling a 4000 years old history, and its aim: "to mark the time when French Music has equaled and maybe **surpassed** the one of the other nations, by the great **progress** it has made since the establishment of the *Academie Royale de Musique* in this flourishing kingdom".

The book endeavors, therefore, **to glorify both the figure of Louis XIV** (as in the very first paragraph, p.1: "Music has become so flourishing in France since the glorious reign of our great monarch...") **and the achievements of French music**.

In the Preface, Bonnet emphasizes his attempt at unearthing the **origins of Music**, "the first Science of the world"; he acknowledges the contributions of Bourdelot and Bonnet-Bourdelot and points out the difficulties of organizing a first history of the music in the French language. He apologizes for problems in the chronological arrangement of data and explains his criterion of choice according to "what History has preserved regarding the most famous musicians who have distinguished themselves in their art".

He also discloses the provenance of his research material as deriving from the writings of important authors, both ancient and modern, "in order to conform to the *bon goût* (good taste) of the century". This quality is constantly referred to throughout the book, regarded as something a gentleman is born with, a sense of proportion, balance, adequacy, that differentiates educated people from the mass.

Last but not least, Bonnet's statement "I have made fourteen chapters as succinct and as orderly as I could for the intelligence of the reader" lets us know that not only he was the general editor of the work, but also that organizational problems didn't remain unnoticed to him.

I - The Ancients, Origins of Music

A concern with the **origins and progress of music** underlies the entire section on the Ancients. The contributions of the different nations to the development of this "universal" "art or science" are referred in order to build an appropriate background against which the contemporary glory of French music is going to be depicted.

Anachronistic references to instruments are not uncommon, such as in p. 165 (ancient Greece): "...verses accompanied by the lyre, the harp, or the lute..." or p. 243 (Rome): "it was enough to know how to play the violin in order to become rich...").

Chapter I, "On the origin of the four systems of music, according to the opinion of philosophers, poets, & musicians of Antiquity", attributes to the Hebrews the invention of Antiquity's first musical system, which, failing to reach us, would have given the Greeks the right to proclaim their system as the first. The Greek system would have remained in use for nearly 1500 years, until Pythagoras' invention of the "Diatonic & Pythagorean" system.

A Phrygian named Olympus would have developed a third system (introducing the use of semitones and the classification of Diatonic, Chromatic, & Enharmonic genres), to be further reformed by Saint Gregory and surpassed in the year 1224 by Guido d'Arezzo's invention of the fourth system, "that we call modern (p. 15)", "received with as much admiration as applause by all the musicians of Europe & recognized as the foundation of modern music (p.21)". The French contributions of Mersenne, Metru, Cambert, Lambert and Lully are emphasized.

"The origin and establishment of music at the Roman Church (p.15)", a patchwork of stories drawn from diverse sources, is haphazardly placed in the midst of this chapter, which also addresses instrumental music, dividing instruments into three categories: strings, winds and percussion.

There is a lack of a proper chronological arrangement throughout the chapter which disturbs its reading quite significantly. Bourdelot's authorship is disclosed in observations such as: "... formerly people were told to learn music through the scale, while today this is done through tablature (p.22-3)", an observation which only makes sense if written sometime around the 1670-80s[15].

[15] The use of tablature started to decline circa 1685, when the last viol book employing it partially (De Machy' s) was printed. In 1716 (one year after the publishing of Bonnet's book), Robert de Visée wrote in his *Avertissement* to the Pièces de Théorbe et de Luth: "the number of those who understand tablature is so little that I decided not to fatten my book uselessly (Hans Bol, La Basse de viole du temps de Marin Marais et d'Antoine Forqueray, 1973:41)".

Another revealing passage, interesting from different standpoints, appears on pages 25-6: "[Nicolas] Metru's method has been very much esteemed among French musicians, yet those of Italy have scorned it, or at least didn't want to employ it, maybe because it was invented by a French musician, what proves **the jealousy of this nation's musicians against the ones here**: anyway, Cambert..., Lambert & le Sr Lully, those famous musicians of our days, have still perfected music by a new method, **taking what excelled the most in Italian music in order to join it to the French**; such mixture has formed the *bon goût* that we see today reigning in music...". Considering that Lambert was deceased in 1677, he would have been entitled to be called "musician of our days" only if the text would have been written around the 1670-80s.

Once Bourdelot's authorship of the chapter is established, we are able to appreciate this interesting piece of information concerning French musicians circa 1670-80: their national pride, their ambivalent relation with Italian musicians, their perception of Lully, Lambert and Cambert as the architects of perfection and *bon goût* through the actual achievement of the union of the French and Italian tastes (named later as *les goûts réunis*), felt as occurring during their own time.

Bourdelot's concern with public feasts as an object of study evinces itself at the end of the chapter: "every nation has its own character for song & for composition, as well as for the public feasts which depend on the difference of climates, uses, customs, mores & and on the spirit of the people, of which we have some knowledge....(p. 32)".

Chapter II introduces the first four modes (Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Eolian) "which served as moderators to the human passions (p.33)", describing their properties, evolution (into the two in common use, major and minor) and their "intended effects", in accordance with "the opinion of the ancient philosophers, poets and musicians" and the Greek doctrine of Ethos. Deficiently organized, this chapter is illustrated by stories drawn from diverse sources, the most remarkable of which retells the usage "still practiced nowadays in Italy" of "healing the bite of the tarantula to the sound of the violin..." (p. 36-7)[16].

[16] The cure of frenzy caused by the bite of the Tarantula, also refered by Kircher, seems to have been a common belief which, according to Hawkins, "…has prevailed among the ablest of modern physicians (Hawkins, vol 2, p.639)". This belief has been strengthened by testimonies like the one of violinist Stefano Storace (the father of the British composer Stephen Storace) in his "A genuine Letter from an

A most interesting passage describes the tremendous success enjoyed by Italian musicians in France (apparently) at the turn of the century: "... musicians are not destined to richness: furthermore, we see only Italians getting rich in this profession (p. 39)".

This chapter was written by one of the Bonnet brothers, as indicated by the mention of Brossard's Dictionary of 1703[17] (p.41) ruling out the already deceased Bourdelot as its author. The style of writing, on the one hand somewhat turgid, loaded with quotations, on the other, modest and unassuming, hints at Pierre Bonnet-Bourdelot, a man commissioned to undertake a task he might not feel up to. This would explain the less assertive tone. Ex: "…another proof of the **uncertainty** where we are, regarding opinions of the Antiquity... (p. 42)", or "I leave it to the ones more skillful than I, the pains of bringing more solid and positive proofs... (p. 44)".

Chapter III, "The feelings of Antiquity's philosophers, poets, & musicians, upon the usage of vocal and instrumental music & its effects upon the passions" is a collection of thoughts, theories and stories issued from different writers, the Old Testament, and fashionable books on travels, exotic and distant lands and people (Incas, Americans, Negroes).

Regarding the origin of music, itself "**an Art, or a science** (p.46)", the author takes a religious stance: "it is better to believe that it was inspired to Adam, as the other sciences, at the Creation of the world, for S. Augustin assures precisely that it is a present from Heavens; those two proofs could suffice for establishing the origin of Music...(p. 50)".

Different species of music are briefly defined: Ancient, Arithmetic, Practical, Artificial, Choral, *Thoriaque* or *Hyporchematique* (suited to dance), Chromatic, Diatonic or natural, Dramatic or Theatrical, Instrumental, Metrical, Pathetical, Political, and Natural.

As in the previous chapter, there is a concern with morals and with music's role as a means of improving man in order to please God. The extraordinary story of love flees and assassination of Stradella ("...the most famous musician to appear in all Italy during

Italian Gentleman, concerning the Bite of the TARANTULA" published in The Gentleman's Magazine: and historical chronicle, Vol. 23, London (Sep 1753): 433-434.

[17] Sebastien de Brossard, Dictionnaire de musique, contenant une explication des termes grecs, latins, italiens et françois, Paris, 1703.

the past century... [p. 59]") is told as an example of Divine punishment coming to those misusing the powers of music.

Admiration for Italian music is shown at the description of the bizarre participation of the Florentine painter Cosimo at a carnival parade, accompanied by a whole troupe disguised as Death and its cortege: "airs... composed with **all the Art that Italian Music is capable of inventing** to express the most vivid pains of a repenting soul... (p. 69)". As a natural sequence, **the power of Lully's music** is vaunted in the account of how it healed a noble woman gone insane out of lovesickness (p. 70).

As in the previous chapters, organizational problems persist. Several allusions to dates (and to Brossard's Dictionary) suggest that this chapter was written in the 18th century, by the two brothers: its middle section by Jacques (p.67-75), and the rest by Pierre. We identify as Jacques Bonnet's the colloquial, elegant, and fluent style, less inclined to quotations, which conforms to the one in the first part of chapter XII (undoubtedly by Bonnet) and chapter XIII (Animals).

Chapter IV is a collection of curious stories taken from different sources, focusing on mechanical instruments and artificial music. Its most interesting part describes possibilities of musical perception in deaf people. Stylistic matters indicate that this could be again the work of the Bonnet brothers. Reference to events taking place as late as 1713, ensure Jacques Bonnet's authorship, evident also in his colloquial writing; however, the chapter's first part (p.79-84), less flowing and loaded with quotations, suggests Pierre Bonnet-Bourdelot writing.

Chapter V is well structured, addressing music in the Old Testament as an important part of the Hebrew life and religion. The author's emphasis on spectacles and public feasts, grandeur and magnificence[18] definitely points out at Bourdelot as its writer. He cites several Biblical and non-Biblical sources and concludes by subscribing again to the Biblical version of **the origin of music**: "The opinions of the secular authors must yield today to the ones of the Holy Scripture... Adam having received from God the perfection of Sciences, could give their principles to Yuval and Enos... this is why I can

[18] Among other examples, see p. 99: "There is no nation in the world which has taken farther the pomp & magnificence of priesthood than the Jews, to display the grandeur of their religion...".

establish it here under the authority of the Scripture, regardless of what the Nations may have said or invented... (p. 106-7)".

Chapter VI addresses the Greeks (mixing real and mythological personalities), their love for music, their claims of its invention, their spectacles, the moral qualities attributed to music, its role in war. It is a long and somehow chaotic collection of stories taken from important Greek authors, from which the author often extracts moral truisms (ex: "...issue a moral from this adventure, which shows that bad actions never remain unpunished, as hidden as they may be (p.138)"; "this example should teach musicians as well as others not to undertake above their forces..." (p.125) or "this story teaches us how dangerous it is to want to compare ourselves to our teachers (p.140)". The author's moral concerns are expounded in the long transcription of a set of ethical precepts, "Pythagoras' Golden verses" (in a French translation by Dacier).

The Greek invention of the Intermezzo is explained and praised, concluding: "by this we can assess that the first Greek and Egyptian Tragedies were the ones which gave to the Italians their first ideas for the composition of **operas, regarded as the masterpieces of spectacles** (p. 155)."

The author states his belief on the **universality** of music, the origin of this "**science or art**" being in the men who have excelled in it rather than in the Greeks' "false divinities". Greek contribution is acknowledged with reserve: "almost all the peoples from faraway countries do know but the four main tones of music, as in its origin, what absolutely proves that the Greeks are not the inventors of Music, as they claim to be (p.156)"... "but we can agree that the first perfection of the art of vocal & instrumental music comes from the Greeks (p. 157)".

As far as the authorship of this chapter is concerned, it is only possible to speculate. The general tone is quite distinct from Bonnet's; it could indicate a joint effort of Bourdelot and his nephew Pierre.

Chapters VII, VIII and IX are well conceived and arranged. Style, allusions, moral concerns (seemingly in common with Bonnet-Bourdelot) and a flair for the grandiose could lead us to Bourdelot as their author. **Chapter VII** describes the use of music in the Greek Olympic Games, which "attracted people from every part of the world" and "have served as model for the establishment of the public Feasts (p.162)". It warns

against the dangers of music, "no less dangerous than wine, when one does not know how to use it well (p. 167)".

Chapter VIII (China) tackles the origin of music, the Chinese claims of its invention; its role in banquets and public feasts (the Chinese entrepreneurs of feasts being compared to the Venetian entrepreneurs of operas); music as a means "to regulate the mores (p. 173)", potentially dangerous, with the power to cause good and evil. Although considered very knowledgeable, in music the Chinese "haven't yet been able to reach the perfection of ours (p. 174)".

Chapter IX focuses at length on the music of the Romans since the foundation of Rome until Emperor Galba, describing their feasts, the grandiosity and magnificence of which, on the one hand, "have made the admiration of the whole Universe (p. 196)", and on the other "have corrupted little by little the severity of the government of this great republic, & and have been the source of its destruction (p.191)". The origins of carnival in the Roman Saturnalia feasts is recalled, and the Roman comedies with their intermezzi are compared to the ones of Lully (*Mr. de Pourceaugnac* and *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*).

In short, chapters I, II, II, IV, VI strike us for their lack of a main path of thought, for their character of digression outside a definite frame. This could be both a stylistic trait and a symptom of the process of incorporating material written by different hands into a unity. Chapters V, VII, VIII and IX are conceived in a more organized and unified way, suggesting that they might have been written by a single person; style (long paragraphs, lengthy descriptions, plentiful use of superlatives), self-assurance, and focus on the spectacular side of music suggest Bourdelot's pen.

II - Europe

Chapter X (87 pages) focuses on France, on "the establishment of Music and Spectacles in France, since the first Gallic to the present date", discussing "the kingdoms of the kings where I will find remarkable feats regarding Music (p. 271)". It is clearly divided in two parts: before and after Louis XIV, called the Great" (p.326). The first part quotes heavily from Fauchet's *Antiquitez*[19], the second does not quote at all. The chapter seems

[19] Claude Fauchet (1530-1602) was a magistrate, humanist and French historian, the author of many books, among them the quoted *Recueil des Antiquités gauloises et françaises* (1579).

to have been written by Bourdelot and Pierre Bonnet-Bourdelot, taking into consideration the style and some remarks on Molière (d.1673) and Lully (d.1687) which presuppose a date later than 1685 (year of Bourdelot's death): "today a living commentary is necessary in order to explain certain spots in Molière's comedies... (p. 281)"; "today there are even very skillful [musicians] who endow us with novelties deserving to be praised, & and which were not in use at the time of M. de Lully: such are the Cantatas & Sonatas composed with all the force and the ornaments of Italian Music, what makes us see that the French musicians could compete against the most famous musicians of Europe, in music of any nature, and even win the prize (p.341-2)".

The chronological organization of the first part is deficient, possibly as an outcome of the action of two writers. According to it, few nations before the Gallic knew Music. Its effects of "animating the Army when it was ready to fight, or ... inspiring feelings which would stimulate them to enjoy the sweetnesses of Peace by new alliances (p.256-7)" were known and consciously used. During the Roman conquest Music and Sciences suffered a decline, for the nation "attached itself solely to Military Art, in order to recover its liberty (p.261-2)". Since then, periods of a major concern with war alternated with those of a stress in Arts and Sciences, "which can only flourish in Peace, like the flowers in Springtime (p. 311-2)".

The "origin of the **animosity of Italian musicians against the French ones**, which subsists until today (p.274)" is attributed to a quarrel on musical matters between Charlemagne (9th cent.), and Pope Leon III. Remarkably, despite such admitted "animosity", the chapter, meant to describe the progress and the building up of French supremacy in music, does acknowledge its **debt towards Italy**.

Admiration for Italy is expressed in multiple instances: "we do not find the names of the French musicians who wrote music in several parts, what makes us believe that this [material] might have come from Italy (p.301)"; or "the main embellishment of this curious Library (*Bibliothèque Royale*) is partly due to Queen Catherine de Médicis, wife of Henry II. To her order were brought from Florence all the books & rare manuscripts which Laurent de Médicis ... had bought from the Turks, after they had pillaged the famous Imperial Library of Constantinople" and "what also contributed to perfect music in France was the great number of Italian musicians which followed this princess to her wedding, and gave a lot of emulation to ours... they began to change their simple method in order to conform somehow to the delicacy of the Italian music, be it vocal or

instrumental ... [French music was] brought afterwards to utmost perfection by the force of the genius of Lully, the most famous musician we had had in France (p.307-8)"; and "… it is partly to him [Baïf], that we owe the perfection of Music and Poetry in the 16th century, of which he had suckled the milk in Venice (p.313)[20]". The import by Mazarin of the most famous Italian musicians for an opera production is considered as the beginning of the genre in France.

Whenever possible, **music is addressed as spectacle**, the appropriate vehicle to display power and grandiosity, its apex being opera, "the most agreeable entertainment an honest man can have nowadays (p.340)". One of the few spots which actually describe musical practice refers to Lambert, who "perfected the manner of singing, by the *finesse* & delicacy of the *port de voix*, passages, diminutions, trills, holds, the movements and ornaments of singing (p. 328)".

The life of Louis XIV is described since his birth, in the light of the magnificent feasts which had accompanied each step of it. His extraordinary talents as musician and dancer are retold: "the King knows music perfectly ... masked, he danced several *entrées* ... he outshined all the most famous dancers of the court ... in 18 months he equalled his guitar teacher whom Cardinal Mazarin had brought especially from Italy... (p. 330-1)".

For the first time, the pomp and feasts of the French court are said to overshadow the ones of any other nation: "a magnificence which surpassed everything we could imagine of the Operas of Venice (p.330)"; "His Majesty's Chamber and Chapel music, even in the account of the foreign ambassadors, is held as the most accomplished of all the Courts of Europe (p.331)"; "**No court has ever been more gallant or more flourishing than the one of France at that time** (p. 338-9)".

The last paragraph summarizes the chapter: "France owes the first foundations of its triumph in all the sciences and arts to the cares of François I, which were continued with great attention by his successors & above all under the reign of Louis the Great; this monarch, by the establishment of the famous *Academies Royales des Beaux Arts*, has carried

[20] Jean Antoine de Baïf (1532 – 1589) was a French poet and musician, born in Venice. He founded the Académie de musique et de poésie, with the idea of establishing a closer union between music and poetry.

knowledge and perfection to their highest degree, what makes **France nowadays as flourishing as Rome was in the time of Augustus** (p. 342)".

Chapter XI is dedicated to the "others", to music and feasts "in use at the different courts of Europe and even among the Persian": marriage, birth, religious feasts, banquets, hunting, mineral waters, carnival. It ends returning to France, mentioning the "great & superb feasts given by His Majesty at Versailles, with musical representations, that owe nothing to all those of the courts of Europe (p. 424)".

The first part of the chapter focuses on the spectacles of the ancients: the old Persians, their knowledge of the music of the Greeks[21] and of the Hebrews; Alexander the Great. It considers that although those nations "had an early knowledge of music, it is not yet perfected among them as it is nowadays in all Europe, or at least in Italy and France (p. 349)". This section quotes from different authors.

The second part of the chapter is devoid of quotes and is dedicated to spectacles at the European courts & Church: Church spectacles in Rome 1480, theatre spectacles in Venice 1485 (origin of the opera); the Italian courts: Toscana 1589, Savoy 1610-65 (carnival, birthday, hunting, aquatic feasts and other), Rome (carnival 1480, St. Philip Neri's intermezzi as the origin of the oratorio; Roman Opera c. 1670); Spain (from the 15th century to the 1680s - serenades, marriages, spectacles, operas, tournaments, feasts), Portugal (moorish-derived feasts), German-speaking courts 1658-70 (operas of Italian influence, hunting, marriage and birth feasts, carnival), Britain (the marriage of Princess Elizabeth in 1613; the influence of Cambert and the French Opera 1668 and of the Italian opera), Florence (France's debt to it because of Lully; a Medici marriage 1608).

The chapter ends mentioning shortly the spectacles in the court of France "the grand & superb feasts that His Majesty has organized at Versailles, with musical representations, which **do not owe anything to the ones of the courts in Europe** (p. 424)."

We ascribe this chapter to Bourdelot considering the style, akin to the one in chapters I, V, VII-IX, and some observations. The author's first remark refers to the Greeks and

[21] From whom they would have taken "the knowledge of musical performances for the theater" (p.347), implying that, not only the Italians weren't so original in their creation of the Opera, but also that even great nations borrow ideas one from another.

their three types of music (p. 346), "as I have shown" (indeed, in chapter I, whose author is Bourdelot). Later on, he recalls "all those Representations, & which filled the alms-box of the Church... what we call today the Oratorio, or Spiritual Spectacles which are continued in Rome, & and which are so spread in all the Churches... (p. 374-5)", a suitable description for the Italian Oratory circa 1770-80s.

Further, the author's description of the Roman spectacles and his praise of the beauties of Rome (which Bourdelot *knew*) are made on the present tense, making comparisons with Lully's opera *Alceste* (1674) which stands as something heard not long ago (p.376). The dates mentioned in all the descriptions in this chapter never go beyond 1685, date of Bourdelot's death as well as the end of the golden period of Louis XIV's reign.

The assumption that Bourdelot wrote chapter XI also confirms him as one of the authors of chapters X. The allusion to "the use of musical representations ... like the ones I have reported from the French court since the reign of Henry II (p.353)", connects with a description of the superb feast of this king's marriage to Marguerite de Lorraine (made on p.315 of chapter X), quite typical of Bourdelot's pen. There is a further connection on p. 389: "they [the Germans] had also voices whose singing animated them to war, what is closely connected to what I have said about the old Gallic (on chapter X, p.256-7)".

III - **Chapter XII**: *Le goût,* different trends in music: Italy and France

We believe that in Bourdelot's original conception of the work, the chapters now designated as X, XI and the second part of chapter XII (p.452-63) were to function in a complementary manner: chapter X dealt with France, chapter XI with the other courts while stating France's prominence in the closing section, and chapter XII was to conclude the work with a "Dissertation on the different opinions on the music & operas of Italy, and on the French music and its operas (see *table des chapitres*)".

Nevertheless, according to what seems to have been his policy (not to change material received from Bourdelot and Bonnet-Bourdelot but rather add to it), here as well Bonnet decided to interpolate material of his own. As a result, chapter XII suffered an alteration in its structure and had its name changed to "Dissertation on the *bon goût* of Italian Music, of French Music, and on Opera (p. 425)".

Between the end of chapter XI and its natural continuation on the phrase "But it is necessary to see in what consists the difference between the operas of Italy and the operas of France (p.452, last paragraph)", a whole new and very important section was inserted by Jacques Bonnet – certainly **the most interesting one, from the historiographic standpoint**. It has no quotations, in contrast with Bourdelot's bit, and in addition to stylistic matters, the date of 1712, mentioned at the very beginning of the chapter (p. 425) is a clear certificate of Bonnet's authorship.

This section seems to be a response to the Duc of Orleans, who presumably had urged the author to express his "feeling on the Italian *goût* which presently reigns in Paris (p.426)". Bonnet does so on the light of the pamphlets already exchanged relative to the "quarrel which has been managing to last already so many centuries (p.425)" between Italian and French.

Stating the uselessness of earlier attempts to reach an agreement (for "**the Italians are an irreconcilable Nation**" - p.425)", he mentions a recent letter (1712) which he had supplied with some "additions found necessary to the subject, with the aim of inserting them in the bulk of this History, which shall be able to find as many partisans for the French Music as did the 1702's document (Raguenet's) in favor of the Italian Music (p. 425-6)".

He goes on declaring his concern with clarity and his conciliatory attitude towards the two parties (which he defines as musically pro-Italian and pro-French tastes), aiming to do justice to both, "taking each one on its own character (p.428)". Follows his appraisal of the two, of which we will try to summarize the main points:

a) The Italians have science and imagination (melodic, harmonic, textural) while the French have the natural *bon goût*, tenderness and nobleness in performance. The Italians have been the masters in the domain of cantatas and sonatas, but the French have surpassed them, as pupils surpass their teachers;

b) The Italian works are too long, too complicated harmonically, melodically bizarre and excessively ornamented; fermatas occur too frequently, are too long and often misplaced; the music contradicts the meaning of the text. In contrast, French music is majestic, noble, and more apt to paint a variety of characters and emotions;

c) Italians are unsurpassable in their violin sonatas full of imagination and harmonic boldness; their many imitators, however, produce bizarre things. Their trio-sonatas should be played as solo-sonatas, in order to avoid simultaneous ornamentation by different instruments. Lully would have banished such "a violin which would have spoiled the harmony by its diminutions (p. 436)";

d) The Italian basso continuo is too heavy, has too many notes, and is exaggeratedly concerned with speed and brilliance; its over – ornaments the already busy written text, and the fact that harpsichord, viol and theorbo do it simultaneously causes an "extraordinary cacophony" (p. 435) which swallows the soloist. Italian love for speed and extremely figured basses spoils the *Adagios*, kills their harmonic pathos;

e) The Italians make an abusive use of dissonances, diminishing their expressive strength, while the French often sin by using them too little;

f) Lully, the masterful painter of passions, stands as the example to be emulated. Lully didn't modulate to distant keys for aesthetic reasons. Simplicity and facility should be a goal in music, making it more available to both players and listeners. Harmony loses when there is transposition to distant keys, especially on the harpsichord, "where the keys should be spit to give a true temperament", only possible on the violin which differs sharps from flats;

g) French music is like a beautiful woman whose natural beauty doesn't need artifices for pleasing, while Italian music is like an extravagant *coquette*, trying to seduce at any cost. The Italian music suits the Italian language, and the French music, the French language. Each nation has its own "*goûts*, habits, *moeurs*, manners, pleasures (337)", so one should not require that French behave as Italians;

h) The solution for the conflict relies on *Les goûts-réunis* (the union of the French & Italian tastes). Although sonatas and cantatas have invaded France, and every so often corrupted the French sense of proportion, yet some Frenchmen have been able to ally the natural French *goût* with the Italian glitter and invention. The wonderful French *goût* (which Italians are beginning to imitate) can be mixed with the good things of the Italian taste, leaving aside what is bad. A third party, therefore, can result of those two, more reasonable and less sectarian, made of wise people of good taste, who appreciate good music, well performed. Although each music should keep its character, it is possibly

making a perfect third genre by joining the two tastes, the learned and ingenious one of the Italians with the simple and natural French *bon goût* [22].

Having said all this, Bonnet passes the pen back to Bourdelot (p.452); the text retakes its course (halted at the end of chapter XI), and we go back to sometime before 1685, to the apogee of the *Grand Siècle*.

Bourdelot begins by pointing out that the Italians inherited from the Romans a tradition of spectacles which seem unsurpassable. The formula for a perfect opera is given: the joint action of a poet, a musician, a mathematician, a dancing master, a painter, all excelling in their professions, plus a great *Sur-Intendant* (Lully's position), a powerful prince or Republic capable of handling costs and, last but not least, a grand subject, issued from Fable, History or Mythology.

His next endeavor is to "report a description of each, in order to enable one to judge the difference between the representations of Italian and French operas", signaling that the latter "**have also beauties which the others don't** (p. 454-5)".

Thus, follows descriptions of a spectacle produced by Beverin, and of representations held in Venice and Turin (1628), their sceneries, machinery, special effects, richness. Although Venetian spectacles "uphold the glory which this superb republic has acquired, surpassing all Italy in this field (p. 459)", Italy is said to currently have powerful rivals in the French, with **the unsurpassable Lully** and his collaborators, who have perfected the genre.

Bourdelot then makes the apology of the French opera, where "everything corresponds to the grandeur of **the most magnificent King of all Kings**. **French operas prevail over the Italian ones** because of the grandeur and beauty of the choirs, the ornaments of the *récitatif* (p. 461)", the excellence of the orchestra, the magnificent ballets. As Bonnet, he concludes in the line of *les goûts réunis*, claiming that the union of the perfections of French and Italian opera would result in a spectacle comparable in magnificence to a Roman Triumph.

[22] François Couperin's work, *Les gôuts-réunis*, dated 1724, is the incarnation of Bonnet's ideas.

IV - **Chapter XIII**: Animals and their sensitivity for Music

This chapter is a collection of picturesque stories issued from various writers and from the author's personal experience, demonstrating "the effects that Music can produce upon animals" (p. 478) and putting forward the axiom that "**all animals are sensitive to the charms of music**" (p. 463). Thus we are told about the elephant that practiced the steps of a certain ballet during the night in order to avoid punishment, about birds risking their liberty for the sake of listening to music, about concerts being held for a public of horses, about mice, bees and spiders attracted by the sound of music; we are also acquainted with "rats dancing a ballet figure over a big table to the sound of violins", with "a white rat from Lapland, that danced a saraband with as much exactness and gravity as a Spaniard would"(p. 471-2), and with monkeys that excel in the flute, guitar and teach the violin, etc, etc, etc...

A light and informal style combined with allusions to recent events ("all that Paris has seen this year in the St. Laurent's fair, done by a monkey...", p. 472) and to the date of 1688 (p. 466) lead us to ascribe this chapter to the pen of Jacques Bonnet. Bonnet writes generally in the first person, singular, except in p.465 ("We have reported in earlier chapters several examples of ballets, matches & combats of knights done in cadence to the sound of instruments in public feasts"), where he could be referring to material written by his uncle or brother.

V - **Chapter XIV**: Conclusion

The author again refers to **music as an art and a science** (p. 482-3) and recalls the philosophers (the ancients), S. Augustin and S. Thomas (the Christian tradition), drawing parallels between music and painting, mathematics, arithmetics, logics, rhetoric. He apologizes for eventual shortcomings of the work and concludes by stating that "the French can boast having had the knowledge of music as early as any European nation, as I have shown by incontestable authorities".

Although having little evidence to support our opinion, we believe that this chapter came from the pen of Pierre Bonnet-Bourdelot. Its style reminds us of chapters II, III, IV and VI; on the one hand it lacks the fluency, articulation and self-confidence of Bonnet and on the other, the conviction and grandiloquence of Bourdelot. It is apologetic concerning both the work and his country (p.587: "the origin of music... of which we

have in France but imperfect lights"), a trait which suits Bonnet-Bourdelot's situation of a man in between, being neither the initiator of the work nor its publisher.

Final considerations

Historiographically speaking, the first French History of Music is a multiple document, representing different segments of time, a feature which interferes with its study and proper appreciation. According to what we could infer, Pierre Bourdelot is responsible for the lion's share of the work, i.e. chapters 1, 5, 7-9, 11, and part of chapters 6, 10 and 12, all written in the 1670-80s; his nephew Pierre Bonnet-Bourdelot seems to have worked in the making of chapters 2 and 14, and in part of chapters 3, 4, 6 and 10, possibly at the turn of the century. The third writer and editor of the text, Jacques Bonnet, worked in the second decade of the 18th century; his contribution (the Preface, Dedication, and the most significant part of chapter 12) is clearly indicated by the presence of dates subsequent to the decease of the two above-mentioned men; he is also likely to have written chapter 13 and part of chapters 3 and 4.

On the light of this study, we must disagree with Hawkins and James Anthony, who assume that Bonnet-Bourdelot was the one who "succeeded in completing the history of music[23]", of which Jacques Bonnet was merely the editor. Bonnet's contribution, although inferior quantity-wise to his uncle's and roughly equivalent to his brother's, appears as the most rich and interesting account, from the historiographic point-of view. We owe to Bonnet's pen the highlights of *Histoire*: the vivid painting of the musical dilemmas at stake in early 18th century France and the prophetic heralding of *les goûts-réunis*, past the glorious achievements of the Grand-siècle, on the dawn of a new time.

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