Religious and secular music at two ends of Europe: the cases of Henry Purcell and Paul Esterhazy, based on the examples of secular and religious cantatas

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Introduction

Late Baroque music has been widely explored in historiography: this topic occupied many scholars who proposed distinct ways of evaluating the epoch in musical terms. Nevertheless, the scholarship has yet to arrive at a conclusion which would not generate greater dispute over the nature of Baroque. In fact, the evaluation of Baroque music continues to be problematic, due to many controversies and divergences. Thus, some scholars find grounds which convince them of the rational and pragmatic character of Baroque, claiming that its predominant characteristics were "intellectuality and harmony"[1], while the opposite opinion on the new emotional degrees which Baroque introduced, continued to prevail[2].

Among the questions still being posed in the framework of modern scholarship, I want to pick up the one which I believe to be crucial, namely, how to evaluate Baroque music in terms of its nature. The character of musical pieces is not an easy issue to tackle—mostly because there are no clear boundaries between the religious and the secular. The timeframe under which I will be working is confined to the years 1660-1725, the period which, arguably, defines the Late Baroque period chronologically. Any references to earlier or later stages which I will make will only serve the purpose of bridging the gap, or contributing to a better understanding of the period on which I am focusing. Sometimes, to see why the cultural situation was what it was, I will have to dig into previous periods to establish the genesis of a certain cultural tendency.

My working hypothesis is that the Baroque music generated a certain conceptual language which represents a mixture of different establishments, or frameworks. In saying this, I refer to the secular and religious characters of musical pieces. However, rather than trying to discern the exact

[1] W. Kirchner. *Western Civilization since 1500*. (N.Y., 1958), 79.
[2] See, for instance, E.N. Johnson. *An Introduction to the History of Western Tradition* (Boston: 1959).

character of a certain musical piece, I will try to subsume them under a single category, which cannot be established either as secular or as religious. Presumably, the boundaries between the religious and the secular are too blurry to make a clear distinction between them, as far as Baroque music was concerned. Thus, my task is to develop a conceptual language which best describes the nature of musical pieces and which, I assume at this stage, does not make a clear distinction between *the religious* and *the secular*. Upon setting this goal, I might encounter some pieces which go beyond the confines of this hypothetical language, which nevertheless does not contradict my initial aspiration to generalize the musical tendencies of the Late Baroque period. With regard to my research endeavors, I will be looking at the examples of England and Hungary within the Late Baroque timeframe. However, other countries and the musicians which they created will also be considered. First, it is inevitable that countries such as France and Italy will be mentioned, since they had a significant impact onto the whole European Baroque musical culture, and neither England, nor Hungary, stayed aside from their influence. Second, I need to establish whether or not these two countries chose a separate path or rather followed the broader European musical pattern. Therefore, another hypothesis which I have in mind is that England and Hungary—both in Baroque terms, and in the fullness of their peculiarities—represented a paradigm which could be easily traced in other European examples.

My methodology includes implementation of a comparative approach at various levels. On a smaller scale, I will draw a comparison between two Late Baroque representatives, namely Paul Esterhazy (Hungary) and Henry Purcell (England). While doing this, I will evaluate their personal achievements in terms of their contribution to Baroque music, estimate the influence they were exposed to, and evaluate them within the framework of their musical environment. More broadly,

I will look at both Hungary and England in comparative terms to see exactly how Late Baroque music manifested itself in these countries. My attempts to analyze different aspects of Baroque music will start in the first chapter where I deploy dichotomies as a means of measurement.

Regarding my scientific endeavors, I will be working with a variety of definitions and will attempt not only to provide readers with academic ones, but come up with my own personal understanding of distinct processes or notions which need to be framed and established.

My choice of the topic is primarily driven by my keen interest in Baroque music. As for the comparison of England and Hungary, Purcell and Esterhazy, this choice was made due to the surprisingly small amount of data available on Esterhazy in English, as well my own wish to draw a comparison which, as far as I know, no other scholar has so far undertaken. Additionally, this comparison was an interesting option due to the confessional differences between the countries (Catholic Hungary and Protestant England) and similarities (both were exposed to a huge variety of foreign sources of influence).

This research consists of three chapters. The first one aims at evaluating Baroque music through several dichotomies, including "religious/secular", "indigenous/transnational", and "Protestant/Catholic". In the second chapter I will narrow the comparison to the two Baroque representatives, Purcell and Esterhazy, showing the ways in which transnational/indigenous tendencies manifested themselves, shaping their music and also providing a sufficient background to prove my working assumptions. The third chapter will be dedicated to the exploration of the primary sources: more precisely, the lyrics of the musical pieces, which will be considered as premises around which I will center my conceptual language. Such a focus will help me to provide a proper definition of the nature of Baroque music, and show whether there is a musical sample which can be subsumed under the category of religious/secular/transitional, or if everything has to be considered part of a merged genre. Among primary sources, I will single out "Harmonia

Caelestis" (a set of fifty-five religious cantatas published in 1711, two years prior to Esterhazy`s death), Purcell's anthems, and one of Esterhazy's compositions "A wonderful song". To provide further context, I will briefly explore different musical pieces of the same authorship to show whether or not these examples are unusual, or fit appropriately into the context of their art.

Chapter 1.

Baroque as a "strange", "new" music: some controversies and discussions. Late Baroque music through dichotomies

Baroque music first pervaded the European continent around the beginning of the seventeenth century, originating in Italy and from there successfully conquering other European countries. The term *"Baroque"* most likely derives from the Portuguese word *"barroco"* or Spanish "*barrueco"*, both of which refer to "a pearl of an imperfect form". In his article "Music and Society of the Late Baroque era", George J. Buelow explores the concept of the *Baroque* in the following way:

> Since the early nineteenth century, Baroque has been used first in art criticism and later in musical historiography as a label defining the period in Western culture extending from approximately 1600 to around 1750… In 1753 Jean-Jacques Rousseau accused the Italians of composing bizarre and baroque music, and in his *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1768) he formulated his well-known definition: baroque music is that in which harmony is confused, charged with modulations and dissonances, in which the melody is harsh and little natural, intonation difficult, and the movement constrained… More significant for the later widespread usage of baroque with reference to style were the writings of Heinrich Wolfflin, whose book *Renaissance and Baroque* (1888) used the term, cleansed of its negative connotations, as a label for the period of art developing after the Renaissance[3].

For convenience, the Baroque period has been divided into three phases. The main one of interest within the framework of this research encompassed the period from 1660 to 1725 and was called "the Late Baroque", though, due to a "prolixity of musical developments", the task of finding a timeframe is still challenging, as G. J. Buelow mentions in his article[4]. However, since arguing over the timeframe of the Late Baroque is not listed among the purposes of this research, I will confine myself merely to mentioning that such an issue did occur in the historiography. The same author also argues that the understanding of the Late Baroque (which, as established, dated from the end of the seventeenth century to the first quarter of the eighteenth century), stems from summarizing the achievements which had been already introduced at the very beginning of the

[3] *Music and Society in the Late Baroque Era. The Late Baroque era. From 1680s to 1740.* Edited by George J. Buelow. Man and Music series, Vol. 4, (United Kingdom, 1993),1.
[4] Ibid., 2.

century[5]. Importantly, G.J. Buelow was convinced that the Baroque music was based on two main principles: firstly, the late sixteenth-century development in northern Italian regions which eventually gave birth to *concerto* as a genre, and, secondly, the enthusiasm with which a group of musicians and aristocrats in Italy and France sought a solution for what they believed was a problem—music`s lack of expressivity and inability to convey emotion to an audience. The seeds were sown: what would emerge from this movement was *Opera*[6].

Indeed, it is not a disputed matter that Baroque music is highly emotional at its core, and places a strong emphasis on leading its audience through a large-scale spectrum of fervor of the music. What stays a matter of controversy and disagreement is the nature of Baroque music. A considerable amount of literature has been dedicated to the music of the Baroque period, and modern scholarship is still uncertain with regard to the question of definition.

An innovative aspect of Baroque that should not be ignored is its special relationship with the audience. Renaissance performers were more focused on addressing themselves both in the process of creating and performing, while a Baroque artist intended to develop a certain bond with their audience[7].

Irrespective of all the innovations which the new music brought, we cannot claim that Baroque was in no way a dweller on the old traditions, or at least something which was boosted by the premises developed in the past. Even though most scholars almost unanimously labeled Baroque as *a totally different art* (in comparison to previous musical periods), some roots of the new movement are to be found in the Renaissance. William Fleming gives a detailed explanation of his viewpoint:

> The germinal elements were present in the work of Leonardo, Caravaggio and Tintoretto. In fact, in the late Renaissance there seemed to be two entirely separate directions of thought. One gravitated toward the ancient classical ideal and was for that reason a backward and retrogressive view. The other was a forward progressive viewpoint which utilized all the then modern ideas in the intellectual and scientific world and translated them into artistic media. It is

[5] *Music and Society..,* pp.2-3.
[6] Ibid., 4.
[7] Henry Raynor. *A Social History of Music. From the Middle Ages to Beethoven*. Barrie & Jenkins. (London: 1972), 182.

out of the latter trend that Baroque develops. The Baroque artists never failed to pay lip service to the classic idea, but they succeeded in utilizing classical forms and models in a highly unclassical manner[8].

The social function of Baroque music has yet to be conclusively defined. For instance, a quite famous Baroque historian Ernest H. Meyer emphasized "a medium through which the composer and performer harangued their audience", eventually explicitly saying that it was Italy, the mother of Baroque, that provided propagandist functions in the fight between the old social and religious order and the new[9]. Henry Raynor, who holds Meyer`s view in high regard, takes on the task of explaining the victory of the Baroque:

… the decisive factor in the victory of the Baroque was its consonance with the outlook of the age. A purified Catholicism, and a little later an impregnable Protestantism, both looked to music to dramatize their glory and their faith; to the Jesuits, for example, the excitements of the new style were valuable simply because they were wonderful and put their wonder at the disposal of the church. The Baroque style dramatized the faith, therefore it was invaluable both to Catholics and to Protestants…[10]

I intend to explore the Baroque through several dichotomies: it will be done, first, for structural purposes, since it will be easier to tackle the aforementioned scientific tasks, if I have important structural establishments drawn out from the very beginning. The dichotomies I will be using in measurement terms are the following: indigenous/cosmopolitan; secular/religious genres; and Catholic/Protestant. I do not claim that these dichotomies should only work in a strictly binary sense; quite the opposite, they are sometimes collaborating with and complementing each other.

Indigenous/cosmopolitan

In terms of innovations, the Baroque was a musical language which established various notions previously unknown. One of these examples was *Opera*, which in the context of this chapter is of interest due to the functions it performed. *Opera* served as a conveyer of a new, quickly developing fashion, and also personified a completely new trend, namely, *transnationalism* in music. Opera provided communication between cultures: thus, the first

[8] William Fleming. *The Element of Motion in Baroque art and music.* The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism. Vol. 5, No. 2, Special Issue on Baroque style in various arts. Dec., 1946, pp.121-128: 122.
[9] Ernest H. Meyer: *English Chamber music.* (Lawrence and Wishart: 1946), 37.
[10] Henry Raynor. *A Social History of Music. From the Middle Ages to Beethoven*. Barrie & Jenkins. (London, 1972): 180-182.

tribute should undoubtedly be given to Italy, as the country which immortalized the Baroque in Operatic terms. Many countries, partially competing and trying to purge Opera from Italian influence (such as France under the musical guidance of Jean-Baptiste Lully), partially wishing to draft something of a completely distinct character (for instance, Germany), notwithstanding, considered Italy a role model. Unluckily for England, despite Henry Purcell`s bold and not unsuccessful attempts to write the first authentic English Opera, the country itself was yet to generate a long-term Operatic tradition.

One tendency which also should be taken into consideration as one of the most important characteristics of the period, as mentioned above, was the *transnational* character of music. The Opera in its canonical form was born in seventeenth-century court culture[11]. While certain musicians preferred to go abroad to study, disseminate and incorporate local musical knowledge, there were also those who worked on the development of the folk music, exploring their own roots, partially or completely ignoring foreign trends. Thus, we can speak of coexistence of the two tendencies in terms of music: domestic development, or the *indigenous* trend, and *transnationalism.* Two Baroque representatives can themselves illustrate both tendencies: Georg Friedrich Händel (1685-1759), and Johannes Sebastian Bach (1685-1750). Speaking in modern terms, Händel was a citizen of the world: born in Germany, he traveled to Italy where he greedily absorbed local trends which would become prominent in his work, then moving to London where he eventually settled down. As Robert de Hume shrewdly mentioned (such a remark also betrays the author's attitude): "he [Händel] stubbornly sticks to Italian Opera when he should be switching to English oratorio..."[12]. Sydney Finkelstein compares Bach and Händel in his book *Composer and Nation: The Folk Heritage of Music*. His analysis of two composers as musical personalities is very deep, and at first glance, it may seem that he considers Händel's musical contributions inferior to those of Bach. For instance, Finkelstein says:

[11] Joep Leerssen. *Romanticism, music, nationalism.* Nations and Nationalism 20 (4), 2014, 606-627: 606.
[12] Robert De Hume. *Handel and the Opera Management in London in the 1730s.* Oxford University Press, Music & Letters, Vol. 67, No. 4 (Oct., 1986), pp. 347-362: 347.

Bach had deeper roots in German folk and popular music. His religious music differs from that of Händel, not only in that it was written for actual Protestant Church service, but because it *embodied his whole mind and thought*, including the most heartrending outcries... There is a far greater subjective turn in Bach, and a deeper sense of the tragic... Händel is almost wholly a direct reflection or voice of his times. Bach by comparison, in his music seems to have lived a double life. He gives his time what it asks for... and at the same time, often at the same work, will create another world of thought, completely *detached*, for the satisfaction of himself and for the few who ask the same penetrating questions as he does."[13]

Thus, it is obvious that musicians chose different paths: Bach dug into his roots, while his compatriot preferred to stay open to foreign trends, and at many times put them at the top of his preferences. However, the juxtaposition of these two cannot prove who wins as a German composer: in the first place, it is challenging to give such a definition to Händel.

Bach's travels was confined to the limits of his native Germany, which did not prevent him from being acknowledged as one of the most prominent Baroque representatives who mastered every genre besides Opera. What makes his case so unique and illustrative is that he did not stay receptive to foreign trends but, quite the opposite, clung to his native traditions. Both an organist and a composer, he was highly prolific: his cultural heritage includes around one thousand pieces of music. Interestingly, during the years of his work, namely from 1703 to 1750, he managed not only to receive acclaim as an eminent composer endowed with a great talent, but to maintain the most prestigious positions, including musical director, Kapellmeister, concertmaster and cantor. Moreover, he managed to reach such heights in a narrow geographic space, since his journeys were mainly confined from the limits of Eisleben, his native city, to Lübeck, in the north of Germany, thus constituting only about 180 kilometres[14]. This restricted area of travels notwithstanding, he was able to contribute to the formation of purely German national musical traditions, as Daniel T. Rogers mentions[15].

Despite the fact that Bach probably contributed to Baroque music in Germany more than any of his compatriots, he himself was not a stranger to learning from his foreign "colleagues". For instance, Susan McClary claims that he appropriated and juxtaposed Italian and French styles

[13] Sydney Finkelstein, *Composer and Nation: The Folk Heritage of Music.* Lawrence & Wishart. (London: 1973), 45.
[14] *Cultures in motion*. Edited by Daniel T. Rogers, Bhavani Raman and Helmut Reimitz (Princeton University Press, 2014), 71.
[15] Ibid: 70-71.

in his Fifth Brandenburg Concerto[16]. She also says that his works act "as a metalanguage that finally subsumes Italian and French idioms."[17] Admittedly, this foreign influence can be perceived as a basis on which the entirety of Bach's project was established—without, however, omitting that what resulted from it conveys features which embrace and highlight his personal style. The same is claimed by Hans-Joachim Schulze, who did not leave unnoticed the foreign influence that Bach must have experienced on his path, especially emphasizing the French role in this. Moreover, he refers to the letter which Karl Friedrich Zelter had written to Goethe and which can be viewed as feedback from one of Bach's contemporaries:

> For all his originality old Bach is the child of his time and his country, inevitably succumbing to the influence of the French, and in particular, of Couperin… In Bach's case, however, we can skim off his alien element, like a thin layer of foam, revealing the real substance immediately beneath it…[18]

When *transnationality*—metaphorically speaking—was floating in the air, it was quite a task to stay completely untouched. However, it was a matter of choice: try it and go *ad fontes*, or continue exploring, accumulating, incorporating and dispersing. Obviously, Bach chose the first option, while Händel opted for the second.

Another interesting example which proves that one can easily incorporate both *cosmopolitanism* and remain close to *the indigenous*, is Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672), regarded as the greatest German composer prior to Bach. He dexterously used both religious and secular genres: importantly, he has been attributed the authorship of the first German Opera, "Dafne" (1629), and the first German requiem "Musicalische Exequien" (1636). The geography of his travels was quite wide: he moved between Leipzig, Marburg and Venice, and for two years was a chapelmaster at the royal court of Copenhagen[19]. In Italy, one of his teachers was Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643), who had a huge impact over the works of his talented student: thus,

[16] Susan McClary, *The Blasphemy of Talking Politics Suring Bach Year, 47,* quoted in *Western Music and its others.* Difference, representation and appropriation in music. Edited by Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh. (University of California Press: 2000), 42.
[17] Ibid., 12.
[18] *The French influence in Bach's instrumental music.* Hans-Joachim Schulze. Early music. Vol. 13, No. 2, J.S. Bach Tercentenary issue (May, 1985), pp. 180-184: 180.
[19] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Heinrich-Schutz

Schütz's most notable achievement is considered to be the introduction of the new style of the Italian *monodists* (as typified in Monteverdi's work) into German music, without creating an unsatisfactory hybrid[20].

At first glance, *transnationalism* seems to be wrapped up in a positive décor, if one focuses on mutual knowledge-exchange. However, two facts need to be taken into account in this matter. First, without exaggerating, I would say that succumbing to *the foreign* means to abandon the *innate*, the *intrinsic*, to realize that the development of *the native* is not feasible because the tradition is too weak and, thus, has to be buttressed by external elements. Sometimes, there was also not as much to give as to borrow, as for example, in the case of *masque*, which served as court entertainment since Henry VIII (1509-1547). It did share many features with Opera (as by using the term *Opera* back then, one could only mean an Italian model) including songs, dancing, and instrumental music, but still, these pieces "were long collaborative spectacles akin to French court ballets rather than unified dramas with music by one composer."[21] *Masque* however, presumably, had a relatively small effect on broad audience, since they were never intended to be massively displayed: during the reign of Charles II, only a minority of common people could enjoy those performances[22].

It is true that *Opera* was the most important conveyer of fashionable trends, and this fact made Italy stand out and look admirable in other countries' eyes. Sydney Finkelstein shrewdly notes that *Opera* fulfills not just entertaining functions:

> …it [Opera] is in part supported by the courts and aristocracy, and in part a business enterprise, since tickets of admission are sold to the city public. Its music has many popular ties. In Venice, where from 1637 on, the operatic theaters are opened to the general public, Opera provides… "song hits" for the city population[23].

Thus, it would be too daring to state that Opera was the prerogative of the upper classes exclusively. The same, however, could not be applied to the court: thus, the Viennese royal court

[20] Ibid.
[21] *History of Western music…* 311.
[22] *Court Culture and the Formation of a Royalist Tradition,* (University of Pennsylvania Press: 1987), 286.
[23] Sydney Finkelstein, *Composer and Nation…*45.

has been commonly known for welcoming various nationalities who performed both as soloists and part of orchestras, but eyewitnesses of these performances, some of which would create quite a stir, were normally representatives of higher social standings.

Also, travels to other countries did not necessarily mean one giving oneself a fresh start, and enjoying one's flourishing career in a different place. German context also presents the example of the *"spielmann"*; however, the actual definition of what this form of profession was about goes a long way to eliminate any temptation to become one in modern times. This "spielmann" was never employed on a regular basis, and because of this had to always be on the road in order to find some sort of temporary employment. Moreover, these people belonged to the category of "unehrliche Leute" ("dishonorable people")[24]. Daniel T. Rogers ascribes all the dishonor and destitution of jobs like this to the fact that urban employment appeared comparatively late[25]. The "spielmann" emerged on the German landscape in the seventeenth century, but these tendencies to travel were kept for a long time after. The reasons which forced musicians to continue traveling were generally far from pure enthusiasm, and in most cases the lives of such musicians were hard and tragic. Rodgers explains this in detail: "...Beyond the book-selling exoticism of these adventures, the marginality of these characters serves a common admonitory purpose. All suffer from deficient musical training, and none is able to find a settled place in his native land. Buffeted by faith, exploited and abandoned by nobles and courtiers, they embody the displacements and sufferings of a Germany victimized by its more powerful neighbors and its selfish or incompetent rulers."[26]

Thus, it is quite clear that *transnationalism* meant not only the urge to buttress own's native culture with foreign embellishments, and in such a way lift it up to a desirable international level. It also meant an inability to find oneself in one's own country and frantically seek opportunities in others, where a foreign musician is welcomed less often than they would wish. I claim that

[24] *Cultures in motion.* Edited by Daniel T. Rogers, Bhavani Raman and Helmut Reimitz (Princeton University Press: 2014), 64-65.
[25] Ibid.
[26] *Cultures in motion…* 64-65.

transnationalism in music was mostly based in competition and emulation, and thus bears a rather negative connotation.

The privileged position of Italy has never been questioned: to say the least, the country gave birth both to Baroque and the first outstanding representatives of the genre, including, for instance, Alessandro Scarlatti (1660-1725) who gained his fame primarily for establishing the Neapolitan School of Opera and writing "*chamber cantatas"*. Despite its classically high cultural standing, France was still trying to catch up. The role of England in this context was approximated with that of competitor, emulator and absorber: the country was a keen apprentice, which strived to establish and uproot its own musical long-term tradition, unaware of the fact that it would only be feasible centuries later. Eventually, English Baroque music would turn out to be a tree which grew in native ground, but from seeds brought from abroad. But first and foremost, two countries need to be considered—two countries which influenced England greatly.

Italy, especially in the context of *Opera*, had an *"all-encompassing"* effect on late Baroque music, which is related to a wide variety of genres, both *sacred* and *secular* music[27]. Even France did not stay away from Italian influence. To explore relations between *the French* and *the Italian*,

G.J. Buelow speaks in favor of Italian dominance in general, although noticing a gap of several generations where French influence could fit in:

> Even in France, where music had been frozen into stylistic formulae because of Lully`s achievements and the king`s desire to maintain a cultural distinction from the rest of the world, inroads of Italian style began to weaken the purity of the French style. This became true first in sacred music. Nevertheless, French musical style, epitomized in Lully`s operas and Francois Couperin`s harpsichord`s suites, did affect several generations of non-Italians, most especially German and English composers… Some foreigners came to Paris to study the music first-hand, especially the greatly admired and disciplined playing of the Paris orchestras. The French musical style, like the Italian, existed as an expressive means for composers to imitate[28].

One might pose a reasonable question: why was Italy the first to begin this race of the *Baroque*, the musically-crafted competition which overwhelmed and excited Europe for 150 years? At the beginning of the seventeenth century, while other countries were just about to get familiar with their almost unknown classical traditions, Italy already enjoyed her long-term

[27] George J. Buelow. *Music and Society*… 16.
[28] Ibid., pp. 17-18.

uprooted custom of drama and prose, lyric and epic poetry. Similarity and familiarity with the Latin language also helped Italians: this partially testifies to why so many motets were written in Latin[29].

In the case of France, the fame and prestige of its culture, as well as the willingness of other countries to imitate and copy its manners, along with various kinds of art and fashion, was indebted to Louis XIV, who was admired and emulated by Russia, Germany, England, Poland, Austria and other countries. "*The French"* got to their highest, almost unconquered position by the middle of the seventeenth century. From the 1660s on, French music was practically as influential as Italian, and the integration of these two was destined to be a hot topic in the context of the eighteenth century[30].[30] The discussion was ignited by the publication of the small, but important pamphlet by Francois Raguenet ("Paralele des italiens et des francoise en ce qui regarde la musique et les opera") in 1702, where he expressed his enthusiasm for the Italian manner of singing, and spoke of the prevalence of the Italian over the French[31]. This was an opinion which had some weight, and the cultural confrontation would only grow after.

The Englishmen were fond of French culture, not least because of the high bar which was set by Louis XIV and which *made* them want to behave, dance, sing and perform in such a fashion as Frenchmen did. Charles II developed a great liking for anything French, and his political figure undoubtedly had a certain impact over the English fashion.

At the same time, Baroque England did not fully immerse into attempts to model itself on France. In the seventeenth century, "public concerts" emerged in England: performances occurred in various places, and both professional and amateur musicians would participate in them. Another new British trend was music concerts performed in pleasure gardens: from London, where the first

[29] *Companion to Baroque Music.* Compiled and edited by Julie Anne Sadie. (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles), 5.
[30] *History of Western music…* 312.
[31] George J. Buelow. *Music and Society…* P. 18.

took place, they quickly spread and gained fame in other British cities and towns[32].

Arthur Hutchings comments on this innovation:

> … previously, music unless ecclesiastical or dramatic in character, had been essentially the art of a small circle. The largess of aristocratic patronage and the profits of publication were the composers` rewards. But with the middle of the seventeenth century there came a change; the world of fashion tended more and more to be centralized for metropolis, and, with the abandonment of the country coteries and quasi-feudal households of the nobility, the musician (unless attached to some provincial cathedral) found himself more and more obliged to be a Londoner, while the rapid advance of technical attainments, both instrumental and vocal, simultaneously produced a more marked differentiation between the professional and the amateur[33].

Last, but not least, what emerged in English dramatic theatre in the 1660s was *a tragicomedy with masques*, which were mentioned above. Curtis Price, in his article "Restoration Theatre Music Restored", describes *masques* as semi-operas which gained popularity in the 1660s-1670s, were forgotten by the next decade, and then revived in the 1690s, thanks to Purcell`s endeavors[34]. These *masques* were based on the native English tradition and were considered a genre which was cleansed of foreign trends.

Seventeenth-century Hungary was going through a deep political crisis, which started in the previous century and was rooted in the break of its territories into three different spheres of influence (namely Transylvania, the area under Turkish control and the Habsburg lands), which, consequently, divided the country in cultural terms[35]. The crisis also divided music, giving certain genres to a high-ranking nobility, while representatives of a lower social standings were given access to different ones.

Hungarian scholar Bence Szabolcsi commented on this situation: "In this critical period musical culture was kept alive at the residences of the aristocracy (mostly in Northern Hungary and Transylvania). For that time, they also did a certain amount towards organizing the

[32] Ibid., 23.
[33] Arthur Hutchings. *Purcell and his contemporaries*. (British Broadcast Corp., 1982), 177.
[34] *Restoration theatre music restored.* Curtis Price. The Musical Times. Vol.124, No. 1684 (Jun., 1983), pp.344-347:344.
[35] Bence Szabolcsi. *The concise history of Hungarian music…* 167.

practice of music among the people…"[36] Importantly, here lies a pivotal class difference with regard to music: the music of the nobility, which was perceptive to multi-cultural synthesis and which was performed at the royal court residences, was only accessible to representatives of people of high social standing. Those very people (with Esterhazy as an eminent example) could also enjoy collecting folkloric pieces, and thus contributing to the revival of an intrinsic Hungarian musical tradition, not influenced by German, Austrian, French and other elements. At the same time, middle and lower classes had to be satisfied with a different kind of music: that which was inspired by Gypsy motifs and performed outside nobility residences. However, church music was still alive and performances were accessible. Traditions of love and military songs also remained paramount—those genres, deeply rooted in earlier times and often inspired my Ancient and Medieval motifs, constituted an important part of the Hungarian musical tradition, which should not be underestimated: notably, Haydn, Beethoven, Weber, and Brahms would later consider this music as typically and intrinsically Hungarian[37].

However, the royal court still stood on its pedestal. Hitherto, Hungary was not a stranger to welcoming multi-cultural trends: such was the atmosphere which shaped the country during the reign of King Matthias (1458-1490). The Renaissance in Hungary welcomed a considerable number of musicians, most of whom came from abroad: thus, the royal court was shaped in multi-national, multi-cultural and multi-linguistic forms. Laszló Jambor is very specific when he says that the "cultural environment of King Matthias' Renaissance court included also the worldly, secular music, both instrumental and vocal, of his contemporaries in Italy, Aragon and Provence."[38] Importantly, despite the ensuing Turkish invasion, Hungary held on to the flourishing culture of the princely and royal courts. At various times, the country received musicians traveling from different countries who were granted the honor of performing at the royal court. To some extent, music in (some parts of) Hungary still blossomed. Hungarian courtly Baroque factually

[36] Ibid., P. 165.
[37] Laszló Jambor. Hungarian music. http://corvinuslibrary.com/hungary/37.pdf
[38] Ibid.

sheltered *a court musician*—the musician who, in all the complexity of such a notion, was supposed to be truly versatile, and personify the ability to welcome and embrace the most cutting-edge traditions of European culture, mastering the various techniques of dancing, singing and performing. Notably, noble residences acquired quite a number of such artists from different parts of Europe. Bence Szabolcsi in his "Concise History of Hungarian music" provides a detailed account of this:

> There were for instance 11 Hungarian chief trumpeters at the residence of Ferenc Nádasdy (1648), 9 at the residence of Esterházy (1682), 15 trumpeters served in the household of Imre Thököly (1683), 3 violin players, 1 assistant violinist, 7 trumpeters, 1 lutenist, cimbalom player, whistler, bagpipe player and drummer at the residence of Ádám Batthyány (1658), and 3 trumpeters, 4 trumpeter assistants, 1 Turkish whistler, 1 Polish whistler, 4 whistler assistants, 2 violin players, 1 bagpipe player, virginal player and organist at the court of Ferencz Rákóczi I (1668). The harp player, trombone player and viol player also figure at the residence of the Esterházys in the course of the seventeenth century, while bagpipe, lute, harp, virginal, trumpet and violin were played in the princely court of Transylvania. We even find a Spanish guitar player among the German, Polish, Italian and French court musicians of Gábor Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania. These groups of musicians do not necessarily indicate the actual make-up of the orchestras, but only the musicians available from time to time. However, poems of the period indicate that big and varied ensembles were not rare and that from time to time one or more instruments capable of playing in harmony, were added to violins and to the trumpets (zither, cimbalom, harp, lute, organ and virginal)[39].

However, it was not until the nineteenth century when Hungary, mostly due to Ferenc Liszt`s musical endeavors, takes a special, independent place in the musical European hierarchy and develops its own trends, fulfilling long-lasting desires to express itself as a Hungarian nation. This, nevertheless, is in a completely different musical timeframe, associated with Romanticism. What was left for Hungary in the context of the seventeenth century was mostly the prerogative of high culture: the culture of the ruling dynasty, princes, courts and high-ranking nobility. In this sense, the "high culture" of Hungary in Baroque terms corresponded to the needs of *transnationality* of music. This, however, does not imply that Baroque Hungary did not enjoy the variability of different musical standings: I would only argue that there was a significant discrepancy between the so-called "high culture" and the culture of middle and lower classes.

Genres: religious/ secular

For those who have just been introduced to the history of music, the mutual dependence

[39] Bence Szabolcsi. *Concise history of Hungarian music.* (Corvina Press: 1955), 134.

between *the religious* and *the secular* seems to be paradoxical. On closer examination, after scrupulously analyzing the interconnectedness of these two, it becomes a logical conclusion. Moreover, whoever digs into interrelations between *the religious* and *the secular*, may find himself stunned upon a discovery that distinguishing one melody from another without the help of lyrics becomes a challenging, if not impossible task. Frank Tirpo explains it in the following words:

> There have been composers who wrote primarily sacred music, and there have been composers who specialized in the composition of secular music; but when one composer wrote both varieties, the style did not change because of the nature of the text. Even during the Baroque period… we find Bach composing a Coffee cantata in a style identical to that of his other sacred solo cantatas… Moving back to the Renaissance… there is a tradition of secular songs being intentionally utilized with religious words for musical or extramusical purposes. [Martin] Luther was outspoken about using secular melodies as choral tunes, because he did not see 'why the devil should have all the good tunes'[40].

While talking of the Baroque as a manifestation of a myriad of different tendencies, Arnold Hauser also sounds uncertain if it is possible to subsume the music under categories, especially in confessional terms.

> …the baroque embraces so many ramifications of artistic endeavor, appears in so many different forms in the individual countries and spheres of cultures, that it seems doubtful at first sight whether it is possible to reduce them all to a common denominator… The baroque of courtly and Catholic circles is not only wholly different from that from middle-class and Protestant communities…The most important is …[the transformation] of courtly-Catholic baroque into a sensualistic, monumental-decorative tendency, in the traditional meaning of 'baroque', and into a stricter, formally more rigorous 'classicistic' style…[41]

As mentioned earlier, the enigmatic and bewildering nature of Baroque music is unlikely to be defined as a certain category or to be labeled. However, defining terms is not the task of the current research—mostly, because the evaluation of the musical Baroque language depends on the researcher's stance. So far, we have become closer to equalizing the Baroque with *transitionalism*, the notion under which genres merge and combine, sometimes wrapping up in an opposite fashion, in comparison with what was originally presented (Händel's *oratorios* transformed into Opera-like accompaniments of the coronation ceremony could serve as examples) in order to match public expectations.

Thus, some genres are blending and transforming, some continue abiding by the traditional

[40] Frank Tirpo. *Sacred and Secular Choral music.* The choral journal. Vol. 8, No. 1 (SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1967), published by American choral Directors Association, pp. 20-21:20.
[41] Arnold Hauser. *The Social History of Art. Vol.2. Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque.* (Routledge: 1952), 158.

rules, some are gradually disappearing, becoming just relics of the past, while others just emerge. What defines the nature of any genre is the lyrics, the content of a musical piece. The rise of the *secular* genre—among others one often singles out *Opera* as the national embodiment of the Baroque musical sentiments—did not affect church music, which was at its peak, especially when such musicians as Henry Purcell, Johannes Sebastian Bach and Georg Händel entered the picture.

Max Kenyon in his journal article "Baroque" tried to look deeper into what lies beneath this term, pointing out the most important innovations and remarkable events in terms of the musical culture of the period. He claims that the truly great music of this 150 year epoch is to be found in *opera* and in *oratorio,* "…which must be stretched to include religious music of Bach"[42]. However, the author is clearly imbued with the religious spirit as he openly acknowledges that: "It seems to me hardly impossible to listen to the Mass in B Minor [by J. S. Bach] and remain an atheist. One surely feels that no mortal could have been responsible for so overwhelming a musical declaration. And yet it is baroque music…"[43]. His retrospective, concise, but curious analysis deserves to be noticed.

After *Opera*, Kenyon singles out *oratorio*. *Oratorio* (from Latin "oratory"), is a musical piece on a sacred or quasi-sacred subject, accompanied by orchestra, solo voice and chorus, first widely used by a German composer Heinrich Schütz, who wrote many such pieces on Gospel topics. According to the editors of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, his *oratorios* "show great powers of emotional expression and anticipate those of Johannes Sebastian Bach in their vigorous treatment of the choruses". In retrospect, however, this genre was mainly associated with the name of Georg Friedrich Händel (1685-1759), whose primary features as a *master* comprised bountiful usage of foreign elements and quick responsiveness to his audience's expectations. Regrettably, in his last *oratorios* Schütz failed to keep the balance "between austerity and exuberance", for which he once deserved a lot of praise; but later this balance was restored by Bach with the

[42] Max Kenyon. *Baroque. The Musical Times.* Vol. 89, No. 1262 (Apr., 1948), pp. 105-107: 105.
[43] Ibid., 106.

"Passion According to Saint John" and the "Passion according to Saint Matthew", which he covered with Italian *aria*[44]. The same authors of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* suggest that any of Bach's *oratorios*, besides, of course, *passion oratorios*, are more appropriate to be called *chamber cantatas* (in Italian, "cantata da camera").

Händel's *oratorios* are difficult to put into the category of either *the religious* or *the secular*. On the one hand, the composer uses the text of the Bible as a starting point, putting it into the context of the contemporaneously fashionable *libretto*. However, he undoubtedly drew upon his own previous Operatic experience: there could have been some room for discussing his "switch" from *the secular* genre (*Opera*) to one which was originally religious (*oratorio*). But Händel's craftiness made him both satisfy the audience with his performances and create a mixture of two different fashions, which in his works were organically and neatly interwoven. His *oratorios* were performed in theatres, though ecclesiastical canons prohibited such actions. Händel was astute enough to understand what the public expected from him: after the success of his first *oratorio* "Esther" on London's stage in 1732, he intended to move from *private* and *tavern* performances, in which he was obliged to take part, into the opera house. He came up with a witty idea of how to merge religious genres and courtly culture, and eventually benefited from it. In 1727, he composed *anthems* for the coronation of George II, who then became Prince-Elector of the Holy Roman Empire. The fruit of his labor was defined by the American historian, Suzanne Apsden, as the "biblical drama in Operatic form"[45]. Strictly speaking, Händel did not modify this *genre*; the musician was merely well-aware of the audience's expectations and able to shape a Biblical plot in such a way as to make it serve the purpose of entertaining nobilities. It is true that only a closed circle of aristocrats and noble persons were invited to such musical events, and this was therefore exactly the audience at whom Händel targeted his works. Overall, this example shows how a musical piece of sacred nature, complemented with Italian Operatic features, was

[44] https://www.britannica.com/art/oratorio#ref201064
[45] Suzanne Aspden*, Beyond boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation in Early Modern England.* (Indiana University Press: 2017), 213.

transformed into a courtly performance.

The life of Händel, viewed as a whole, raises the question of juxtaposition or, to be more precise, interconnectedness of the *public* and *private* sphere. Suzanne Aspden, in her book *Beyond Boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation in Early Modern England*, evaluates the composer in the context of the contemporary English society[46] which he joined: it appears that due to the strong reliance on aristocratic patronage, many musicians often performed in the homes of nobility, or participated in private gatherings (court performances stayed a dream for many), so the line between *the private* and *the public* became in fact very thin, if not to say non-existent[47]. Many musicians dreamt of being employed at the court, irrespective of their personal musical preferences: it would make them forget their financial issues and allow them to provide for their families. Max Kenyon supports this idea, while saying: "almost all composers aspired to Court appointments, and while aspiring, in the service of some aristocrat either of Church or State, which aristocrat himself be modelled on the local sovereign."[48] It is important to mention that patronage could derive from religious as well as secular institutions: thus, the Roman Church marked itself as the important patron of Roman Catholic music.

After *opera* and *oratorio*, Max Kenyon highlights *clavier music*, paying a tribute to *sonata*, "as great a medium for emotion as any other form… Before the romantic period a Byrd, Purcell, Handel or Mozart would regard the vocal forms, of worship or of opera, as alone worthy of his supreme genius"[49]. *Sonata* was one of the genres born out of the Baroque milieu: it was a piece of music written for instrumental performance (and thus it corresponded to the general Baroque tendency of giving prevalence to instrumental over vocal music). From the very beginning *sonatas* were categorized into two groups: those which were written for church music ("sonata da chiesa") and others, for courtly performances ("sonata da camera"). The most prolific sonata-writer was Antonio Vivaldi (1678-1741), who, besides many other musical masterpieces (the most famous of

[46] Despite his German origins and constant fluctuation between different places, Händel settled down in England.
[47] Ibid., 208.
[48] Max Kenyon. *Baroque. The Musical Times.* Vol. 89, No. 1262 (Apr., 1948), pp. 105-107: 105.
[49] Ibid., 106.

which is "The Four Seasons"), wrote 70-90 sonatas[50].

Cantata also emerged in the Baroque era as a new genre. Unlike *sonata*, it includes vocal accompaniment, sometimes with a choir. The history of cantata can be traced back to Renaissance times, when it existed as a form of *madrigal,* which was a song of a *secular* character. The origins of the genre are very obscure: for example, with Alessandro Grandi (1590-1630), an eminent Italian composer, there was not much difference between pieces which he entitled *cantata* or *cantada*, with others called *madrigal* or *aria*, the only secure assumption being that they were written for concerted performances[51].

The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music gives the following definition of *cantata*, emphasizing that over the course of centuries its meaning would be transformed*:*

> In the early seventeenth century, often a dramatic madrigal sung by one vocalist, with lute accompaniment and basso continuo. The form became very popular in Italy in later seventeenth century, being performed by several violins, some cantatas being comprised of recitative, others of a succession of arias. The *cantata da camera* was secular, the *cantata da Chiesa* (developed by Carissimi), sacred. A prolific exponent of the cantata was Alessandro Scarlatti, who wrote 600 for solo violin and continuo… and several chamber cantatas for violin… Telemann, Schütz and Handel wrote in this style but were overshadowed by Bach who wrote nearly 300 church cantatas as well as secular cantatas which resemble a short opera (*Coffee cantata* and *Peasant cantata*)[52].

Later cantatas were grouped according to *leitmotif:* sacred cantatas remained the prerogative of the church to be used in liturgy; others could be written for particular events, like the one authored by Bach titled *"Christmas cantata"* (which is still considered of a religious character, though it inspired others to draw upon secular topics, like non-religious festivities); still others served the purpose of parody. *Secular cantatas* fulfilled the function of entertaining nobilities, while religious ones were embedded in church services.

Since defining boundaries between genres were very blurry, many scholars equalize *cantata* with *oratorio* and *anthem.* Johannes Sebastian Bach wrote around two hundred cantatas,

[50] The sources on Vivaldi give controversial data on the number of sonatas, which he has written.
[51] *The Italian Cantata of the XVII century,* by Henri de Prunieres. Music&Letters. Vol. 7, No. 1 (Jan. 1926), pp. 38-48:39.
[52] Michael Kennedy and Joyce Kennedy, *Concise Dictionary of Oxford music.* (Oxford University Press, fifth edition: 2007), 126.

both *secular* and *religious,* while Henry Purcell, Giacomo Carissimi, Georg Philipp Telemann and many other Baroque composers largely contributed to the spreading and popularization of this genre.

Today's widely known term *concerto* also originated in the Baroque period, though this term went through a full-scale transformation, almost having lost its original meaning. In the seventeenth century *concerto* was understood as a piece of secular music, and later Bach would apply this term to his *cantatas,* but eventually this definition evolved to describe a three part movement with a soloist, accompanied by orchestra.

Overall, the Baroque music as a holistic notion can be divided into three categories: church music, courtly music and theatrical music. Importantly, tracing the origins and evolution of new genres casts light upon the question of their twofold nature: thus, placing a certain genre into the dichotomy of *the religious* and *the secular* becomes not only hardly achievable, but unnecessary. The explanation is in Baroque itself; it has never epitomized just several genres, only one fashion and steady innovation accompanied by the disposal of what was considered unnecessary and not up-to-date. Music – to some extent – a somewhat heterogeneous compilation is the answer.

Catholic/Protestant

According to Henry Raynor, the Baroque managed to fulfill an almost unapproachable task—it significantly contributed to the consolidation of both Protestantism and Catholicism, at least in musical terms[53]. The Baroque epoch embraced the zenith and the (formal) ending of a long-term fight, when in 1648 the Peace between the Habsburgs and the anti-Habsburg coalition (ruled by Sweden and France) was finalized in Westphalia[54], which from a long-term perspective meant the establishment of neutrality. It also meant a *debacle* for the Habsburgs and their

[53] Henry Raynor. *A social history of music*…181.
[54] I am convinced that there is also certain symbolism in making Osnabrück – a bi-confessional city - another place where the Peace was sighed.

aspirations to unite Europe under a single Catholic confession. The Thirty-Year War (1618-1648) which appeared nothing less than a national catastrophe of so far unmatched scope, resulted in innumerable human loss. However, the end of the war, which started as a confessional conflict and later evolved into the full-scale war of Catholics (represented by the Habsburgs) and Protestants, meant a chance to freely express one's confessional adherence—and this also applied to the artistic sphere.

However, the war did not cease, but rather assumed a more determinate form: visual arts also served as a vehicle of self-expression, especially after the Augsburg Peace in 1555 which established the creed "cuius regio, eius religio": for the solution of inter-confessional conflict, it meant nothing more than the last straw. Catholic propaganda deployed visual arts as well: Mary Laven grants the Catholic propagandistic paintings epithets like "deliberately aggressive" and adds that "for many, regardless of their confessional allegiances, the material and visual outpourings of Baroque Catholicism present its very worst side."[55]

The controversies between two hostile confessions were attempted to be solved at the Council of Trent (1545-1563) which was held in Trento and Bologna. It is not by chance that the Council was also called "The embodiment of Counter-Reformation", since eventually it prioritized

Catholic interests. Among other issues which the Council was considering over the course of eighteen years was arts. The decision was made in favor of "propagation of faith", "militant Catholicism", and also "to make the forms of divine service more pleasing and to turn the Church into a resplendent and attractive center of the whole community."[56]

For artistic representatives, these acts meant that from that moment on they would be restricted to the authority of theologians, and any ideas and projects they wished to implement had to be granted consent. Church authorities acted like supervisors, meticulously observing any ideas an artist wished to actualize. Arnold Hauser, while discussing these measures, gives some

[55] *Encountering the Counter-Reformation,* Mary Laven. Renaissance Quarterly. Vol. 59, No. 3 (Fall 2006), pp. 706-720: 706.
[56] Arnold Hauser, *The social history of art*…110.

examples: no works of art inspired by false, heretical doctrines, as well as no nudity, was allowed to be in the Church; only accurate interpretations of canonical forms were to be present, which in fact gave artists less freedom than their Middle Ages predecessors, who could often succumb to their fantasy and pursue a preferable way of artistic self-expression[57].

The musical sphere did not stay unnoticed. Hauser mentions that "The same opposition to virtuosity and the same demand for a direct emotional content is expressed in the Council's purgation of church music, particularly in the subordination of musical form to the text and the recognition of Palestrina[58] as an absolute model."[59] The changes within the musical life of Baroque society would have been drastic, had they been properly implemented. Recent scholarship, however, reconsidered the materials over the Council of Trent: for instance, Valerio Morucci, while referring to Craig Monson, states that "its [the Council of Trent] directives prohibited only lascivious modes of singing and the use of profane composition in church."[60] Nevertheless, no one so far has ventured to argue that the Baroque coexisted with, or rather, comprised the conflict between Catholics and Protestants.

The most ardent supporters of the Counter-Reformation were the Habsburgs. They used a new set of reforms as a weapon against Protestants. A. Hall Robert Jr. supports this notion, while listing the "weapons": among them there are amplified, almost grotesque representations of piety in order to dramatize their moral purpose, underlying the realism of their subject-matter, which is often elevated to the level of horror[61]. Thus, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the Counter-Reformation was in the first place a propagandistic strategy: for instance, the image of the suffering, crucified Christ was venerated by proponents of Catholic reform, while Protestants who

[57] Ibid.,111.
[58] Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525-1594) – a Renaissance composer, who was famous for his sacred music. He made a huge impact on the following generation of Roman School.
[59] Arnold Hauser, *The social history of art*…113.
[60] Craig Monson. "The Council of Trent Revisited", Journal of the American Musicological Society 55, No.1 (Spring 2002):1-37; quoted in *Cardinals' Patronage and the Era of Tridentine Reforms: Giulio Feltro della Rovere as Protector of Sacred Music.* Valerio Morucci. The journal of musicology, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Summer 2012), pp. 262-291: 264.
[61] A. Hall. Robert Jr. *Meditation on a Baroque Theme.* The Modern Language Journal. Vol. 46, No. 1 (Jan., 1962), pp. 3-8:5.

clung to the principle *sola fidei*[62] destroyed images of God, the Virgin Mary, saints and martyrs. This controversy—metaphorically speaking—tore Europe apart. However, there were quite a few men who stayed seemingly untouched by the fire of religious anxiety. Some of them came from the German lands: for instance, Protestant *hymn*-writers like Paul Gerhardt[63] and Friedrich von Spee[64]. That time also marked the emergence of a new literary genre, martyr-tragedies. They correlated with the Baroque mentality, its emphasis on pessimism and pointlessness of human endeavors, which looked especially gloomy in contrast to the Renaissance worldview, where *man* was the center of the Universe and was endowed with semi-divine capacities[65]. Thus, the spreading and popularity of martyr-tragedies have not come as a surprise: they emphasized "*Constantia*" — endurance, a willingness to go through any hardships, and preservation of faith against all suffering[66]. Here comes another comparison with the preceding Renaissance in terms of arts: W.P. Friedrich makes quite glib assumptions, while juxtaposing the Renaissance and the Baroque:

> In art…Baroque may be said to be the degeneration of the beauty and the simplicity that had been the Renaissance. For the religious poets and artists, the world had lost its harmony and its serene optimism; hence now discrepancies, conflicts, tensions, and crises, which were at once reflected in the works of the new age. Renaissance art had been essentially static in its self-assured calmness; baroque art, however, became dynamic, problematic, torn by passions and fears…[67]

The Peace, which ended the Thirty Year War in 1648, put an end to interconfessional fights at least formally, leaving each part satisfied with a set of privileges. From that moment on, the Baroque manifested itself in quite peaceful terms: the music began to portray a positive effect. First, the new musical principle eventually "forges a connection with religion, both Catholic and Protestant, because of the status they give to a text", and, second, reflected both Catholic reconciliation and nationalism, in a way that manifested itself in courtly culture and "the adulation

[62] This principle was formulated by Martin Luther, who claimed that in order for one to be saved, only faith is needed. While Catholic strongly disagreed: they were sure that salvation can be reached not by faith alone, but by hard work as well.
[63] Paul Gerhardt (1607-1676) – a Lutheran theologian, hymnodist, who struggled to bring two confronting confessions to mutual consensus.
[64] Friedrich von Spee (1591-1635) – a German Catholic, author of several hymns and strong opponent of the persecution of witches.
[65] *Late Renaissance, Baroque, or Counter-Reformation*? W. P. Friederich. The Journal of English or Germanic Philology. Vol. 46, No. 2 (Apr., 1947), University of Illinois Press, pp. 132-143: 136.
[66] *Late Renaissance, Baroque, or Counter-Reformation*?.. 136.
[67] Ibid., 139.

of monarchy"[68]. The nationalism which is being mentioned here certainly is not a nation-state nationalism, but rather a cultural unification—at least, in the framework of the discussion of the Baroque.

Indeed, any musician was given a chance to express his own confessional adherence through his "capolavori" ("masterpieces"). Among Protestant proponents, Johannes Sebastian Bach is the first to be remembered: never having any shadow of doubt about his faith, he expressed himself freely as a Protestant in the framework in the myriad of genres and openly supported Lutheran reform of the Church. The reconciliation between Catholicism and Protestantism was what empowered another strong believer, Henry Purcell, to dedicate himself to writing sacred music, while being employed at the Royal Protestant Church writing *anthems*—hymns which traditionally referred to Protestant confession, with which Purcell never equalized himself. Being a strong adherent of the Catholic confession, Purcell wrote both Catholic and Protestant music while living in the Anglican (reformed) country. Vivaldi easily fitted the context of the Catholic Italy. The belonging to one confession or another was a matter of upbringing and personal influence; however, conscious choice should not be ignored among other factors.

Differences between confessional rules as applied to music are difficult to ignore. The Lutheran church, throughout the whole Baroque era, was reluctant to any changes within its structure, consciously dwelling on a conservative tradition. Anne Julie Sadie argues that it especially concerned choirs: only male singers were welcome in the church, while the castratos, so popular in Italy, were prohibited, so the boys had to take even those roles which were near-impossible to perform[69]. The boys apparently sang even the upper parts, which, as Sadie conjunctures, "must have been achieved through the extensive use of falsetto and head voice."[70] Notably, castratos were not just popular, but extremely well-paid: thus, the castrato Caffarelli who sang on London's stage for a season was paid the same salary as Händel for composing operas in

[68] Henry Raynor, *A social history of music*…181.
[69] Anni Julie Sadie, *A Companion to Baroque Music.* Oxford. (Oxford University Press, 1998): 363.
[70] Ibid. 363.

which Caffarelli performed[71].

It was only in the middle of the eighteenth century when the situation changed, and female singers were allowed to perform as well as male ones. Johann Mattheson supports this innovation in his manual "Der volkommene Capellmeister" (1739), in a voice which, nevertheless, reflects the careful nature of such a measure and explains its necessity: "In the beginning I was required to place [the women] so that no one could see them; ultimately, however, no one could hear or see enough of them."[72]

Church music of that period represented interestingly similar genres for Catholic and Protestant musical traditions: *anthems and motets. Motets* were widely used both in the Roman Catholic and Lutheran church, while *anthems* represented an Anglican version of such music. Being basically completely analogous to each other, those genres come from celebrational music, and serve as examples of what was not born in the Baroque, but was boosted and promoted. Interestingly, Purcell marked himself as an author of *anthems*—representations of Anglican music, while he himself remained Catholic. Here I see no controversy, because, while praising royalty (some anthems were written specially for this purpose), the composer remained faithful to the tradition of matching his audience's expectations (even against his personal preferences). Esterhazy, on the other hand, wrote motets, and he was driven by his own preferences: while possessing enough money, he could dedicate himself completely to his preferable activities at the dusk of his life.

[71] Ibid, 364.
[72] Johann Mattheson, *Der volkommene Capellmeister*. 1739; quoted in Anni Julie Sadie, *A Companion to Baroque Music.* Oxford. (Oxford University Press, 1998), 363.

Chapter 2.

Henry Purcell/Paul Esterhazy: international acclaim, biographies, predecessors, sources of influence

At first glance, it may seem that Henry Purcell and Paul Esterhazy have little in common: upon a superficial acquaintance with their lifepaths, such a conclusion is most likely to be reached. They were not peers in the full sense of this word, they were exposed to diverse sources of influence, represented countries with different historical-political background and, as it may have seen from the beginning, did not have common grounds to build a comparison between them. On a closer examination, however, the comparative method which I intend to deploy in this chapter, appears to be the best solution. To defend this approach, I first should appeal to Marc Bloch, who claimed that the comparative method should not only be implemented if a researcher wishes to find some similarities, but differences as well[73]. Moreover, after considering the cultural context as a tying bond between them – the context where they, at least on the surface, maintained relatively equal positions as Late Baroque representatives – it turns out to be obvious that similarities are very easy to discover. While appealing to Marc Bloch`s opinion again, one immediately understands that this is the purpose of research which speaks in favor/against implementing comparison as a scientific method, since he said that "whether the comparative method will be useful depends not on the field of history but on the type of problem being addressed."[74] So, the inspection of two singled-out personalities which share a common timeframe, religious adherence, and were both exposed to innumerable sources of foreign influence, reveals that they are comparable in multi-layered format.

Henry Purcell lived a relatively short though fascinating life. He was born in 1659 and died thirty-six years later in 1695. When investigating his family history, it is clear from the beginning

[73] Marc Bloch 'A Contribution towards a Comparative History of European Societies', in Land and Work in Medieval Europe. Selected Papers, trans. J. E. Anderson (London: 1967), 58.
[74] *Marc Bloch and the logic of Comparative History*. William H. Sewell, Jr. History and Theory, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1967), pp. 208-218: 216.

that he was predisposed to a musical career. He was born to the family of Thomas Purcell[75], a gentleman of Chapel Royal and a composer for violins[76]. His son, Henry entered the Chapel Royal as a chorister at the age of six, and studied under the tutelage of distinguished musicians of his time, namely, Pelham Humpfrey (1647-1674) and John Blow (1649-1708), who to a certain extent influenced Purcell's works. His uncle also was a gentleman of Chapel Royal, and one of his brothers made a reputation as a quite good composer for his time. Later Purcell was appointed an organist of Chapel Royal and of Westminster Abbey. His success at such a youthful age was notable for the time. Eventually, he moved on from singing and devoted himself completely to composing, partly because his voice broke. His musical accomplishments were innumerable: Purcell is claimed to have been the author of twenty-four odes, music for forty-nine stage plays, a great mass of anthems, services, and vocal pieces for religious purposes, and another mass of secular songs (for instance, festival odes for royal birthdays), instrumental music, fantasies, sonatas, and more[77]. Remarkably, almost everything which was written by Purcell leaves no doubt about the authorship. Moreover, all the musical pieces have been preserved up until today. His church music, probably, found a way to manifest itself due to the fact that the Restoration court did not frown upon religion, like it was done in the Commonwealth period[78].

Foreign influence can be easily traced in works of Purcell, and this is not a surprise that both Italian and French motifs found a way to manifest themselves through his art. It should be emphasized that the "Restoration period", upon which the Stewarts went back to England and seized power, was imbued with the French influence. The dynasty brought French culture to the country, which shaped English musical forms and genres. Among the factors which characterize this period there is music's dependence on royal patronage in general, and the restoration of monarchy which also had its consequences for a musical period.

[75] The assumption that Purcell`s father was Henry as well has been widely shared among scholars in the old historiography. Even though it appears to be an issue of a small significance here, Purcell's alleged father, Henry (who in reality was his uncle) became a cliché.

[76] *A history of music in England* by Ernest Walker. Third edition. Revised and enlarged by J.A. Westrup. (Oxford at the Clarendon Press), 172.

[77] Ibid., 172.

[78] Christopher Headington, *The Bodley Head History of Western Music.* (Sydney, Toronto: 1974), 104.

As for the Italian part, Italy still maintained a leading position on the continent in terms of setting musical fashion, and the country played a guiding role in the music of Europe. Italian opera was still considered the top of musical entertainment in London in the early eighteenth century after Purcell's death[79]. Radiating from Venice, Italian music enjoyed extensive public interest, which made it the most widespread among musical forms by the end of the seventeenth century[80]. This fascination with the Italian model explains why European composers produced music of a similar genre, using Italy as a role model. Interestingly, as E.D. Mackerness claims, Purcell's "Dido and Aeneas" is the only work among those which were produced by Purcell "which properly resembles an authentic Italian opera - though its smallness of scale puts it in a rather different category from the innumerable musico-dramatic pieces which were imported into England after Purcell's time. Historians have never ceased to deplore the fact that "Dido and Aeneas" had no successors, and that Purcell`s death seems to have defeated all hopes of an indigenous English operatic tradition."[81] Purcell's role as the founder of the first English Opera by and large has not been challenged. Even though he first became famous for writing *hymn*[82] and *odes*[83], the achievements of Purcell were not limited to these genres. However, between his lifetime and international glory as the one who contributed to the establishment of the native tradition, there was a considerable time-gap.

The king's personal preferences in terms of music should be mentioned as an important factor. An English historian Ernest Walker describes his fascination with the French element in music as following:

"Charles II`s personal tastes had, no doubt, some influence. In his residence abroad he had acquired a great liking for the New French music; and one of the earliest acts after the new Chapel Royal had become firmly established was to send its most promising pupil, Pelham Humfrey, to France and Italy. He was also particularly fond of the violin; his string orchestra of twenty-four players was formed in imitation of the Vingt-quatre violons du roi at

[79] *A social history of English music.* By E.D.Mackerness. Great Britain: Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1964: 90.
[80] D. J. Grout. *A Short History of Opera*, 1947:179.
[81] *A social history of English music.* By E.D.Mackerness. (Great Britain: Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited:1964), 94.
[82] According to "Catholic Encyclopedia" which recognizes and distinguishes various kinds of *hymns,* these are spiritual songs which are not incorporated into the liturgy. The source is located at [newadvent.org/cathen/07595a.htm]
[83] A lyric poem which is usually marked by exaltation of feeling and style, varying length of line, and complexity of stanza forms. This definition is provided by https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ode.

Louis` XIV court, and means had to be found for permitting it to play in the Chapel Royal services as well as in secular surroundings."[84]

Though we need to pay tribute to the king's personal preferences, a broader outline needs to be noticed. The thorough research on the history of Opera – "Opera and Church music" warns us that Charles II mostly reflected upon what music was to become in general and "hastened the emergence of methods that were almost bound to predominate eventually"[85].

During Charles II's absence, music made a switch from "the grand old church music of Byrd and Gibbons" to a different level, which Charles II upon his return to his homeland would find unsatisfactory and insipid[86]. French culture undoubtedly changed the king's preferences once and for all. In the English case, dramatic vocal music was replaced with *masque* and the court, and the Commonwealth period (1649-1660) had a deteriorating effect on theater which basically stopped existing: the same thing happened to the tradition of the church music. However, even though the Puritans were very harsh on church music, their attitude towards the secular field was much milder. Consequently, composers switched their focus from the choral and liturgical aspects of music and concentrated upon its dramatic and instrumental functions[87]. What Englishmen could enjoy were *masque*: thanks to successful and creative attempts of Ben Johnson, who was supported by Inigo Jones, this genre made a successful beginning in the Jacobean era[88].

On a memorable note, Purcell and his teachers were not the first who were trying to use the Italian style and elaborate on it. For instance, Matthew Locke (1622-1677) – one of the representatives of the period – was striving to incorporate Italian motifs: his recitative was modelled on an Italian manner, which, however, fell out of fashion in Italy due to the fact that it was "very unstable tonally and full of arioso outbursts"[89]. Thus, the poor feedback which he received on his anthems is not surprising.

[84] *A history of music in England* by Ernest Walker…177.
[85] The New Oxford History of Music. Vol. V. Opera and Church music. 1630-1750. Ed. By Anthony Lewis and Nigel Fortune (London, Oxford University Press: 1975), 494.
[86] H.C. Colles. *The Growth of Music*… 73
[87] The New Oxford History of Music. Vol. V. Opera and Church music. 1630-1750. Ed. By Anthony Lewis and Nigel Fortune. (London, Oxford University Press, 1975), 495.
[88] Claude V. Palisca. *Baroque music.* Yale University, 1968, 184.
[89] Ibid., 185.

Those who survived the Commonwealth, seemed to be outdated to the king, and he was not interested in promoting what he considered too old for a new musical era. Restoration of music under Charles II required a fresh look, impetus to contrast with the old-fashioned tradition[90].

By large - it was accepted, but dissenting voice could be heard nevertheless. John Playford, for instance, was very harsh on the quickly spreading fashion and expressed his opinion in the "Musick's Delight on the Cithern" (1666):

> …It is observed that of late years all solemn and grave music is laid aside, being esteemed too heavy and dull for the light heels of this nimble and wanton age; nor is any musick rendered acceptable, or esteemed by many, but what is presented by foreigners…[91]

The solution was quick to find: Charles decided to send his court composers to France on an important mission of grasping a French style. Moreover, the king also welcomed French musicians who could come to England to transfer their knowledge. The Restoration period[92] has left an indelible trace over the whole musical culture of England. Most importantly, it was about the emergence and spreading of public concerts, which was later considered one of the most important cultural native English achievements.

Pelham Humfrey was sent to France in 1664 to study under Jean-Baptist Lully (1632-1687) – one of the key Baroque composers who was striving to cleanse French culture of Italian influence. Humfrey experienced quite a transformation there, while being exposed to a pure French style, and went back as "an absolute monsieur", which he himself considered his greatest achievement. However, he died seven years after, though leaving quite a number of anthems and secular vocal musical pieces as his legacy.

History of music remembers Humfrey mostly for writing his verse anthems, including the one which immortalized his name – "O Lord my God". Despite his extremely early demise, which is widely considered one of the biggest tragedies in the history of English music, along with

[90] H.C. Colles. *The Growth of Music*., pp.73-74.
[91] A social history of English music. By E.D. Mackerness.(London, Routledge and Kegan Paul: 1964), 84.
[92] Arguably, to define Restoration of the monarchy in England, one should consider both Charles II (1660-1685) and his brother James II (1685-1688) reigns.

Purcell's own death, he influenced many promising musicians, his contemporaries, and the extent of this influence is probably even more important than his own musical compositions. Since Charles II sent him over to France, so that he would study "Lully's style", it is far from surprising that the anthems which Humfrey authored bear traces of Lully's influence – Lully, who was also considered one of the principal church composers of his time. What's more interesting is that Lully himself in his motets to a certain extent dwelled upon Latin church music[93].

There were three eminent choristers in the Chapel Royal whose names would later come through English history as a red thread: Michael Wise (1648), John Blow (1649-1708), and Henry Purcell himself (1659). Purcell was a chorister under Humfrey, but interestingly he was the one who was least exposed to his teacher`s influence (unlike his compatriots-composers) because, as he was born later, the socio-cultural climate was already quite wrapped up in a French fashion; and Italian music was also gradually manifesting itself in London's circles[94].

Thus, the French fashion was brought to the English court upon the consent of Charles II himself. H.C. Cooles in his monograph "The Growth of Music. A study in Musical History" states that after his "travels" (which was in fact an exile at the time of Commonwealth) Charles II brought the culture which changed life and manners into London, and which had good as well as undesirable consequences[95]. Positive effects were connected to the musical sphere, since "the Puritan rule had forbidden theatres and suppressed cathedral services"[96]. Innovative aspects were brought directly from the French court where Charles himself spent quite some time.

For the French part, it was "mostly its more direct melodic line and clearer rhythmic definition as compared with the relatively illusive texture of the English polyphonic composers"[97] which, at least, defined Charles II's personal liking, but the extent of foreign influence was not

[93] *The New Oxford History of Music.* Vol. V. *Opera and Church music.* 1630-1750. Ed. By Anthony Lewis and Nigel Fortune (London, Oxford University Press: 1975), 495.
[94] H.C. Colles. *The Growth of Music. A Study in Musical History.* Part 1. From Troubadours to J.S. Bach. Third edition. Revised by Eric Blom. (London, Oxford University Press), 74.
[95] Ibid.,73.
[96] Ibid.
[97] The New Oxford History of Music…495.

limited to this region. Italy was of equal importance, precisely its dramatic methods. Though, as Anthony Lewis mentions, the Italian operatic manifestations has undergone considerable changes from the beginning, English composers still used Italian geniuses, including Monteverdi and Carissimi as model roles and incorporated the style of "recitative musick" in solo song[98].

One should be careful while attributing to Purcell a fame of the founder of a native English trend. What he did achieve was writing the Italian-style opera into the English tradition. In his book, "A social history of English music" Mackerness says that contemporary English Opera was of a certain value because it served as a vehicle for expression of the nationalistic sentiments[99]. Moreover, he states that:

"English opera... from the beginnings in the Commonwealth period became a popular diversion in London after various French operas... Just why an authentic English Opera did not materialize when the conditions for it seemed so favorable has baffled many historians; yet the hybrid form of semi-opera was not without its attractions for an audience accustomed to masques rather than to opera on Italian model."[100]

Speaking in retrospect, it is unfortunate that Purcell never enjoyed internationally acclaimed fame as a composer and a contributor to the development of a native English tradition. Recent historiography which generally reevaluated Purcell's significance in the history of English music, has been particularly bitter about this fact. In earlier times, Purcell was perceived as a decent representative of his musical strata with no claims to stand over, for instance, his teachers, like, for instance, Pelham Humpfrey (1647-1674) and many others. It has been quite a recent achievement that Purcell`s name was finally connected to *the native*, and *the indigenous* in the context of Opera. The fact is that the full-scale establishment of the English Operatic tradition did not occur as early as in the nineteenth century, however Purcell`s endeavors, in hindsight, founded the basis on which centuries afterwards, Englishmen would establish their Operatic culture which would be cleansed of the foreign impact. However, for that moment, the English lively and robust musical culture

[98] Ibid., 496.
[99] *A social history of English music.* By E.D.Mackerness. Great Britain: Routledge and Kegan Paul Limited, 1964: 83.
[100] Ibid, pp. 82-83.

was "worth nothing in its broad outlines"[101].

Looking at the situation from the perspective of modernity, I claim that Purcell could not enjoy the fame he is ascribed to in modern days, because the country itself was too susceptible to foreign influence. Italian and French elements were competing with each other, one is overweighting another from time to time, and England's own manifestation had nothing to be upheld by. Notably, the French culture which was boosted by Stewards had a significant impact on the whole generation of musicians who did not dare dig for their own intrinsic roots, preferring to succumb to the fashion and style which were brought from abroad. In his capacity, Purcell did as much as he could, even if the base which was established by him, would only be cemented two centuries later. Aside from the operatic tradition which did not get a chance to develop and blossom in the context of the Late Baroque, Purcell largely contributed to both *the religious* and *the secular music* of his generation: the last issue and his endeavors on this niche I wish to explore later.

There is no use denying that Purcell succeeded in both secular and religious genres. His Operatic endeavors, besides, running in live with foreign trends, convey his nationalistic sentiments and correspond with the demands of his contemporary society. His composing endeavors on sacred niche are of no less importance. Recent scholarship does not try to underestimate Purcell's value as a composer: on the contrary, he has been granted characteristics like this one: "whereas others might have been forceful but uncouth, Purcell manages to convey the same depth of sentiment without appearing extravagant or hysterical"[102]. The same author also implied that in some relations Purcell reached a higher bars than his teachers and contemporaries, namely Locke, Humfrey and Blow[103].

I think that, despite the coherence and richness of Mackerness's case-study on social

[101] J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, Claude V. Palisca. *History of Western Music*. Eighth edition. (W.W. Norton & Company, New-York, London), 376.

[102] The New Oxford History of Music. Vol. V. Opera and Church music. 1630-1750. Ed. By Anthony Lewis and Nigel Fortune (London: Oxford University Press), 1975, 526.

[103] Ibid., 526.

aspects on English music, his statement on the favorable conditions upon which authentic English Opera should have been established, but never was, is too far-fetched to reflect a real situation. Due to the fact of how susceptible England was, how easily it grasped both French and Italian musical features in order to later incorporate them into its own body of Baroque culture, it was hardly possible for the country to generate its own innovations, not using anything as a basis. Previous music eras should also be considered: the abolitions of theaters did not do good to English musical culture.

An English scholar of the same timeframe holds a different opinion which, as I see it, is more realistic. Claude V. Palisca states that the rooting and spread of *masque* should be held accountable for pervading the English stage[104]. The author also says that this is not about Purcell's lack of talent (the fact that it would be ubiquitously and unanimously appreciated later, speaks in favor of this theory) or versatility which did not let him promote what, in modern terms, would be called English nationalism. One remark, which Palisca makes, should not be dismissed: Purcell was too difficult, too complicated and deep as a composer for his contemporary audience:

> The English stage demanded too little of music. It asked that it paint a little atmosphere, disport the spectator with a few songs, accompany dances and occasionally set a sad or a tender mood or a gay or trifling one. But the task of arousing deep emotions or unfolding a dramatic situation was the prerogative of the poet. Under the circumstances the English Restoration stage got better music than it deserved in work of Purcell. A born opera composer in search of an-opera house, he might have found one had he not died so young[105].

Analyzing his life on a whole, it does not seem like Purcell enjoyed any special privileges or was promoted to Chapel Royal, or later, to the Westminster Abbey due to any personal connections. His musical family, in my opinion, was more responsible for a talent which he inherited (both his singing and composing capacities) rather than for having a say in his quick and successful promotion. He was made a Gentleman of Chapel Royal at the age of twenty-three, but his singing career could not continue, because in 1673 his voice broke.

Throughout his life, Purcell was mostly concerned with religion, which was reflected in

[104] Claude V. Palisca. *Baroque music.* (Yale University: 1968), 185.
[105] Ibid., 187.

his music. The majority of written materials which are available after Purcell's death, is dedicated to sacred topics. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that he pursued a career at a Royal Court of Charles II: thus, the dichotomy of *the religious* versus *the secular* was personified not only in his musical pieces, but in his life. While striving to express his strong religious beliefs through various anthems he wrote, Purcell at the same time was employed as a royal composer. And, as it would become obvious later, would occasionally welcome secular fashion to elaborate on.

Interestingly, the role of the religious music Purcell was mostly renowned for writing is still a disputed matter. To be precise, it is not the quality of the music which is argued over, but the role of this music within English society. Walter L. Wooful, for instance, claims that despite the remarkable place Elizabethan and Stuart church music left in history, the church itself played a rather minor role of the country on the whole[106]. I would rather argue that this is a very glib statement, since the church in any country in the context of the Late Baroque period still maintained an important position. The privilege to set the fashion was inseparable from church functions.

Purcell also serves as an example of *cosmopolitanism:* though he did not travel abroad, like his teacher, Humfrey, but, on the contrary, remained in London, he embraced French and Italian influence, since these two, while competing, dominated the European continent. Thanks to those travels to Europe which many musicians undertook on the hope to incorporate more of a new fashion, English Baroque music was enriched and decorated with different elements and motifs. As for the national aspect of his art, there is also something to mention in the context of the Opera. Even though, Purcell was mostly associated with "Dido and Aeneas", as far as Opera was concerned, another example of his artistic self-representation as well as certain patriotic sentiments needs to be mentioned: a so-called semi-opera "King Arthur", which was first performed in 1691. A *semi-opera* [also "dramatick" and "English Opera"] was a normal practice for seventeenth century England: it comprised both plays and *masque*-like elements. On a memorable note, the

[106] *Musicians in English society. From Elizabeth to Charles I*. By Walter L. Woodfill.(New York, Da Capo Press: 1969), 135.

plot was not centered around Camelot legends, but on the fight between Saxons and Britons. One of the scenes happens in Valhalla, which shows that Purcell wished to show that supernatural forces also had a say in a final Britons' victory. I claim that by writing this semi-opera, Purcell wanted both to emphasize that he adheres to religious elements as pivotal, and express his patriotic sentiments as a representative of England.

The national question, if raised in the framework of Purcell's reevaluation, can speak with the composer's own words as well as his attitude towards *cosmopolitanism.* Detailed comments are superfluous on this matter since it is quite obvious that Purcell, first, encourages the expanding of "learning travels" and second already refers to himself as a representative of the *English Nation.*

The following is taken from the preface to "Fairy-Queen" and written by Henry Purcell himself:

> …a few private Persons should venture on so expensive a Work as an Opera, when none but Princes, or States exhibit 'em abroad, I hope is no Dishonor to our Nation: And I dare affirm, if we had half the Encouragement in England, that they have in other Countries, you might in a short time have as good Dancers in England as they have in France, though I despair of ever having as good Voices among us, as they have in Italy…[107]

Interestingly, the scholars are not unanimous in praising the significance of "Dido and Aeneas" as (arguably) in hindsight the first native English Opera. Michael Burden who did a thorough research on both Purcell's music of various genres and relatable correspondence spanning the posthumous period leading to the twentieth century, gives a lot of praise to the composer himself, granting him an epithet of a "very great composer indeed"[108], however the author certainly is not fascinated by this piece of art, since, after mentioning Purcell's artistic talent, he also says that "… even this little boarding school opera is full of his spirit, his freshness, his dramatic expression, and his unapproached art of setting English speech to music."[109]

The last dramatic opera which he completed was the "Fairy-Queen" which adapted

[107] Preface. *The Fairy-Queen* (London, 1692). Quoted in Michael Burden, *Purcell remembered.* London, Boston, 1995: 102.
[108] Michael Burden, *Purcell remembered.* (London, Boston: 1995), 80.
[109] Ibid., 80.

Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's dream" and which was for 1the first time performed in 1692. What I think deserves to be mentioned is the first announcement which was made in Motteux's Gentleman's Journal.

> Now I speak of Music I must tell you that we shall have speedily a New Opera, wherein something very surprising is promised us; *Mr. Purcel* who joyns to the Delicacy and Beauty of the *Italian* way, the Graces and Gayety of the *French*, composes the Music, as he hath done for the *Prophetess* [or *The History of Diocletian*], and the last Opera called King Arthur, which hath been plaid several times the last Month. Other Nations bestow the name of Opera only on such Plays whereof every word is sung. But experience hath taught us that our English genius will not relish that perpetual Singing. I dare not accuse the Language for being over-charged with Consonants, which may take off the beauties of the Recitative part. tho' in several other Countries I have seen their Opera's still Crowded every time, tho long and almost all Recitative[110].

Nevertheless, "Dido and Aeneas" was the only Opera – in a full sense of this word – which he wrote. Imogen Holst highlights this fact in her book "Henry Purcell. Essays on His Music. 1659-1695", whilst mentioning the article authored by his father which was published in 1927 for "The Heritage of Music". This article went as harsh as to castigate Purcell for this crime and regretted the fact that Purcell was not properly punished for it[111]. Holst is convinced that "audiences in the 1690s wanted stage plays with 'Singing. Dancing and Machines interwoven with 'em, and theatrical managers gave them what they were used to, steering a safe middle course and taking it for granted that the general public were not able to digest an entire opera."[112] Such a viewpoint is in accordance with what Palisca in his "Baroque music" eight years after that would say: in simplistic terms it just meant that Purcell was too difficult for his contemporary audience and all his refined style – if had he not died in his youth – after developing into more complex operas than "Dido and Aeneas" could hardly be fully appreciated. Purcell composed it 1689, and up till nowadays "Dido and Aeneas" serves as, first and foremost, the most illustrative example of Purcell's dramatic music and, secondly, an embodiment of foreign trends combined with an English tradition of *masques*. The most illustrative Italian element in this opera is several arias, which were not that commonly used either in French operas, or English masques, so here is undoubtable Lully's example which the composer models on. As for the pure English lines, there

[110] Motteux, *Gentleman's Journal*, January 1692, p.5; quoted in Michael Burden, *Purcell remembered*… 100.
[111] *Henry Purcell. Essays on His Music.* Edited by Imogen Holst. (London, Oxford University Press: 1959), 35.
[112] Ibid.,35.

is also some room for it: the vast use of dance, solos and choruses are written in accordance with the English spirit[113].

Imogen Holst also makes an important remark placing Purcell in the musical context and describing what kind of music England drew on. As he puts in a nutshell, Elizabethan composers focused solely on the church and the house, the composers of the Restoration period wrote sacred music, and Purcell's "public musical life is triangular, stretched out between church, theatre, and court"[114]. Here we should stop and contemplate this three-angled division in a more laid-out format.

His church music was following the pattern of Gibbons, but the last one wrote his *verse anthems* in accordance with the Church musical reform, which was personified in using one syllable to a note and also replaced English for Latin[115]. Purcell already wrote in English and broke away with the old tradition. What the Stuart court demanded was "a civic music with all the elegance, frankness, and immediacy of Restoration manners."[116] Purcell – also, having obeyed to fashion and succumbed to Lully's influence – wrote his glorious Odes in full accordance with this genre ("The Ode for St. Cecilia's Day", "The Birthday Ode" and "The welcome Ode"). As for the theatre – that voice was probably the most whimsical one, since it comprised "an unending stream of rapidly-composed incidental music; overtures, dances. Songs, dramatic monologues, choruses, and indeed all the ingredients of opera, though never *the opera* proper."[117] It is easy to see those traits in "The Indian Queen", "The Fairy-Queen", "King Arthur" and "Dioclesian".

Henry Purcell was not the last composer of the Late Baroque who tried to write a full-scale dramatic opera. After his death John Eccles and Jeremiah Clarke were successfully producing music of similar genre, though, as M. Burden laments, "English Opera was finally swamped by

[113] *History of Western music…* pp. 374-375.
[114] *Henry Purcell. Essays on His Music.* Edited by Imogen Holst. London, Oxford University Press. 1959: 44
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid.

Italian imports and criticized by many."[118]

Paul Esterhazy

Paul Esterhazy could hardly be called as lucky as Purcell in terms of international acclaim. Scholarship has yet to generate at least one study-case dedicated to his versatile personality: and language limitations probably have not been accountable for it. Even Hungarian scholars, though writing several articles on various aspects on the life of Esterhazy of a high quality, still have not issued any full-scale monograph on his life. A ray of hope has been given recently, when he as a vivid representative of the Habsburg Empire started being studied at least in the framework of his timeframe. Remarkably, the scholarship has not suffered from the lack of case-studies on, for example, Liszt, who, though having contributed immensely to the musical expression of Hungarian nineteenth-century nationalistic sentiments, did not reveal himself as anything more. Esterhazy was known as a politician, military officer, composer, collector and *connoisseur-des-arts*. History does not know so many examples of those who were equally successful in both a musical and civic career. I intend to show that Esterhazy himself personifies the embodiment of a *secular/religious* dichotomy: any scholar, at least, partially familiar with his background, could testify to this.

Hungary drew on many historical-political issues, the most pivotal of which was indeed a question of dependence. Esterhazy`s contemporary Hungary was divided into territorial units: the one under Turks, the one under Habsburgs and Transylvania. It has been only recently when Esterhazy's name started being associated with *"Hungarianness"*, because, strictly speaking, *that* Hungary could only dream of being integral and independent.

Since all comparisons in the framework of this research are being made in retrospect, from the viewpoint of modernity, the present reader is aware of modernism, nationalism and all those notions which were conceptually introduced after the nineteenth century. It is quite difficult to

[118] Michael Burden, *Purcell remembered.* (London, Boston: 1995), 105.

compare them on the same grounds, putting them in their timeframe as representatives of the countries who – in politico-national terms – only slightly resembled the countries compared to the way they are seen now, is not as shrewd as to compare them, bearing in mind when those connecting points met together. To illustrate this with a literary example, I quote a travel-writer John Paget, who left a remarkable description of Esterhazy's castle in Kismarton – the place where the future composer was born.

> Great as the splendor of some of our English peers, I almost fear the suspicion of using a traveler`s license, when I tell of Esterhazy's magnificence. Within a few miles from this spot, he has three palaces of equal size…[] England is famous for her noble castles and rich mansions: yet we can have little idea of a splendor such as Esterhazy must formerly have presented… its concerts directed by a Haydn, - its opera supplied by Italian artists, - its gardens ornamented by a gay throng of visitors – its magnificence must have exceeded that of half the royal courts of Europe! I know of nothing but Versailles, which gives one so high a notion of the costly splendor of a past age as Esterhaz. […][119]

Remarkably, this vivid description of Esterhazy's estates was made in 1839, and a family name appeared right next to "England" – though in a different context from which I am discussing within the framework of this research. Beyond any shadow of a doubt, the fame and glory of this family spread far beyond limits of Kismarton (or Eisenstadt) where Paul Esterhazy was born. The Esterhazys were not just a well-to-do dynasty. Paul Esterhazy, who was born in 1635 was – by sheer luck – an heir of a noble, profitable family who was flourishing and prosperous mostly due to their friendship with the Habsburgs – a ruling dynasty in Hungary. A young Esterhazy fully grasped advantages of such a friendship and later would reveal himself as faithful to them, up until his loyalty would turn out to be a personal disappointment and withdrawal from the Habsburg. Nevertheless, long-lasting relations between the Habsburgs and the Esterhazys could serve as an example of how patronage can promote any careers.

To illustrate how important the fact of *patronage* was, Paul Lendvai refers to the time which encompassed 110 years (from 1670 till 1780) – the period over which "160 families were elevated to the standing of count and baron – added to whom were the 249 foreign

[119] Paul Lendvai. *The Hungarians. A Thousand Years of Victory in Defeat.* (Princeton University Press: 1999), 162.

families of the high nobility, who were accepted into the list of Hungarian nobles."[120]

Saying that Hungarians were dwelling on their territorial break with no attempts to gain freedom, would be wrong. In political terms, conditions for independence were far from benevolent. The campaign for boosting and preserving a Hungarian language will be launched by Maria Teresia, when her government was really concerned with keeping Magyar at a national level. However, assuming his multi-hued personality and success he achieved in any activities he was involved into, it would not be an exaggeration to say that Esterhazy was in fact ahead of his time. His activities if had to could be separated into several aspects: his religiosity which was manifested in the innumerable sacred activities he performed, his military services which later would earn him a title of Palatine of Hungary and buttress his friendship with the Habsburgs (the relations with the ruling dynasty guaranteed him – just like any Baroque musician – patronage and promotion of his music), eager to advance his native language, Hungarian.

Self-acknowledged as a faithful Catholic, he was indebted to his upbringing and brilliant education he received in his youth. We call it fortunate that he was born in a noble family which made it easier for him to obtain high-quality education and attain high-ranking academic institutions. However, it was his personal wish which was rooted in Paul's diversified personality which defined his passion towards *secular* and *religious* activities and also made him immortalize himself in both.

Even though Esterhazy's name nowadays is mostly associated with a set of religious *cantatas* (or *motets*) titled "Harmonia Caelestis" (in English – "Heavenly Harmonies"), which was published in 1711, two years prior to his death, music was not the only field of his interests. Actually, his life could be divided into two parts: in the first one Paul was acknowledged as a royal military officer, who personally participated in the Siege of Buda, defending the territory from Turks: his heroism (in 1686 he was in charge of 20, 000 Hungarian soldiers whom he led into a

[120] Ibid.

battle against the Turks) and loyalty earned him a title of honor "Palatine of Hungary" and buttressed his friendship with the Habsburgs. In the second part of his life he withdrew himself from his civil and military career and devoted himself completely to music writing, collecting images of the Virgin Mary and other kinds of sacred activities. On the whole, Paul Esterhazy himself represents a dichotomy of *the religious* and *the secular*. His decision to stay away from civil career had much to do with his disappointment in the Habsburgs. It did not mean that their relations (or, in the context of the epoch, it should rather be called, *friendship*) ceased to exist, because the promotion of his music to a significant extent depended on their patronage. However, Esterhazy, roughly speaking, became a recluse, who preferred from that moment on to devote himself to a religious sphere and strove to express his religiosity overall, and his confessional adherence – in particular.

Esterhazy was born on the 8th of September, 1635 in Kismarton[121]. His parents took care of the son's education at a very early stage: Esterhazy studied at Jesuit schools both in Graz and Nagyszombat. The Jesuit influence had a huge impact on his forming personality, especially a musical one. Paul and his father Nicholas, who actively promoted his son's education, later largely promoted Gymnasium of Sopron's Jesuits (nowadays, Benedictines)[122]. A young Esterhazy also spent a significant part of his childhood in Nagyhöflány, where he made acquaintance with a future famous Hungarian poet, Nicholas Zrinyi. The place was swarmed by nobilities: among those who gave Esterhazy his first knowledge and ignited his worldwide interests, were the Kaiser's confessor P. Lemmerman and other church representatives[123]. His mother, Krisztina Nyary was probably the one who introduced him with the notion of divinity of the Virgin Mary[124]. Paul, who was deeply impressed with the image of the Virgin, would later promote her cult, even after making a successful civil career.

Esterhazy went to Graz after his father's death in 1637: it was another Jesuits school where

[121] Nowadays the city is called Eisenstadt and it belongs to Austria.
[122] Ladislaus Tier, *Palatine Furst Paul Esterházy de Galántha.* (1635-1713) *Ein Erinnerungsblatt anlaeslich der 250. Jahreswende seiner Erhebung in den Reichsfuerstenstand am 8. Dezember 1687*. Sopron, 1937: 5.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid., 6.

fathers-Jesuits taught him both Latin and German languages (up till that moment young Paul had only become fluent in Hungarian). Later young Paul was sent away to Nagyszombat where he studied at *Konvikt*[125] – an institution famous for its brilliant Catholic education. Some students, who proved themselves especially talented, were granted an honor to participate in the Coronation of King Ferdinand IV in Bratislava. Here young Paul marked himself as a brilliant dancer: accompanied by the music of the orchestra of the duke Adam Forgach, he performed as a soloist dancer before the whole court, holding swords[126]. The education and a range of skills which he got while studying was nothing less than impressive: he studied poetics, syntax, languages, physics, law, rhetoric and actively participated in various other extra-curricular activities[127].

Beyond any question, Esterhazy was very busy as a student. However, besides a myriad of different skills he was gradually mastering while studying at *Konvikt*, he also intensively applied his talent for drama which he also learned and mastered. He actively participated in *Leßtere*[128], and once, among other roles, performed as Judith[129].

Overall, it was the atmosphere of deep religiosity which he found himself part of from his very first years. His decision to join a monastic order was well-thought out and almost implemented, had it not been for his relative, Wolfgang Esterhazy, who used all his eloquence to persuade Paul that he should put his family's interests above his personal wishes and get married[130]. Eventually Esterhazy obeyed: on the 2nd of June 1652 he engaged with his niece, Ursula Esterhazy after gaining *Dispens*[131] and shortly after returned to his Konvikt to finish his education.

[125] This Austrian word defines a Jesuit privileged Catholic institution.
[126] Ladislaus Tier, *Palatine Furst Paul Esterházy de Galántha…* 8
[127] György E. Szönyi – Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, *A multimedial cult of the Virgin Mary, Created and Sponsored by the Hungarian Aristocrat Pál Eszterházy,* 2.
[128] Dramatic performances which were part of the educational system at *Konvikt* and served an educational, rather than entertaining purpose.
[129] Biblical female character, who was famous for beheading her foe, Holofernes and thus saving Israel from the Assyrians who, after losing their leader, disperse. Interestingly, Protestants deny the canonicity of Judith.
[130] Ladislaus Tier, *Palatine Furst Paul Esterházy de Galántha…* 9.
[131] A special permission which he gat to obtain from the Pope in order to finalize the marriage. Most likely, this permission was needed because Ursula was the daughter of his brother Stefan who died in 1641. However, the age of a bride could also represent some concern: Esterhazy was 17, while Ursula hardly reached 12 when they married.

The future which awaited Esterhazy was nothing less than brilliant: his military endeavors earned him both the title of Palatine of Hungary in 1681 and member of the Order of Golden Fleece. And in 1687 Esterhazy obtained the title "The Imperial Prince"[132].

In order to see what position he maintained within the musical context of Hungary, one should look back at the beginning of the seventeenth century. A profound political crisis of the country, connected to the tearing Hungarian territory apart, influenced the cultural sphere as well. This does not imply that musical culture did not exist anymore. For instance, Hungarian historian Bence Szabolcsi claims that "in this critical period musical culture was kept alive at the residences of the aristocracy (mostly in Northern Hungary and Transylvania)."[133] In the meantime, music in Hungary went to a full-scale transformation: some ~~of~~ genres which used to be on trend before, became obsolete, while others were just about to emerge. What partially saved and partially contributed to music was a class of court musicians. Traveling from one royal court to another, they boosted the most widespread and up-to-date musical tendencies, whilst the lyrical poetry was spreading in castles, manor houses and aristocratic residences[134].

The west of the divided country was controlled by Catholic nobilities, the families of Palffy, Batthyany and last, but not least, Esterhazy. All of them owed their fortune to the Habsburg bounty, and all of them also felt obliged to the Emperor and "the tradition which regarded Hungary as a bulwark and shield of Western Civilization."[135] The families were eager to cooperate with the Habsburgs if their old privileges were still guaranteed, and, in full honesty, they could not be blamed for hoping for the liberation of the country from the court[136]. Paul Lendai singles out two pivotal problems in this connection. In the first place, he refers to Gyula Szekfu, who lamented the fact that the national side of the Hungarian Estates was neither organized nor taken into consideration by the Habsburgs. Secondly, another problem was centered around the conflict

[132] György E. Szönyi – Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, *A multimedial cult of the Virgin Mary, Created and Sponsored by the Hungarian Aristocrat Pál Eszterházy,* 1.
[133] Bence Szabolcsi. *A concise history of Hungarian music.* (Corvina Press: 1974), 36.
[134] Ibid., 38.
[135] Paul Lendvai, *The Hungarians. A Thousand Years of Victory in Defeat.* (Princeton University Press: 1999), 137.
[136] Ibid., 137.

between "the Hungarian Estates sovereignty and Viennese-type absolutism"[137].

The last problem was laid-out by Jeno Szucs in his monograph "The Three Historical regions of Europe":

…The nobility spoke of the incessant suffering of the "Hungarian nation", which in time turned into a double lie because the nobility, when speaking of the nation, meant exclusively themselves (although such an equation in the Europe of the time counted already as an outright lie), and they suffered little…[138]

While analyzing this piece, I would dare saying that the nation[139] – in the context of what was said above – is not a full-scale category of modernity, the way we see it now. It, nevertheless, can be applied to the period because *nationalism* should not be confined to the limits of nineteenth- century nation-building and conceptual framework which would be properly developed and elaborated at a much later stage. Nationalism of Hungarians – and Esterhazy himself acknowledged to be part of this nationalism – drew on different grounds. Partially, Esterhazy's late disenchantment with the Habsburgs was a result of unfulfilled expectations which he expressed as a Hungarian, and not finding understanding with the ruling dynasty, he simply switched his focus to *the sacred sphere.* Nationalism in Hungary was not limited to what would eventually lead to the nineteenth-century recognition of a nation as a separate ethnic category and the endeavors of Ferenc Liszt (1811-1886) and Ferenc Erkel (1810-1893). The latter one, without an exaggeration could be called a father of Hungarian national opera with his "Bank ban" (written in Hungarian) which he composed in 1861. Another type of nationalism was not based on principles of nation as a unified ethnic category. Those who acknowledged themselves as adherents of this nationalism, obeyed a Hungarian King. The situation would only be changed with *the Enlightenment* when Hungarians would accept Magyar as a measurement of self-definition and adherence to a single nation. Importantly, Paul Lendvai sees a direct connection between how easily Hungarians grasped ideas of *the Enlightenment*

[137] Ibid.
[138] Jeno Szucs, *Die drei historische Regionen Europas.* (Frankfurt: 1990), 85.
[139] Being aware of the fact that the nation-state is a term which is not relatable to the Late Baroque period, I still insist on using a *nation* as a category united by a common language and certain aspirations in terms of integrity and unity.

and the rise of intellectual stratum: thousands of Hungarians went abroad to study at foreign universities[140]. However, current research is not targeted at exploring nationalism in all aspects of this notion, so I only indicate these two types of development, while going back to the question of controversies between the Hungarian ruling class and the Viennese court. László Benczédi connects this conflict with "changes in political thinking and national consciousness in Hungary." He claimed that Hungarian nobilities on their own volition chose dependence on Turks (up till 1683, when latter ones were expelled from Hungary) over obedience to the Viennese court[141]. The conflict mostly represented the fight between Habsburg absolutism and Hungarian feudal rights and it included three stages:

1. 1664-1670 – Wesselényi conspiracy directed against the Habsburgs which eventually failed;
2. The 1660s – a stage where *kuruc* movement, which was in favor of Turks, juxtaposed itself to Hungarian aboslutism;
3. 1678-1681 – Habsburg abandoned absolutism, while kuruc strugglers established a separate principality under Turkish protectorat[142].

The conflict started in 1664 when Hungarians and Habsburgs clashed because of the conditions upon which the Treaty of Vasvár was concluded: the Treaty did not consider Hungarians' interests, since "[it] sanctioned the largest territorial expansion of Turkish rule in Hungary, despite the Habsburgs' military successes."[143] Who felt relief after this Treaty were the Austrian and Bohemian Provinces. As for those Hungarians who lived on the territories adjacent to Turkish ones, they felt deprived of freedom and terrified. In 1668 in his pamphlet "Oratio" Ferenc Nádasdy, metaphorically speaking, cried out for help, but this outcry fell into the void of

[140] Paul Lendvai, *The Hungarians. A Thousand Years of Victory in Defeat.* (Princeton University Press: 1999), 180.
[141] László Benczédi, *Hungarian National Consciousness as Reflected in the Anti-Habsburg and Anti-Ottoman Struggles of the Late Seventeenth Century.* Harvard Ukranian studies. Vol. 10, No. ¾, Concepts of Nationhood in Early Modern Eastern Europe. Published by Harvard Ukranian Research Institute. (December, 1986), pp. 424-437: 424.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.

indifference.

> Our protector [i.e., the Viennese court] obviously knows that the Turks will tear us away unless we submit. Now we desperately cry out and say: "Either protect us or let us submit!" But the answer is threatening: "We do not let you submit." And of protection no mention is made, since there is nothing they could protect us with… Look and judge, Christian World, what is the soul that willfully lets this to be so, and even promotes this by suitable action[144].

Notably, the author's despair led him as far as to take part in an anti-Habsburg conspiracy three years after that, for which consequently he was beheaded. Hungary faced a challenging choice: it was either subordination to Turks, or subordination to the Habsburgs, and the last option became less and less pleasant. Under *the circumstances* they were on a desperate quest for a solution, or rather a model role, which would represent as much freedom as possible. Thus, they started looking at Transylvania due to the region's successful attempts to gain at least inner independency as a possible example of would be plausible to achieve[145]. Being presented with an option to succumb to Turks in foreign policy rather than accept Habsburgs' *absolutum dominium* principle was a more pleasant solution. What followed this was the formation of an anti-Habsburg Hungarian circle which was led by *kuruc* representative, István Petróczy, whose famous proclamation of 1 January, 1673, summarizes the principles of "nationalistic coloring" ideology. It contains "all the important features of Hungarian national consciousness at the end of the century". Its main principles were the rejection of Habsburg absolutism, support of Hungarian constitution, the denial of palatine's authority and many others[146]. At first glance, it seems like the "Hungarian consciousness" of which the author speaks is its 17th century *Sonderweg*, the expression of self-defense against Habsburg absolutist policy which implied the restriction of Hungarian freedoms, the obligation to communicate with German soldiers and obedience to a principle *Monarchia Catolica Universalis*[147], the Habsburgs seemed to have dwelled upon. Even though the proclamation included phrases like "igaz magyar vér" (true Hungarian blood),"jó magyarság" ("good Hungarians") and even "magyartalan" ("non-Hungarian") as well as "csúnya,

[144] Ferenc Nádasdy. *Oratio*, 1668. Quoted in László Benczédi, *Hungarian National Consciousness*... 425.
[145] László Benczédi, *Hungarian National Consciousness*... 426-427.
[146] Ibid., 429-430.
[147] "Universal Catholic Monarchy" became a motto under which Charles V Habsburg was implementing his policy over the vast territories which were under his control as an Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The Habsburgs were known as eager protectors and zealous promoters of Catholicism.

rút nemzetség" in relations to Germans ("ugly and base nation")[148], I personally do not see enough grounds to claim that this was an ethnic nationalism which Hungarian nobility stood for. It was a multi-layered protest – against Habsburg absolutism, German presence on the territory of Hungary and violation of estates-ruled feudal structure. László Benczédi also says that "the predominance of the theme of national unity in Petróczy's proclamation had another, much more direct and timely aim, namely, ... the concealing of religious differences through stress on national slogans."[149]

Remarkably, Paul never participated in anti-Habsburg conspiracy in 1670s: this was what earned him a reward as high as a title of Palatine of Hungary ten years later. His zeal to participate in Austro-Turkish wars could be easily explained by a devastation Turks brought to his Austrian family manors. Also, his family had a long story of friendship with the Habsburgs, which originated with Miklós Esterházy (1583-1645), who converted from Protestantism to Catholicism and allied himself with the Habsburgs[150]. Nevertheless, his Hungarian patriotism is not a disputed matter: he strove to promote the Hungarian language to a higher level, since some of his songs were written in Hungarian (for example, military songs). Second, the promotion of his musical and writing activities to a certain extent depended on the Habsburgs' patronage. However, despite all of this, he later nevertheless found himself disenchanted with king Leopold, though the last one was a big aficionado of music and even composed some musical pieces himself. The two spent much time together, enjoying listening to music as well as discussing it, but from 1690s Paul had already made a decision to focus on the religious aspects of his activities. His military career – though outstanding and redeeming with various titles and rewards – was over on his own volition. Up until his last days he prefered investing his fortune into the restoration and building of castles, collecting images of the Virgin Mary and composing his most important musical achievement – a set of religious cantatas "Harmonia Caelestis". He gathered Maria's images from all over the world and published in

[148] László Benczédi, *Hungarian National Consciousness...* 430-431.
[149] Ibid., 432.
[150] György E. Szönyi – Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, *A multimedial cult...* 1.

Nagyszombat/Trnava in 1691 ”The origins of the pictures of the Blessed Virgin to be found all over the world, written briefly”[151]. In terms of his restoration achievements there are many to be mentioned: first hand, he restored his family Esterházy castle in Kismarton (originally medieval) into a Baroque palace. He also rebuilt his Forchtentstein castle which he transformed into a gallery of portraits of his ancestors. Last, but definitely not least, Paul almost completely rebuilt Boldogasszony (Frauenkirchen[152]), a Franciscan monastery and an abbey church: the last one was adorned with the image of the Virgin[153].

Another of his activities stands out from the others. His veneration of images, in the first place, proves and testifies to his Catholic adherence: as it is quite known fact that Protestant confession prohibits admiration of images and stands for the direct communication between God and its servants, not letting intermediaries stand in between. The practice Esterhazy found himself fascinated by was described in detail by E.G. Szönyi and Ildikó Sz. Kristóf:

> …Esterházy's collections mention another remarkable practice originating in the medieval cult of saints and surviving in the Baroque period – actually until recently. This is the punishment of (the representation of) the saint. It is a practice of "injuring their statues" and images: beating them, scratching them, piercing/pricking them, and so on, in the case they have not fulfilled the wish they were supposed to. This seems to have been a practice flourishing mostly in the popular register of European culture, and it was condemned constantly by the officials of the Catholic Church. Esterházy's collections contain some narratives referring to the "injured" image of the Virgin Mary, although such stories make only a little proportion of the whole. It is worth considering them however, since our early modern legal documents refer to this practice as an existing one, and so do some manuals of official Catholic devotion. *Jus civile*, the collection of civil law of the free royal cities of Hungary cites this practice in 1703. It announces to punish severely all "those who prick the eyes, the one on the Cross, the Blessed Virgin Mary" etc. Similarly, the most popular Catholic Catechism in early modern Hungary (written by the Jesuit Peter Canisius) also asks a particular question while teaching about the preparation of the ritual of confession: "Have you corrupted (megfertéztetted) and tore up the images of saints in your anger?..[154]

It is reasonable to pose a question what role Esterhazy played within the dichotomy of the *cosmopolitan* versus the *indigenous:* was he really trying to promote the native Hungarian motifs, or, rather yielding to foreign influence, thus trying to keep Hungarian music at a high international level? This is a point where first with Purcell can be unmistakably recognized: what the latter one did was draw on the native English genre (*masque*), embellishing it with Italian and French

[151] Ibid., 6.
[152] Today it is located on the territory of modern Austria.
[153] György E. Szönyi – Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, *A multimedial cult...* 6.
[154] Ibid., 10.

fashions. Esterhazy's case reveals a lot of similar features: the court culture he was given access to familiarized him with many European musical trends. He was a desirable guest at the Viennese court which in its turn served as a meeting point of musicians from all parts of Europe. To a certain extent it is reasonable to point out that the Viennese court where such multi-hued, diversified musicians streamed to, was a live embodiment of the *transnationality* of music.

Though, as it was mentioned above, the Baroque time in Hungary was not the most profitable time for going *ad fontes,* since the Viennese court, some other traditional musical trends were kept alive. While nobilities and representatives of high social standings could enjoy courtly multi-national performances, the common people also have something to dwell on. Church music (especially, in a form of *hymns*) remained live and widespread in Hungary, while it have also been strong traditions of love songs and military songs. Noticeably, military songs would later develop in *verbunkos*[155] also known as *ungarischer Tanz* and will be widely performed during military recruiting in the late 18th century; they were also quite unarguably of Gypsy origin. The budding genre which also should not be ignored is an epic poem. The first epic poem "The peril of Sziget" was written by Miklós Zrinyi in 1647 and published four years later. The narrative spoke of the

war between Ottomans and his ancestor Miklós Zrinyi, which he waged in 1566. His usage of supernatural elements in the poem, like the emergence of Cupid pays tribute to classical works of Antiquity which many Hungarian poets used as a model-role[156]. He had a tremendous impact on the development of the Hungarian epic poem, while his other compatriot, Bálint Balassi (1554-1594) "whose extraordinary musicality and exceptional range mark his religious songs and passionate courtly love poetry, which shaped the future of Hungarian verse making. Before him, poetry was composed as a text to be sung; in his hands, it became a word contrast of poetic expression and meter, changing 'the singing culture of the Middle

[155] The word derives from German *Werbung,* which means "a recruiting process".
[156] Zsuzsanna Ozsváth. *Light within the Shade: The power of poetry in Hungarian literary tradition. (*Syracuse University Press: 2014), 229.

Ages into the lyrical poem of modern times' "[157].

The story of the development of church music in Hungary can be traced back to the middle of the seventeenth century, when in 1651 "Cantus Catholici" was published.[3] Besides many other aspects, this set was particularly important due to the following: Hungarian, besides Hussite, German and Latin, motives played an important role in this set, and from that moment that would be only one step to the Hungarian mass[158], Calvinist psalm tunes and "the introduction of Hungarian choral compositions of generous design." Interestingly, Calvinist psalm tunes for the first time emerged in Nagyszombat - one of the cities where Paul Esterhazy studied. Those who need to be praised are seventeenth century collectors of instrumental music in Transylvania and Upper Hungary: between 1630 and 1690 they recorded a lot of "folk and "noble" music in a more a less primitive virginal pieces"[159]. Among those there were innumerable dance melodies, developed virginal music etc.

It is quite challenging to put Purcell and Esterhazy at the same level in terms of their religiosity. Purcell expressed his devotion to *the sacred* by writing odes and hymns, but his activities on the religious niche were confined to music. Esterhazy, on the other hand, revealed himself as a collector of images of the Virgin Mary, restored his family mansions into Baroque palaces, and dedicated most of his cantatas to God and other saints. Moreover, the last twenty years of his life he spent completely withdrawn from the secular service: and there is not much doubt that he did it on his own volition. Purcell was hired as a court musician till his very last day. However, Purcell lived only thirty-six years, while Esterhazy's was bestowed a quite long life. One could simply assume that Purcell would have done much more in terms of promoting his religiosity and would probably have discovered himself being engaged in many more activities, had he lived longer. But, from the very beginning, after entering the Chapel Royal at the age of

[157] Tibor Komlovszki, "Utózó" (Epilogue), in *Janus Pannonius és Balassi Bálint válogatott költeményei.* (Selected Poems of Janus Pannonius and Bálint Balassi), *A Magyar költészet kincsestára*)The Goldmine of Hungarian poetry) (Budapest: Unikornis Kiadó, 1994), 266; quoted in Zsuszanna Ozsváth, *Light within the Shade*…234.
[158] Bence Szabolcsi. *A concise history of Hungarian music.* (Corvina Press: 1974), 40.
[159] Ibid., 38.

five, Purcell was concerned first with singing, and after losing his voice, with composing. On this scale, Esterhazy does not enjoy any advantages due to his lon1ger life, because he was fascinated with *the sacred* in distinct aspects from his very youth. Among the genres in which he succeeded there were first and foremost *motets*, which in Baroque terms was a twofold notion: *petit motet* was characterized by sacred chorals, while *grand motet* comprised usage of a whole orchestra. Though originally born in the Roman Catholic Church, motet played an important role in Bach's art who claimed himself as an incontrovertible Protestant. Its counterpart was an *anthem* – a traditional for Anglican church music vocal composition.

Their patriotic endeavors can also be compared. Firsthand, they both dwelled on foreign influence, while composing their music. However, they both reached the point where the native musical traditions were interwoven with the foreign ones: the circumstances did not let the situation develop in any other way. Their accomplishments were the merging *the indigenous* with the foreign. Due to various circumstances, the native in both cases simply could not prevail upon the foreign. However, it is indeed a question of circumstances.

A social anthropologist Ulf Hannerz in his book "Transnational connections. Culture, people, places" claimed that "in the meeting of the alien and the familiar… it seems that the familiar often wins out in the end[160]. If one chooses to follow such viewpoint, it seems logical that once English musical culture (not earlier than in the nineteenth century, though), went up and found itself in a secured position as to emancipate itself from the foreign influence, it was finally free to fully develop its own long-lasting traditions. The same is applicable to Hungarian music on equal terms.

[160] Ulf Hannerz, *Transnational connections. Culture, people, places. (London/New-Work, Routledge:* 2015), 25.

Chapter 3.

What do the primary sources say?

In this chapter I will use several pieces of art authored by both Paul Esterhazy and Henry Purcell, keeping in mind that there is a unifying factor behind all these melodies which I will explore. The Baroque language—both conceptually and musically—embraced various traditions, some of which seemingly did not match, or even juxtaposed one another. What I intend to say will become clearer in the course of the chapter. *Cantatas*, or more precisely their lyrics—in all the variety and peculiarity of their musical manifestation—will be a subject of this chapter. Even though I have already evaluated their musical personalities in the previous chapter, some examples should be given in order to illustrate the vagueness and transparence of the Baroque musical language.

First, I have to make it clear that *cantata* is a rather generic term which embraces both *motets* and *anthems*. As I have already established, *the secular* and *the religious* are difficult categories to label musical pieces with. However, at the same time I by no means intend to say that *the religious* and *the secular* should be abandoned as categories once and for all. In the case of Esterhazy and Purcell, breaking down the question of primary sources not only helps to ascribe each piece to the category of religious/secular/transitional, but also allows us to better understand how their musical personalities were shaped in terms of the Baroque, and how exactly they worked in between various measuring categories, especially confessional ones.

Although Paul Esterhazy recently ascended to the internationally-acknowledged position he long deserved, there have not been many attempts to analyze him through the prism of his music in English-language historiography. For this reason, I will try to examine several musical pieces using my own measurements.

While his musical heritage included quite a large collection, one musical piece which he

authored stands out from his other, unquestionably great achievements—a set of fifty-five religious cantatas (or motets), "Harmonia Caelestis". It would not be an exaggeration to say that this set was the greatest manifestation of his religiosity in musical terms. Though it was only published in 1711, when Esterhazy was at the dawn of his career, the composer dedicated the lion's share of the second half of his life to collecting materials and seeking inspiration to compose it. The content of the set immediately brings up the question of the cult of the Virgin Mary, which was an important part of Esterhazy's achievements. The fact that in the last twenty years of his life (roughly speaking, a period spanning twenty years, from the 1690s, when he withdrew himself from his military career, until his death in 1713) he confined himself to writing music of an exclusively religious character and tried to boost the cult of the Virgin Mary, betrays his deep Catholic adherence. He was engaged in various activities throughout his life, and tried his hand in writing music of secular genre as well, but when he was finally presented with the chance to step onto a *spiritualistic* path, his work designated him as a true Catholic believer.

Speaking of "Harmonia Caelestis", Bence Szabolcsi praises the set in following words:

> Esterhazy`s compendium, "Harmonia Caelestis", completed around 1700 and published in 1711, presents a… surprisingly wise use of contemporary techniques. This collection is… an unparalleled example of ancient Hungarian music… It is the first and for a long time also the last attempt to create, with the help of contemporary European technique, a Hungarian style in church music...[161]

The mixture of genres which are easily detectable upon close examination of Esterhazy's cantatas, is explained by various and multi-layered sources of influence. Firstly, the Italian part should be mentioned, because in the eighteenth century it reached its heyday, even though the French tendencies were catching up.

Szabolcsi is very specific in expressing the significance of "Harmonia Caelestis":

> Melody and harmony of Viennese, South German and Venetian masters have of course left their marks on these compositions [Harmonia Caelestis]; but their special importance consists in the fact that we can find Hungarian

[161] Bence Szabolcsi. *A concise history of Hungarian music.* (Corvina Press: 1974), 43.

popular motives in many places, and in two pieces (“Jesu dulcedo cordium”, “Cur fles Jesu”) even the adaptations of Hungarian chorales. To be sure, this significant lead was only slightly followed by the generation after Esterhazy. The ruling musical language in Hungary of the 18th century was of German, Austrian and Italian origin, and special attention was paid in these circles to the seemingly primitive Hungarian melodic treasure…[162]

All the fifty-five cantatas are imbued with the religious spirit, and even the titles of the songs are illustrative enough as to make clear conclusions about the content: for instance, "O, Maria, gratiosa" ("O, Mary, gracious one"), "Maria, quid sentio" ("Mary, whom I hear"), and so on. The first and most obvious source of influence is the "Cantus Catholici": Esterhazy must have obtained access to it while studying in Nagyszombat in the Jesuit school (the book was first published in 1651 by Beneder Szőlősy, a member of the Order of Jesuits.)[163]

Surprisingly, there were some debates between scholars on the significance of "Harmonia Caelestis". Some scholars refused to perceive the set exclusively within its sacred framework: for example, the scholar Bartalus stressed not only the significance of sacred melodies, but "arrangements for choir, orchestra and organ"[164]. Szabolcsi suggested that the songs from the "Harmonia caelestis" should be categorized as sacred art music, while claiming that Esterhazy’s contribution should be considered "a musical achievement of unparalleled import in the history of Hungarian music"[165]. From the most recent perspective, Esterhazy`s cantatas should be grouped in the following way:

1) Sacred songs (Kirchenlieder) with accompaniment or arranged in some other way;

2) solo motets standing closer to art music, and within this a) concertante pieces based on instrumental melody and b) arioso or aria-type works of Italian melodiousness[166].

The sources Esterhazy was inspired by, while working on his set of religious cantatas, were numerous. Solo motets of "Harmonia Caelestis" were close to the works of contemporary

[162] Ibid., 44.
[163] Pál Esterházy. *Harmonia Caelestis.*...53
[164] Ibid.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.

Czech and Polish composers' compositions. Italian influence is also to be found[167]. Moreover, since Esterhazy himself was close to the Viennese court, he undoubtedly used certain repertoires (mostly, of international nature) as a source of inspiration. This is where I should go back to my statement that transnationalism is not necessarily a positive thing for the Baroque as a notion: if not prevented completely, it could have slowed down or contributed to the slowing of the process.

Here is the text of the cantata which is listed under the number 18 "Dormi, Iesu Dulcissime" ("Sleep, the sweetest Jesus").

> This love was sent from heaven,
> It clings to me in my heart,
> The light pierces the mind,
> And the joy allures the spirit and the soul.
> Now I see what I asked,
> I hold what I craved for,
> I wither Jesus' love,
> And I burn with all my heart,
> I desire you, I desire you.[168]

The lyrics shows first that Esterhazy was not only concerned with the Virgin Mary as an idol and a symbol of veneration, but with the sacred sphere at the whole. As mentioned before, many of his motets were dedicated to the Virgin, but this one shows his multi-angled religiosity: Jesus Christ was also a theme he wished to explore.

If we can speak of a "switch" in terms of going from the secular to the religious, this switch exists on a personal level, and Paul Esterhazy personifies it. During the last twenty years of his life, he abandoned the secular sphere completely, switching to writing exclusively religious music. Although he marked himself as an eminent militant and also composed some pieces of a more secular character, his decision to immerse into the secular speaks for itself.

The fame of "Harmonia Caelestis" often overshadows other compositions, the authorship of which is also attributed to Esterhazy. One good example is his "Egy csudálatos ének" ("A

[167] Ibid.
[168] Pál Esterházy. *Harmonia Caelestis.* Musicalia Danubiana. P. 185

song of wonder"), the content of which is enigmatic to the same extent as it is bewildering. It is not clear what year the song was written in: as agreed by the majority of scholars, the creation of the song should be referred to the 1650s, since in 1656 Esterhazy already included the song in his first collection of poems[169]. In this case, Esterhazy worked in complete accordance with one of his favorite genres, namely, the poem catalogue. A good description of the poem was given by Pál Ács, who said that "...the poem lists mythical warriors with unique, almost semi-divine skills. However, these fantastic heroes live in the real world, in different parts of the globe, which are described with an almost cartographic preciseness. The fictitious elements of the poem thus interpret reality; as a king of 'theatrum mundi', they try to capture, represent and to some extent model the world known in a geographical sense."[170]

Even based on the description of the poem by the Hungarian scholar Pál Ács, it is possible to make the conclusion that the song is not completely secular in character, even though it introduces the reader to a secular topic. Esterhazy not only tells a story of legendary warriors: they are also bestowed with quasi-divine skills. I claim that the explanation of this could be found in Esterhazy`s multi-hued personality: not only was he a devoted Catholic, who strove to uphold Catholic religion and the cult of saints, his military service and participation in the Hungarian-Turkish wars also played an important role and, most likely, heavily influenced him. While looking at the situation from this perspective, we can assume that Esterhazy was inspired by his personal military experience which he found virtuous, deserving veneration and glorification. As the plot develops, the warriors keep moving from one country to another, up until the moment when they find the most beautiful country; which, as Esterhazy implies, should be associated with the Garden of Eden. This country is Ethiopia. This is what the narrator tells of the country, describing how warriors feel and behave while staying there:

> When they are in this country,
> They feel happy for a short time,
> They enjoy life together,

[169] Pál Ács. The conqueror of the Turks in the Kunstkabinett. Curiosity and the cult of the hero in Pál Esterházy`s poem Egy csudálatos ének (A song of wonder), pp.253-265: p.254.
[170] Ibid.

Even make good friends with each other.
But as soon as they are out of this place,
They miraculously change,
They ruin everything,
And fight each other[171].

As was mentioned above, the soldiers traveled all over the world before finding this "Garden of Eden." On their way they visited the Baltic countries, Moscow, Asia, France, India and many other places, but Ethiopia appeared to be the most mesmerizing experience. On their quest the warriors did not just travel for the sake of traveling. They also got into fights, and when defeating their enemies, accumulated miraculous powers; for instance, as Ács notes, "the heroes themselves become giants and measure the sky"[172]. The fact that the protagonists are attributed with some magic qualities speaks in favor of the assumption that this piece is of a more mixed character. Undoubtedly, it proves that Esterhazy was very interested in geography and cartography: the description of new countries is in most cases very detailed and rich. The author specifically emphasizes “The Garden of Eden”: the very presence of such a place in a poem proves that Esterhazy was probably too imbued with religiosity to write a poem which could be completely cleansed of the divine.

Pál Ács points out that Esterhazy, when writing his poem "A song of wonder", must have had the poet Miklós Zrinyi as his model role[173]. Zrinyi, just like Esterhazy himself, was a statesman, and revealed himself as a person of a great artistic talent while creating the first epic poem in Hungarian literature. Notably, it should be observed that these two first made their acquaintance in Bratislava, when Esterhazy was just a twelve year old boy.

Thus, even though Esterhazy is mostly concerned with spreading the warrior’s glory—the thing by which he was mostly inspired himself—he leaves some space for the divine as well, when he talks about the soldiers and their capacities of conquering their enemies. This is what makes this piece difficult in terms of labeling, because it apparently represented a combination of

[171] The translation from Hungarian into English was made by Pál Ács.
[172] Pál Ács. *The conqueror of the Turks in the Kunstkabinett. Curiosity and the cult of the hero in Pál Esterházy`s poem Egy csudálatos ének (A song of wonder*), pp.253-265:p.255.
[173] Ibid., p. 259.

different traits.

One important difference I wish to emphasize between Purcell and Esterhazy is that Esterhazy's Catholic adherence correlated with his patrons' (the Habsburg dynasty) preferences. As for Purcell, he was and remained a Catholic in a Protestant England. Though he was not deprived of opportunities to express himself as a Catholic, he had to take into account royal penchants as well as public expectations. This is where his anthems[174], which were a special kind of Anglican church music, came from.

Strictly speaking, it may not appear to be religious at first glance, since unlike other of his works, Purcell dedicated this song to solitude. However, on a closer examination, it can also fit the context of the religious sphere: the author reveres the divine loneliness. He mentions "heavens" and Apollo, both of which imply that solitude the author wishes to immerse into is probably another spiritual sphere under Godly, divine supervision.

O solitude, my sweetest choice:
Places devoted to the night,
Remote from tumult and from noise,
How ye my restless thoughts delight!
O solitude, my sweetest choice.
O heavens, what content is mine
To see these trees, which have appeared
From the nativity of time,
And which all ages have revered,
To look today as fresh and green
As when their beauties first were seen.

O, how agreeable a sight
These hanging mountains do appear,
Which th' unhappy would invite
To finish all their sorrows here,
When their hard fate makes them endure
Such woes as only death can cure.

O, how I solitude adore!
That element of noblest wit,
Where I have learnt Apollo's lore,
Without the pains to study it.
For thy sake I in love am grown
With what thy fancy does pursue;
But when I think upon my own,
I hate it for that reason too,
Because it needs must hinder me
From seeing and from serving thee.

[174] Anthems and motets are very close in character and can contain both secular and religious elements. By the sixteenth century the secular counterparts of anthems and motets has become a madrigal.

O solitude, O how I solitude adore![175]

What makes this song a mixture of different fashions include the following: initially, the praising character of the musical piece, which does not necessarily allude to *the sacred* sphere, but is reminiscent of innumerable hymns which Purcell wrote (for instance, "Lord, I can suffer thy rebukes", published around 1680, "Great God and just", around 1688, "Let the night perish", around 1688, "When on my sickbed I languish", around 1680, and many others). The style of this piece is very similar to that which he used when composing music of undoubtedly sacred nature, which was mostly authorized by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury (1489-1556). By his authority, Anglican church music had been established and evolved under his guidance: Purcell docilely succumbed to the fashion he was expected to write in accordance with. One can use the anthem "Remember not, Lord, our offences" as an illustration: the excerpt which is taken from the anthem allures to the authorship.

> Remember not, Lord, our offences,
> Nor thy offences of our forefathers;
> Neither take thou vengeance of our sins.
> But spare us, good Lord.
> Spare thy people, whom thou has redeemed,
> With thy most precious blood.[176]

Another interesting thing which should be mentioned is that solitude in this context can be considered as related to God: monks as recluses are probably one of the most obvious examples. The choice of solitude, made on one's own volition, could also imply a sacrifice. The book *God's wounds: Hermeneutics of the Christian symbol of the Divine suffering* carries out a detailed analysis of how a human being approximates himself with God through several stages of suffering. One of the first, most important stages is self-restriction: while depriving himself from social pleasures, one feels certain pain, which to a considerable extent brings him closer to God. The author considers divine agony an important stage of any spiritual path, and a part of divine self-

[175] The lyrics is located at http://www.oocities.org/Vienna/1790/p_main.htm
[176] Ibid., http://www.oocities.org/Vienna/1790/p_main.htm

sacrifice[177]. What is implied here is that the issue of labeling a musical piece still prevails and stays problematic. Purcell does not speak of a Christian God to Whom he must have felt committed, but many implications can be easily considered as hints toward the sacred as a context, or even an unconscious manifestation of life priority.

[177] Jeff B. Pool, *God's wounds: Hermeneutic of the Christian symbol of the divine suffering. Volume 2. Evil and divine suffering. (*James Clarke&Co Ltd: 2010), pp. 285-287.

Chapter 4.

The conceptual language of the Late Baroque: religious, secular or transitional?

In order to juxtapose *the religious* and *the secular* as two different fashions which both existed in the late Baroque period, one should become familiar with the position which *the sacred fashion* maintained in the seventeenth century. Despite the break which divided the Catholic Church in two originally hostile and later tolerable[178] towards each other confessions, namely, Catholicism and Protestantism, the Church as an institution still had a lot of power and influence. The Church indeed set the fashion – and the extent of its influence reached out to music as well as to other cultural spheres. The Church`s role was buttressed in the framework of the Counter-Reformation (or, Catholic reform) which spread around Europe as an answer to the Reformers` endeavors. The Council of Trent (1545-1563) – among other principal issues – pursued a purpose of establishing the canons of art, making it a prerogative of ecclesiastical institutions to set boundaries of permissibility, which were shaded in a religious fashion. Arnold Hauser, for instance, juxtaposed the position which *an artist* maintained in various time-contexts, taking examples of the Middle Ages which had "a purely hieratic organization of artistic production", the Renaissance which "had infinitely enhanced the quality of art as a means of propaganda", and the Counter Reformation which "had at its disposal an instrument for influencing public opinion unknown to the Middle Ages"[179].

In light of modern scholarship, it is necessary to be aware of the reevaluation and reconceptualization as viable solutions to many Baroque-related issues. My claim is that we need to give up on a temptation to label certain musical framework in accordance with a cultural fashion which seemed to have been of more importance than the other one. This argument was supported

[178] What I am pointing at is the Augsburg Peace (1555) which established the principle *cuius regio, eius religio* and thus*, de iure,* put an end to religious controversies which over the course of centuries were breaking Europe apart.
[179] Arnold Hauser. *The social history of art.* Vol.2. *Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque*. Routledge & Kegan Paul. (London: 1962): pp. 114-115.

by Loise Menasche, when he said, referring to the Baroque that "the choice of descriptive terminology is bound to lead to trouble"[180]. I do not intend to say that *the religious* and *the secular* should be dismissed as defining categories on that matter, but the way they actually worked in the context of the Late Baroque, should be given more thorough insight than just labeling them one way or another (or, in some cases, introduce *transitional* as an additional category).

Many scholarly approaches should be reevaluated for the same reason: for instance, William Fleming's stance, who claimed that Baroque – in various artistic forms – was secular[181], is most likely too outdated to be considered progressive. Some scholars almost ignored individual confessional adherence of artistic representatives, which indeed served as a powerful tool of self-expression as well as the reflection of surrounding cultural climate. Thus, Arnold Hauser explicitly said that Baroque art mostly served as a propaganda of Catholicism launched by Counter-Reformation initiative[182]. Does it mean that Hauser was dismissing Bach with the composer's deep adherence to the Protestant Confession, or did he consider him as an exception, a figure who emerged out of the conflict to manifest his own proclivities that did not correspond to the Catholic Propaganda? I am inclined to believe in the plausibility of the second option, as well as in the general focus on Catholic reform as an inseparable category in the Baroque context[183].

What makes us think of defining a musical piece in one way or another is the lyrics. Quite unarguably, lyrics can serve as a measurement, as an indicator of a piece`s character. To specify, the plot, the characters and the topic of a piece all together testify to whether it was a secular, religious or semi-religious piece. However, as mentioned before, since labeling a piece is very difficult (a closer examination often reveals multi-layered influence and, in fact, intertwining of *the religious* and *the secular*), we should probably accept that defining it while using these

[180] Historians Define the Baroque: Notes on a Problem on Art and Social History. By Louis Menashe. *Comparative Studies in Society and History. Vol. 7, No. 3 (Apr, 1965), pp. 333-342:333.*

[181] William Fleming. *The Element of Motion in Baroque art and music.* The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism. Vol. 5, No. 2, Special Issue on Baroque style in various arts (Dec., 1946), pp.121-128: 124-128.

[182] Arnold Hauser. *The social history of art.* Vol.2. *Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque*: Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1962: 114.

[183] I think that the way Hauser approached confessional adherence was too circumscribed to be equally considered in modern terms. However, I do not hesitate to praise the author for the comprehensiveness and coherence of the social history of music, overall.

categories, and not taking into account the peculiarities of the cultural timeframe, is a slightly outdated approach. Thus, the task I am undertaking in the framework of this chapter is to develop the conceptual language which best describes the Baroque music.

Importantly, one should never forget that *the secular* did not emerge in one day, and such emergence did not happen in the Baroque period. But before I widen this statement to a broader context, where it will be supported by earlier time evidence, it is necessary to leave some room for relatable definitions.

Secularism, *the secular* and *secularization* are not easy to define. In "Rethinking Secularism" editors contemplate the problem of defining *secularism* through the dichotomy of *the religious* and *the secular:*

> Reference to the secular, secularity, secularism, and secularization can mean different things in confusing ways. There is no simple way to standardize usage now by trying to ensure an association of each term with only one clearly defined concept… The very use of the term "secular" signifies that we are buying into a secular/religious distinction that in some ways defines not only the secular sphere itself but also the realm of the religious… It is either the absence of it [religion], the control over it, the equal treatment of its various forms, or its replacement by the social values common to a secular way of life.[184]

Following this approach means to benefit from dismissing an assumption that *the religious* and *the secular* were somehow in competition. Quite the opposite, it appears that they not only coexisted as equal categories for centuries, but could also only be conceptualized through this very dichotomy. This is a proof of their interconnectedness, mutual influence and – to some extent – dependence on each other. I feel that it is unfair to give preference to *the religious* and assume that *the secular* existed only as *an alternative*. Arnold Hauser proves that *the religious* was dependent on *the secular* as well, emphasizing a significant role which the Council of Trent played on that matter:

> … The instructions issued by the Council offered the artists no substitute for their previous incorporation in the system of Christian culture and the corporative order of society. For, apart from the fact that these instructions were more of a negative than a positive nature, and that there were no sanctions to support them outside ecclesiastical art, Church people could not help being conscious that, in view of the differentiated structure of the art of their age, they could… easily destroy the effectiveness of the very means of which they wanted to make use… However good

[184] Craig Calhoun, Mark Juergensmeyer, and Jonathan Van Antwerpen, eds., *Rethinking Secularism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 5.

Christians and however deeply religious they were, artists could not simply renounce the secular and pagan elements in the artistic tradition…[185]

Thus, the idea of any competition between these fashions should be dismissed simply because there is no evidence of the opposite, at least in the cultural environment of the Late Baroque. As for the idea of coexistence, historical societies welcomed both *the religious* and *the secular*, and each of them functioned nicely in the framework of such a society[186].

Robert Coquette, while defining *secularization*, put an emphasis on the process of the freedom of secular institutions from religious influence. In his opinion, the goal which the secular pursued in its endeavors was to gain autonomy, independence from the *sacred sphere* and eventually manifest itself as a separate fashion.

Secularization was usually understood as the gradual emancipation of this world from the *other* world, the transcendent world, the world of God. Secularization was a process whereby segments of society and culture were withdrawn from the authority of religious institutions and symbols. The more secularization progressed, the more the secularized persons, objects, institutions, or places were perceived as autonomous, separate from the transcendent. For many interpreters, secularization designated a sweeping social process of progressive removal of our world from the world of God.[187]

Importantly, secularization *per se* – neither as a process, nor as a notion – did not imply marginalization of ecclesiastical institutions. C. John Sommerville distinguishes distinct types of secularization, emphasizing the difference between them.

It [secularization] could mean that a church was becoming something *broader* than a religious organization, by engrossing "secular" activities. In that case, we should remember that there no intrinsically secular activities or objects. So if the church succeeded in *sacralizing* those previously secular activities in public opinion, this should not count as secularization at all but rather the opposite…[188]

In his article "Secular Society/Religious Population: Our tacit rules for using the term "secularization", the author highlights that the conservative approach towards *the secularization* should be reevaluated, since *secularization* is a broader notion than it might have been considered in the framework of the old historiography. One also should not be confused about the usage of the word *secularism* since it would be coined only around 1852 as the definition of an ideology

[185] Arnold Hauser. *The social history of art.* Vol.2. *Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque*: Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1962: 114-115.

[186] C. John Sommerville. Secular Society/Religious Population: Out tacit rules for using the term "secularization". *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion.* Vol. 37, No. 2 (Jun., 1998), pp. 249-253: 250-251.

[187] Robet Coquette. *Canada`s religions: A Historic Introduction* (University of Ottawa Press: 2004), 353.

[188] C. John Sommerville. Secular Society/Religious Population: Our tacit rules for using the term "secularization". *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion.* Vol. 37, No. 2 (Jun., 1998), pp. 249-253: 251.

which was created to counter religious loyalties[189].

An interesting approach to *secularism* is suggested in the book "To Whom does Christianity Belong? Critical issues in World Christianity", authored by Dyron B. Daughrity. While talking about *the secular* and *secularism*, he traces the original meaning of the first term: *the secular* referred to a member of the Christian clergy who preferred to serve in parishes over monasteries and religious orders. Unlike in modern terms, where *secular* always implies either an institution or a person who is in no way connected to the sacred sphere, the original etymology referred to a monk who worked in the world, not to the one who chose to stay within the limits of the monastery[190]. When enlarging his argument about the versatility of the term, Daughrity uses an example of the French Revolution:

> The word *secular* has come to signify something irreligious, but it plays out in myriad ways. The French Revolution was an attempt to secularize by marginalizing indeed punishing, the Catholic Church. Between the years of 1789 and 1801 the state enacted a number of policies to undermine the church: "laicization" – turning clergy into employees of the state, reclaiming land from the Church, converting churches into "Temples of Reason," and widespread persecution of priests, including executions…[191]

A relatable question can be posed upon developing the concept of *the secularization*: who is to be held accountable for it? According to Mary Eberstadt, Reformation and the creation of different confessions was mostly the cause. To her mind, weakening of the church meant weakening of the traditions. The author claimed that the *secularization* can be understood as a phenomenon under which Protestants become godless, and Catholics, roughly speaking, become Protestants[192]. However, this opinion only reflects a very small aspect of *the secularization*, not looking at it in a broader context.

So far, nothing in the case-studies which were considered above, hinted on the decline of religion as a consequence. It will be in modernity when secularism will become the embodiment of anti-clericalism. One should wait until such names as, for instance, Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) pop up: he, along with his contemporary scientists and theoreticians would eventually formulate

[189] Ibid., 251.
[190] Dyron B. Daughrity. *To Whom does Christianity belong? Critical issues in World Christianity* (Augsburg Fortress: 2015), 175.
[191] Ibid.
[192] M. Eberstadt, *How the West really lost God.* (Templeton Press:2013*),* 53.

the postulate that "modernization would lead to marginalization of religion"[193]. The modern world will be imbued with secularity – in a sense that religion will be put aside as a marginalized category, while science will rise – and then will become a synonym of technical progress.

Turning back to the Late Baroque, we need to consider certain peculiarities of the period to theorize the concept of its music. First, the boundaries between *the religious* and *the secular* are very blurry, as it was exemplified in some musical pieces in the previous chapter (Esterhazy's "A wonderful song" was, probably, the brightest instance). If we yield to the idea that there was transition from *the religious* to *the secular*, this notion may be useful on the one hand, and quite destructive on the other. In the first case, it gives us a chance to establish that *most* of the Late Baroque music can be considered of a transitional character, more precisely, *semi-religious*, *semi-secular*. To single out such a category, it is imperative to take into account the interconnectedness of the two fashions. However, distinguishing *the transitional* as a separate category may lead to a false assumption that at one point there was a switch when *the religious* became a non-existent category as compared to *the secular*. The real situation was far from it: within the framework of the Baroque, it is not possible to speak of any transitions, but there is a lot to say in terms of the many-layered influence, juxtaposition of indigenous and cosmopolitan traditions and welcoming multi-hued cultural atmosphere.

What kind of secularization can we speak of in the framework of the seventeenth to the beginning of the eighteenth centuries? I want to point out again that, as I see it, the Late Baroque had nothing to do with the decline of the church and replacement of certain religious values with secular ones. In that context, *secularization* would more likely fit into the category of spiritual awareness and broadening of the religion. Using more concrete examples, relatable to music, C. John Sommerville refers to the "transfer of activities from institutions of a religious nature to others without that character", which as he explicitly said can also illustrate many ways in which

[193] Dyron B. Daughrity. *To Whom does Christianity belong? Critical issues in World Christianity* (Augsburg Fortress: 2015), 178.

secularization worked[194]. He gives an example of artistic patronage, which once having been a prerogative of the church was transferred to individuals[195].

Another hypothesis I wish to explore is that the Late Baroque ratio of the *sacred* and the *secular* was a paradigm which was being followed not only in Hungary and England but in other countries as well. To enlarge my hypothesis, I will use several examples that will prove that defining the character of a musical piece during the Late Baroque is a very challenging task.

One illustrative example is the life of Johannes Sebastian Bach (1685-1750), who, undoubtedly, contributed to the development of Baroque in Germany and himself personified a deep religious devotion which could be – at several points – challenged by whims of the secular fashion.

According to Leo Schrade, Bach not only fully dedicated himself to writing the church music, but also contrived an idea to reform in music what Luther reformed in church[196]. Schrade was among those scholars who saw Bach`s endeavors as a switching dichotomy between *the religious* and *the secular*, however he was yet to generate another cultural dialogue as a result of such a conflict. Holding Luther in highest regard, Bach throughout his life adhered to the Protestant confession, and his musical heritage left no doubt about his religious penchants. Being extremely prolific (overall, the number of pieces of art which he authored was up to one thousand items), he almost exclusively dedicated himself to the sacred music and largely contributed to the development of Protestant church Mass. However, he was at the same time familiar with the secular fashion – and, in full honesty, not a stranger to experimenting with it. His "Coffee Cantata" (1732) can testify to that: written exclusively for entertainment, this cantata serves as an illustration of such a tendency. Bach also wrote several other cantatas of secular character: since 1729 he worked in Leipzig where he was in charge of the orchestra predominantly consisting of Leipzig

[194] C. John Sommerville. Secular Society/Religious Population: Our tacit rules for using the term "secularization". *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion.* Vol. 37, No. 2 (Jun., 1998), pp. 249-253: 250.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Leo Schrade. *The Conflict between the sacred and the secular. Journal of the History of ideas.* Vol. 7, No. 2 (Apr., 1946), pp. 151-194: pp. 153-154.

university students. Performances of the orchestra were regularly held in coffee-houses: thus, the very idea of writing such a cantata corresponded to the needs of the cultural environment where the composer apparently found the source of inspiration[197].

In this case, quite unarguably, "Coffee cantata" could be described as of a completely secular character. Since the main factor which describes the character of a piece is its lyrics, the lyrics testify to the glorification (or, even overindulgence) of the secular topic, the addiction to the coffee. I would argue that coffee in this case serves readily as a metaphor, as a conveyer of a certain message and mockery of any addiction in the secular context. Instead of coffee it could be promiscuity, alcoholism, addiction to opium, loitering and so on. However, it is equally possible that Bach pursued the purpose of reflecting his secular environment and its general preferences.

The plot is centered around the story of an old gentleman named Schlendrian and his daughter Lieschen, whose is very passionate about coffee. Throughout the whole cantata, the father is trying to talk his daughter out of coffee-drinking, sometimes asking her nicely, and sometimes simply threatening her with some restrictions in case if she did not give up on this habit. Lieschen, however, is very obstinate: eventually, she even says that she would only marry a person who would let her drink her favorite drink. In the end father seems to have given up on his attempts to influence his daughter, and the choir glorifies her triumph:

> A cat won`t stop from catching mice,
> And maidens remain faithful to their coffee,
> The mother holds her coffee dear,
> The grandmother drank it also,
> Who can thus rebuke the daughters![198]

While finding similar secular examples in the literary tradition (here I let myself briefly step out of the musical context), one should go back in time, and focus on an interesting piece, written in 1605, whose authorship has yet to be established up till nowadays.

> Tobacco, tobacco, sing sweetly for tobacco! Tobacco is like love, oh love it;
> For you see, I will prove it.
> Love maketh lean the fat men`s tumour, So doth tobacco.

[197] Ibid., 156.
[198] Johannes Sebastian Bach. Coffee Cantata (Cantata BMV 211). Libretto by Christian Friedrich Henrici. Located at http://www.afactor.net/kitchen/coffee/kaffeeKantate.html

Love still dries up the wanton humor, So doth tobacco.
Love makes men sail from shore to shore, So doth tobacco.
'Tis fond love often makes men poor, So doth tobacco,
Love makes men scorn all coward fears, So doth tobacco.
Love often sets men by all ears, So doth tobacco.
Tobacco, tobacco,
Sing sweetly for tobacco.
Tobacco is like love, oh love it; For you see,
I have proved it[199].

This text was published more than one hundred years before Bach wrote his "Coffee cantata". Remarkably, it could have been written at any time after tobacco was introduced to Europeans[200], but it certainly fits into the context of the Renaissance music. The date is not as important as understanding that yielding to the secular fashion is to be found in a much earlier time.

Another example of seemingly and ostensibly secular fashion wrapped up in lyric poetry could be traced back to the twelfth century. Love songs which generated a long-lasting tradition that would be carried out throughout centuries were very different from the traditional poetry of Antiquity. The Ancient Times were very strict on the subject of love, and treated love as some sort of sickness, portraying the god of love as "a jealous and despotic"[201]. In the Middle Ages love songs were glorifying the ideal of unrequited and therefore decent love, the plot typically centered around a knight who is craving for the unconquerable lady of his signor – who is cold and indifferent. What hinders one from labeling such poetry as purely *secular*? There are two things to be noticed. Firstly, the cult of the *beautiful dame* which derives from the Virgin Mary: at least, we need to take into account, that *the religious* had an impact on *the secular*. The similarities between the two images are obvious, and Nigel Saul highlights it while saying the following:

...The humble knight of the lyrics is shown engaged in a quest, ostensibly a quest for adventure but actually one for the affections of a lady. He undertakes his quest alone, even though typically a member of a brotherhood, because love is an inward thing united only to its unique object. The story of the quest is ritualized. The lady who is the object of the knight`s love is portrayed as cold, heartless, unfeeling and distant, indifferent to his anguish… Sexuality, always hinted at, is usually sublimated…[202]

[199] In *Tobias Hume`s Musical Humors,* 1605.
[200] The familiarization with tobacco occurred around 1528, when the Spanish introduced it to Europeans.
[201] Nigel Saul. *Chivalry in medieval England. (*Harvard University Press: 2011), pp. 262-263.
[202] Ibid., 263.

The last passage referring to the cleansing of sexuality, in my opinion, alludes to the chastity of the Virgin Mary who, due to long-term upheld tradition, was out of the context of carnal love. Secondly, the glorification of one's suffering correlated with the Biblical ideal of a martyr. Even though, the cult of a Beautiful Dame would only meet its heyday during the Renaissance, the roots of such a cult are to be found in the Chivalric poetry which, in its turn, belongs to the secular genre and which still correlated with ideas of intertwining the two fashions.

However, despite all quasi-religious hunches (or, rather, near-religious influence), as it was formulated by Nigel Saul, "love and the amorous desires of the heart were for the first time treated as central to the poetic vision"[203]. North-France Trovers, Troubadours, along with German Minnesingers who later would become part of poetic tradition, made a significant contribution to the development of the genre of the love song. While talking about Troubadours, Nigel Saul also pays them a tribute for "the new mood of eroticism found its earliest expression"[204] in their works. One representative of this movement [Troubadours] William IX personified the emergence of a new genre which comprised "the amorous longing of the knight, the mood of intense introspection and the yearning of the suitor knight to perform homage to his beloved"[205].

It would be unfair not to mention England in connection with love poetry, since Marie de France, despite her probably French origins, largely contributed to this tradition. It was her short love novels which were born out of aristocratic twelfth-century society that made a stir, since the author was mostly concerned about romantic, passionate love which would lay within a context of carnal, not spiritual relationships. The following similar examples are innumerable which proves that the tradition of secular poetry existed and was rooted long before the Baroque was ushered in.

Apparently, the secular fashion existed throughout the centuries, and claiming that it only emerged during the Baroque period as an equally important cultural establishment, would be wrong. Moreover, the intertwining of these two fashions could be traced back to a much earlier

[203] Ibid.
[204] Ibid.
[205] Ibid., 264.

period than this research is dealing with: it was borrowing, merging and combining. However, everything which was said above, does not imply that Baroque music was yet to having brought any innovations in terms of musical conceptualism. In fact, Baroque stands out for assorted reasons: it comprised a wide body of different tendencies, including (besides *religious and secular* dichotomy) transnationalism and indigenous tradition, confessional adherence which both separated and united Catholicism and Protestantism, a significant variety of different genres. Baroque music – in conceptual terms – made music accessible Europe-wide, when a chance to become familiar with foreign tendencies was finally massively introduced to any European country. It was a time when the court culture was bestowed upon a chance to convey cosmopolitan tendencies, and it successfully conveyed them with to the most distant parts of Europe. I would argue that the uniqueness of the Baroque time was more about the welcoming of a whole range of conceptual dichotomies and providing a place where different musical fashions would coexist together. Confessions, genres, cosmopolitan and indigenous tendencies were merged together to comprise an integral whole: the Baroque in many ways was a pioneering period. I personally would like to name it a spiritual awareness: when one` religiosity did not contradict the established boundaries, but paved the path towards freedom, or at least welcoming different ways of self-expression, covered a whole range of secular and religious topics.

Conclusion

The Baroque musical language represents a full-scale complexity, which is in fact a mixture of different tendencies and fashions. In the framework of this research, I used both the comparative method and content analysis to break down the concept of Baroque music, using the examples of Henry Purcell and Paul Esterhazy as main protagonists of the research, who were considered within the timeframe of the Late Baroque. I also used examples of other composers who were conflicted between their personal proclivities and the dominant fashionable tendencies. The composers had to cope not only with the secular and religious, but take into consideration confessional boundaries, courtly culture, the whims of aristocrats and monarchs, and so on. However, it did not mean that there was no room for self-expression: to be more precise, Paul Esterhazy and Henry Purcell themselves proved it was possible both to meet the requirements of the evolving musical tendencies, and manifest their own musical preferences: including confessional adherence, preferable topics and so forth.

I hope I managed to establish two things: the first question was if there was a pattern, which Baroque musicians on a small scale, and their countries on a large scale, personified. In fact, each musical personality which—to any extent—was considered within the framework of this research, was too complex to be subsumed under the category of transnational, domestic, religious, secular and others. This was firstly because these notions merged, which made boundaries between them blurry, and secondly, it was not only musicians' personal volition and a matter of individual choice that showed them what pattern to follow, but often requirements they had to meet.

After digging into the question of the interconnectedness of the religious and the secular, it is obvious that these two fashions were completely interwoven and dependent on one another, and with very rare exceptions music was mostly the result of combining the two. The confessional question which I raised in the framework of this research is also a blurry notion: the willingness to

write according to the rules of a certain genre and preferences was often in contrast to what was imposed by church officials, secular and religious patrons. The lyrics were what mostly helped to establish the character of a musical piece, but even taking them into consideration, it was sometimes challenging to categorize one composition as adhering to either *the religious* or *the secular*.

Overall, despite certain restrictions which were established in the framework of the Baroque period, a set of agreements of confessional terms provided opportunities for reconciliation between *the religious* and *the secular*. However, one should not forget that despite the long-term preexisting collaboration between these two fashions, the Baroque Europe overall stayed spiritually-oriented, and it was religious topics which were the first to manifest themselves.

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