David R. M. Irving

Lully in Siam: music and diplomacy in French–Siamese cultural exchanges, 1680–1690

JEAN-BAPTISTE Lully no more went to Siam (the name for Thailand before 1939) than Arcangelo Corelli to South America, Niccolò Piccinni to China or Joseph Haydn to India. Yet the reception of the works and reputations of canonic composers in distant lands during or shortly after their lifetimes remains an irresistible trope in musicology.¹ The impetus for this study came from an encounter with an intriguing sentence in a 17th-century French book: Simon de La Loubère's *Du royaume de Siam* (Paris, 1691)—published in English as *A new historical relation of the kingdom of Siam* (London, 1693)—which is still considered one of the most authoritative and detailed early modern European descriptions of Siam.² The sentence in question describes how the Siamese king Phra Narai (r.1656–88) listened to extracts of French opera during a visit of a French embassy in 1687, before succinctly pronouncing his assessment of the music: 'The king of *Siam*, without shewing himself, heard several *Airs* of our *Opera* on the Violin, and it was told us that he did not think them of a movement grave enough' ('Le Roy de Siam entendit sans se montrer plusieurs airs de violon de nos *Opera* [*sic*], et l'on nous dit qu'il ne les avoit pas trouvez d'un mouvement assez grave').³ Although La Loubère does not identify which works were performed, it can be assumed quite safely that they were instrumental movements from works by Lully, whose royal appointment and monopoly on opera would have influenced the musical choices of Louis XIV's ambassadors to the East. At once fascinating and elusive, this brief anecdote raises a multitude of questions about the role of music in early modern intercultural diplomacy. And yet, while on the surface it recounts an interesting tale of the

cross-cultural reception of French opera, we must bear in mind that this seemingly innocuous performance for the entertainment of the Siamese court in fact masked a deep desire of the French crown to seize control of two Southeast Asian ports, to convert a Buddhist king to Christianity and to institute trading monopolies.

The present article proposes to bring together and reassess the many disparate details of music's role in diplomatic and intercultural exchanges between France and Siam in the 1680s. By examining this remarkable story, it aims to contribute to broader narratives of worldwide intercultural interaction through music in the early modern period. After setting out some social and historical contexts, it discusses the musical elements of diplomatic contact and evaluates several different types of sources produced in the aftermath of these contacts. Since intercultural diplomacy was not restricted to audiences with monarchs but also involved engagement with everyday customs in a host society, this article will argue that French and Siamese visitors to each other's countries were equally interested in each other's musical traditions, even though French observers often wrote disparagingly of Siamese music. Finally, it will briefly consider the role of music in Christian missions to Siam and evaluate forms of cultural reflexivity found in writings by Voltaire and Dufresny, in which fictional Siamese characters comment on French music and society.

Before proceeding, it is worth making some prefatory comments about previously published work in relevant areas. In an article of 1984, ethnomusicologist Terry E. Miller used historical documents dating

from 1548 to 1932 to explore different perspectives on Siamese musical performances.⁴ Several years later, the Norwegian musicologist Kjell Skyllstad published a brief article entitled 'Barokken—Et universelt fenomen?' ('The Baroque: a universal phenomenon?'), in which he compared French Baroque opera to Siamese music-drama, using the visits of French and Siamese diplomats to each other's countries as a connecting thread, and focusing on the idea of universality in musical aesthetics and expression.⁵ In 1994, the topic of French–Siamese relations came again to the attention of ethnomusicologists, this time in a book-length article by Terry E. Miller and Jarernchai Choupairot, who unearthed and critiqued Western sources dating back to 1505 in order to fill in the gaps in Thai music history.⁶ These gaps exist mainly because all Siamese archives at the old capital of Ayutthaya (illus.1) perished when the city was sacked and destroyed during the Burmese invasion of 1767, an event that marked the fall of the Ayutthaya kingdom. (Following a transitional period, Bangkok was established in 1782 as the new Siamese capital and the seat of the current royal dynasty—whose rulership was reformed in 1932.) Consequently, textual sources from elsewhere become valuable windows onto the Siamese past.⁷ They are cloudy and problematic windows, however, for early modern Western observations of Asian cultures are riven through with value judgements and ideological biases, and of course must be read with great caution and critical awareness. In their work, Miller and Choupairot had to deconstruct and evaluate many different layers of interpretation.

Numerous historical studies of social, political and economic exchanges between France and Siam in the 17th century—by scholars including Ronald S. Love, Dirk van der Cruysse, Michael Smithies, David K. Wyatt, Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h and Tara Alberts—have provided fascinating interpretations of how these two nations engaged in intercultural interaction during the early modern period, often dubbed the first historical phase of globalization.⁸ Yet there has been relatively little consideration of the sonic dimension of diplomatic interactions between France and Siam, with the exception of the work of the late Ronald S. Love (1955–2008), who wrote many articles exploring issues of cross-cultural emulation and

synthesis in the sending and receiving of embassies by both France and Siam.⁹ Historical musicologists including Robert Isherwood, David Ledbetter, Caroline Wood, Graham Sadler, Lionel Sawkins and Alexander Silbiger have made brief passing references to the presence of Siamese ambassadors at particular performances in France in the 1680s.¹⁰ These tantalizing glimpses of visitors from Siam invite more detailed exploration, since the ambassadors aroused great public curiosity; they were arguably amongst the most fêted official visitors to early modern France, thus setting precedents for later ceremonies held in honour of foreign ambassadors. As far as I am aware, this is the first article in the field of historical musicology to make a full assessment, analysis and critique of the specifically musical dimensions of French–Siamese cultural links in the late 17th century. It is hoped that the present work will spawn further interest in this fascinating area, and that more sources and interpretations will emerge.

The beginnings of French–Siamese interactions

The kingdom of Thailand (the name of Siam since 1939) is the only Southeast Asian country never to have been colonized; significantly, the name given to the country in 1939 means 'Land of the Free'.¹¹ Certain nations—especially Portugal, France, the Dutch Republic and England—developed trade relationships with Siam in the early modern period and engaged in intense diplomatic negotiation, but never achieved any colonialist ambitions of political hegemony. A period of sustained French exchange with Siam over several decades began with missionary activity in 1662, when Bishop Pierre Lambert de la Motte (one of the founders of the Société des Missions Étrangères) arrived in Ayutthaya. In 1664, the foundation of the Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales (French East India Company) by Jean-Baptiste Colbert spurred on the desire for French trade with Asia. Several years later, suggestions were made regarding the opening of diplomatic relations between France and Siam, and in 1673 letters from Pope Clement IX and Louis XIV were solemnly received by King Phra Narai.¹² In 1680, the Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales founded a factory (trading post)

1 View of Ayutthaya (spelt here 'Judea'), Siam, painted c.1662/3. Johannes Vinckboons (1616/7–70), *Gezicht op Judea, de oude hoofdstad van Siam* (Reproduced by kind permission of the Rijksmuseum, *Amsterdam*)

at Ayutthaya.¹³ The Greek-born chief minister of Siam, Constance Phaulkon (1647–88), influenced the Siamese government's attitudes towards European nations, and on behalf of Siam he brokered a number of international agreements. Many nations made trade representations to Siam in the late 17th century, especially France, and these were reciprocated by Siam. French scholars focused a great deal of attention on the geographic, commercial and ethnographic study of the country, with maps (for example, *illus.2*), travel accounts, histories and descriptions of Siam being produced in abundance.

During the 1680s, four groups of mandarins set out from Siam to France—the last group travelled to Rome as well—and two royal missions were sent from France to Siam.¹⁴ These representations were made in the hope of forging a trading partnership and military alliance between the two countries, on terms that were seemingly proposed as ostensibly equal.¹⁵ The French Jesuits and the Société des Missions Étrangères also hoped to expand their mission field in Siam; they sought ultimately to convert Phra Narai, but this was a dream that failed to be realized. Several episodes in the course of intercultural negotiation involved a considerable degree of musical interaction and engagement between representatives of Siamese and French cultures: Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley state that 'a few years of close Franco-Siamese relations...produced in France a brief vogue for things Siamese'.¹⁶ This period of exchange also contributed to the shaping of strategies for intercultural diplomacy and court ceremonial. During the reign of Louis XIV, France engaged in intercultural diplomacy with several non-European nations, including Turkey, Persia, Morocco and Algiers, but of these Siam was the most distant—and its culture possibly figured as the most exotic in the French imagination.

In 1681, the first Siamese embassy set out for France, travelling on a French ship and carrying gifts and missives for Louis XIV; but after stopping off at Mauritius to load fresh provisions, it disappeared and was presumably lost at sea with all hands.¹⁷ The second representation from Siam to France was sent not only to try to discover the fate of the first embassy, but also to request that France

send an ambassador to Siam. The Siamese envoys on this mission, Phichai Walit and Phichit Maitri, arrived in late 1684 (having travelled via London), and were guided by the Jesuit Bénigne Vachet. The first attempt to introduce the visitors to the most complex genre of performing arts in France seems to have been a failure: Phichai Walit and Phichit Maitri were taken to see a performance of Lully and Philippe Quinault's *Roland* in early 1685, but were so furious at being seated at the lowest part of the tiered seats (at the front of the theatre) that they stormed out before the performances began, prior to the arrival of the king.¹⁸ They were terribly insulted, for in Siam relative social importance was highlighted by physical elevation above the rest of society; as Love observes, 'differences in rank between individuals were reinforced by a corresponding spatial separation both in height and distance'.¹⁹ Later, after further negotiation, they consented to see another performance of *Roland*, which represented Cathay (China) in an orientalist fashion. According to Robert Isherwood, 'Quinault worked...contemporary events into the text of the opera. ... The poet made the queen of Cathay [Angélique] his heroine and created scenes for "oriental natives."' ²⁰ *Roland* may have seemed to the French an appropriate work to present to their visitors from Siam, given that this country was often conflated with China in the popular European imagination of the time. However, the envoys were ill-at-ease during the performance, conscious of being the focus of the French audience's attention.²¹

The French crown subsequently organized a grand embassy that travelled to Siam on two ships in 1685, led by Alexandre the Chevalier de Chaumont (1640–1710), as official ambassador, and Abbé François-Timoléon de Choisy (1644–1724).²² It included six Jesuits who were mathematicians and astronomers, led by Guy Tachard (1651–1712), and also missionaries from the Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris, including one Étienne Manuel (1662–93), who was renowned for his singing voice.²³ Chaumont boarded the ship *Oiseau* on 1 March to the sound of his trumpets (in his retinue he had three trumpeters, who were issued with suits of livery 'garnished with gold and silver lace'), and the voyage began two days later.²⁴ The Abbé de

2 French map of Siam produced in the late 17th century. P. Du-Val, *Carte du Royaume de Siam et des Pays circonvoisins* (Paris, 1686) (Collection d'Anville, 07077 B, Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

Choisy kept a journal of the voyage on the *Oiseau*, and frequently mentioned the music-making that took place on board; when they were near the Cape Verde islands, for instance, he described how ‘the trumpets enliven meals. One day we dance to songs; the next to a violin (for we only have one).’²⁵ He wrote that when he really wanted to relax, he would request the company of Étienne Manuel, whose musical talents he flatteringly compared to those of Lully. Together they would sing *airs de dévotion* which were, according to the abbé, ‘as beautiful as *Roland*’.²⁶ The works in question were very likely drawn from one or more of three collections of *airs* by a variety of composers, compiled by François Berthod and published under the title *Livre d’airs de dévotion à deux parties* (Paris, 1656; second book 1658; third book 1662).²⁷ During the long voyage, the élite passengers of the ship stove off ennui and melancholy through study, and Choisy commented to his reader that ‘perhaps you won’t believe me that the little music I know helps me with the pronunciation of the Siamese language,’ evidently referring to his learning of the five tones in Siamese (Thai) phonetics.²⁸ Tachard also refers to the fact that over the course of the voyage, the Jesuits aboard the *Oiseau* said Mass every day, as well as singing Vespers for Sundays and feast days; three times a week, a Jesuit would conduct a catechetical exercise which ended with a *cantique spirituel* sung by two ‘matelots’ with quite beautiful voices, to which the assembled company sang responses.²⁹

On their arrival at the Bar of Siam on 24 September 1685, the French visitors eagerly awaited their meeting with local dignitaries. Amongst the topics of discussion with Siamese officials was the matter of the way in which Chaumont would meet Phra Narai, and the way in which Louis XIV’s letter would be conveyed to the Siamese monarch. These diplomatic rituals would frame the royal reception of the French embassy and the missive from the French king. The challenge faced by Chaumont, as a messenger of the king, was to negotiate a way in which he could deliver his message without appearing to be subservient, or to be rendering tribute or homage. After considerable negotiation—lasting three days—over the protocol that would be observed in his audience with Phra Narai, Chaumont was excused

from having to make the ritual prostrations (*krāp*, including reverential salutations called *wai*), usually required of ambassadors, when he presented Louis XIV’s letter.³⁰ Letters from monarchs were always accorded a high status in Siamese diplomatic ceremonial and were accompanied by grand processions and reverences; Chaumont commented on the musical band that later formed part of their progress to the Palace: ‘There wanted not musical instruments, as Trumpets, Drums, Timbrels, Pipes, little Bells and Horns, which Musick made a pleasant noise; and thus marched we the length of a great Street, through an infinite number of People.’³¹ When the audience took place in Ayutthaya on 18 October 1685, the king appeared at a window to ‘the sound of trumpets, drums and many other instruments,’ as Tachard described.³² Infamously, after making the appropriate reverences (probably a French-style bow, the agreed compromise by which he was excused the ritual act of prostration) Chaumont held Louis XIV’s letter out as if the Siamese king were standing at his own level—instead of holding it aloft on a tray, using a long wand to raise it above his own head, as had been agreed—causing Phra Narai to stoop down to take it (*illus.3*).³³ Although the Siamese monarch smiled and laughed at this surprising turn of events, thus defusing the situation, this action could easily have caused great offence. Chaumont claimed that he acted in the way he did in order to preserve the dignity of his own king.³⁴

The embassy tried to negotiate concessions for religion and trade, and gained a French monopoly over the tin trade in what is now Phuket.³⁵ They also made careful observations of Siamese court practices. However, they failed to convince the King of Siam to convert to Christianity (although he agreed to a treaty that protected local converts).³⁶ When Chaumont and Choisy began their return journey to France, Phra Narai decided to send with them another Siamese embassy to France, consisting of three ambassadors named Ok Phra Wisut Sunthon (commonly known as Kōsa Pān), Ok Luang Kalayan Rachai Maitri and Ok Khun Si Wisan Wacha (*illus.4*), together with eight Siamese nobles (whom the French called ‘mandarins’) and 20 servants.³⁷

Audience Solennelle donnée par le Roy de Siam à M.^r le Chevalier de Chaumont Ambassadeur extraordinaire de sa Majesté auprès de ce Roy, où il fut accompagné de M.^r l'Evêque de Metellopolis et de M.^r l'Abbé de Choisy et de deux Gentilshommes François qui l'avoient suivi en ce Voyage. Il presenta la Lettre de sa Majesté dans une coupe d'Or, et le Roy se baissa pour y atteindre tandis que M.^r Constans son principal Ministre vêtu à la françoise et les premiers Mandarins étoient prosternez. M.^r l'Ambassad.^r se couvrit et s'assit quand il eut salué le Roy et cōmançé sa harangue, ce fut le 18 du mois de octobre l'an 1685. que se fit cette ceremonie avec une distinction singulière posce Ministre de France, qui fut visité de tous les Ambassad.^r des autres P.^{tes} et continuellement accompagné et servi par les principaux Mandarins. Aviez chez Nolin Rue St. Jacques a la place de la Vierge. C. Pr. Regiz.

3 Audience solennelle donnée par le Roy de Siam à M.^r le chevalier de Chaumont, Ambassadeur extraordinaire de Sa Majesté auprès de ce Roy (Paris, [1685]) (Collection Michel Hennin, 5429, Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

4 The Siamese ambassadors to France in 1686–7: in the centre, Ok Phra Wisut Sunthon (commonly known as Kōsa Pān); on the left, Ok Luang Kalayan Rachai Maitri; and on the right, Ok Khun Si Wisan Wacha. *Messieurs les Ambassadeurs du Roy de Siam* (Paris, [1686]) (Collection Michel Hennin, 5495, Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

The Siamese embassy to France in 1686–7

When this Siamese embassy arrived in France, landing at Brest on 18 June 1686, the French did their best to replicate Siamese customs in welcoming their distinguished visitors from afar. Chaumont was questioned about the exact nature of his reception in Siam; his observations of processions and of the Siamese trumpets and drums played in the French embassy's audience with Phra Narai influenced preparations in France for the reception of the Siamese visitors.³⁸ The Siamese embassy remained in France until 1 March 1687; the Siamese ambassadors' travels in France were documented extensively, in minute detail, and published by Jean Donneau de Vize in the *Mercure galant*.³⁹ The ambassadors also kept their own journals, a fragment of which has

survived (as discussed below). The ambassadors were welcomed to France with musical performances at Brest, and were accompanied on their solemn entry into Paris (*illus.5*) with processional and ceremonial music in a contextual imitation of Siamese practice (but presumably with French repertory).⁴⁰

The emulation of a foreign country's ceremonial practices heralded a significant moment in the development of diplomatic procedure. The ambassadors were received by Louis XIV at Versailles on 1 September 1686, and the court had gone to considerable lengths to imitate the rituals carried out in Siam for royal audiences. Love states that this was 'the most spectacular reception the Sun King ever granted to an embassy during his long reign,' and that the 'object was to present the French monarch not as a European prince constrained by fundamental laws and the privileges of corporate bodies, but as an omnipotent Asian despot, equal to [the Siamese king] Phra Narai in power, wealth, remoteness from his subjects and even personal divinity, to give the Siamese ambassadors an exalted idea of Louis's greatness and magnificence according to Eastern expectations'.⁴¹ This was realized in a number of ways. For instance, instead of the embassy being received in the Apollo Salon before the king and a select group of people, as was usual for other foreign embassies in the 1680s (from Morocco, Algiers and Muscovy, for example), they were received in the Hall of Mirrors 'before a huge crowd with all the pomp and circumstance the Bourbon crown could muster, in exact duplication of Siamese royal practice'.⁴² Thirty-six drums and 24 trumpets accompanied the ascent of the ambassadors up the Ambassadors' Staircase, on their way to the audience, since this was the closest possible imitation of the music that accompanied the King of Siam when he entered his own audience chamber.⁴³ Trumpets and drums presented a palpable homology between cultural traditions, since the equivalent instruments had been observed in the Siamese court during the previous French embassy: just as French visitors to Siam had recognized the symbolic framing of ritual through the sounding of these instruments, it was assumed that Siamese visitors to France would react to them in the same way. The members of the Siamese embassy performed the *krāp* and *wai* before Louis XIV, with Louis standing and bowing to acknowledge them;

5 The procession of the Siamese ambassadors to their audience with Louis XIV. *La solennelle ambassade du roy de Siam au roy, pour l'establissement du commerce avec ces peuples d'Orient, les ceremonies de la lettre et des audiences* (Paris, 1687) (Collection Michel Hennin, 5548, Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

6 The Siamese ambassadors received by Louis XIV, 1 September 1686. *L'audience donnée par le Roy aux Ambassadeurs du Roy de Siam a Versailles le pr. Septembre. 1686* (Paris, 1687) (Collection Michel Hennin, 5551, Bibliothèque Nationale de France)

following a formal speech, Kōsa Pān presented Phra Narai's letter to the French monarch, before retreating with reverential gestures (*illus.6*).⁴⁴

A great deal of other music was very likely performed on this day, before and after the audience. For instance, Michel-Richard de Lalande is known to have composed two pieces entitled 'Entrée des Siamois' (s144a/19) and '2.^e air des Siamois' (s144a/20), which are still extant (exx.1 and 2); Lionel Sawkins has asserted that they were 'almost certainly written' for this occasion, 'probably forming part of a suite or *divertissement* performed at that time'.⁴⁵ However, the extant sources survive as part of a score for the *intermèdes* for the comedy *Mirtil et Melicerte*; they were also appended to a score of Lully's *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*.⁴⁶ It seems that these short pieces also fit into the genre of the French *danse de caractère*; there is nothing Siamese about them. However, they are both in a minor key—a common trope in the representation of non-Europeans in 17th-century Europe—and the *entrée* makes use of strong duple rhythms.⁴⁷ The fact that Asian or 'exotic' cultures were often viewed as interchangeable and part of a monolithic 'Other' is demonstrated by the fact that the '2.^e air des Siamois' (s144a/20) was reused by Lalande in *Les folies de Cardenio* (s152/1/12) and renamed 'La Pagode'.⁴⁸

On 24 September 1686, the Siamese ambassadors met Jean-Baptiste Lully. As the *Mercure galant* put it, 'they beseeched him to dine with them, having heard of the esteem with which the king honoured him'.⁴⁹ Nothing is known of the dialogue that took place between Lully and the Siamese visitors (via an interpreter), but this is clearly the closest Lully came to direct contact with the kingdom of Siam. Siamese interactions with Lully continued a little longer: that night, the ambassadors went to the Opéra, and Lully met them at the door. They saw *Acis et Galatée*, just 18 days after its premiere, and de Vizé reported in the *Mercure galant* that Kōsa Pān was pleased with it, making gallant comments. Afterwards, they met Marie Le Rochois, who sang the role of Galatée; they flattered her by saying they could hardly give enough honour to her, the daughter of the sea-god, and that they had need of her protection to ensure calm seas on their voyage back to Siam.⁵⁰ In the lengthy descriptions of the ambassadors' travels and activities in France printed by the *Mercure galant*,

discussions of musical activities abound. The ambassadors also saw Lully's opera *Armide*, and were present at the famous ceremonial performance of his *Te Deum*, when the composer accidentally stabbed himself with his staff.⁵¹ Although de Vizé makes no mention of this accident, he refers to the reactions of the Siamese to the musical performances at the ceremony: one of the ambassadors touched his own eyes, ears, and heart to show how he had been affected, saying that 'his eyes had been enchanted, his ears charmed, and his heart touched'.⁵² Apart from large-scale performances of operas, ballets and religious ceremonies, the types of music that are most frequently mentioned by de Vizé are the processional musics by winds and percussion or the playing of strings and winds for entertainment while dining; the author also states that organs were constant attractions for the Siamese, as they heard them played in many churches they visited, and asked numerous questions about them.⁵³

Two of the most fascinating musical anecdotes from the *Mercure galant* should be discussed here. On hearing violins playing in Dunkirk, the ambassadors 'asked the names of many airs, and the reasons behind these names. One of these airs was *La Folie d'Espagne*, but there was no one who could tell them why this air had this name'.⁵⁴ Just as Europeans asked questions about local melodies when they visited lands outside Europe—writing descriptions and sometimes making notations—we see in this episode evidence of a reciprocal process of enquiry. Curiosity about local musical practices was clearly a universal impulse of travellers to distant lands in the early modern world, and music presented a subject for fruitful discussion between members of different cultures. In another interesting episode, the ambassadors attended a concert organized by the lutenist Jacques Gallot (d.1690), whom they praised as the finest lutenist of the many they had heard in France. Gallot played in a large ensemble, and then played a solo; one of the ambassadors complimented him on his solo playing, saying that 'although he could think of nothing which would add to the beauty of the sound of the whole consort, yet there were delicacies when he played alone which ought not to be mixed with a great number of instruments since much was lost'.⁵⁵ A comment such as this could represent an assessment of differences between European

polyphony and Siamese heterophonic practices; the ambassador who spoke to Gallot may have preferred a melody to be distinct and prominent, and not lost within a polyphonic texture. However, it could also simply point to issues of balance; perhaps it was more difficult for the audience to hear the finer details of Gallot's lute-playing when he was accompanied by other instruments.

The ambassadors were well experienced in diplomacy, having visited many other regions, and

in France they were frequently praised for their politeness and gallantry. It must be remembered, of course, that the descriptions of the Siamese ambassadors' reactions to music come from the pen of a French writer, who ventriloquized the visitors. However, a fragment of the diary of Kōsa Pān, the leading ambassador, has survived; it came to light in the 1980s. The extant 68 pages cover only the first two weeks of his stay in France, in Brest, but the level of detail is remarkable. One can only imagine

Ex.1 Michel-Richard de Lalande, 'Entrée des Siamois', S144a/19. Transcribed from *Simphonies de M. De La Lande Qu'il faisoit exécuter tous les 15 jours pendant le Souper de Louis XIV et Louis XV. Mises dans un nouvel ordre, et ses augmentations*, 2 vols., 1736–45, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Rés.581, ii, pp.217–18. The figured bass is editorial and has been added by the author

Pesamente

The musical score is for a piece titled 'Pesamente' by Michel-Richard de Lalande. It is transcribed from a 1736–45 manuscript. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It consists of five systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The bass staff includes editorial figured bass notation. The score includes repeat signs and first/second endings. Measure numbers 8, 13, 19, and 25 are indicated at the start of their respective systems.

Ex.2 Michel-Richard de Lalande, '2.e air des Siamois', S144a/20. Transcribed from *Simphonies de M. De La Lande*. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Rés.581, ii, pp.218–19. The figured bass is editorial and has been added by the author

Pesamente

the description of Versailles as written by Kōsa Pān, and lament the loss of the rest of this diary; the historian Dirk van der Cruysse estimates that it would have totalled around a thousand pages.⁵⁶ The Brest diary has only one reference to music—in this case military music—but it shows that Kōsa Pān was indeed interested in asking about organized sound in French culture, and that his French hosts took great pains to explain local musical customs. Kōsa Pān writes of the drums used for marching, detailing the positions of these instruments, with the observation that ‘when the salute was given to a man other than the king, the drum beating would be modified to suit the rank of the person’. He goes on to say: ‘Then, for my information, the governor told the seamen to show me the different ways of drum beating’.⁵⁷ The governor was clearly anxious for Kōsa Pān to observe the details and intricacies of military drumming, perhaps in order to make a display of the precision and discipline of the armed forces of France; it seems also that Kōsa Pān was highly interested in this level of detail. This evidence of ethnomusicological fieldwork being carried out in 17th-century France by a Siamese visitor—along

with the ambassadors’ questions about the names of melodies, discussed above—demonstrates the reciprocal nature of intercultural observations of music in these particular episodes of diplomatic exchange.

The French embassy to Siam in 1687

Following the conclusion of the Siamese embassy to France, another French embassy set out from Brest to Siam on 1 March 1687, carrying a total of 1,361 people on six ships.⁵⁸ One of these vessels, the *Gaillard*, transported 74 passengers, including musicians, amongst whom figured the teenage André Cardinal Destouches (1672–1749).⁵⁹ (Destouches did not take his patronym until later in life, and was known on this voyage as ‘le petit Cardinal’; archival and printed sources from his lifetime confirm that ‘le petit Cardinal’ was the same person as the later famous composer Destouches.) Thus while Jean-Baptiste Lully did not physically set foot in Siam, Destouches certainly did. His experiences on this voyage—and, in particular, conflict with his Jesuit mentor Guy Tachard on the return trip—seem to have influenced some of his life decisions, as we shall see.

According to van der Cruysse, the Jesuits on this voyage took with them music scores of Lully; these would serve an important function in one of the French audiences with Phra Narai.⁶⁰ The titles have not been identified, but they probably included scores of the recent acclaimed operas *Roland* and *Armide*, published in 1685 and 1686 respectively.⁶¹ Given La Loubère's direct use of the words 'airs de violon' in his description of works performed before Phra Narai, it is possible that he was referring directly to the titles of collections of 'airs de violons' published by Jean Philip Heus in Amsterdam in the 1680s, such as *Ouverture avec tous les airs de Violons de L'opera de Persée fait à Paris par Mons^r Ian Baptiste Lully* (Amsterdam, 1682), amongst others.⁶²

Another ship, the *Oiseau*, transported numerous musical instruments, including 'one large and one small organ, painted and sculpted... One harpsichord, painted and sculpted [this is listed a second time, later in the inventory; there were probably two harpsichords]. Two bass viols. One small organ or harpsichord with its bellows attached... One box full of organ tools [*instrumens d'orgue*].'⁶³ The description of the penultimate musical item in the list, 'one small organ or harpsichord with its bellows attached,' seems to point to some confusion on the part of the scribe; perhaps the scribe (or informant) could only see a keyboard, or perhaps this was a kind of regal organ, with bellows sticking out the back. However, given the inclusion of a box of 'organ tools,' this instrument was very likely a pipe organ. The long list also included many mathematical and astronomical instruments, as well as religious ornaments. One of the harpsichords was apparently destined for Madame Phaulkon (Maria Guyomar de Pinha), a lady of Japanese, Portuguese and Bengali descent, who was married to Constance Phaulkon, Phra Narai's chief minister.⁶⁴

An audience with Phra Narai took place in the palace of Ayutthaya not long after the ambassadors' arrival; subsequently, there were several interactions between French representatives and the king at his main residential palace in Lopburi. At one of these meetings, although it is not clear which one, some French music must have been performed to him. As La Loubère recounts, '[t]he king of Siam, without shewing himself, heard several Airs of our Opera on the Violin, and it was told us that he did not think

them of a movement grave enough: Nevertheless the *Siameses* have nothing very grave in their Songs; and whatever they play on their Instruments, even in their Kings [*sic*] march, is very brisk.'⁶⁵ La Loubère observed that '[t]he March which they sounded at the entrance of the Kings Ambassadors, was a confused noise with all these Instruments together: The like is sounded in attending on the King of Siam; and this noise, as fantastical and odd as it is, has nothing unpleasant, especially on the River.'⁶⁶ La Loubère displayed some level of empathy and appreciation here. However, he went on to imply that in certain courtly contexts, the visual aspect seems to have been more important than sounds themselves: 'On the day of the first Audience of the King's Ambassadors, there were in the innermost Court of the Palace an hundred Men lying prostrate, some holding for show those ugly little Trumpets which they sounded not, and which I suspect to be of wood, and the others having before them every one a little Drum without beating it.'⁶⁷ Thus we see that both the visual and aural dimensions of music that framed diplomatic ritual were minutely observed by the French, since they all formed part of the displays of power and political authority.

French music for Catholic ritual was also cultivated in Siam, as the envoys and local Catholics celebrated Mass and the Offices. Claude Céberet noted in his journal on 13 November that Constance Phaulkon (a convert from Orthodox Christianity to Catholicism) informed the envoys of the impending dedication of a chapel that had been newly built in his palace; before the dedication, there would be an octave of daily sermons and 'une messe en musique'.⁶⁸ What repertory was used for the Masses remains a mystery; presumably the Jesuits or missionaries of Missions Étrangères had brought with them one or more settings of the Mass Ordinary. It is likely that the organ and viols that had been brought to Siam accompanied the voices. There is likely to have been at least one violin amongst the French expedition, since La Loubère made reference to 'airs de violon' being performed before Phra Narai; perhaps one or more violin-family instruments were also involved in the 'messe en musique'.⁶⁹ On 21 November 1687, the chapel of Constance Phaulkon was solemnly dedicated by the Bishop of Metellopolis; on this day, Céberet noted that during the preceding octave,

there was not only a 'grande messe' and sermon, but also Vespers and a *Salve* every day; he noted that 'all the prayers were always sung to music, the *Domine salvum fac regem* [being sung] in the same manner as in France'.⁷⁰ The *Domine salvum fac regem*, a setting of Psalm 20:9 sung at the conclusion of the Mass, could well have been by Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643–1704), who by the late 1680s had written some 17 'Domine salvum' motets.⁷¹ Meanwhile, there are many possibilities for the setting of the *Salve Regina*. The Jesuits may well have been involved in this music-making; and yet Phaulkon seems to have had a fairly low opinion of them in other respects, writing to Louis XIV in 1687 or 1688: 'I dare to assure your Majesty that to hear them speak Siamese is the same as hearing a Scotsman speaking English. All the good that they can do in this country is to sing Mass and Vespers, and to give treatments to some poor people in their hospital.'⁷²

The French embassy left Siam on 3 January 1688 for the voyage home. In a letter dated July 1688, and in his manuscript account of the voyage, Tachard referred to the fact that Destouches, then aged 16 or 17, was dangerously ill; in fact, it seems that the youth was suffering from a hernia. During the return journey, Destouches became a pawn in a political and psychological struggle between his Jesuit mentor Tachard and the king's ambassador La Loubère. Tachard relates in his journal how his relations with La Loubère deteriorated further; Destouches appears to have been caught in the middle of this fracas. Tachard forced Destouches to study, prohibiting him from reading certain books, threatening to withhold money and denying him his full water rations as a punishment; La Loubère aided the young Destouches by offering him water and by inviting Destouches to dine with him at his house when they stopped at the Cape of Good Hope.⁷³ Citing these circumstances, Renée Paul-Marie Masson has suggested that Destouches's decision to abandon the cloth of religion was due to his ill-treatment by Tachard during the voyage.⁷⁴ Inverting the example of St Ignatius of Loyola, he turned from a religious vocation to soldiery, and, according to Évrard Titon du Tillet (1677–1762) in his *Parnasse François*, he entered the 2nd Compagnie des Mousquetaires du Roi in 1692, and was involved in the Siege of Namur. During his service in this company he learnt to play

guitar and would set verses to music; realizing his skills in this domain, he left the musketeers in 1694 to focus his energies on music.⁷⁵ It seems highly probable that his experiences during his voyage to Siam changed the direction of his career, although none of the music he would have heard in Southeast Asia seems to have impacted on his compositional style.

As mentioned above, the French embassies failed to convert Phra Narai to Christianity.⁷⁶ However, they did manage to obtain the concession to establish garrisons in forts at Mergui and Bangkok, to bolster their own economic and military interests. Phra Narai died in 1688, in the midst of a revolution during which the French-held forts were besieged and then evacuated. Some Frenchmen (missionaries and laypersons) were imprisoned; among their number was a man listed as 'M.^r Launay musicien', identified in the early 20th century as 'the young Delaunay'.⁷⁷ (One wonders whether he was related to the lutenist Henri Delaunay, fl.1624–42, or the organ-builder Robert Delaunay.) A 'M.^r Richard organiste', to whom we shall return, was also incarcerated.⁷⁸ Thus it appears that Destouches's hernia may have been responsible for saving him from a similar fate, returning him to France where he would eventually pursue a musical career, rather than leaving him to languish in a prison.

Intercultural enquiry, representation and exchanges of music

What were the musical consequences and implications of these episodes of intercultural exchange in the 1680s? French and Siamese travellers gathered data about each other's musics performed *in situ*, and French music was performed in Siam; French musicians and courtiers also attempted to emulate the sonic dimensions of Siamese court ceremonial. Interestingly, Siamese music was transcribed, then published and disseminated in Europe: Nicolas Gervaise's *Histoire naturelle et politique du royaume de Siam*, which appeared in 1688, included the first known notation of Siamese music to be printed in Europe, the song 'Sout Chai' (illus.7).⁷⁹ Gervaise's transcription includes a melody and a bass, and consequently sounds more European than Siamese. The inclusion of the bass line suggests that Gervaise played it himself on a keyboard in Siam or France;

7 Transcription in Western staff notation of the Siamese song 'Sout Chai', with a bass line added. In Nicolas Gervaise, *Histoire naturelle et politique du royaume de Siam* (Paris, 1688), plate between pp.130–1 (© British Library Board, 148.c.14)

whatever its original context, he indicates clearly that he intended this transcription for domestic consumption in France, within a comment on Siamese singing that introduces the piece: 'They do not have disagreeable voices, and I am sure that one would be satisfied, if one heard them sing these two Siamese songs [*sic*; only one seems to have been published], which I leave to the judgement of our musicians, and to the curiosity of the reader, who will at least love novelty'.⁸⁰ This notation was reproduced almost a century later by Jean-Benjamin de La Borde in his *Essai sur la musique* (Paris, 1780); however, La Borde makes a number of small alterations to the bass line, including changing its notes in the penultimate bar to those of the melody line, two octaves lower (perhaps because parallel octaves were seen as one way to represent the 'exotic').⁸¹ In *Du royaume*

de Siam (Paris, 1691), La Loubère also included the notation of a Siamese song, 'Say Samon' (*illus. 8*), but he does not add a bass line.⁸² According to Miller and Choupairet, 'Sout Chai' still survives in living performance tradition (in modified form) as the song 'Chui Chai'; on the other hand, 'Say Samon' seems to have fallen out of the classical repertory.⁸³ However, it has been suggested that the latter melody, as published by La Loubère, provided some thematic material for the composition of a modern ceremonial piece.⁸⁴

In terms of organological description, Gervaise gives a detailed list of instruments used in Siam, but he uses French names: 'violon', 'trompette', 'fluste', 'un carillon avec de petites Clochettes' and two types of 'tambour'. One of these drums, the 'tambour de terre' (drum of the country), he describes as being

8 Siamese song 'Say Samon' and musical instruments, in Simon de La Loubère, *A new historical relation of the kingdom of Siam*, trans. A. P. Gen. R. S. S. (London, 1693), tome i, plate between pp.112–13 (Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library)

‘[covered] in buffalo skin and [beaten] with the hand in such a way that it takes the place of a bass viol in their ensembles’.⁸⁵ Gervaise clearly saw the need for treble lines to be balanced by bass lines in any form of music-making. Tachard recounted how members of the French embassy to Siam in 1685 were entertained with comedies, dances and musical performances by different Asian communities during their stay in Siam, noting of Siamese, Malay, Peguan and Laotian musicians that ‘their instruments quite resemble our own, but they are very imperfect. There was one that appeared extraordinary to us; it was mounted with a dozen little suspended bells, which being lightly hit with small sticks, rendered a quite harmonious sound’.⁸⁶ Thus we see a kind of empathy—albeit somewhat patronizing—emerging from the intercultural observations made by French visitors.⁸⁷

La Loubère’s *Du royaume de Siam* features some of the most detailed ethnological information on Siamese culture for the time, including observations on Siamese music and instruments.⁸⁸ The author remarks on the apparent non-use of music notation and the absence of triple metre, going on to state that contrapuntal polyphony was not known or practised in Siam: ‘They understand not more than the *Chinoises* [*sic*] the diversity of Parts in composition; they understand not the Variety of the Parts; they do all sing Unisons’.⁸⁹ He gives a detailed but condescending description of many different types of Siamese instruments that played together at the entrance of the ambassadors, including the drums *tlounpounpan* and *tapon*, and the gong called *cong*, for which he provided illustrations (*illus.8*), and the double-reeded *pi*, which is not depicted. Some value judgements come to the fore: La Loubère claims that the Siamese loved European trumpets ‘extreamly’; he qualified this statement by commenting that ‘theirs are small and harsh, they call them *Tre*’.⁹⁰

Although La Loubère reports on positive local attitudes to European trumpets, the Siamese reception of the other European musical instruments transported by the Jesuits in 1687 (harpichords, organ and viols) is so far unknown. It does seem, however, that at a later date certain mechanical instruments made a lasting impression: in the 1740s, King Boromakot of Siam (r.1732–58) searched out Constantin Phaulkon, grandson of

Constance Phaulkon and Maria Guyomar de Pinha (it seems that musical knowledge may have been passed down for several generations in this family), to find people ‘to make him a barrel organ’, referred to in French as an ‘orgue d’Allemagne’. Later, the French missionaries also gave the king a *serinette* (a hand-driven organ with a range of ten notes, used to teach birds to sing). According to a letter by the missionary Monseigneur de Lolière in 1748, these instruments gave the king great pleasure, even though they were a little rusty.⁹¹ Gifts such as these were hardly unusual: when Europeans engaged in negotiation in many parts of the early modern world, especially Asia, the presentation and demonstration of mechanical musical instruments and other automata was a standard strategy of diplomacy, as Ian Woodfield and Joyce Lindorff have shown.⁹²

Besides the giving of instruments and exchange of organological information, contact between France and Siam resulted in a small degree of discussion that focused on materials used in instrument construction. In 1687, the Académie Royale des Sciences considered the properties of gold mined in Siam, which had presumably been brought to France on one of the ships that had arrived the previous year. The published account of this scientific meeting reports that ‘in speaking of different types of gold, Monsieur L’Abbé Galloys says that gold from Siam is more flexible and less likely to break than ours; the sound of harpsichord strings that are made from it is deeper in pitch’.⁹³ As Patrizio Barbieri has recently shown, the high density of gold meant that strings made from this metal sounded lower in pitch than strings of the same length made from copper alloys or iron; thus the string-length for a keyboard instrument could be reduced significantly by using gold.⁹⁴ Gold strings were naturally prestigious and expensive, but probably relatively uncommon; we do not know how much Siamese gold was used in this way (although Barbieri shows that Giovanni Battista Doni recommended the use of gold from the Spanish Indies—i.e. the Americas—over gold from Venice).⁹⁵ Still, we know that other metals from the Malay Peninsula were considered carefully by European craftsmen for their potential in the building of musical instruments, and some were put to enduring use. Dom François Bédos de Celles

(1709–79) discussed the use of tin from Malacca and Siam in his famous treatise on organ construction, *L'art du facteur d'orgues* (Paris, 1766–8), comparing this Southeast Asian material to Cornish tin.⁹⁶ At the beginning of the 19th century, Malacca tin was noted to be used for organ pipes (the name Malacca was commonly used to refer to the whole of the Malay peninsula). In 1828, Samuel Frederick Gray noted that ‘*Malacca tin*, imported from the East Indies... is esteemed the purest kind, and used in making organ pipes, and other nice work’⁹⁷ This tin was expensive, and thus not as commonplace in organs as tin from England or Flanders, but it was acknowledged as being an ideal material for the purpose, and used by certain 18th-century Italian organ-builders.⁹⁸

This discussion of organs leads us once more to consider ecclesiastical contexts. An undated letter from a French missionary, probably written in the aftermath of the 1688 revolution, states that ‘the best and the richest ornaments we have there [the mission in Ayutthaya] are M. Richard and his organs.’⁹⁹ This must be the ‘M.^r Richard organiste’ who was incarcerated, as mentioned above; he presumably survived the social and political upheavals of the revolution and was released. The missionaries of the Société des Missions Étrangères apparently installed organs in their own churches for use in the liturgy (although they seem to have made relatively little use of European music in the process of evangelization and conversion, preferring to adapt to local customs); in 1714, Monseigneur de Cicé wrote to Paris about the church of St Joseph in Ayutthaya, commenting that ‘we have an organ but need an organist to play it.’¹⁰⁰ Was this one of the three organs that had been brought by the Jesuits in 1687, or another instrument? At this stage there is no way of knowing, for lack of documentary evidence. Other evidence suggests that organs were present in Siam later in the 18th century: François Henri Turpin (1709–99), who in 1771 published a history of Siamese missions from documents sent to Paris, wrote that ‘the organ is the favourite instrument [in Siam], because it is the one that makes the most noise, and in order to have the pleasure of hearing it, they [the Siamese] come with willingness to the church of the Christians. Many have learnt the art of playing it, just through having heard it regularly.’¹⁰¹

Relatively little is known about the teaching of Western music to Siamese musicians before the more sustained introduction of Western instruments and theory in the 19th century.¹⁰² However, a limited amount of plainchant was deemed necessary for church ceremonies in the early modern period, and this seems to have been taught to the neophytes. On 7 December 1690, the missionary Alexandre Pocquet wrote to the directors of the Société des Missions Étrangères:

*Ils apprennent aussi facilement le chant; mais à peine [sic] ay-je encore vû une voix passable; et je ne sçay si dans tous ces royaumes icy il y en a une qui pust [sic] être admise a la musique de Notre Dame de Paris, sur tout pour y servir de basse; toutesfois quoyque leurs voix et leur chant nous paroissent avoir si peu d'aggrément [sic], il leur plaist encore plus que le nostre, ainsy sçachant [sic] bien le Chant de l'Eglise, et le chantant modestement, ils edifieroient apparemment assez leurs compatriotes; outre que le Chant et les Ceremonies ne sont pas de si grand usage dans les pays de persecution.*¹⁰³

They also learn chant easily, but I've hardly seen [sic; heard] a passable voice, and I don't know whether in all these kingdoms here there is a voice that could be admitted to the musical ensemble of Notre Dame in Paris, especially to sing bass there. However, while their voices and their singing appears to agree with us so little, it pleases them even more than our own. Knowing plainchant well, and singing it modestly, they seem to edify their compatriots enough. Otherwise plainchant and ecclesiastical ceremonies are not of great use in the lands of persecution.

In contrast to the work of missionary orders in the Americas and the Philippines, pragmatism seems to have won out in mainland Southeast Asia. Yet while it is clear that music played a significant role in determining the strategies for evangelistic work in the region, further research remains to be undertaken in this area.¹⁰⁴

Cultural reflexivity

The impact of French–Siamese exchange was played out in the domains of philosophy and aesthetic thought, besides musical performance. A common trope in French literature of the *ancien régime* was the reflexive critique of French society and mores through the eyes of a real or imagined visitor. Two famous texts written in this vein are

Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* (1721) and Denis Diderot's *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville* (1772), wherein contemporary France was interpreted from the perspective of two Persian nobles and a visiting Tahitian, respectively. Siam also featured in this kind of reflexive critique; fictional dialogues between Siamese and French interlocutors were published by Dufresny (Charles Rivière) and Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet). These texts exhibit some of the resonances that French–Siamese relationships of exchange had for the field of cultural production, philosophy and even political economy.

In his *Amusemens sérieux et comiques* of 1699, Dufresny wrote a fictional conversation between an imaginary Siamese visitor and his Parisian host, also using the questions of the Siamese man as a form of reflexive critique of French cultural practices. (This text is generally thought to have served as one of the inspirations for Montesquieu's famous *Lettres Persanes*.) In Dufresny's text, the French host pinpoints musical-dramatic representation as a form of virtual travel, and as a means of compressing time and space: by attending the opera, 'the traveller has no need to race from country to country; it is the countries which come to him. Without moving from one place, you travel from one end of the world to the other, and from the underworld to the Elysian Fields.'¹⁰⁵ With this statement, Dufresny evokes the idea of time–space compression, whereby the flow of information and ideas through global networks could lead to a conceptual contraction of the world. The idea of political absolutism is also invoked, in reference to the conductor, who is described as 'the ruler of the orchestra, a prince with such absolute power that merely by raising and lowering a sceptre in the form of a roll of paper, he governs every action of his capricious subjects.'¹⁰⁶ Thus it seems that even the musical frame of the theatre's imaginary worlds required a hierarchical power structure with an absolute monarch in charge of controlling representation.

Whereas Dufresny wrote of a Siamese visitor to Paris, Voltaire imagined the scenario of a young French musician visiting Siam to make comments and evaluations about French society, morals and customs in 'André Destouches à Siam' (1766).¹⁰⁷ This short text consists of a dialogue between Destouches and a Siamese civil servant named Croutef, assistant

to the prime minister of Siam, with the conversation focusing on the discussion of finances, law and political structure. Eventually, Destouches asks about Siamese music, first of all seeking to find the basis of its theory and practice, then enquiring specifically about intervallic ratios. Croutef, however, feels mocked, saying that he is trying to explain government while Destouches wants only to talk about music. Destouches's simple defence leans on the thought of European classical antiquity: 'music is everything; it was the basis of all the politics of the Greeks'.¹⁰⁸ The two interlocutors use the trope of perfect tuning and concordance as an analogy for good governance; for instance, Croutef observes that the historic hegemony of Tartary represented 'far from perfect tuning', but avers that cultural exchange within Asia resulted in many benefits. The conversation ends with Destouches's seemingly arrogant reply: 'What more do you want? The only thing you lack is good music. When you have it, you can confidently say that you are the happiest nation on Earth.'¹⁰⁹

These two short texts reveal several other remarkable comparisons between French and Siamese political structures and cultural practices. Yet while Voltaire created an imaginary interface between the two cultures, using the famous musician Destouches as an intermediary, he stopped short of identifying common elements in cultural practices such as music; he apparently preferred to maintain a certain degree of distance by emphasizing the alterity of the Siamese, pointing out the difference in cultural genealogies and implying that what France enjoyed as 'good music' was lacking in Siam.

Conclusion

Diplomatic dialogues between Europe and Asia in the early modern period involved many noteworthy musical exchanges and reciprocal cross-cultural observations. European embassies were perhaps sent to distant autonomous kingdoms more regularly than were embassies from distant lands sent to Europe; nevertheless, the reception of non-European ambassadors and envoys in Europe frequently provided the opportunity for local hosts to fête their visitors with musical performances, theatrical displays and other forms of entertainment, and to exhibit

their religious rituals and court ceremonial. One of the earliest long-distance embassies from Asia to Europe, as described by Eta Harich-Schneider in the very first issue of *Early Music*, was the visit of four Japanese Christian ‘princes’ (sons of samurai) to Portugal, Spain and Italy in 1584–6, on a journey organized and led by Jesuits.¹¹⁰ Over the next two centuries, multiple embassies were sent to Europe from East Asia, Southeast Asia and the Middle East. However, few long-distance diplomatic relationships between early modern Europe and Asia matched the level of intensity reached by France and Siam in the late 17th century.

The desire for cultural, commercial and political interaction between France and Siam in the 1680s, and the relatively regular embassies sent in both directions, present a case of diplomatic exchange between a European and an Asian nation that was almost unparalleled in the early modern period—except, perhaps, by relations with the Ottoman Empire, right on Europe’s doorstep. Since music was bound up inextricably with issues of cultural identity and was used in many cultures to indicate the relative positions of the élite on a hierarchical social scale, it was a significant and crucial factor in ceremonial displays that accompanied (or incorporated) diplomatic negotiations. While some aspects of music’s use in French–Siamese diplomacy were conventional—such as the Siamese receiving French envoys with ceremonial music; the French taking their Siamese visitors to see the opera and other musical performances; the Siamese presenting musical performances for French visitors; and the French presenting keyboards and mechanical instruments as gifts—others were exceptional, such as the emulation of the sonic context of Siamese trumpets and drums in the Siamese ambassadors’ audience with Louis XIV in 1686. The performance of extracts from French operas before Phra Narai in 1687 is likewise a remarkable incident in the global history of early modern diplomacy, and of intercultural exchanges of music.

Musical performances clearly played a significant role in the visits of French and Siamese representatives to each other’s countries. Of course, this exchange was not entirely equal: whereas French music was performed in Siam, evidence has yet to emerge to demonstrate whether any

Siamese music was performed in France. French musical instruments were imported to Siam, and Europeans began to experiment with Siamese natural resources to determine their musical properties; however, we have yet to establish how many Siamese instruments were introduced to France in the 17th century, apart from their descriptions and depictions. Still, French and Siamese envoys were equally interested in the musical traditions of the other culture, and there was clearly a certain level of empathetic understanding between performers and observers. Cross-cultural observations made by French visitors to Siam resulted in the production and dissemination of data about Siamese musical practices, instruments, genres and aesthetics. The Siamese ambassadors’ observations of musical performances in France during the embassy of 1686–7, as recorded in the diary of Kōsa Pān and the *Mercure galant* (the latter by de Vizé), also present a rich repository of texts that provide examples of cross-cultural interpretation and reflexive resignification. Likewise, we have seen that social contexts and rituals, such as attendance at an opera, had powerful implications and symbolic resonances for representatives of one culture visiting another. These experiences could be interpreted from different points of view, and the perspective of the Self as seen by the Other could be imagined: Voltaire and Dufresny, for instance, used the case of a French visitor to Siam and of a Siamese visitor to France as springboards for the reflexive critique of French society and mores. The outward colonialist urge of France in the late 17th century, and the French quest for knowledge of the Other, was reconfigured by these writers into an introspective and self-critical gaze.

By considering all such aspects of relations between a European nation and an Asian nation in the early modern period, and by examining cross-cultural performances and reactions, we can begin to come to a fuller understanding of the place of music in different societies around the early modern world, and of certain homologies between different ontologies of music and sound. We can see how early modern diplomats identified and took advantage of crucial points of cultural convergence, especially in the rituals surrounding royalty, and we can attempt to understand how

they aimed—often through music and sound—to construct a framework within which they could engage in intercultural exchange and negotiation. Even if Lully did not go to Siam, we can be certain that his music did, and we know that towards the end of his life he had the rare privilege of being

honoured and flattered by visitors from that land. More importantly, his music acted as a form of interface between two very different cultures, and provided a significant basis for some remarkable interactions between élite members of French and Siamese societies.

Australian musicologist and cultural historian David R. M. Irving is Post-Doctoral Research Associate at King's College London, Director of Music and Director of Studies in Music at Downing College, Cambridge, and Recording Reviews Editor for Early Music. His current research, forming part of the collaborative project 'Musical Transitions to European Colonialism in the Eastern Indian Ocean' (funded by the European Research Council and based at King's College London), explores the impact of Portuguese, Dutch and British colonialism on the music of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago from c.1500 to c.1900. He has been appointed Lecturer in Music at the University of Nottingham from September 2012. David is the author of Colonial counterpoint: music in early modern Manila (Oxford University Press, 2010); he has also published multiple articles and book chapters on the role of music in intercultural exchange. As a Baroque violinist, he has worked professionally with ensembles in Australia and Europe. david.irving@nottingham.ac.uk

Research for this article was undertaken during a Junior Research Fellowship at Christ's College, Cambridge, and was also supported by a grant from the Association for South-East Asian Studies in the United Kingdom (ASEASUK); I would like to record my thanks to both Christ's College and ASEASUK. I am grateful to Tara Alberts and the anonymous reader for Early Music for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this text.

1 See, for example, literature including L. J. Waisman, 'Corelli entre los indios, o Utopía deconstruye Arcadia', in *Concierto barroco: Estudios sobre música, dramaturgia e historia cultural*, ed. J. J. Carreras and M. Á. Marín (Logroño, 2004), pp.227–54; Pierre-Louis Ginguené, *Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Nicolas Piccinni* (Paris, 1800), pp.10–11; I. Woodfield, 'Haydn symphonies in Calcutta', *Music & Letters*, lxxv/1 (1994), pp.141–3; I. Woodfield, *Music of the Raj: a social and economic history of music in late eighteenth-century Anglo-Indian society* (New York, 2000); and also R. Head, 'Corelli in Calcutta: colonial music-making in India during the

17th and 18th centuries', *Early Music*, xiii/4 (1985), pp.548–53.

2 On this publication, see R. S. Love, 'Simon de La Loubère: French views of Siam in the 1680s', in *Distant lands and diverse cultures: the French experience in Asia, 1600–1700*, ed. G. J. Ames and R. S. Love (Westport, CT, 2003), pp.181–99; see also the introduction by D. K. Wyatt in Simon de La Loubère, *The kingdom of Siam*, facs. edn (Kuala Lumpur, 1969), pp.v–ix.

3 English translation in Simon de La Loubère, *A new historical relation of the kingdom of Siam*, trans. A. P. Gen. R. S. S. (London, 1693), i, part II, p.68. The original French text can be found in Simon de La Loubère, *Du royaume de Siam par Monsieur de LA LOUBERE envoyé extraordinaire du ROY auprès du Roy de Siam en 1687. & 1688* (Paris, 1691), i, p.262. For a critical edition and study of La Loubère's work, see M. Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *Étude historique et critique du livre de Simon de la Loubère «Du royaume de Siam»—Paris 1691* (Paris, 1987).

4 T. E. Miller, 'Reconstructing Siamese musical history from historical sources: 1548–1932', *Asian music*, xv/2 (1984), pp.32–42.

5 K. Skjellstad, 'Barokken – Et universelt fenomen?', *Studia musicologica norvegica*, xiii (1987), pp.9–17.

6 T. E. Miller and J. Choupaïrot, 'A history of Siamese music reconstructed from Western documents, 1505–1932', *Crossroads: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, viii/2 (1994), pp.1–194.

7 On the necessity of using Western sources in studying the history of Siam, owing to the destruction of Siamese archives in 1767, see Miller and Choupaïrot, 'A history of Siamese music', pp.1–2, 17, and Love, 'Simon de La Loubère', pp.181–99, at p.184. On the destruction of the old Siamese capital during the Burmese invasion, see H. James, 'The fall of Ayutthaya: a reassessment', *Journal of Burma Studies*, v (2000), pp.75–108.

8 One of the most comprehensive studies is Dirk van der Cruyssen's magisterial work *Louis XIV et le Siam* (Paris, 1991); this has been translated into English as D. van der Cruyssen, *Siam and the West 1500–1700*, trans. M. Smithies (Chiang Mai, 2002). See also M. Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *L'Europe et le Siam du xv^e au xviii^e siècle: apports culturels* (Paris, 1993);

- M. Jacq-Hergoualc'h, 'La France et le Siam de 1662 à 1680', *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer*, lxxviii/291 (1991), pp.207–14; M. Jacq-Hergoualc'h, 'La France et le Siam de 1680 à 1685: histoire d'un échec', *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer*, lxxxii/308 (1995), pp.257–75; M. Jacq-Hergoualc'h, 'La France et le Siam de 1685 à 1688: histoire d'un échec', *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer*, lxxxiv/317 (1997), pp.71–91; T. Alberts, 'French interests in Siam in the seventeenth century', MPhil thesis, University of Cambridge (2005). On early modern globalization, see G. C. Gunn, *First globalization: the eurasian exchange, 1500–1800* (Lanham, MD, 2003).
- 9 See especially R. S. Love, 'Rituals of majesty: France, Siam, and court spectacle in royal image-building at Versailles in 1685 and 1686', *Canadian Journal of History*, xxxi (1996), pp.171–98. Other articles and chapters by Love are referenced subsequently. My research into the musical dimensions of this exchange has been greatly indebted to the social, cultural and political contexts set out by Love in his pioneering research.
- 10 D. Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and lute music in 17th-century France* (Basingstoke, 1987), p.13; R. M. Isherwood, *Music in the service of the king: France in the seventeenth century* (Ithaca and London, 1973), pp.235, 303–5; C. Wood and G. Sadler, eds., *French Baroque opera: a reader* (Aldershot and Burlington, VT, 2000), pp.24–5; A. Silbiger, 'Fantasy and craft: the solo instrumentalist', in *The Cambridge history of seventeenth-century music*, ed. T. Carter and J. Butt (Cambridge, 2005), pp.426–78; L. Sawkins and J. Nightingale, *A thematic catalogue of the works of Michel-Richard de Lalande* (Oxford, 2005), p.516.
- 11 On Siam's change of name to Thailand in 1939, see T. L. Loos, *Subject Siam: family, law, and colonial modernity in Thailand* (Ithaca, 2006), p.25.
- 12 See M. Smithies and L. Bressan, *Siam and the Vatican in the seventeenth century* (Bangkok, 2001); van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, trans. Smithies, pp.173–7.
- 13 D. F. Lach and E. J. Van Kley, *Asia in the making of Europe, volume 3: a century of advance* (Chicago and London, 1993), book 3 (Southeast Asia), p.1189.
- 14 The last mission is not considered in this article; for further information on it, see M. Smithies, 'Siamese mandarins on the Grand Tour, 1688–1690', *The Journal of the Siam Society*, lxxxvi/1–2 (1998), pp.107–18.
- 15 For a succinct overview of the relationship between Phra Narai and the French, see Lach and Van Kley, *Asia in the making of Europe*, iii, book 3, pp.1185–96; also D. K. Wyatt, *Thailand: a short history* (New Haven and London, 1984), pp.111–18.
- 16 Lach and Van Kley, *Asia in the making of Europe*, iii, book 3, p.1189.
- 17 Van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, trans. Smithies, p.216.
- 18 On this incident, see A. Launay, *Histoire de la mission de Siam, 1662–1811: documents historiques 1* (Paris, 1920), pp.147–8; van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, trans. Smithies, pp.252–3; Love, 'Rituals of majesty', pp.176–8; R. S. Love, 'The making of an Oriental despot: Louis XIV and the Siamese embassy of 1686', *Journal of the Siam Society*, lxxxii/1 (1994), pp.57–78, at p.59.
- 19 Love, 'The making of an Oriental despot', p.59.
- 20 Isherwood, *Music in the service of the king*, p.235.
- 21 Van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, trans. Smithies, p.253.
- 22 See a description of the voyage in Alexandre de Chaumont, *Relation de l'ambassade de Mr le Chevalier de Chaumont à la cour du roi de Siam. Avec ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable durant son voyage* (Paris, 1686); and Guy Tachard, *Voyage de Siam des pères jésuites envoyés par le roi aux Indes et à la Chine* (Paris, 1686). On the preparations for this voyage, see R. S. Love, 'Royal protocol and cultural synthesis in the preparations for the Chevalier de Chaumont's embassy to Siam in 1685', *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History*, xxxiv (2006), pp.1–26.
- 23 For a biographical study of Tachard, see R. Vongsuravatana, *Un jésuite à la cour de Siam* (Paris, 1992). Étienne Manuel remained in Southeast Asia as a missionary and died in Fai-fo, Vietnam, on 17 October 1693; see Archives des Missions Étrangères de Paris (hereafter AMEP), xii, p.642.
- 24 Tachard, *Voyage de Siam*, p.25; Love, 'Royal protocol and cultural synthesis', p.14.
- 25 'Les trompettes animent les repas. Un jour on danse aux chansons; le lendemain au violon, car nous n'en avons qu'un.' François Timoléon de Choisy, *Journal ou suite du voyage de Siam en forme de lettres familières fait en M. DC. LXXXV. et M. DC. LXXXVI.* (Amsterdam, 1687), pp.17–18.
- 26 'Et quand je me veux faire bien aise, je fais venir M. Manuel l'un de nos Missionnaires, qui a la voix fort belle, & qui sçait la musique; comme Lully... Nous chantons des airs de dévotion, qui sont tout aussi beaux que Roland.' Choisy, *Journal ou suite du voyage de Siam*, p.22; see also van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, trans. Smithies, p.292.
- 27 Thanks to Thierry Favier for pointing out this connection. For a discussion of these *airs de dévotion*, see C. Gordon-Seifert, 'From impurity to piety: mid 17th-century French devotional airs and the spiritual conversion of women', *The Journal of Musicology*, xxii/2 (2005), pp. 268–91. See also T. Favier, 'Plaisir musical et parodies spirituelles: les visages multiples de la réminiscence', in *Le plaisir musical en France au XVII^e siècle*, ed. T. Favier and M. Couvreur (Sprimont, 2006), pp.115–27, at p.118.
- 28 'Vous ne croiriez peut-être pas que le peu de musique que je sçai, me facilite la prononciation Siamoise.' Choisy, *Journal ou suite du voyage de Siam*, p.56.
- 29 Tachard, *Voyage de Siam*, pp.28–9.
- 30 Love, 'The making of an Oriental despot', pp.61–62. On the *krāp* and the *wai*, see Love, 'Rituals of majesty', p.175, especially notes 13 and 14.

- 31 Alexandre de Chaumont, *A relation of the late embassy of Monsr. de Chaumont, Kn^t to the court of the king of Siam* (London, 1687), p.34. The original text reads: 'Il y avoit beaucoup d'instrumens comme Trompettes, Tambours, Timbales, Musettes, des manieres de petites cloches, & de petits cors dont le bruit ressembloit à ceux des pasteurs en France. Toute cette Musique faisoit assez de bruit, nous marchâmes de cette façon de long d'une grande ruë bordée des deux côtez d'une grande quantité de peuples & toutes les places remplies de même.' Alexandre de Chaumont, *Relation de l'ambassade de M^r le Chevalier de Chaumont a la cour du roy de Siam, avec ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable durant son voyage* (Paris, 1686), p.50. On the importance of royal letters in Siamese diplomacy, and an analysis of Chaumont's delivery of Louis XIV's letter in 1685, see Love, 'The making of an Oriental despot', pp.61–2.
- 32 Tachard, *Voyage de Siam*, pp.232–3. See also Miller and Choupairot, 'A History of Siamese Music', pp.95–6.
- 33 See Love, 'The making of an Oriental despot', p.63. This incident is described first-hand in Tachard, *Voyage de Siam*, pp.237–8.
- 34 See Love, 'Rituals of majesty', p.187. The question of physical level in the delivery of diplomatic missives was already a critical issue in France: we should recall that Louis XIV refused to rise when receiving a letter from the Ottoman sultan, delivered to him by the envoy Soliman Aga, causing great offence. This incident was of course parodied by Molière in his play *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, set to music by Jean-Baptiste Lully, in a Turkish scene that lampooned the issue of rank and promotion (with musical marches that quoted Turkish rhythms). More subtly, it also criticized the king for his role in the affair. See M. K. Whaples, 'Early exoticism revisited', in *The exotic in Western music*, ed. J. Bellman (Boston, 1998), pp.3–25, at pp.12–13.
- 35 Van der Cruyssen, *Siam and the West*, trans. Smithies, pp.346–7.
- 36 Love, 'The making of an Oriental despot', p.63; Love, 'Rituals of majesty', p.187.
- 37 M. Smithies, 'The travels in France of the Siamese ambassadors 1686–7', *The Journal of the Siam Society*, lxxvii/2 (1989), pp.59–70, at p.59.
- 38 On the reception of the 1686 embassy from Siam, see Love, 'The making of an Oriental despot', pp.63–7.
- 39 For a succinct and useful overview of the Siamese ambassadors' experiences in France in 1686–7 (including a map of their travels, on p.60), summarized from the account published by Jean Donneau de Vizé in the *Mercure galant*, see Smithies, 'The travels in France of the Siamese ambassadors'.
- 40 Love, 'Rituals of majesty', pp.188–9, 191, 194.
- 41 Love, 'Rituals of majesty', pp.171, 173.
- 42 Love, 'Rituals of majesty', p.194.
- 43 'On avoit ordonné que pour faire honneur à cette Lettre, il y auroit au pied de l'Escalier, en dehors, trente-six Tambours, & vingt-quatre Trompettes.' *Mercure galant*, September 1686, Part 2, pp.186–7; see also Love, 'Rituals of majesty', p.193; and M. Benoît, *Versailles et les musiciens du roi 1661–1733. Etude institutionnelle et sociale*. (Paris, 1971), i, pp.62–3.
- 44 Love, 'Rituals of majesty', pp.195–6.
- 45 Sawkins and Nightingale, *A thematic catalogue*, p.516. The works are conserved in four different sources in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France; see Sawkins and Nightingale, *A thematic catalogue*, p.515, for full details. I have chosen to transcribe the *Entrée des Siamois* (s144a/19) and 2.^e *air des Siamois* (s144a/20) from 'Simphonies / de / M. De La Lande / Qu'il faisoit exécuter tous les 15 jours pendant / le Souper de Louis XIV et Louis XV. / Mises dans un nouvel ordre, et ses augmentations', 2 vols., 1736–45, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Rés.581, ii, pp.217–19.
- 46 Sawkins and Nightingale, *A thematic catalogue*, p.516.
- 47 On the minor key as a code for Otherness in French Baroque music, see T. D. Taylor, *Beyond exoticism: Western music and the world* (Durham, 2007), pp.55–6.
- 48 Sawkins and Nightingale, *A thematic catalogue*, pp.515, 567.
- 49 'M^r de Lully ayant esté les voir le matin de cette mesme journée [24 September 1686], ils le prièrent de diner avec eux, si tost qu'ils eurent appris l'estime dont le Roy l'honore, à cause de la beauté de son Genie pour tout ce qui regarde la Musique.' *Mercure galant*, November 1686, Part 2, pp.28–9.
- 50 'Ils se rendirent à l'Opera, & M^r de Lully les receut à la porte de l'Academie. Comme on representoit celuy d'Acis & de Galatée, dans lequel il n'y a point de Machines, on leur dit pendant la representation, *Que ces sortes de Spectacles estoient ordinairement plus grands que celuy qu'ils voyoient, parce que celuy là avoit esté fait pour représenter dans un lieu où il n'y avoit point de Sale* [sic], & on leur expliqua mesme la Feste pour laquelle ce Divertissement avoit esté fait. Le premier Ambassadeur dit, *Que le Spectacle dont il estoit témoin, & ce qu'on luy disoit des autres Opera, luy faisoit concevoir des grandes choses de ce qu'il ne voyoit pas, s'il estoit vray pourtant que l'on pust rien faire de plus beau en ce genre là*. Il marqua pendant la representation qu'il en comprenoit le Sujet, & dit des choses fort galantes là-dessus. Ce qu'il dit à Mademoiselle Rochoir, qui l'alla voir après l'Opera à l'Hostel des Ambassadeurs, fait bien connoistre qu'il l'avoit compris. Il la fit asseoir, & et luy dit. *Qu'ils ne pouvoient faire trop d'honneur à la Fille du Dieu de la Mer, & qu'ils avoient besoin d'elle, afin qu'elle calmast les flots à leur retour, & leur fist faire une Navigation heureuse*.' *Mercure galant*, November 1686, Part 2, pp.28–31.
- 51 On their viewing of *Armide*, see *Mercure galant*, January 1687, Part 2, p.186; Isherwood, *Music in the service of the king*, p.304. On the attendance of the ambassadors at the performance of Lully's *Te Deum*, the *Mercure galant* reports the following: 'Vous avez oüy parler du *Te Deum* de la composition de M^r de Lully, qui

s'est chanté aux Feüillans, pour rendre graces à Dieu du retour de la santé de Sa Majesté. Six de ce Peres ayant esté députez pour prier les Ambassadeurs d'assister cette Ceremonie, se rendirent à l'Hostel où ils estoient logez; & après qu'ils eurent fait leur compliment, & marqué le sujet qui les amenoit, l'Ambassadeur leur répondit *Qu'ils avoient de si grands & de si justes sujets de s'informer de la santé du Roy, qu'ils avoient[sic] sçu [sic] que Sa Majesté se portoit[t] bien; mais qu'ils estoient ravis de l'apprendre par des personnes qui ne disoient jamais que la verité; Qu'ils iroient avec plaisir chez eux, afin que cette santé leur fust confirmé par la voix des Peuples, pour avoir le plaisir de voir ces Peres, & pour entendre la Musique de M^r de Lully, dont ils avoient déjà esté charmez en d'autres occasions.* Le jour de la Ceremonie, les Ambassadeurs furent receus à la premiere Porte des Feüillans par plusieurs de ces Religieux qui les conduisirent dans une Sale fort propre, auprès d'un grand feu, où les Peres les plus distinguez du Convent [sic] par leur merite & par leur employ, les attendoient. Après les premiers complemens de part & d'autre, les Ambassadeurs se leverent pour voir les Tableaux qui estoient autour de la Salle, parmi lesquels on voyoit ceux de Henry III. de Henry IV. de Louïs XIII. & de Louïs le Grand, peints de leur hauteur; & ce fut à ces Tableaux qu'ils s'arrestèrent, aussi bien qu'à celui de Monsieur, qu'ils reconnurent d'abord, quoyqu'il fust peint il y a plus de vingt ans ... Peu de temps après, chacun fut conduit aux places qui avoient esté reservées pour tant d'Illustres Personnes, les Princes en bas, & les Ambassadeurs aux fenestres de la Galerie qui donnent dans l'Eglise. Ils regarderent, & écouterent avec une extrême attention, ils remarquerent les différentes expressions de la Musique, & pendant le *Domine salvum fac Regem*, qu'on leur expliqua, il sembloit qu'ils priassent aussi pour le Roy.' *Mercure galant*, January 1687, Part 2, pp.249–58. See also van der Cruysse,

Siam and the West, trans. Smithies, p.381.

52 'La Ceremonie estant achevée, ils furent reconduits dans la même Sale [sic], où on les avoit d'abord amenés pour se chauffer, & l'Ambassadeur pour montrer aux Peres l'effet que ce qu'il venoit de voir avoit fait sur luy, porta sa main à ses yeux, à ses oreilles, & à son cœur, & dit *que ses yeux avoient esté enchantés, ses oreilles charmées, & son cœur touché.* *Mercure galant*, January 1687, Part 2, p.258.

53 The ambassadors' observations of organs are reported several times in the *Mercure galant*. For example, at Notre Dame: 'ils eurent de vouloir apprendre ce que c'est que l'Orgue qu'ils écouterent avec une grande attention, & sur laquelle ils firent des demandes pleines d'esprit' (*Mercure galant*, September 1686, Part 2, p.150); in Saint-Médéric, Paris: 'Les Ambassadeurs en s'en retournant entrerent dans S. Mederic, pour entendre les Orgues de cette Eglise, qui ont la reputation d'estre aussi bonnes que l'Organiste est habile. Elles leur donnerent beaucoup de plaisir, mais ils y en auroient encore pris d'avantage, sans la foule extraordinaire de peuple qui s'y rencontra' (*Mercure galant*, December 1686, Part 2, pp.62–3; on this visit, see also N. Dufourcq, *Nicolas Lebègue (1631–1702): étude biographique suivie de nouveaux documents inédits relatifs à l'orgue français au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1954), p.47); at the Cathedral of Arras: 'Ils prirent beaucoup de plaisir à entendre les Orgues de cette Cathedrale, qui sont fort bonnes; & sortirent de cette Eglise après avoir fait de nouveaux remerciemens au Prevost & aux Chanoines' (*Mercure galant*, December 1686, Part 2, p.174); at Cambrai: 'Ce Prélat [the archbishop of Cambrai] leur fit voir tout ce qu'il y avoit de plus curieux dans son Eglise, & leur en fit entendre la Musique & les Orgues' (*Mercure galant*, January 1687, Part 2, p.57); and at the Abbaye de Saint Jean des Vignes: 'Ils monterent aux Orgues, qui sont neuves & très-belles, & ils les toucherent fort longtemps' (*Mercure galant*, January 1687, Part 2, pp.120–1).

54 'Comme on leur avoit donné les Violons, ce qui continua tant qu'ils séjournerent à Dunkerque, ils avoient demandé les noms de plusieurs Aïrs, & même la raison des noms qu'on leur avoit dits. La Folie d'Espagne s'estant trouvée de ce nombre, il ne se rencontra personne qui leur pût apprendre pourquoy cét Air avoit eu ce nom: ce qui fut cause que M^r Megron leur ayant demâdê l'Ordre, ils dirent *la Folie d'Espagne*. M^r Torf leur demanda, pourquoy ils donnoient ce mot. Ils répondirent, *qu'ils avoient peut-estre plus de raison de le donner, que le Musicien n'en avoit eu de nommer Folie un Air qui paroisoit tres-beau, puisque c'en [sic] estoit une tres-grande que d'avoir laissé prendre une Ville comme Dunkerque.* *Mercure galant*, December 1686, Part 2, pp.225–6.

55 'L'esprit des Ambassadeurs, & les choses obligeantes qu'ils ont dites à toutes les personnes d'un merite distingué qui leur ont rendu visite, ont esté cause que la plus parti des plus illustres leur ont fait connoître, que rien ne manque à la France pour les plaisirs & pour les beaux Arts. M^r [sic] Galot [Jacques Gallot, d.1690], si fameux pour le Lut [sic], ayant joué devant eux, l'Ambassadeur luy dît, *que depuis qu'il estoit en France il avoit entendu joüer plusieurs fois de cet Instrument, mais qu'il de croyoit pas avoir oüï personne qui en eust si bien joué que luy.* Quelques jours après, le même M^r Galot l'invita à un Concert d'Instruments, qui devoit estre composé, des plus illustres de leur profession. L'Ambassadeur promit d'aller à ce Concert que M^r Galot donna dans la ruë de Seine à l'Hôtel d'Arras chez M^r Aubry, qui voulut bien estre du nombre des Concertants, à cause des Illustres Auditents [sic], quoy qu'il ne soit pas de cette profession. L'Assemblée y fut plus choisie que nombreuse, & dans un lieu fort propre, & fort éclairé. Le Concert fut trouvé tres-beau; aussi estoit-il des plus illustres de France dans leur Art. Quand il fut finy, M^r Galot joüa seul du Lut, & l'Ambassadeur luy dit, *qu'encore qu'il crût que rien ne*

pouvait estre ajouté à la beauté du Concert, il y avoit des delicatesses dans ce qu'il jouoit seul, qui ne devoient pas estre confondües parmi le grand nombre d'Instruments, parce qu'on en perdoit beaucoup.' *Mercure galant*, January 1687, Part 2, pp.274–7. The English translation is quoted from Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and lute music in 17th-century France*, p.13. See also mention of this incident in Silbiger, 'Fantasy and craft', p.449.

56 Van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, trans. Smithies, p.363.

57 *The diary of Kosa Pan (Ok-Phra Wisut Sunthon): Thai ambassador to France June–July 1686*, trans. V. Busyakul, trans. and ed. M. Smithies, with an introduction and annotations by D. van der Cruysse (Chiang Mai, 2002), p.60. On this diary, see also van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, trans. Smithies, pp.358–63.

58 Van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, trans. Smithies, pp.390–1.

59 The story of the composer Destouches' voyage to Siam in his youth was widespread in the 18th century; besides being popularized by Voltaire (as discussed later in this article), it was also mentioned by Sir John Hawkins in *A general history of the science and practice of music* (London, 1776), v, p.381. For an overview and chronology of the life and career of Destouches, see R. and P.-M. Masson, 'André Cardinal Destouches surintendant de la musique du roi directeur de l'Opéra 1672–1749', *Revue de musicologie*, xliii/119 (1959), pp.81–98.

60 Van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, trans. Smithies, p.391. I have not yet been able to trace an exact documentary source showing that Jesuits carried with them the scores of Lully. Van der Cruysse's citation, of a chapter by R. and P.-M. Masson, 'Jean-Baptiste Lully', in *Histoire de la musique*, Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, 2 vols., ed. Roland-Manuel ([Paris], 1960–3), i: *Des origines à Jean-Sébastien Bach*, pp.1572–90, at p.1589, in fact points to a rhetorical question—'Sait-on que les pères jésuites dans la mission de Siam et de

Chine emportaient dans leurs bagages, sur les frégates royales, les partitions du divin Florentin devenu le plus grand musicien français?'—which does not give any further reference. However, this rhetorical question is asked alongside another (which refers to the performance of Lully's *Armide* in Spain) to reinforce the idea of the long-distance dissemination of Lully's works, and in light of these authors' detailed archival work on Destouches in Siam (discussed below), it seems that they would have based this allusion to Lully's works in Siam on concrete documentary evidence. Based on our consideration of the quotation from La Loubère that opens this article, it seems certain that music scores of Lully were taken to Siam in the 1680s.

61 Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Roland: tragédie mise en musique, par Monsieur de Lully* (Paris, 1685), and Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Armide: tragédie mise en musique, par Monsieur de Lully* (Paris, 1686). Of course, these works could alternatively have been transported as manuscript copies. As Joyce Lindorff pointed out in 'European musical works in the Beitang Library (China, 1583–1773)' (unpublished paper presented at the 14th Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music, Belfast, July 2010), scores by Lully were also taken to China—but at a later time, given their date of publication—and still existed in Beijing in the mid-20th century: the five-volume set *Recueil des opera, des ballets et des plus belles pièces en musique* (Amsterdam, 1699–1701) is listed in H. Verhaeren, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque du Pé-t'ang* (Beijing, 1949), col.122.

62 On these publications by Jean Philip Heus, see C. B. Schmidt, 'The Amsterdam editions of Lully's music: a bibliographical scrutiny with commentary', in *Lully studies*, ed. J. H. Heyer (Cambridge, 2000), pp.100–65, at pp.107–9.

63 'Un grand et un petit orgue peint & sculpez / Un clavessin peint et sculpte ... Un clavessin peint & sculpté / Deux basses de violles / Un petit orgue ou clavessin avec son soufflet

[sic] y attaché ... Une caisse remplie d'instrumens d'orgue'. Listed in 'Etat des Instrumens, Pendules, Tableaux, hardes et autres provisions que les PP. Jesuites font transporter de Paris a Brest pour envoyer a Siam', 7 February 1687, in 'Registre des expeditions de Siam 1687–1688–1689', Archives Nationales d'Outre-Mer (hereafter ANOM) C²27, ff.43v–44v. Also transcribed (in modern orthography) and discussed in Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *L'Europe et le Siam*, pp.102–3.

64 As van der Cruysse points out, 'one wonders in what condition it arrived in Siam, after seven months rolling about in a humid hold'. Van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, trans. Smithies, p.382. See also Auguste Alphonse Étienne-Gallois, *L'ambassade de Siam au XVII^e siècle: le royaume Thai, ou de Siam aujourd'hui* (Paris, 1862), pp.122–3.

65 English translation in La Loubère, *A new historical relation*, i, part II, p.68. The original text reads: 'Le Roy de Siam entendit sans se montrer plusieurs airs de violon de nos Opera, et l'on nous dit qu'il ne les avoit pas trouvez d'un mouvement assez grave; néanmoins le Peuple Siamois n'a rien de fort grave dans ses chants, & tout ce qu'ils jouent sur leurs instruments, mesme dans la marche de leur Roy, est assez vif'. La Loubère, *Du royaume de Siam*, i, p.262; see also Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *Étude historique et critique du livre de Simon de la Loubère*, p.269.

66 English translation in La Loubère, *A new historical relation*, i, part II, p.68. The original French text reads: 'C'étoit un charivary de tous ces instruments ensemble, que la Marche que l'on sonnoit à l'Entrée des Envoyez du Roy: on la sonne toute pareille à la suite du Roy de Siam, & ce bruit tout bizarre qu'il est, n'a rien de desagréable principalement sur la Riviere'. La Loubère, *Du royaume de Siam*, i, pp.264–5.

67 English translation in La Loubère, *A new historical relation*, i, part II, p.69. The original French text reads: 'Le jour de la premiere Audience des Envoyez du Roy il y avoit dans la court la plus intérieure du Palais,

une centaine d'hommes prosternez, les uns tenant pour la montre de ces mauvaises petites trompettes qu'ils ne sonnoient point, & que je soupçonnay être de bois; & les autres ayant devant eux, chacun un petit tambour, qu'ils ne battoient point'. La Loubère, *Du royaume de Siam*, i, p.266.

68 M. Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *Étude historique et critique du journal du voyage de Siam de Claude Cèberet, envoyé extraordinaire du roi en 1687 et 1688* (Paris, 1992), p.101.

69 The reference to the 'airs de violon' appears in La Loubère, *Du royaume de Siam*, i, p.262.

70 Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *Étude historique et critique du journal du voyage de Siam de Claude Cèberet*, p.112; ANOM C²⁴, f.56r.

71 H. W. Hitchcock, 'Charpentier, Marc-Antoine', *New Grove*, v, p.518.

72 'Jose asseurer vòtre Maïesté que de les entendre parler Siamois, c'est la même chose que l'entendre un Ecossois parler Anglois. Tout le bien qu'ils peuvent faire en ce pays c'est de chanter la Messe et Vespres, de donner des remedes à quelques pauvres dans leur hôpital.' ANOM C²⁴, f.118r.

73 The manuscript of Tachard's account ('Voyage du Père Tachard à Siam') is found in ANOM C²⁴, ff.172–211; his story of 'le petit Cardinal' appears on ff.208v–210r. On this episode, see also van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, trans. Smithies, p.422; R. P.-M. Masson, 'André Destouches à Siam', in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'esthétique musicales offerts à Paul-Marie Masson* (Paris, 1955), ii, pp.95–102, at pp.100–2 (where Masson quotes the relevant passages from Tachard's journal); Lucien Lanier, *Étude historique sur les relations de la France et du royaume de Siam de 1662 à 1703; d'après les documents inédits des Archives du Ministère de la Marine et des Colonies, avec le fac-simile d'une carte du temps* (Versailles, 1883), pp.142–3.

74 Masson, 'André Destouches à Siam', p.97 n.1.

75 Évrard Titon du Tillet, *Second supplément du Parnasse François, ou suite de l'ordre chronologique des poètes*

et des musiciens que la mort a enlevés depuis le commencement de l'année 1743. jusqu'en cette année 1755 ([Paris, 1755]), pp.53–4; see also J. R. Anthony, 'Destouches, André Cardinal', *New Grove*, vii, p.252. Whereas Titon du Tillet claims that Destouches served in the 2nd Compagnie des Mousquetaires du Roi until 1696, Anthony states that he left them in 1694.

76 See R. S. Love, 'To convert a king: the Bishop of Berythe and the Missions-Etrangères in Siam, 1662–1679', *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History*, xxiii (1996), pp.95–104.

77 Van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, trans. Smithies, pp.461, 515 n.118; the original documentation can be found in ANOM C²⁵, f.63v. See also A. Launay, *Histoire de la mission de Siam, 1662–1811: Documents historiques 1* (Paris, 1920), p.224.

78 ANOM C²⁵, f.63v.

79 The transcription appears in Nicolas Gervaise, *Histoire naturelle et politique du royaume de Siam* (Paris, 1688), between pp.130–1. See comments, a transliteration of the song-text into Siamese and an English translation in Miller and Choupairot, 'A history of Siamese music', pp.139–44, 149.

80 'Ils n'ont pas la voix desagréable, & je suis seur que l'on en seroit assez satisfait, si on leur entendoit chanter ces deux Chansons Siamoises, que j'abandonne à la censure de nos Musiciens, & à la curiosité du Lecteur, qui du moins en aimera la nouveauté.' Gervaise, *Histoire naturelle et politique du royaume de Siam*, p.130.

81 Jean-Benjamin de La Borde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* (Paris, 1780), i, p.436. On the use of parallel octaves and bare textures as a common musical feature employed by European composers to signify the exotic, see R. P. Locke, *Musical exoticism: images and reflections* (Cambridge, 2009), p.52.

82 Simon de La Loubère, *Du royaume de Siam*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1691). See comments, a transliteration of the song-text into Siamese and an English translation in Miller and

Choupairot, 'A history of Siamese music', pp.144–8.

83 Miller and Choupairot, 'A history of Siamese music', pp.143, 147.

84 P. Myers-Moro, 'Musical notation in Thailand', *The Journal of the Siam Society* lxxviii/1 (1990), pp.101–8, at p.101.

85 'Ils le couvrent d'une peau de Buffle, & le battent avec la main de telle maniere, qu'il leur sert ordinairement de Basse de Viole dans leurs Concerts.' Gervaise, *Histoire naturelle et politique du royaume de Siam*, p.130.

86 'Leurs instrumens ressemblent assez aux nôtres, mais ils sont fort imparfaits: il y en eut un qui nous parut extraordinaire, il étoit monté d'une douzaine de clochettes suspenduës, qui étant légèrement frappées avec de petits bâtons, rendoient un son tout-à-fait harmonieux.' Tachard, *Voyage de Siam*, p.259. This last instrument sounds similar to the two types of semi-circular gong chime used today in the Thai classical *pī phāt* ensemble: the 16-gong *khawng wong yai* and the 18-gong *khawng wong lek*; see discussion of European observations of these instruments in Miller and Choupairot, 'A history of Siamese music', pp.53–6.

87 By comparison, for a description of certain Siamese instruments by Muḥammad Rābī' ibn Muḥammad 'Ibrāhīm during a Persian embassy to Siam in 1685, see *The ship of Sulaimān*, trans. J. O'Kane (London, 1972), pp.45, 119.

88 For an overview of this publication, see Love, 'Simon de La Loubère'. On the ethnomusicological significance of this publication, see F. Harrison, *Time, place and music: an anthology of ethnomusicological observation c.1550 to c.1800* (Amsterdam, 1973), p.86.

89 English translation in La Loubère, *A new historical relation*, i, part II, p.68. The original French text reads: 'Ils ne connoissent pas plus que les Chinois la diversité des chants pour les diverses Parties d'un Corps de Musique: ils ne connoissent pas même la diversité des Parties; ils chantent tous à l'unisson.' La Loubère, *Du royaume de Siam*, i, p.262.

- 90 English translation in La Loubère, *A new historical relation*, i, part II, p.69. The original French text reads: 'Les Siamois aiment extrêmement nos trompettes; les leurs sont petites & aigres: il les appellent *tré*'. La Loubère, *Du royaume de Siam*, i, p.265.
- 91 Quoted and discussed in Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *L'Europe et le Siam*, pp.111–12; A. Forest, *Les missionnaires français au Tonkin et au Siam, XVIII^e–XVIII^e siècles: analyse comparée d'un relatif succès et d'un total échec*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1998), i, p.292.
- 92 On the use of keyboards and mechanical musical instruments in intercultural diplomacy, see I. Woodfield, 'The keyboard recital in Oriental diplomacy, 1520–1620', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, cxv/1 (1990), pp.33–62, and J. Lindorff, 'Missionaries, keyboards and musical exchange in the Ming and Qing courts', *Early Music*, xxxii/3 (2004), pp.403–14.
- 93 'En parlant des différentes espèces d'Or, Mr. L'Abbé Galloys dit que l'Or de Siam est plus flexible & moins cassant que le nôtre; le son des cordes de Clavecin qui en sont faites est plus grave'. *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences de l'Institut de France* (1687), in *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Sciences depuis 1686 jusqu'à son renouvellement en 1699* (Paris, 1733), ii, p.13.
- 94 See P. Barbieri, 'Gold- and silver-stringed musical instruments: modern physics vs Aristotelianism in the Scientific Revolution', *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, xxxvi (2010), pp.118–54, esp. pp.118, 153.
- 95 Barbieri, 'Gold- and silver-stringed musical instruments', p.122.
- 96 François Bédos de Celles, *L'art du facteur d'orgues* (1766), facs. edn (Valladolid, 2010), pp.312–13. Barbieri writes: 'The first written source to document the presence of copper in the alloys used by organ builders is Dom Bédos's treatise. To give whiteness and hardness to "Malacca tin"—which is purer (and hence mechanically softer) than English tin, which he preferred—Bédos reports that the tinsmiths added 1% or at most 2% copper.' P. Barbieri, 'Alchemy, symbolism and Aristotelian acoustics in medieval organ-pipe technology', trans. H. Ward-Perkins, *The Organ Yearbook*, xxx (2001), pp.7–39, at p.20.
- 97 Samuel Frederick Gray, *The operative chemist: being a practical display of the arts and manufactures which depend upon chemical principles* (London, 1828), p.629.
- 98 P. Barbieri, trans. H. Ward-Perkins, 'The technology of metal organ pipes: Italy vs France, c1300–1900', *The Organ Yearbook*, xxxii (2003), p.10. See also, for example, the mention of organ pipes made from Malacca tin in *Descrizione della chiesa di S. Giustina di Padova, e delle cose più notabili, che in essa sono*, 5th edn (Padua, 1759), p.11.
- 99 Quoted in Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *L'Europe et le Siam du XVII^e au XVIII^e siècle*, p.134.
- 100 Jacq-Hergoualc'h, *L'Europe et le Siam*, p.136.
- 101 'L'orgue est l'instrument favori, parce que c'est celui qui fait le plus de bruit; & pour avoir le plaisir de l'entendre, ils se rendent avec empressement dans l'église des Chrétiens. Plusieurs, par la seule habitude de l'entendre, ont appris sans maître l'art de le toucher.' François Henri Turpin, *Histoire civile et naturelle du royaume de Siam, et des révolutions qui ont bouleversé cet empire jusqu'en 1770; publiée par M. Turpin, sur des manuscrits qui lui ont été communiqués par M. l'Evêque de Tabraca, vicaire apostolique de Siam, & autres missionnaires de ce royaume* (Paris, 1771), i, pp.125–6.
- 102 There is a recent major study on this area, which at the time of the writing of this article was not yet available for reading: J. Yamprai, 'The establishment of Western music in Thailand', DA diss., University of Northern Colorado (2011).
- 103 AMEP, vol.862, p.523.
- 104 A pioneering survey of music used in the Roman Catholic liturgy in Thailand from 1511 to 2004 can be found in J. Yamprai, 'Music in Roman Catholic Mass of Thailand' [sic], MA diss., Mahidol University, Thailand (2005); it is clear that Yamprai has identified a fruitful and exciting field of research.
- 105 Wood and Sadler, *French Baroque opera*, p.25.
- 106 Wood and Sadler, *French Baroque opera*, p.25.
- 107 For the complete text, see Voltaire, 'André Destouches à Siam', critical edn (with an Introduction) by J. Renwick, in *The complete works of Voltaire*, gen. ed. W. H. Barber (Oxford, 1987), lxii, pp.107–26. The text is also available online as Voltaire, 'André Destouches à Siam', *Oeuvres complètes de Voltaire, Mélanges v*, at www.voltaire-integral.com/Html/26/06_Destouches.html (accessed 29 June 2010). For studies of this text, see the critical introduction by Renwick mentioned above; also Masson, 'André Destouches à Siam'; and M.-H. Cotoni, 'Dépaysement, dissonances, diatribe: André Destouches à Siam', in *Le siècle de Voltaire: hommage à René Pomeau*, ed. C. Mervaud and S. Menant (Oxford, 1987), i, pp.291–303.
- 108 'La musique tient à tout; elle était le fondement de toute la politique des Grecs.' Voltaire, 'André Destouches à Siam', in *The complete works of Voltaire*, p.125.
- 109 'Et que voulez-vous de plus? Il ne vous manque qu'une bonne musique. Quand vous l'aurez, vous pourrez hardiment vous dire la plus heureuse nation de la terre.' Voltaire, 'André Destouches à Siam', in *The complete works of Voltaire*, p.126.
- 110 E. Harich-Schneider, 'Renaissance Europe through Japanese eyes: record of a strange triumphal journey', *Early Music*, i/1 (1973), pp.19–25.